BRITISH AND AXIS AIMS IN AFRICA

KINGSLEY OZUOMBA MBADIWE

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By

KINGSLEY OZUOMBA MBADIWE

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TO

All champions of human rights and liberties, young and old, who will participate in the arduous task of African reconstruction in the New World Order; and to my heroes and friends, Azikiwe and Macauley, Gandhi and Nehru, the great voices, the lone prophets of the New Africa and the New India.

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E. P. Dutton & Co.: "Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain and Nineteenth Century Europe," by J. A. Cramb;

Penguin Books, Inc.: "Why War?", by C. E. M. Joad.

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Illustrations are located throughout the book and are not related specifically to the text. They tell a pictorial story of some phases of African life and progress.

Leading statesmen, rulers, labor leaders, and men of affairs of the Continent are listed to give a somewhat comprehensive view of some of the men who are molding the New Africa.

FOREWORD

I HAVE read with cumulated interest the manuscript which my close friend, Mr. Kingsley Mbadiwe, has prepared to interpret one of the most vexing problems of international affairs. The importance of a voice like this from among the Africans cannot be exaggerated at any time when world politics are in flux and when, therefore, thoughts of people are opening new solutions for age-long difficulties. Most of the writers on colonization have come from the conquering peoples. It is significant that here is a person who is willing to share out of an exceptionally rich heritage and from a scholarly preparation which enable him to clothe his thoughts in European parlance but with the spirit and the point of view of an African.

My personal friendship with Mr. Mbadiwe has been an intimate one, though one lasting but a little more than a year. By a strange coincidence he applied for, and was accepted as a member of the 1940 Lisle Fellowship, of which I am the director. As he said afterwards, he hardly understood the main purpose of this group but thought of it more as a chance to air some of his political theories of world relations. As time went on, the philosophy of the Lisle Fellowship became of the utmost significance to him for previously he had thought of his life task as attaining political freedom for Nigeria as an end in itself and the philosophy of Lisle brought deeply to him that the ends

and means are closely entwined together. During that six weeks' period we had many a conversation as also he did with students from ten different nationalities who were in the Fellowship group. Who can say what changes actually came about in thought and attitude? And yet many of the points of interpretation in this manuscript show an evidence of modification because of the thinking of friends with Mr. Mbadiwe during that period.

The significant thing about this is that Mr. Mbadiwe, like all of us, is more affected by normal sharing with those about him who are rich in the experiences of living, than in the usual pressure methods of world propaganda.

Since that memorable six weeks in the Fellowship at Lisle, New York, Mrs. Baldwin and I have kept in very close touch with the author and if, out of some of the conversations at dinner parties and student reunions, there have come thoughts embodied in this manuscript, it is an expected part of the process of life.

It is a great honor to be asked to say a word of introduction to his book. While I count the author as a choice friend, there may be an important additional reason why he has asked me to write this foreword. My ten years of living in Burma—another of the dependencies of the British Empire—has provided me with many thoughts and experiences similar to those of a Nigerian. Both of us love the Empire. We are fascinated by its ideals. Emotionally we feel to the depths when we come to those solemn moments of realization of the best of the British people. Yet we realize the "feet of clay" of this, the greatest of all empires, and we have talked many times of the necessity of bringing together the ideal of the Empire with the actual decisions of the Foreign Office in London, if the issue of colonizing—which is one of the major issues of any empire—is to be faced realistically.

Because, then, I am interested in this question of colonies as it relates to possible world peace, I feel honored to write the foreword to a book which will help us in our thinking about that issue.

The author rightly states in his chapter on "Hitler and the World Politics: "But I do insist that there be a *reasonable conduct* towards finding the solution. I insist on this because to know what the problems are and what they ought to be, *reason* is essential. Furthermore, to know the relation of these problems with the universal scheme of things, reason is essential . . . ." It is in the art of the application of these fundamentals (a serious attitude toward finding the solution; reason, the relation with the universal scheme of things) that hope lies.

Then in his later chapter the author in applying these fundamental principles leads us through the maze of international problems to understanding of the possible channels by which the bonds of slavery of millions of people in colonies the world over may be broken. He does not expect an easy or quick solution but he does demand a serious effort, when the new world is planned, to work for the sake of humanity rather than for the sake of empire or of selfish fame.

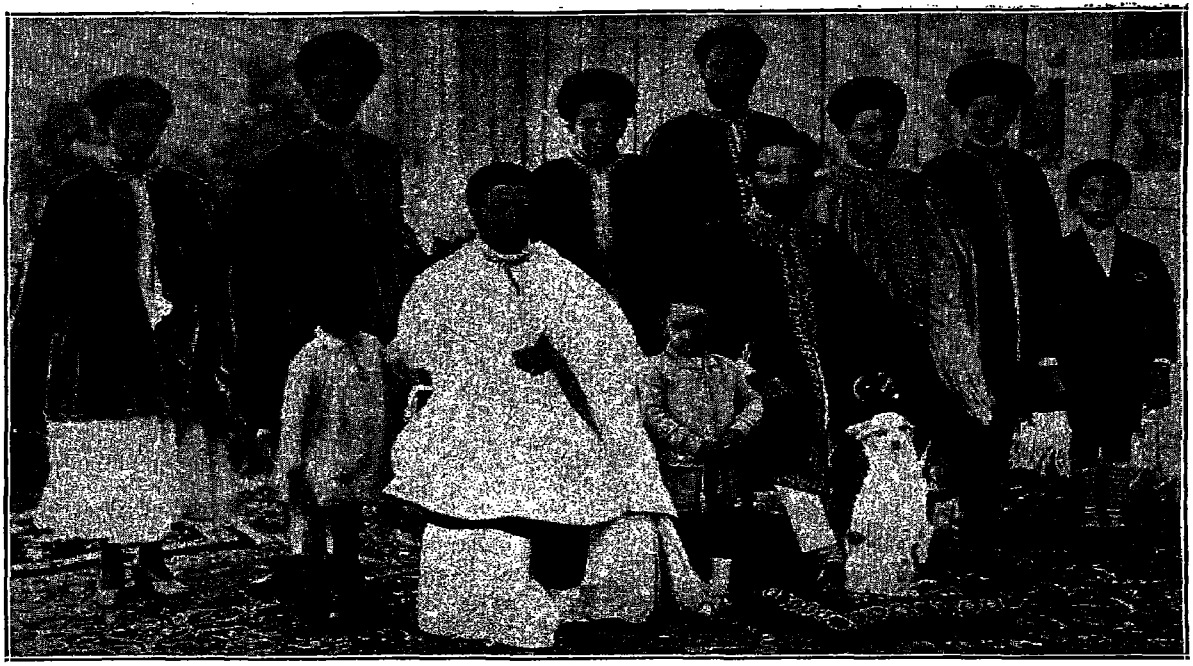
In closing let me quote a paragraph from the author's last chapter, which seems to me may be prophetic:

". . . This will indicate to the world that if the British Empire should collapse, the British Government is entirely responsible. If England returned half the love which her colonies bestow on her, no power today on earth could have been able to challenge her. The British Government has betrayed the trust of the English people and she is entitled to be examined before public opinion. . . . It is not too late. England can still save the Empire by initiating an immediate reform, bringing the Empire into confidence, and reas-

suring the world of her sincerity. . . . Every member of the Empire must be given an opportunity to demonstrate his worth. There is no reason why England should not demonstrate the diversity of its make-up in all its offices and establishments. . . . England must show by example, not by words. All those who give their lives for the Empire must share in the fruits of the Empire. . . ."

DeWitt C. Baldwin

Slyvan Dale, Loveland, Colorado
August 6, 1941



THE ROYAL ETHIOPIAN HOUSEHOLD
Emperor Haile Selassie, Empress Menen, the royal princes, princesses and court attendants.

MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL CLUB HONOR THEIR PRESIDENT, MR. MBADIWE, (center) AT BIRTHDAY PARTY

Extreme right, sitting, Hon. James S. Watson, Justice of the Municipal Court, guest speaker.

PREFACE

GRACIOUSLY, I thank Dr. DeWitt Baldwin, who in the midst of his abundant labors, has kindly given time to read this book and to write the introduction.

My contact with Dr. Baldwin has been of immense value to me. Through him I have learnt the soundness of applying reason and diligence to the complicacies of life's endeavor. He holds the philosophy that every human personality is unique and has therefore something to contribute to the richness of life. Armed with this, he penetrated into many universities and colleges bringing this vital philosophy to students, and at the same time urging them to interpret it in the scope of world-mindedness and international co-operation which must be the key to world security and peace.

This great missionary and devoted servant of humanity has spared no efforts to demonstrate in a practical and realizable way that man is fundamentally co-operative, and that diversity in human nature is in no way a liability, but rather an asset which enriches the common experience of our mortal lives.

Many students have endeared themselves to this type of reasoning and have carried this philosophy back to their own distant lands, and others carried it into their school campuses and have become servants to the spiritual needs of their fellow students. This experience, I must admit, was instrumental to my founding the International Club of New York University.

The Syracuse *Post Standard* in its edition of July 7, 1940, tried to sketch the philosophy and activities of Dr. Baldwin in these words: "Happy Valley Home at Lisle (the location of Dr. Baldwin's World-Minded Laboratory) is the scene of a novel social experiment that has brought together 45 students representing 10 religious denominations from 34 colleges and universities, all striving towards a common goal of Christian world-mindedness.

Students from many foreign lands where guns are now blasting the handiwork of civilization to pieces are represented in the picked conference group that is making the quiet old Happy Valley Home a social laboratory and communities of Central New York within a radius of 150 miles a workshop.

After ten years of missionary life in Burma, Dr. and Mrs. Baldwin returned to the United States with the awareness that the spread of true Christian spirit was dependent upon the understanding of one people by another.

As secretary of student work for the Board of Missions in New York City, the former missionary and his wife are now supervising for the sixth year their social experiments with its centre at Lisle.

Visiting colleges and universities over the entire United States, the couple has an opportunity to observe students who show an aptitude towards leadership. These students are invited to the Lisle Fellowship for six weeks' period each summer.

A chapter of this book which is devoted to "A New England and a New Empire" and other sections which advocate a common citizenship within the Empire have been influenced by my Lisle experience.

I have to thank students of Lisle Fellowship who have encouraged me wherever I came across them: among them I must mention Miss Elizabeth Anne Rouse of Radcliff College, Mr. Harumi Takenchi of

Harvard University, Mr. Ba Ohm of Boston University, Miss Mary Miller of Holyoke College, Mr. Okeckuku Ikejiani of Wisconsin University, Mr. Julius Okala of Northwestern University and many others.

I cannot forget to acknowledge the gratitude I owe these well wishers. Dr. Frank Theodore Wilson, dean of men, Lincoln University, Dr. Philip Sheridan Miller, dean of college, Lincoln University, Mr. W. E. Byrne of 111 Wall Street, Mrs. Jesse Douglas, Father J. Lally, S.S.J. Port Arthur, Texas, for the encouragement and cheers they brought to my life during the mournful days of my brothers' illness which occurred nine months after our arrival in the United States. Their friendly assistance and sympathy gave me stability and composure of mind.

I am also indebted to the Rev. C. L. Van Norman, of the Methodist Church, Rev. McGraw, a devoted friend and well wisher whom I found not only a minister of religion, but also a minister to human ailments. He was instrumental in my entering New York University and has in many ways encouraged me to continue my studies. Along with him stands that young and liberal foresighted friend of mine, Dr. Balfour Bovell who aided me in the publication of this book.

To Mr. Price Bey, of the United Mutual Benefit Association, Mr. Matthews E. Gardiner, international organizer, Ethiopia World Federation, Dr. Edgar Sheffield Brightman, head of Department of Philosophy, Boston University, I express my wholehearted thanks for the many ways in which they have shown good will in my scholastic endeavor.

I must express my gratefulness to Mr. A. M. Wendell Malliet, who convinced me that my lectures were sufficiently intriguing, and should be put into book form. In acknowledgment of this incentive, I have appointed him to publish this book.

Of those to who I dedicate this book, I acknowledge

the inspiration which their lines have brought to me. It is the high esteem in which I hold them that has given me the distinguished pleasure of dedicating this book to them.

The opinions expressed in this book are entirely mine. The methods of approach have been deliberately pursued to suit the African temper.

KINGSLEY OZUOMBA MBADIWE

New York City
January 1, 1942.

INTRODUCTION

EUROPE is in the grip of madness. It is a fertile ground for mass hypocrisy, treachery, and murder. The thought that twenty-five years ago the situation was no worse than this, the bitterness that Africa was drawn into that international piracy called war, and the sadness that she is now cajoled into this present war, or say forced into it, have awakened in my mind the necessity of bringing before the world how the African feels about the whole situation.

I have felt that the world has been told so much about Africa by non-Africans that intelligent people all over the world are wondering why the African has never been able to speak for himself. I have always believed that Africa should be her own interpreter. Africa is best fitted to tell what her aspirations and grievances are.

The world today is divided into two antagonistic camps, the totalitarian and democratic. Each claims that its own philosophy and way of life is the one which should become the standard in the world. Each has designs and intentions in Africa. Just what these intentions are is the theme of this book.

The elaborate treatment of German history is not, however, a discussion of German history as such; rather it is deliberately addressed to African students and African peoples, so that none of them may believe

that if Hitler achieves world domination, in his triumph he may forget all he has said about the subject races and will then afford them kinder treatment. Such an idea is fantastic. To substantiate this I have made a survey of German history from its earliest time to find out what, at various stages has been the guiding philosophy of Germany. At no time have the Germans had a broad and enduring philosophy of life. Their creed is conquest and domination. The contact of Africa with such irresponsible people will mean spiritual doom and physical agony. As for England, her intention in theory is superb, but so far as practice is concerned, she is more than two centuries behind. England's problem is still one of the ideal as opposed to the practical.

This book is also addressed to the statesmen who will participate in the peace endeavor after the war. They should be critical of the past. The makers of the peace treaty of the last war completely forgot that twenty-three million men sacrificed their lives in order "to make the world safe for democracy." The attitude of these past peacemakers created a situation which precipitated this Second World War. How could they conceive of a sound peace when they deliberately forgot the colonial dependencies which were instrumental in winning the war? For neither Africa nor other colonial possessions, which sent millions of soldiers to the battle-fields, were represented at the peace conferences. The best that some of these colonial dependencies got was to be traded to new taskmasters, who were to train them to be self-governing citizens of the world. Such a pretension was hypocritical. How can European nations, which are completely devoid of any spiritual vitamins, whose selfishness, godlessness, and mass murders have paralyzed the world, be a guide to the peace-loving and spiritually-minded countries of Africa and India? We have

been traded because we have no arms to resist the decisions of the peace-makers.

Let the statesmen, therefore, be warned that so long as human slavery as expressed in colonial policies endures, no enduring peace can be achieved. Such a practice is a degradation of Christianity itself. It is a degradation of all things spiritual and moral, and a defeat of the human personality. To keep half of the human population in ignorance and let them languish in disease is treason against Divine Will. The statesmen must understand man and his aspirations if they wish to construct machinery for an enduring peace. They must give man, no matter what his lot, the opportunity to grow and enjoy the sunshine of life, if international co-operation is to be achieved. Unless the simple A B C of human personality is understood, there can be no end to the rising of people like Hitler in many other parts of the world.

Imperialism must go! This is a prerequisite to the security of the world. The human soul is too sensitive, and human nature too vindictive to be dominated. M. André de Blonay, Secretary of the International Student Service in Geneva, Switzerland, in his letter to the delegates of the I.S.S. Conference held in New York City in 1940, said:

"But we all know that this war which Europe has been forced into will solve no problems, that no one will win it, and that all countries, even though their armies are victorious on the battlefield, stand to lose in the tremendous fight which lies ahead of us unless peace is established on a sound basis. . . . Durable peace! — the world will need it after the present tragedy. The first condition is that it should be based, not on hatred and oppression, but on tolerance and mutual understanding."

The basis for tolerance and mutual understanding has long been established. The Christian Church laid

this foundation in its Ten Commandments. The world was, therefore, not left without a guide to the reign of order and peace! But our selfish leaders refuse to be guided by them. His Excellency, Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York said in his address at the Ninth National Eucharistic Congress, "The world has lost peace because these Commandments were flouted, and it can regain peace only through their observance and ascendancy."

Africa, then, offers the world a laboratory for the successful observance of the Commandments. For the European countries, in their lust for gold in the virgin soil and forests of Africa, forgot these Commandments. Africa accepted them and fused them with her own, and has since, despite the assault of European nations, remained peaceful. The gentle trails of human nature, now abandoned by many nations in the reposeful forests of Africa, must be allowed once more to permeate the war-like and material life of Europe. The statesmen must take heed. Let them weigh the warning which Emperor Haile Selassie left on the records of the League of Nations when his country was betrayed. He reminded the nations of the Golden Rule —to *do unto others as you would have them do unto you.*

Another section of this book is addressed to members of the British Empire of all races all over the world. The burning question of the hour concerns all of us, no matter what our status in the Empire is. We are all suffering for what we call a common cause. It is the effort of the writer to urge those who shape the destiny of that great Empire to mold its policy so that all can enjoy a common citizenship within it. They must subordinate self-interest and pride, and transform the idea of the British Empire into a working pattern of British Commonwealth. I want to see the British Empire live. I treasure the English language itself.

The African people treasure their connection with England, but the issues today involve cold, hard facts. It is now the duty of the youth of the Empire to survey the career of the British people, to find out where the link is loose, and then undertake to strengthen it. We can no longer leave the entire task to the statesmen. We are all entitled to a say in the Empire which we have so far sustained by untold misery and suffering. With a united front our aspirations can be a weight in peace which for centuries will determine the security and prosperity of the Empire.

As for me, to reconcile British victory and the future freedom of Africa with justice to all dependencies that come within the English confraternity, that shall be the line of my endeavor.

The position of the colonies must be clear to every member of the British Empire. The colonials, from a British official's point of view, are people who must be trained to stand on their legs. The officially declared principle is that "at any given time, the peoples of the Colonial Empire shall enjoy the maximum practicable amount of freedom." Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in 1939, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, said: "We cannot have one policy for the Dominions and a totally different policy for the Colonies."

Dr. W. B. Mumford, head of the Colonial Department of the Institute of Education of the University of London, explained that the African can stand on his own legs by steady education for self-government.

But these theories of British statesmen are all exhibits of parliamentary formality. These statesmen follow precedents and repeat what their predecessors left on the record. No one cares whether these enunciations are carried out in practice. How can they speak for the colonies when they make no attempt to understand the colonies and their sufferings? How

many of these statesmen have visited the countries they speak for? If the statesmen want their theories put into practice, why should not the royal instructions to the governors embody these principles?

The colonies today are at their lowest ebb. They are at the crossroads of civilization. Contact with Europe has caused them to banish their old ways of life and nothing better has been offered to replace them. As a result they are in a dilemma. They are promised heaven, but they are given hell. They are mis-educated; they languish in disease and ignorance. They have been robbed of their gold and their dignity. The rulers have lost contact with their people, and are now the wards of the conquerors. The welfare of their people is distant from their hearts because they now try only to propitiate the British overlords.

Why should this be? Why should there be one policy for the colonies and a different one for England? Why should not the English Constitution, one of the most remarkable documents in human history, a document which has vindicated to the world the versatility of the English mind, be made universal for all the colonies? Have the colonies been disloyal to the British cause? No! During the last war they fought with heroism. They condemned Hitler's designs uopn the Empire even before England was awakened to the danger. Throughout the length and breadth of Africa the response to fight Hitlerism to the very last drop of blood has no parallel. Why should England, then, alone enjoy the fruits of freedom while her colonials live in slavery?

During the contest between England and the colonies in North America, some members in both Houses of British Parliament were prepared to secede rather than endorse the government's policy of domination. They believed in freedom for all. Some of their addresses to the King during this period were most

significant. They were defiantly opposed to measures which did not have freedom as their basis. In their addresses they pointed out to the King that his throne could be made secure by introducing uniform justice and rights for all. Edmund Burke was one of the signatories of an address, which in part said:

> "Sir, your throne cannot stand secure upon the principles of unconditional submission and passive obedience, on powers exercised without the concurrence of the people to be governed; on acts made in defiance of their prejudices and habits; on acquiescence procured by foreign mercenary troops, and secured by standing armies. These may possibly be the foundation of other thrones: they must be the subversion of yours. . . ."
>
> Continuing they said, "Convinced, Sir, that you cannot have different rights and a different security in different parts of your dominions, we wish to lay an even platform for your throne; and to give it an unmovable stability, by laying it on the general freedom of your people; and by securing to your Majesty that confidence and affection in all parts of your dominions which makes your best security and dearest title in this the chief seat of your empire."

It is clear that for a long time statesmen imbued with British fair play desired to weld the nation into organic unity, but always those who have the executive authority think their dignity can be best maintained by subjugating those who come under their rule. It is not only the colonies they hurt, but also England.

The die is cast, and decision must be made. That decision calls for two things: either to emancipate the colonies whose subjugation and repressive treatment have brought only dishonor to us, who are members

of the Empire, or to introduce common citizenship within the Empire.[1] This means the universal adoption of the British Constitution throughout the Empire. This is a direct invitation for reform of British colonial policy. It is a gigantic task, and if we win this war, a Reconstruction Board of Experts composed of all the diverse elements of the Empire should be set up. This citizenship within the Empire will revitalize the benumbed soul of the colonies, and they will be assured of peace and prosperity in their own God-given land. To the English youth, mothers, and workers, security and happiness will be assured, without recurrent fear of bombing and fighting. Internationally, England will be looked upon as a great commonwealth, with a rule of law ordered by the people for the people. This will eliminate the question of "have" and "have-not" nations.

If the world will enjoy peace, if the world will be rid of people like Hitler, if our children and the generations unborn are to enjoy any measure of security, imperialism must go. In its place let confraternity thrive within the Empire. Let the diverse elements which make up the great Commonwealth live their own lives in their own way; let the peoples of the Commonwealth admire the diverse contributions each has to make and let them take the advantages and the unusual privilege which comes to their lives through intercourse and interdependent work leading to a common goal, service of humanity.

Let, then, the youth of the Empire hail this great tomorrow, whether they be black, yellow, white or brown. Thus England will herald a new era, an era of peace, international good will, and prosperity. This is a call to action. It must be done quickly. The British Constitution must be introduced in all parts of

[1] Before common citizenship can be in force, the colonies must enter this social alliance as independent nations, coming into such a covenant voluntarily.

the Empire and translated into the language of many tongues.

Meanwhile, my plea is that my people, in whatever place they may be, take up arms against Hitler and his regime. Africa must share the responsibility in defeating Hitler. If the defeat of Hitler were unnecessary, I would not hesitate one minute to declare it to my people. Their welfare is the first line of my responsibility. I have not hesitated to declare that England has failed us in discharging her responsibilities, but these mistakes are not an indication that Hitler's victory will right them; rather I say, that it will intensify and make them worse. England and the Germany of today have no points of comparison. England's mistakes are mistakes common to mortals.

We have indicated our grievances to England so that she can see that we are not pleased with her policies, and that, we the people of Africa urge reform. We do insist that the totalitarian practices in South Africa be stopped, if England and the Commonwealth are sincere to themselves and their avowed principles; that the bureaucratic governments in the colonies be replaced by representative governments. If these requirements are met, England shall still sail the Seven Seas of the world respected and unmolested. Her example shall be followed in all parts of the globe and she shall be looked upon as a Christian nation. And the colonial youth of the Empire shall say with pride, "We are among the members of the British Commonwealth."

If England remains obstinate in refusing to extend democracy to her colonies, she should then understand that she stands condemned in the judgment of public opinion. And once the world loses faith in Great Britain, the dark hour of doom must follow. Under such a dark sentence, Africa's faith and future hope shall pass away like a shadow. Europe shall be plunged into another Dark Ages! America will look for a

brighter day and will not see, for the light that lighted the world will then have gone out.

Therefore, my countrymen, in sincerity to myself and in obedience to the responsibilities I owe my country, I declare that in spite of England's faults, we must defend her if we will live. It is better for Africa to be made desolate than to begin anew under a new task master, be that power a totalitarian or another democracy. We have married ourselves to England, and divorce is not a way of African life. For good or bad we shall remain with England. Therefore, my people, in Africa and abroad, in anticipation for a New England and a New Empire, I declare war upon Hitler.

BRITISH AND AXIS AIMS IN AFRICA

NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES IN THE LISLE FELLOWSHIP
a Christian Service organization founded by the Rev. Dewitt C. Baldwin of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions.

SIR NANA OFORI ATTA
African statesman and diplomat of Gold Coast, in London

Chapter I.

AFRICA IN HISTORY

AFRICA is not a land of wild animals and savage people as it is believed to be by some people; rather, it is a strange land of a strange people. No historian can write the history of this people with any accuracy, for not one section in the entire continent is homogeneous either in culture or inhabitants. Everywhere, in every section of Africa, the fantastic and the real seem to intermix. But these people, whether acting in unison or sectionally, have left significant traces of their existence in the progressive march of human history.

Their past and the part they played in history, although realized only after labored research, is well defined. Their present role is not what it is judged to be; it is their resting period after an active part in the world for more than 7,000 years. No one can accurately predict the future of these pioneers of human intellect and human initiative, for so many around them are apparently wrapped in mystery. Their mode of living, their family plans, their habits and customs, their hospitality, all so irregular and yet so progressive, are still incomprehensible to the scientific minds of the West.

Most modern historians, no matter what efforts they have made to be objective, have given way to

prejudice. They admit only those things which can be utilized profitably in their American or European social, intellectual, or industrial advancement, and then either block the reader's mind to further search for truth or leave him in suspense.

Of all the sections in Africa, Egypt enjoys most credit for her achievements and contributions to human enlightenment and progress. She deserves it. She has left a testament of her contributions which no prejudice can obscure. Her mummies and monuments, obelisks and temples, papyri and clay tablets, pyramids and catacombs have stood after their originators have been dead for centuries; they have withstood all military assaults that were directed against Egypt by other contestants for world dominion; they have stood against every intellectual bias at one time or another, and today these wonders still remain indisputable specimens of human genius.

Why most historians segregate Egypt from the rest of Africa is a puzzle to Africans and their students of research. It is an unpardonable academic error. What is Europe must always be European, and what is Africa should be African. When Europe was still a barbarous country, Egypt was building cities, developing agriculture and initiating industry and commerce and since what we call the Middle- and the Far-East were yet to draw succor from Egypt, it is significant that the civilization of Egypt was sustained and manned by Africans in Africa. It is further evident that while Europe was in its most crude and wild stage, its people living in caves, and while the Far East was unknown, the materials of early Egyptian culture were entirely African, at least until the Pyramid Age. In the Reverend I. M. Webb's book, *The Black Man, the Father of Civilization*, it is shown that Biblical history maintains that Ancient Egypt, Abyssinia, Carthage, Phoenicia, Arabia, Morocco, Sudan, and all the North Afri-

can countries were originally the land of the Ethiopians or black race.

Even if historians refuse to see Egyptian culture as representative of what Africa has contributed to the world, we can point to other parts of Africa that, like Egypt, have made marvelous contribution. Examples, such as Malle, Ghana and Songhay, and Northern and Southern Nigeria will be discussed later. None of them, including Egypt, could lay sole claim to African culture. For a long period of time, from and before the Pyramid Age, significant, cultural movements were taking place in the entire continent of Africa. The most active part of the continent became so where the cultures intermixed. The materials were gathered from various sources, and the most convenient spot was selected to fuse and refine these materials. It may be, therefore, by accident that Egypt and other parts became unconsciously the cradles of world civilization.

Before we discuss the government, economics, and educational system of any one section of Africa prior to the advent of European vested interests, I will present an outline of Egyptian history, showing how the influence of other parts of Africa shaped its civilization, and showing the historical continuity of all parts of Africa from the ancient until the present. To demonstrate this influence I shall choose Nigeria, remote from Egypt, and call attention to its governmental, economic, and educational systems before the advent of the European. The history linking this country to ancient times will also be discussed briefly. Another section will point out the changes which have occurred since Nigeria's contact with Europeans.

The revival of interest among scholars in the cultural history of Africa must be attributed to the following historic incidents. The occupation of Egypt by Napoleon's army gave impetus to the active exploration of this country. In 1799 M. Boussard excavated the

Rosetta Stone. The victory of the British in 1801 made possible its transfer to the British Museum. In 1818 Jean Francois and Dr. Thomas Young discovered the key to the hieroglyphics, and later Champollion compiled a successful grammar. In 1897 at Negada, Thebes, M. de Morgan discovered the royal tomb of King Menes, the founder of the first dynasty of Egyptian kings. The expedition of Dr. Frobenius, a German archeologist and anthropologist to the West Coast of Africa and his discoveries in Benin and Ife in Nigeria show a clear similarity to Egyptian arts. This and other events as stated above, fired the inquiring minds of scholars and opened Africa to the most intensive academic inquiry of the age.

Egypt and Its Links. Some of the dates given in Egyptian history are very conflicting. For this reason I may be compelled in some places to give two dates, one following the other. About the forty-third century, B.C., Egypt made considerable progress in agriculture, domesticated animals, invented the first known calendar in the history of the world, and carried on irrigation. At this time Europe was unknown. During the first dynasty founded by Menes in 3360 B.C. (3400 B.C.), mining was developed. The fourth dynasty founded by Cleops opened the Pyramid Age 2900 B.C. —2400 B.C. (2980 B.C.—2475 B.C.), which lasted for 500 years:

1. This age saw the earliest known stone architecture of Imhotep.
2. Cleops or Khufu built the first and largest Pyramid tomb, which contained about 2,300,000, blocks covering thirteen acres, and each stone is said to have weighed two and a half tons.
3. The second Pyramid of Gizeh was built by Khafra.

4. The third Pyramid of Gizeh was built by Menkaura.
5. Progress was made in the working of copper and other metals.
6. Weaving and paper-making flourished.
7. Cabinet-making and ship-building flourished.
8. Sculpture was highly advanced.
9. Painting of reliefs in tombs and temples was prolific.
10. Sea expeditions were carried to Central Africa.

During this age the first contact of Egypt with the Central and Western Sudan was probably made. It was the period of foreign contact and trade with the Phoenicians. A great archeologist, in speaking of this period said: "The great Pyramid of Gizeh in mass and height and proportion is still unrivalled among the buildings that man has reared. The Sphinx, hewn out of the living rock, is one of the oldest and most wonderful of the creations of human genius. Nearly six millenniums have come and gone since pyramids were built, but its mechanical achievement is still unequalled. The writing in progress at this time has helped to estimate the wonderful mental capacity and material progress attained by them."

From the fifth dynasty we have the oldest collection of moral sayings in the world—the proverbs of Ptahhoteps—now in the National Library of Paris. From the fifth and sixth dynasties came the inscriptions that adorn the passages of the Pyramids. Where was Europe at this time?

The Feudal Age or Middle Kingdom 2000 B.C. (2160 B.C.) At this period we have the first known class system in the world: royalty, the nobility or landlords, and the commons. Perhaps this was the begin-

ning of capitalistic economy. Achievements during this period were:

1. Tombs, buildings, and monuments
2. Books on poetry, science, history and mathematics
3. The first known census in human history, to facilitate taxation
4. Improved and expanded irrigation
5. Commerce to Crete
6. Canal built from the Red Sea to Suez
7. Military expedition from Nubia to Asia.

At this stage, according to the Egyptian writer Manetho, Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos. The twelfth dynasty was opened by Amenehet I, at Thebes. Architecture and sculpture reached a high standard. Speaking of the kings of the Feudal Age, Dr. James Henry Breasted in his book *Ancient Times* said: "Thus nearly four thousand years ago they were already doing on a large scale what our government has only recently begun to do by its irrigation projects among our own arid lands." Europe was then still asleep.

The Empire Period 1580 — 1150 B.C. (1580 — 1350 B.C.)—230 *years*). The capital of the Empire was at Thebes. The most notable things at this period were:

1. The first organized military tactics in history including horses, archers and chariots.
2. The empire extended from Euphrates to fourth Cataract.
3. The great temple of Karnak built by Queen Hatshepsut, one of the greatest women in history.
4. Emperor Thutmore's military strategy recognized as among the best in history.

5. Religious reforms of Amenhoteps IV and Ikhnator, who originated the idea of monotheism. (Life after death and belief in judgment day were embodied in their thoughts.)

The nineteenth dynasty founded by Harmhab 1350-1205 B.C. (a period of 145 years) showed great advances in art. Ramses erected many structures, notably that of Pithom and Ramses. His mummy is now in the Cairo museum. Mernepath, son of Ramses, is supposed to be the Pharaoh of Exodus.

Ramses III founded the twentieth dynasty (1200—1090, 110 years). Ramses is one of the greatest military geniuses that ever occupied the throne of Egypt. He defeated the Libyan and Asiatic invaders. From 945—663 B.C., a period of 272 years, was the period of foreign invasions.

The Libyian, Sheshonk, Shishak of the Old Testament, established the twenty-second dynasty (1 Kings 14: 25-28). It was the period of plunder and pillage.

Period of Contact with Other African States. By 712 B.C. the Nubian-Ethiopians resisted the Libyan sword and established the twenty-fifth dynasty, a period of 49 years. This is the most significant period linking Egypt with other parts of Africa, because it shows that civilazations as virile as that in Egypt were in progress in many parts of Africa; otherwise the Nubian-Ethiopians could not have organized a successful attack and could not have established themselves on the throne of Pharaohs in the face of Assyrian attacks. These Ethiopian foreigners now sitting on the Egyptian throne must have carried away most of the Egyptian riches to adorn their native land, since it is natural that they should begin their charity at home. Their activities at this time must have touched South Africa, Central Sudan, and then most sections of West Africa. Benin and Ife must have been influ-

enced during this age. Many eminent archeologists have found similarities in Egyptian carvings with those of Benin and Ife. We can not say which of them copied from the other because originality is clearly marked in the art of each section under consideration; rather it would be more logical to assume that contact and mutual exchange of ideas were freely carried on between them. Anyhow, at no other period is the contact of Egypt with other parts of Africa more clearly marked than during the twenty-fifth dynasty. Most authorities are agreed on this.

Dr. J. B. Danquah, native of the Gold Coast, writing a foreword to a study of African civilization published by Mr. Ladipo Solanke, barrister-at-law, and native of Lagos, Nigeria, said:

> "By the time the first of the Aryan conquerors were learning the rudiments of war, and by the time Athens was laying down the foundation of modern European civilization, the earliest and greatest Ethiopian culture had already flourished and dominated the civilized world for over four centuries and half. Imperial Ethiopia had conquered Egypt and founded the twenty-fifth dynasty, and for four centuries and a half the central seat of civilization in the known world was held by the ancestors of the modern Negro, maintaining and defending it against the Assyrian and Persian Empires of the East. Thus at the time when Ethiopia was leading the civilized world in culture and conquest, East was East but West was not, and the first European [Grecian] Olympiad was not yet to be held. Rome was nowhere to be seen on the map, and sixteen centuries were to pass before Charlemagne would rule in Europe and Egbert became the first king of England. Even then, history was to drag on for another seven

hundred weary years, before Roman Catholic Europe could see fit to end the Great Schism, soon to be followed by the disturbing news of the discovery of America and by the fateful rebirth of the youngest of world civilizations. All these periods Africa was feeding the barbarious Europe with cultures, intellectual and material, which were yet to startle the world with its intellectual and physical fluidity."

The twenty-fifth dynasty did not close the history of Egypt, nor was there an end to the contributions which Africa made to world civilization. There were other noticeable periods in history which followed, showing the link of Africa with the Far East. Africa was penetrating deep to drink from the waters of the River Jordan and to embrace the hills and pastures of Palestine and to bring the blessings of its culture to them. It was trying also at this period to learn from the culture of others. Isolation was out of the question. Babylonia was no longer asleep. History must keep its onward march, and moreover, the history of mankind is a tale of expansion and consolidation.

Babylonia was lighted from the glowing light of Egypt. The Chaldeans were already awake. The Persians were already watching the human drama with its headquarters in Egypt. The subtle minds of the Greeks were already putting their house in order and preparing for the struggle to live. In the midst of these movements Psamtik I founded the twenty-sixth dynasty (662—525 B.C.), forced out the Assyrian garrisons, and made a determined attempt to revive Egyptian ancient culture and learning. His successors became engrossed in politics and weakened their own governmental structure.

According to the Old Testament, Necho, son of Psamtik, slew Josia, King of Judah (2 Kings: 23:9),

in the latter's attempt to check him in his assistance to Assyria in the Babylonian struggle. The reign of Necho is further interesting in the link which it bore to other parts of Africa. We are informed that at this period the military caste of Egypt migrated to Ethiopia, and that Pharaoh Necho, who took the reign of office in 617—601 B.C., sent out the Phoenicians in his service to circumnavigate Africa. Hanno, a Carthaginian, in a fleet consisting of 60 quinquireines with 30,000 persons, succeeded in founding colonies in West Africa. By this time iron and ivory had passed in great quantity to Egypt. The rest of Africa, therefore, influenced Egyptian culture to a very great extent. Egypt cannot claim sole autonomy of her cultures.

In 525 B.C., Camlyses defeated Psamtik III, and Egypt became a Persian province. During the reign of Darius, Egypt prospered and flourished. In 331 B.C., Alexander the Great defeated the Persians and Greece dominated Egypt until his death in 323 B.C. Then came the Ptolemies, who ruled for 292 years. During this time Alexandria, built by the energy, foresight, and wisdom of the Greeks, became the center for learning and culture. The Jews made it a center from which they could drink of the fountain of knowledge. Mr. S. J. Hogben in his book *The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria,* said of Alexandria: "The Museum at Alexandria was the first scientific institution founded and supported by a government. Here was collected a great body of learned scientists who devoted their lives to research. Euclid, whose geometry is used today in our schools, was an Alexandrian mathematician. Other notable men of the age were Archimedes, the famous scientist, Aristarchus, the astronomer, who demonstrated that the earth and the planets revolve around the sun, Eratosthenes, who rightly calculated the size of the earth, and Aristotle, one of the greatest philosophers. Let it suffice to say

that under Greek influence the Mediterranean world emerged from barbarism and evolved a hitherto unequalled standard of living."

During the Hellenistic Age, Egypt and other parts of Africa were enriched by the fertile culture of the Greeks. During the Roman occupation in the reign of Augustus many contributions were made. Egypt became not only the granary of Rome, but also the heart of its culture. Roads were built and many other institutions to facilitate trade and commerce were founded.

Then came the Christian Church, which also had its foundation in Africa, at least during its first five centuries. For during this time there were not less than 300 African bishops managing the North African church. We are familiar with the names and history of these mighty Christian fathers of the early churches, most of whom were pure Africans, namely, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and St. Athanasius, who influenced the adoption of the Nicene Creed, and was also instrumental in the founding of Christianity in the south of Egypt and part ofSudan in A.D. 330. St. Anthony was an Egyptian hermit. St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in Africa, was an author of many letters, commentaries, sermons, and theological works; probably the most widely known are his *Confessions* and *The City of God.*

In Europe, Christianity had not gained much influence except in Greece and Rome. Great Britain, France, and Germany had not yet been given the opportunity to decide on the new doctrine. The civilized portion of the globe comprised North Africa, Abyssinia, parts of Sudan and what we know today as West Africa. As far as Europe is concerned, civilization embraced Greece and Rome and some parts of the Roman Empire. Africa still remained the center of culture and learning, even when the power of Rome

and its empire was greatly shaken by the invasion of Germanic tribes. Africa was the base upon which the assault was initiated. The Vandals founded the City of Carthage and enriched it with plunder from Rome. Using Africa as the source of economic power, a successful attack on Rome was waged. With the Germanic Empire of the West, progress ceased. Confusion and lawlessness became the order of the day. The German conquerors had nothing to offer in the place of Roman culture.

Ataulf, the greatest of them, had no ideas; he himself said: "It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic Empire, taking to myself the place and the power of Caesar Augustus. But when experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, . . . I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power which it was beyond my ability to replace." This great confession of Ataulf confirms that the conquerors had nothing to offer, and secondly that the Germans were lawless. The old Roman schools disappeared, or were represented only by new monastic schools with meager instruction. Europe was plunged into the Dark Ages. By this time Africa had witnessed a rebirth from Islamic influence. It was then the seat of culture and learning. What was lost to Europe she gained. Her trade and commerce flourished. Spiritually, she was well fitted. She conserved all that was pure and holy. Europe now turned to Africa to save her from the Dark Ages. By A.D. 711 the Moors had crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, conquered and occupied Spain and the South of France, and dominated those areas for more than 700 years. It was at this time that Africa carried her civilizing mission to other

parts of Europe and taught them for the first time the doctrine of universal humanity.

From these facts some conclusions about ancient civilization should be drawn. A contrast also is apparent between ancient and modern civilization. Africa, no doubt, began the pioneering work in the evolutionary life of mankind. From what has transpired since then we know that history was destined to be circuitous and cyclic. Babylonia, Media, and Persia took over and lost to Greece. Greece became the co-ordinator of the surviving endeavors of these past empires and further improved on them by the touch of an artistic hand. Rome took over and became an organizer and distributor. Islam also distributed civilization wherever it propagated its religion. One thing we cannot fail to admire in ancient civilization is that each country which rose to power tried to place at the disposal of the less favored country all that its genius could give. There was ambition to rise, and also ambition to give. It, therefore, seems that the greatness of a country in those days depended upon what it was capable of giving. Greece never hesitated to make Alexandria a greater city of culture and learning. Rome improved on it and extended its influence. Islam brought to Europe the best it had to give.

The Rosetta Stone, excavated by F. M. Boussard in 1779, bore witness to the generous ambition of the ancient empires. This stone contained the eulogy of the Egyptian priests to King Ptolemy Epiphanes written in the Greek and Egyptian languages. It tells us that this king "was pious towards the gods, ameliorated the life of man, was full of generous piety, and showed forth with all his might his sentiments of humanity." The past empires were, therefore, eager to prove to their subjects that they were able to offer them more than they could achieve left to themselves. It was an era of philanthropic civilization, a civilization

conditioned by the Beatitude: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." It is on this principle that modern and ancient civilization part company.

Modern civilization is not civilization at all, but a system of exploitation. Each nation tries to draw the life blood of another for its own selfish satisfaction. Europe began it. The East freely gave, the West cheerfully monopolized. The free process of give and take which had its foundation in the East was no longer practiced. This exploitative civilization reached its climax at the Berlin Conference of 1885. Before this time Egypt had been raped by France and then England. The Berlin Conference was dressed as a civilizing mission which would bring freedom, enlightenment, civilization, and Christian love to the African people. The sentences in articles six and nine, which pointed to this altruistic notion, read:

> "All the powers exercising sovereign rights, or having influence in the said territories, undertake to watch over the preservation of the native races, and the amelioration of the moral and material conditions of their existence, and to cooperate in the suppression of slavery, and above all of the slave trade; they will protect and encourage, without distinction of nationality or creed, all institutions and enterprises . . . tending to educate the natives, and lead them to understand and appreciate the advantages of civilization . . . . Liberty of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the natives."

What happened? The world believed in the declaration of these powers. No one questioned their intentions. Africa was suspicious but the world was too busy to give heed. Scarcely had the Berlin Conference completed its deliberations, than the ideologies and "goals" of the civilizing masters became deflected. The

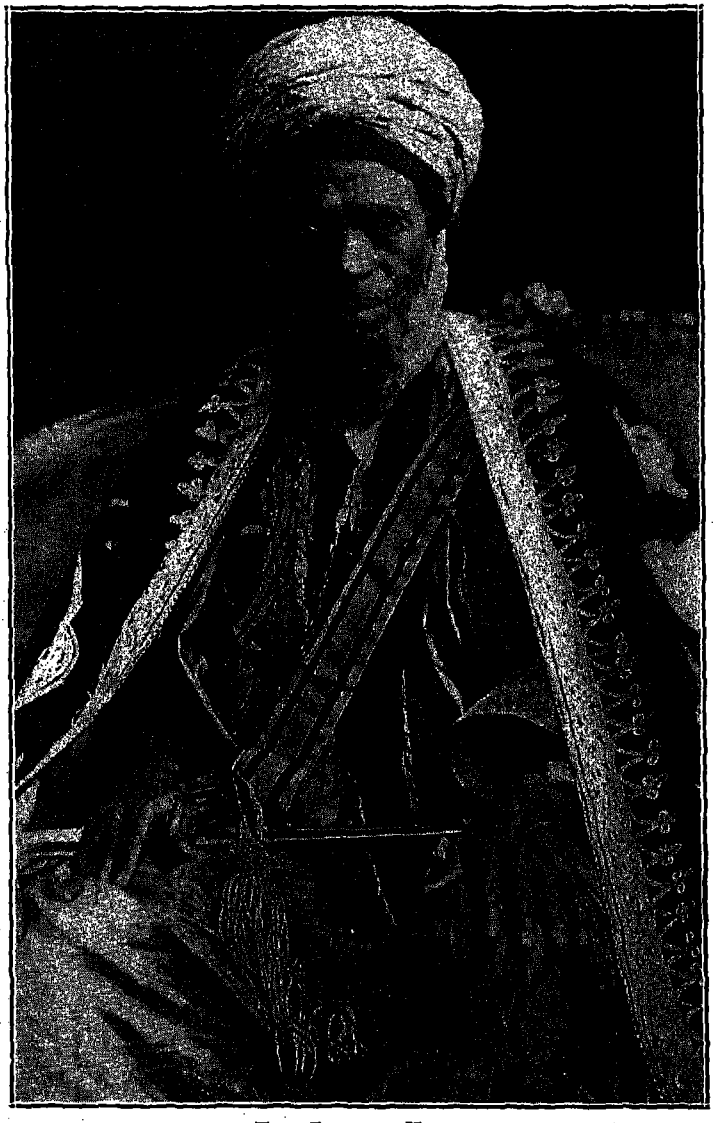
goal which they unanimously agreed to work toward was interpreted by each power to suit its own selfish needs. Even the signatories of this final act arrived at at the Berlin Conference viewed each other, as time went on, with suspicion and envy. In 1914, they lay betrayed before the world, and their spiritual bankruptcy was no longer a hidden matter. The powers which had taken a sacred covenant now faced each other with machine guns, devastating bombs, and poison gas—in the most deadly conflict ever witnessed in human history. Crime, hate, fear, suspicion, artificial nationalism, and egoism were the residue. Africa, the would-be beneficiary of the fruits of European civilization, saw barbarism at its worse, saw Christianity degraded. If Africa and Asia had borne the brunt of the war entirely, perhaps the world would have been indifferent to what happened. Not Africa alone, but the entire world suffered.

What civilization, then, can war mongers, murderers, gangsters, and exploiters give to the peoples of Africa, whose minds for years have been disciplined by the thought of universal brotherhood of mankind? What civilization, then, can people who have become enigmas and betrayers to themselves give to a people whose moral code is still the highest in the world? What religion can people who have used the very Christian religion to exploit other people give?

The Europeans tell Africa, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth," but they seize alien lands for themselves. They say: "Love thy neighbor as thyself," yet these same people rob their neighbors of their gold. While they are with us they say, "God bless you, hospitable people," but once they set foot out of Africa they wage merciless propaganda against us. This is done to divert the attention of the world from the place where they commit robbery and murder. With the Bible in one hand and a gun in the other they

rob Africa of valuable possessions, check freedom of information to keep her in darkness and ignorance. They question the causes of war, while daily they commit acts that lead to war. They talk of enduring peace while actually paving the way for another war.

How can these people, who have shown utter disregard for all things spiritual and moral, fully develop the great continent of Africa? The people who first taught them the rudiments of the alphabet, they now call ignorant. The people who covered their nakedness with clothing, they show naked. The people who supply them with the very means of exchange, they show wretched and mock to scorn. The people who taught them the art of Christian love, they show to be heartless and call them heathen. These invaders have ruined our homes, brought deceit and duplicity into our domestic life, taught our women ignoble practices, and introduced divorce. They have saturated our mouths with untruth and ruined our moral insight. They have transgressed against the laws and ordinances of the land and created artificial barriers to check progress. They have robbed our kings and nobles of their wealth to enrich their own princes, and our princes have become a laughing stock. They accuse us of ignorance and refuse us education. They preach democracy and deny us freedom of speech and freedom of conscience.



THE EMIR OF KATSINA
a ruler of one of the provinces of Northern Nigeria and one of the most enlightened African statesmen.

His Excellency Edwin Barclay

President of the Republic of Liberia, patron of industry and higher education, and one of the great men of the New Africa.

Chapter II.

THE AFRICAN EMPIRES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

WHEN Egypt had waned in power, and when Greek culture had no longer a distributing center but scattered here and there, and when Rome's creative hands had been blasted to coldness by both seen and unseen forces, and her grandeur held no longer a fascinating picture to the world: in short, when Western civilization was tottering to its fall, Africa was incubating, preparing herself for the intake of the civilization of which its abandonment by the West was no longer a matter of speculation.

In this regard Europe's loss was to be Africa's gain. That gain did come. That gain was Africa's. Africa under these auspicious circumstances, therefore, developed a civilization on all her coastal seaboards, saw her deserts teem with life as camels convoyed goods from the central Sudan to the far northern reaches of Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli. The history and account of this African civilization makes interesting reading. From the earliest times the country which now comprises Northern Nigeria, the central and western Sudan, derived its civilization from two sources, East and West.

With the death of the Emperor Justinian in the sixth

century, the Eastern Empire, which bloomed luxuriantly during the days of Emperor Constantine, with the Imperial Flag hoisted at Byzantium, had reached its lowest ebb in civilization. It had degenerated. Its decay coincided with the new religion of Islam founded and propagated by Mohammed. On the death of Mohammed his successor conquered Egypt and Syria from the successor of Justinian. They did not stop there, but marched against the Persian Empire. Their success led them to establish the Ommeyad Dynasty with an impressive capital at Damascus.

In A.D. 750, the descendants of Abbas, who claimed to be an uncle of the prophet, expelled the Ommeyads from the capital, but these Abbassids made Bagdad their capital. One of the Ommeyads succeeded in founding a rival capital in Spain (711) through the military genius of an African Tarik who established victory over Roderic at Guadalette.

Now we have two Arab kingdoms of the East and West. It is the civilization in these two centers that found its way into all parts of Africa; in West Africa the civilization found its way via Sudan. It is interesting to observe that Western Sudan absorbed the civilization of the West by the western route, and the East Central Sudan did so by the eastern route. The jealousy, the rivalry, and conflicting forces between the West and East helped to awaken the dormant energies in all corners of Africa. Africa answered these external stimuli by action and initiation. In the western region of the Sudan grew up the Wanagara kingdoms of Ghana and Malle; in the east the semi-Berber kingdom of Kanem. It must me remembered here that remarkable advancement had been made in these regions before this time, although we have no tangible evidence of it. But as far as historical evidence is concerned, the northern shores of the Sudan had been explored by Phoenecians about 2000 B.C., as had also

the West Coast of Africa as far as the Senegal River.

It must also be understood that during this Islamic world domination and conquest Africans and materials from Africa played a decided role, whether it was war and consolidation in the West, or war and consolidation in the East. In A.D. 758 Abdurrahman established another Ommeyad dynasty at Cordova, Spain. This Caliphate was deposed by Mansurb Illah, who owed his position to the support of the African troops. This can give some idea of the active part taken by Africans in the Arabian drama of conquest and consolidation. Mr. S. J. Hogben, in his book *The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria*, mentions that the Western Sudan was roughly divided into four natural areas. According to him, starting from the west there was the country southwest of the Senegal River, and that was supposed to be the original home of Jolops; secondly, by the country to the northeast of this river, comprising the ancient kingdom of Ghana; thirdly, the area enclosed by the bend of the Niger occupied by the Songhays, and destined to bow to the conquering dynasty of Malle; and lastly the countries to the east of the Niger up to Lake Chad, later to be known as the Hausa States.

Interdependence existed between these peoples and those bordering the Mediterranean, north and west.

The Kingdom of Ghana. Ghana was an African kingdom of considerable importance and development. The capital of this ancient kingdom was Ghanata. It lay west of Timbuktu. It is said that the people of this kingdom originated from the Persians and that their first kings were white rulers. Whence these people came, or whether they had been under white kings, is immaterial; all we know is that Ghana was an African kingdom, developed and sustained in African soil. Whatever external influences it enjoyed, or whatever contributions it might have had from these external

influences, directly or indirectly, does not and did not separate Ghana from Africa and African traditions. Contact is natural; in fact it is the initiator of civilization. With the possible exception of Egypt, no empire, ancient, medieval, or modern, attained its height uninfluenced by other empires, nations, or peoples.

We are told by some authorities that the early rulers of Ghana were white races. This we can neither affirm nor deny, because the authorities themselves are not sure: in ancient times there existed no racial demarcation in Africa. In such a land of racial mixture and universal confraternity, white leadership is not impossible. In A.D. 1067 a powerful Sudanese king, Tenkamenin, ruled over Ghana. The custom of burial which prevailed in this ancient kingdom was widespread over Africa. When a king or any noble died, he was buried with his chief servants and many slaves, and many articles which were considered necessary for his use in the next world. Here, a belief in life after death was manifest. During the Ghanatan period, trade flourished. Commercial and social relations were maintained with the North African countries. Exports of Ghana included gold, slaves, skins, ivory, cola-nuts, gum, honey, cotton, maize, and corn. Ghana grew very prosperous. New methods and ideas in agriculture were introduced. Prosperity was not a blessing to Ghana. It made her lose her balance. In 1240, Ghana was attacked by King Sosso and eventually the Wangara army destroyed her power.

Kingdom of Malle. Malle is a land on the bend of the Niger. It is likely that its kings received Islam from Abubaker's almoravids. Malle came to eminence around about the thirteenth century, when King Sata defeated King Sosso and captured Ghana. In this wise, Ghana became a Malle province. There was a king of Malle worthy of special notice, King Mansa

Musa. Musa was noted for his insight, organization, and statesmanship. He consolidated all the conquests which his kingdom achieved and introduced central government and provincial administration, which acted in accordance with the plans worked out by the central government.

On no one topic have authorities so unanimously agreed as on the account of Mansa Musa's celebrated pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324. This extreme display of power, wealth, pomp, and a pageantry, which authorities noted in Musa, is common among African kings. A king's fame is gauged by the followers and pomp of his court and by outside contacts. It will be of interest to know that as late as June, 1941, the governor of Nigeria, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, appealed to the western rulers of Nigeria to make less display of pomp and pageantry when attending their Western Ruler's Conference, because of the war and its large financial demands. Therefore, Musa's pilgrimage and pomp were not new in Africa. We learn that Musa had sixty thousand followers, and that in order to meet the expenses, eighty camels were loaded with gold. This proved to be insufficient, and a loan had to be made.

Mr. S. J. Hogben tells us that the brilliance of Musa's escort and entourage was unequalled, and that his visit made a profound impression throughout the Muslin world. Hogben also relates that his audience chamber was a costly affair of stone and plaster, decorated and embellished with gold and silver plated on wood. During this period trade with North Africa increased enormously. Credit systems among traders were established. New roads were built and old ones improved. Musa was determined to improve the productive resources of the country, and, indefatigable, he tried his best.

In 1469 Malle was captured by Sonni Ali. Ibn

Batuta, a celebrated traveler, observed that the judicial system was separated from the executive. Thieves were rare and the maintenance of order was good. It was said that the Malle Empire extended to the north. The army was well organized and properly equipped. It consisted of cavalry and infantry well officered and trained. The empire was in touch with many other parts of Africa, east, south, and west. The Kanem Empire was then beginning to develop. Bornu in Northern Nigeria was by this time alive to the activities of the central and north African coasts. Even before this time it was recorded that in 1237 a deputation from Kamen and Bornu came to the Hapside Court of Tunis, bringing with it a giraffe which aroused wonder and admiration.

The Songhay Empire. The Songhay Empire was Africa's proudest. Its resources were immeasurable, its extent was far reaching and embracing, its kings and chiefs were endowed with insight, which enabled them to draw the "brain energy" from many parts of Africa. The Songhay Empire has been called a "pair of African Brains." Many authorities believe that its first king, Sa Alayaman, migrated from Egypt. The kings of Songhay comprised three dynasties: the Ea, the Sonni, and the Askia. By 1009 Islam had filtered into the empire. It was, we are told, accepted by Sa Kosoi.

The glorious days of Songhay began with the reign of Sonni Ali. Whatever may be said of this personage, tribute is due him for his wisdom in improving the standard of living and general culture of the empire. That period dated 1465-92. During this time Timbucktu was conquered and all its intellectual resources were placed at the disposal of Songhay.

Not one of the African empires measured up to Songhay either in political, economic or intellectual resources. It will not be exaggeration to say that Song-

hay was the synthesis of the African empires. These resources she carried far and wide, throughout Africa. She embraced Northern Nigeria, which in turn spread the name of Songhay throughout the Yoruba and Ibo lands. In no period in the history of Africa were exploits and adventures for intellectual and economic purposes so outstanding as in this period.

Whatever may be said of the tyranny of Sonni Ali, we know that during his reign Sankore University in Timbucktu produced great scholars and men of science. The accounts we have show that Al Hadj Ah-med went to Mecca in 1485 and on his return visited Kano and other Sudanese cities. The temper in which this account was written showed no excitement when a person went from Sudanese cities to Kano. This establishes the fact that there were intimate contacts between the Sudanese and those cities on her border. The allurement must have been that of trade, which means that the exchange of property between these people must have been common. Also scholars thirsting for knowledge must have crossed to northern parts of Nigeria or to Gambia, Dahomey, or the Gold Coast. The cotton and skins of Northern Nigeria could not have failed to attract attention of the industrial magnates of Songhay.

The accounts of the students of Sankore still continue to be of interest. Makhluf ben Ali, a scholar and a geographer, traveled throughout Sudan. Aida Ahmed, when he returned from Mecca, settled in Katsina, where he was honorably treated and was made a judge. The story of Ahmed must not pass without comment. The honor which was accorded him at Katsina showed how Africa respected knowledge in anyone, irrespective of his birth or origin. The African believes that you cannot invest a person with wisdom, for Africans associate wisdom with character, integrity, and hon-

esty. Muhammed ben Mahmed ben Abukr was celebrated and became immortalized for his generosity.

The extent of Sonni Ali's conquest was far-reaching. He had the command of the whole of the great waterway of the Sudan and the middle Nigeria; and built a canal from Timbucktu to Aiwalatim. Sonni Ali owed a lot to the advice and devotion of his able African Prime Minister, Muhammad Abubakr. At the death of Sonni Ali, Abubakr proclaimed himself king and formed the Askia dynasty, 1495—1591.

Askia was a person of a wonderful personality. He worked with diligence and devotion for the betterment of his empire. He created a standing army, encouraged trade and commerce and introduced a system of market inspectors. During this remarkable period goods found their way to the great empire of Songhay and beyond that to all parts of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and many sections of East Africa.

The political systems introduced by Askia, which became the accepted pattern for Northern Nigeria emirates and even Yoruba and Benni kingdoms, were well marked. The empire was divided into four provinces, with appointed governors chosen from the royal family or married to its princesses with the object of strengthening the bonds of royalty and mutual concord. The Oriental customs which are prevalent in many sections of Africa can be well accounted for: Askia introduced Oriental customs throughout his empire, and the Hausa States were a part of the empire.

With the division of the empire into provinces came the necessity for the study of law; systems of banking and credits were improved; spacious buildings of fine design began to rise; dresses were made more elegant —in short, the Sudan absorbed the refining influences of the Mediterranean. Learning and culture began to spread like wild fire. The University of Sankore became a great center of learning. Professors and

scholars from Spain, Italy, and from the Universities of Fez, Tunis, and Cairo came in large numbers to undergo intellectual rebirth. Everybody thirsted for knowledge, and Timbucktu became the fountain from which their thirst could be quenched. The libraries were priceless and available to all.

The "Intellectual Renaissance" in Africa, which swept over all Europe and Asia, was even more sweeping than the European Renaissance of 1543. The former was expansive, the latter limited. The rulers of and around Songhay did not only patronize education, but they went themselves to drink from Timbuktu's fountain of knowledge. The rulers rubbed shoulders with rich and poor alike in a common search after knowledge. Self-knowledge was the keynote of these universities. A man must have the power to express himself. The subjects mostly taught were rhetoric, eloquence, diction, logic and grammar.

The military exploits of Askia's chief general, Omar, were remarkable. He penetrated Northern Nigeria and captured Katsina and Zaria.

The Moorish Conquest—1590. The end of Songhay was near when the war-drum of the Moors resounded at its gates. The rulers of Morocco could not look with complacency on the wealth and prosperity of Songhay. Two reasons, politics and economics, account for the growing Moorish dissatisfaction with the ruler of Songhay. Unless Songhay was humbled, the influence and affluence of Morocco would never be felt. The Sultan of Morocco wanted to possess for himself the Tegazza salt. This ambition could only be accomplished with the defeat of Songhay. With the Moorish triumph in Songhay all things that once kept Songhay in the forefront of the world and its subjects were destroyed. Thus began the era of Dark Ages in Africa. All communication between Spain and North Africa was suddenly cut off. For three centuries

Sudan was closed to civilization, and it was not until European merchants began to find an outlet for their surplus capital, that the Sudan was entered through the river Niger.

European Discoveries in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. For three centuries the Sudan, including Northern Nigeria, was shut off from the civilized world. As a result of this, piracy and lawlessness were rampant. Nothing more was heard about these countries which once held the world's spotlight with their contributions and achievements.

Europe again came to life. She awoke refreshed after many years of darkness. Her youth were imbued with the desire for exploits and adventure. New hope brought with it new desires. This time it was desire to live luxuriously, a desire which brings with it the spirit of acquisitiveness—of taking and not giving. Scientific and geographic discoveries of the fifteenth century had encouraged daring adventures, adventures which were only inspired by procurement of bread and butter. The Portuguese led the way. In 1445 the Portuguese discovered Cape Verde, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and on the west Coast of Africa they established Fort Elimina.

In 1492, Columbus, starting from Canary Islands, discovered the West Indies. In 1499 through the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco da Gama reached Calcutta. In 1553 trading expeditions to Benin by English merchants were recorded. In 1795 Mungo Park set out to trace the course of the river Niger, reaching it in 1805 with seven others. In 1822 Clapperton and Dentam, starting from Tripoli, reached Bornu; Clapperton toured Kano and Sokoto. In 1830 Richard Lander reached Brass. In 1851 Lagos was reduced by a British naval force. In 1882 The Royal Niger Company was formed and treaties were concluded with many kings. These treaties were the foundation of

the British Protectorate of Nigeria. In 1900 Nigeria was administered by the Colonial Office. In January, 1914, the colonies and protectorates of Southern Nigeria amalgamated with the protectorate of the North.

CHAPTER III.

AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS BEFORE CONTACT WITH WESTERN POWERS

THE PREVIOUS chapters have dealt with the part Africa played in world civilization. Her contributions have been subjected to many misrepresentations, and in many instances they have not been credited to Africa. In consequence she has suffered many injustices. She is denied the liberty to pursue the ordinary course of her own life; she is on the black list of the world. Worst of all, she is robbed, and being robbed, yet asked not to make any protest. What actually does the world know about this people? Nothing, beyond the label of "a lazy, backward people." Although all pressure is brought to bear against this continent, yet its oppressors have their share of the suffering.

The oppressors sow the seed of deceit, and the harvest they reap is war! War makes the world unsafe for human life, whether it be defensive or offensive war. Does the exploitation of Africa compensate for all the sufferings and anguish undergone by the exploiters? Does the balance sheet of African venture show a credit or debit balance? Is the effort in this adventure worth it? If the produce is not worth the labor, it is high time for all concerned in the African adventure to lay bare the truth to the world. Let them

tell exactly what Africa is and what her potentialities and capabilities are. There is no need begging the question in African affairs. Writers have been grossly guilty of paternalism when dealing with African affairs. Patronage in matters of vexing importance to the world is puerile, indeed very weak. Tell us what the people have done, what they can do, and the necessary things they require in order to accomplish their objective.

This chapter will give in brief an outline of the African institutions, limiting the discussion to politics, economics, education, and general culture, before her second contact with the Western Powers.

I say second contact because during the ancient and medieval periods Africans had much contact with the West. Each influenced the other in philanthropic confraternity. The second contact came with the acquisitive spirit, the spirit of domination and conquest. In such a spirit the acquisitors have not seen the best cultural development in their victims. They, being thoroughly propagandists, have educated the world to understand that their victims are the white man's burden and must be educated in the ways of the West. They have blocked every avenue whereby the world could be told the truth.

This chapter will deal with the political, economic, educational, and the cultural institutions as they were set up in Nigeria, West Africa. What is true of these institutions set up in Nigeria may, in a limited sense, be true of other localities in the east, south or north of Africa. Whatever differences there may be will be more a matter of specific detail than of general significance.

Nigeria is the second largest British dependency after India. It has a population more than twice as large as that of any other unit in the British Empire, with the exception of the United Kingdom itself and

India. With an estimated area of 372,674 square miles (including the mandated territories of the Cameroons) it has a population of over 28,000,000 souls. Its two notable seasons are the dry and the rainy. It has also a plateau, which has a temperate climate. Lagos, which is the capital and the seat of the government, is popularly known as the Liverpool of West Africa.

The people of Nigeria, due to linguistic, cultural, and other differences, cannot be said to be "one people," a people bound by a common language and the same customs. Nevertheless, the different ethnic groups may be found to be parts of an original stock. During the dawn of nationalism in Africa, and especially in West Africa, everything is done to help the people to overcome these differences.

As the languages vary, so the customs and institutions of the people vary. Of course, similarity can always be found. People bound by the same languages and similarity of custom group themselves into a tribe. There are ten main tribes or tribal groups throughout Nigeria. According to official records of Nigeria, the population of each tribe is as follows*:

Hausa	3,604,016
Yoruba	3,166,154
Kanuri	930,917
Munchi	573,605
Nupe	326,017
Ibo	3,172,789
Fulani	2,025,189
Ibibio	749,945
Edo	507,810
Ijaw	156,324

The major languages of these people are Yoruba, Edo, Ijaw, Ibo, Ibibio and Hausa.

*I do not agree entirely with these official figures.

In the northern provinces the people are mostly of the Mohammedan religion. The majority of the people in the northern provinces are the Hausas. We are familiar with the Seven Hausa States during the glorious days of Sudan civilization, when the empires of Ghana, Malle, and Songhay flourished with great exhibits of intellectual and spiritual vision. It was from these great empires that the Hausa States drew inspriction, except for Bornu, which drew its inspiration from Kanem. Islam and Oriental customs entered the Hausa States via the Sudan. Since the civilization which nourished the Sudan was highly refined, and since it is the same civilization that was re-introduced to Europe to restore her from the dark ages, and since the Hausa States (and that is the northern provinces of Nigeria) tasted of this civilization before it found its way into Europe, it can be safely concluded that Europe, apart from the benefits which contact brings and apart from enlarged vision which mutual exchange of idea promises, has nothing to offer the Hausa people. These peoples have and had developed a civilization if not by far superior to what the Western powers individually or combined can offer, at least equal to it.

Kano, from the point of view of history, industry, and commerce, is one of the well known of the Seven Hausa States, or in these modern times of the Northern Nigeria provinces. We are told that about the tenth century A.D., there took place an influx of foreigners from the East to Kano. As legend would have it, they came from Bagdad via Bornu and they introduced the horse into Hausaland. Islam began to filter through to Hausaland from Malle. The walls of Kano City (Kano proper until this time was enclosed by walls) were begun by the third Emir of Gijimasu about the twelfth century and were completed by the fifth Emir Yusa.

Kano of today is an impressive city with about

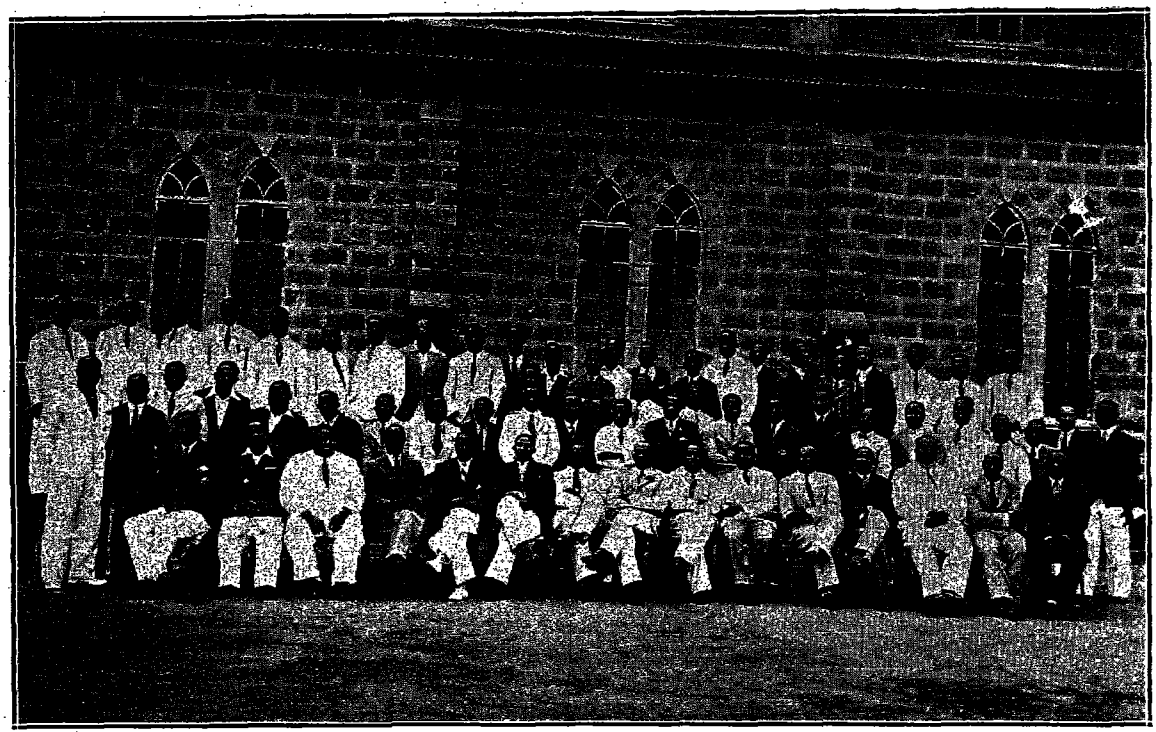
2,000,000 people. Before the advent of the white man, Kano, like the rest of the Hausa States, was ruled by its own Emir. Although Sokoto claimed to be overlord over the entire Hausa States there is no doubt that had things followed their natural courses the Hausa States could have come under one supreme ruler. The natural course was distributed by English conquest.

Government. The types of government in the principal emirates of Northern Nigeria were very similar. Since Northern Nigeria is a Mohammedan country, and since religion influences the government to a certain extent, we can expect similar governments in most of the emirates. This was true before the arrival of England, and similar native administrative policies are adopted today in most if not in all emirates of Nigeria.

The Northern Nigerian emirates reached a very high degree of constitutional government before the arrival of England. In fact, as far as government by the people and for the people is concerned, England has not introduced anything better than the Hausa States had.

What was the relation between the government and the governed? The people were divided into four distinct classes: the royalty, the nobility, the commons, and the slaves. The Emir, or in Sokoto the Sultan, was in most cases of the royal class and was at the head of the government. Where the Emir resided became the central quarters of the government. The sectional tribes were under the charge of the nobility or the governors.

The governmental structure took the form of limited monarchy. The Emir cannot, even in the most perilous circumstances, resort to arbitrary powers without the consent of his council which was made up of the nobility and district chiefs. His power was therefore limited by the council and by their religion. In fact, religion



MEMBERS OF THE PORT HARCOURT BRANCH OF NIGERIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

MAZI GREEN UBAJA MBADIWE (*center*)
with his attorneys. Mr. Mbadiwe, a financier and philanthropist, is Kingsley's brother.

MADAM UDEAKU MBADIWE
of the Royal House of Okeke and Ozuomba, mother of Kingsley.

and government were inseparable, for it was the religion which defined what the conduct of the ruler to his subjects should be. The ruler in Mohammedan countries, still today, is considered the defender of faith and father of the faithful. All the subjects therefore looked upon him as father. Even should the king wish to rule absolutely, the ceremonial practices attached to court routine made it impossible for him to be alone. The followers who surrounded him knew every move of the ruler and were in position to interpret his decisions according to the constitution of the land. The statute law constituted all those laws passed by the ruler in council. The common law embodied all the customal sanctions and objections in their religious beliefs in the Koran.

The advance of this people is further marked by the separation of the executive and judicial powers. The Alkari was the chief justice and from him a right of appeal was made to the King's Court, where the Emir sat in judgment. The Emir's decision, whether favorable or not, was taken in good grace since his subjects placed him next to God, and looked on him as a person whose sole interest was to alleviate the suffering of his subjects.

The administrative set-up was also well marked and definite. Each administrative officer had a specific task assigned to him. There was the War Lord (Serikin Yaki), whose first and foremost duty was the defense of the country. There was the Minister of Industry and Commerce (Serikin Kasnwa) whose task was to see that the productive capacity of the country reached its highest pitch, and to negotiate commercial relations with other states or tribes. Also there was the chief adviser to the Emir, who often acted as his spokesman. In Yoruba State he was known as Bashorum. There was another officer whose sole responsibility was to look after the interest of the citizens. This person

must in our modern interpretation be regarded as the Secretary of Social Affairs.

So long as the Emir ruled within the advice of his council and followed up the common laws embodied in the religious beliefs of his subjects, he was regarded as ruling in the interest of his subjects. The government of these peoples under consideration was in the hands of capable scholars, who read law and government in the University of Timbucktoo. They made great achievements in monarchial government. Their progress was interrupted by the arrival and conquest of the English people.

What has England to offer? What can people who deviate from their religious beliefs offer to people who still treasure and keep alive what they believe by practice and by example? How can we reconcile a person who denounces stealing, but goes out and steals, a person who denounces it, but strives to make it a common law? If a point of comparison could be found, it would be the relation between government as it is under England and government as it was under the Northern Nigerian Emirates.

The indirect rule which England recently introduced in all her dependencies puts the hand of the clock back, as far as the Hausa dependencies are concerned. How can a people who from time immemorial instituted a government not inferior to any in the world be made to go under a threefold allegiance — allegiance to the English overlord, allegiance to the natural ruler, and allegiance to God? How can a ruler who in former years had one supreme duty to perform—duty for the welfare of his subjects—now have another to perform —to appease his overlord. Such a ruler is like a house divided. The wishes of his overlords come first, before those of his subjects. That is the duplicity which followed the British conquest and domination. Under

the British rule, government by the people and for the people is out of the question.

Government in the Southern Provinces. Of all the tribes which make up the Southern Provinces, the Yoruba and Ibo are the largest. Taking Nigeria as a whole, according to official estimate, the Ibos stand next to the Hausas in number. I have in previous chapters examined the government among the Hausa States. From the point of view of critical study, the government in the ancient kingdoms of Yoruba did not differ very much from that of the Hausas. Their governmental structure was that of a limited monarchy.

The government among the Ibos is of a different structure and will be interesting therefore to examine. The Ibo people are divided into several sections and sub-sections—call these divisions, tribes or sub-tribes. Each section possesses characteristics which differentiate it from the rest. The Ibos in relation to their history, their habits, the varieties in their languages, are an interesting people to study.

In the several books describing the Ibo tribe, four various spellings have been used: Egbo, Igbo, Ebo and Ibo. In an article contributed to the *African Times*, a journal of the African Aid Society, published in London monthly, in the issue of September 23, 1865, Volume V, No. 51, on page 29, "Black, The Original Color of the White Race," the writer, who signed himself "H," concluded as follows:

> The Isthmus of Suez plays an important part in the history of Africa and the Ethiopian race.
>
> Ancient mythology has proved that through it extensive migratory movements took place several thousand years ago from Asia Minor to Africa.
>
> From a little study of the ethnology of the languages of Western Africa and the Hebrew tongue, one is involuntarily brought to trace out

a similarity in one of them to that of the tribe which, from disobedience to the will of God, were dispersed and the greatest number of them possibly went to Africa—I mean the Lost Tribes of Israel.

If the rites and ceremonies of the religion of the tribes bordering on the banks of the River Niger be closely examined, compared with the religion of the Hebrews at the earliest period—viz, Egbo Ebo (Heber, Eber) tribe; if the Ebo Heber, Eber) language, with all its corruptions, be compared with that of the Hebrews; and if the peculiar disposition of the Hebrew tribes, as detailed in Scripture, and that of the Egboes be properly investigated—there will be found sufficient a *priori* reasons for a serious inquiring whether the Egbo tribe, which is but a branch of the Gala tribe in the interior, is the off-spring of the Lost Tribes of Israel, driven down from Central Africa, and forced to cross the Eastern or Suorra branch of the Niger by Mohammedan fanaticism.

If, then, the Egbo tribe along the banks of the Niger be of the lost tribes of Israel, the Christian world should redouble its energy in supporting Bishop Crowther in his efforts for their conversion.

In his book *West African Countries and People,* the late Dr. J. A. B. Horton, himself of the Ibo people, made the following statements on page 175,

The Egboes are considered the most imitative and emulative people in the whole of Western Africa.

Place them where you will, or introduce to them any manners and customs, you will find that they easily adapt themselves to them.

Stout-hearted or, to use the more common phraseology, big-hearted, they always possess a desire of superiority, and make attempts to attain it, or excel in what is praiseworthy, without a desire of depressing others.

To them we may apply the language of Dryden —"A noble emulation beats their breasts."

Whatever may be said of this people, the history of their origin is still open for investigation. The Ibos are not a united people, and we cannot therefore think of them as a single society or a state under one central authority. The people are divided into various, smaller, independent dukedoms. In some of these groups a noticeably high development in government has been evolved. The Ibos, like other tribes in Nigeria or Africa in general, were caught in the grip of foreign powers, just at the time they were beginning the life process of evolution. Otherwise, had things been able to take their natural courses there were clear indications that the strongest of the tribes would either by instrument of force or by peaceful negotiations have brought other tribes under their rule, and by such methods the Ibo state could have arrived.

The British conquest made such an undertaking impossible. It could be said without apology that Africa was in the making, and that is to say, she was in the process of taking form, before her growth was arrested by foreign invaders. There is no tribe which had greater claim to have worked incessantly (although its altrustic nature could be debated for the consolidation of all Ibo tribes) than the Aro-Chuku tribe, sometimes called the Umu-Chuku (Sons of God) tribe.

The People of Aro-Chuku and Their System of Government

Before the arrival of the English people in Nigeria,

the Aro-Chuku tribe (the writer is a member of this tribe) was already building and consolidating its empire. Its influence, its power and its majesty was not confined to the Ibos but passed beyond the cross-river extending to the Efriks and Ibibios. Their organizations, their plans, their strategy, and their administrative capabilty were comparable to the modern methods of imperialistic tactics.

Their economic organization was formed on a reciprocal trade agreement between them and the Efriks. These trade contacts assured them that their economic lifeline was wholesome. Encouraged by this, successful raids were carried on to other parts of the Ibo tribe. Once any of these tribal peoples were carried on to other parts of the Ibo tribe, once any of these tribal peoples were subjugated, the Aro nobilities and missionaries of the Long Juju, or oracle, took part in active colonization. Through their influence and original, planned diplomacy, the aborigines were taught to look to Aro-Chuku as the fountain where people would receive unadulterated justice in matters criminal or civil. This urged people to make pilgrimages to Aro-Chuku in quest of justice. Through the huge sums received for appeal into Aro Court, or through instituting fresh actions, the Aros were able to maintain the economic and political supremacy which they enjoyed until the arrival of the British.

The communication was steadily maintained between the headquarters at Aro and sub-tributaries of Aro through the diplomatic representatives of the central government and commercial attaches, which were placed in all strategic localities throughout the Ibo land. The intelligence of this people is maximal; their wit, their refined manners, their clean habits, their mixture of arrogance and humility, their power of oratory, their diplomacy and insight have made them one of the most notable tribes in Nigeria.

Of all the writers who have had something to say about the Aros, Mr. P. Amaury Talbot, former British officer in Nigeria, impressed me as one who has a deep understanding about this people. In his book *The People of Southern Nigeria,* Mr. Talbot mentions the fact that the sphere of influence of the Aro bounded that of Nri in Enugu division; he states that in the southwest it extended to Ijaw in the south to the sea; in the north to the Northern Nigerian boundary, and on the east up to Ekoi. He also informs us that throughout the large extent of the country their word was law and that nearly all the important cases were brought to their oracle for decision.

Mr. Talbot at the same time never failed to observe that the Aros got their fighting forces from the neighboring towns called Abam and the Southern Edda. He also relates that the chief of the Aro or Umu-Chuku "Sons of Chuku (God)" as they were called, was known by the title Eze (King) or Onye Nwale (possessor of land) and that the chief was usually saluted as Mazi (Your Highness, thou of royal blood) and that this was because he was in charge of the symbols of the ancestors. The last king, he says lived at Oraw.

To understand their system of government in Aro-Chuku it is necessary to understand the divisions in Aro town itself. Aro-Chuku is divided into nineteen quarters (Ogo). One of these quarters stands out above the others. It is from this supreme quarter that the king (Eze or Mazi) who presides over the destiny of the entire Aro people is chosen, but, of course, from the family that is entitled. The rest of the quarters are ruled by powerful and prosperous lords and nobles (Umu-Afro, which means "children of its belly or womb"; in other words, legitimate as opposed to illegitimate children) meaning well born, noble. They also are entitled to be called Eze or Mazi, but the king is

distinguished by the additional qualification of Eze Ka Eze, meaning King of Kings. Or he can be saluted as Onu na ekwulu Oha, the Spokesman of the People.

It is not unusual that some of the nobles might even surpass the king in influence and wealth; nevertheless, they are bound to look upon the king with great reverence, for he occupies the position not because of his personal qualities, but because of the symbol of his ancestors which he possesses, known as the *Ofo*. This *Ofo* is the symbol of his office, and it is to this instrument that other rulers look up to rather than to the person of the king.

The society is divided into four castes, the ruling or the royal families, the nobilities, the commons, and the slaves. The democratic wave which runs through the Ibo system of government made it possible for a slave to rise to a ruling caste. There are countless instances of this. There is always room for a progressive and ambitious man in the Ibo governmental structure.

The Aro-Chuku Colonial System

The problem which England faces within its own island, economically speaking, was the same problem which Aro-Chuku faced during her own glorious days. England produces coal in great abundance, and nothing more. In order to exist she must depend upon other countries. England went out first to seek economic satisfaction and in practice saw the necessity for colonies and therefore became an imperialist. Even so it was with Aro-Chuku. Shut out in a small island and blessed with unproductive soil, the people of Aro knew that the quest for food, shelter, and clothing must be satisfied from the soil of other towns. The imperialistic adventure of the Aros was the outcome of economic adventure.

The colonial adventure of all the Aro people was thoroughly planned. First, this people maintained a

very strong propaganda system. It originated from the seat of the central government and permeated wherever Aro influence was extended. The content of this propaganda was that the Aro people were the vice-regents of God, and that they were commissioned to rule not for their own benefit, but as a fulfilment of God's wishes.

The Aros had two methods by which they brought a country or town into their domination: by conquest or by peaceful penetration. In the latter case, they entered a town as traders and goodwill ambassadors; then came the Aro ministers who converted the people to believe that the Aros were God-sent. It was at this stage that consuls and commercial attaches were sent as direct representatives of the Aro central government. The next stage was the introducing of the Aro judiciary system, gradually but steadily. As soon as they had won the confidence of the people, the Aro central government or the government of any of the local quarters, (*Ogo*) would not hesitate to send one of the nobility to reside in the place entirely and at this stage the town was declared an Aro protectorate. In all instances the name of Aro was attached to the town, or Aro and the founder's name was used.

The town was at once brought in close contact with Aro-Chuku and the mysteries of its oracles. The Aro ceremonies were introduced. All the sons born of Aro people in the colonies were sent back to Aro for education, especially to cultivate the Aro-Chuku intonation. The Aros have a very refined way of handling the Ibo language and its idioms. The nobles return each year to Aro to attend festivities and to display exercises in keeping with their dignity. During these times the peoples of the protectorates make pilgrimage to Aro to witness the luxuries of the nobles and to inquire of their health from the Long Juju. By this method unbroken allegiance is maintained by the protectorate to the mother country.

For instance, the writer, a native of Aro-Chuku, was born in one of the Aro-Chuku colonies called Aro-Ndizuorgu. There are many Aro-Chuku colonies today in Nigeria—Aro-Ajalli, Aro-Olu, etc. One thing noticeable in Ibo government as a whole is the democratic ideal which runs through the entire structure. For any person of the Ibo tribe, no matter what his birth, so long as he possesses some qualities not peculiar to others, there is always room at the top. The Ibos are hero worshippers and to this type of mind, anything noble and worthy are objects of respect among them. Their kings were never absolute rulers, but they ruled by the grace of their people and the support of the nobles.

Education

Today when Africans are represented to the world as ignorant and wild people, no one cares to ask the part these people played in their ancient days. Today, when African boys can read and write, their conquerors think that their education is complete. What change could there have been, if our conquerors knew the marvelous educational system we had before their arrival, and had followed it as a pattern for our present education. We could not have been represented to the world as we have been, and we could not have looked upon the English or American system of education as the model or the source, but we would have looked upon the African model as the most appropriate for our particular needs.

The African education aimed at orienting the entire life of man. The first keynote in our education was, "Man, know thyself"; the second, "Know thy environment"; the third, "Know thy society"; and the fourth stage was the harmony of the Three *Knows* for a practical solution of life's problems. Our education believed that the problems of life must be tackled practically and

realistically. It must be education in action or nothing at all. The emphasis was placed on the skilful use of the hand. High brow theories were entirely absent in our educational methods. In short, our education aimed at development of the man, so that he was intelligently equipped to start the journey of life.

The boy coming to reason, the father took the responsibility of introducing him to field work and taught him the rudiments of the trade that he was to exercise later. The mother took care of the girl and initiated her into household cares and feminine tasks.

Another thing which must be constantly borne in mind is that a boy or a girl, whether he was of a royal family or of a noble birth, or a commoner or a slave, must first learn to work. After that he would specialize in politics if he was from a family of courtiers, in economics if he was from a trader's family, in agriculture if he was a commoner or a slave. In fact, efficiency in agriculture was required of everybody.

When approaching puberty the children were taught manly exercises, wrestling and boxing. They were taught how to develop their muscles, and also were taught the habit of playing games together. The lessons thus derived were a stage forward in character formation. They learned to respect the feeling of others. They learned to uphold their rights and to defend the oppressed. They learned patience and discipline. They learned what makes a leader and what endears him to his people through observing their game leaders.

At puberty, the boys have then come to the age of retreat. At this period they were made to pass under trying and strenuous conditions. The aim was to prepare them for the shocking news that life is not a bed of roses. Strange and fearful stories were told them. They were given instructions regarding religious be-

liefs, family and social duties, the conjugal and paternal role which they were to play as future adults.

At the adolescent age things took another turn. The boys and girls were prepared for more serious undertakings in life. At this period, chats about love affairs were common. Economics too engaged attention. Land ownership was also a matter of interest. This was the period of ceremonies and initiations. These signified the entry into adult life.

The adult age was the age of entering into the African "university of life." The men were subjected to severe tests of hardship and endurance. They were sent long distances, either for trade or conferences. This was the period when they were taught the history, legends, laws, and historical traditions of their country. This was also the period of specialization in particular fields of human endeavor. The sons of rulers were educated in the affairs of the state. They were made to observe how cases were initiated and how judgments were given. They observed how treaties were made, and records of previous ones were shown to them. They were taught the art of fighting and the nobility attached to a successful prosecution of war. Finally they were introduced to great courts of eminent rulers, there to learn the practices and customs of other courts.

The sons of traders were taught the value of money, how to amass and keep it. They were sent to distant markets to observe under the guidance of elderly persons who had been in the field of trade. Before they would reach the stage of purchasing things for sale, they were made first to be salesmen. They learned to whom to extend credit and from whom to withhold it. They were taught the art of borrowing and how interest was calculated. Those who were to specialize in agriculture were taught weather variations and seasonal changes. They were made to study the crops

and the period favorable for their planting. In short, African education aimed at emancipating the entire person from inactivity. It was the education which fitted the man for his particular environment.

ECONOMICS.—When we think of the economic system of Africa our minds must at once run to what could be termed economic democracy. Economic democracy is a system whereby every individual is given and has the opportunity to participate in the economic endeavor of the community according to his capacity and talents. In other words, the economic system is to serve the interest of the individual and not the individual to worship the economic set-up of the community.

It is a recognized fact that the degree of the safety which an individual enjoys from fear and want determines how efficiently he can function in a democracy. The quest for shelter, food, and clothing has become an ever-increasing problem since the prehistoric era. The set-up by which these necessities can be attained determines the political, social, and moral code of that community. Economics is the pivot upon which our social institutions revolve. We cannot therefore treat it lightly. The African economic system is in practice economic democracy. Our economic system influences to a very great degree our political and social institutions. We have no theories about democracy, but in our way of living we are democratic. There are several things which could be deduced from our economic system: the dignity of the individual, equal opportunity for all; freedom from fear and want; fraternity and pursuit of happiness.

Although there are scores of industries and occupations which are of economic importance, such as farming, hunting, metal works, pottery, fishing, weaving, canoe building, carving, iron casting, medicine and surgery, mat-making, leather work, decorative art, clay

and stone work, yet not one of them brings out more clearly economic democracy than our land-tenure system.

When the majority of the capitals of Europe were gripped in wars of nerves as a way of solving the rights of the individual; when France was bitter in its bloody war as a means whereby equality, fraternity, and the pursuit of happiness would be achieved; when Locke and Paine were evolving a philosophy of inviolability of human personality and immortality of the soul based upon the dignity of the individual; when England was developing its constitution which would effect compromises between labor and capital; and when America was laboring strenuously to extract the best from English and French constitutions for her own governmental structure; Africa was enjoying immense economic security which in itself was a plain, practical, and unduplicated democracy—the right of man to live, which assures the dignity of the individual.

Our system of land tenure is democracy itself. Whether in war or in peace there is one recognized fact in African society and that is that no individual must starve. This system of land tenure presumes that the land is invested in the community and held in trust for the people by the king. The king, or his prime minister, is accountable for its distribution and its safekeeping. It is apportioned to each member of the group according to his needs.

A very close inquiry was held by the government of Northern Nigeria in the year 1807, during the governorship of Sir Percy Gironard, into local native law and custom regarding land tenure. In the course of this inquiry it was found that it was an invariable rule that the area which the tribe or community occupied belonged to its members. The right of every adult member of a tribe to occupy and farm a portion of the tribal lands sufficient for the needs of himself and

his family was recognized, provided he conformed with those duties which the tribe as a whole thought necessary to secure its protection and welfare.

There cannot be group democracy without individual democracy. Africa had achieved, by means of its economic structure, democracy for the individual. The stage of our economic democracy has never been realized in the so-called democracies of Europe. These people have fought for generations as a means toward securing liberty of the individual, and there is always an alertness to detect and frustrate any tendency to restrict that liberty; yet little interest is evoked in matters which must fundamentally affect that liberty. The system of economic excesses of Europe frustrates economic democracy.

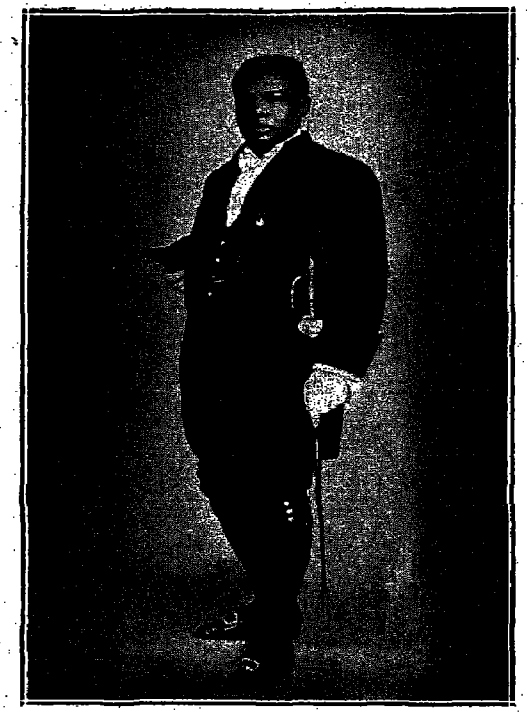
There is one significant fact which can be deduced by the land tenure method in Africa: we combine with our economic system social security. Social security has become today in so-called civilized countries a distinct set-up, caused by the concentration of wealth among a few families, and an ever-increasing demand for the poorer ones to have enough to survive. This has created a situation which the government cannot ignore. As some measure must be devised whereby the majority of the masses must survive, social security legislation becomes inevitable. To my mind, such legislation is an economic appeasement. Why should one part of the community be denied the privileges of attaining happiness? Why should we look forward to democracy when those very things which bring about pure democratic life are absent from our social structure?

No people in the world has developed and fostered democratic ideals more than Africa. Our economic set-up is the test of our democratic insight. Freedom to discuss and argue according to one's own conscience

cannot and will not be a reality, unless the stomach is assured satisfaction when it is hungry.

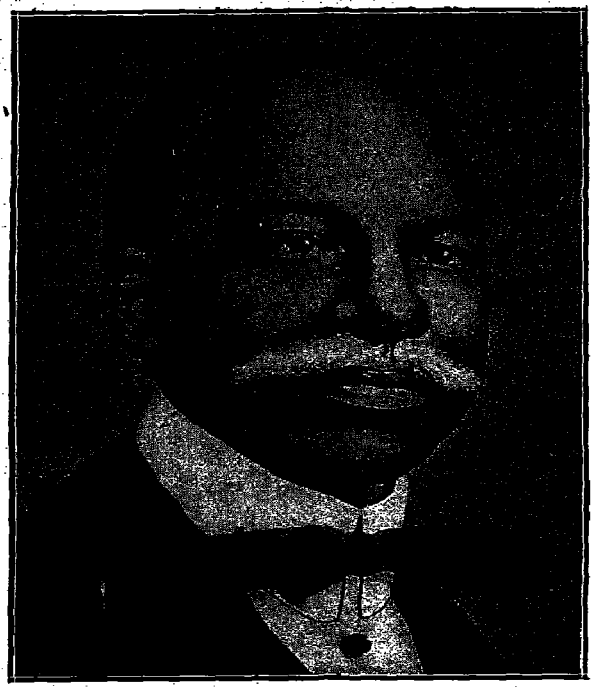
It would be asked whether our economic system makes our society communistic. I would say that African society is not entirely communistic nor entirely capitalistic. There is a happy medium between them. We may call it communo-capitalistic society. The African middleman and dignitaries do possess wealth, otherwise pomp and courtly displays in African society would have been entirely absent. Polygamy could not have been practiced; various celebrated pilgrimages to Mecca by our Northern Nigerian Emirs would have been impossible. It is due to genius, we may say, that the economic system so very well provides avenues for amassing wealth and at the same time does not jeopardize the interests of the greater majority. While the land is the bedrock of economic security for everyone, yet there are hundreds of other occupations which have been previously enumerated where people could amass wealth.

It must also be borne in mind that our capitalistic structure was that of philantropic capitalism. By this I mean wealth is acquired not only for personal, immediate benefit, but at the same time it is shared with others. This type of capitalism is always welcomed in Africa. To us a person is adjudged wealthy not by what he puts away in the bank or reinvests in business, but by how much he gives away. Our wealth, therefore, is measured by the capacity to share.



HON. ERIC O. MOORE
first Lagos member of Nigerian Legislative

O. A. ALAKIJA, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon)



MR. HERBERT MACAULEY
elder statesman of Nigeria and a powerful influence in molding the New Africa.

MR. SAMUEL AKISANYA
Nigeria's greatest leader of labor whose work won him the chieftaincy of his tribe.

Chapter IV.

KINGS AND NOBLES

THE survey of our institutions could not be complete without mention of our kings and nobles.

The modern portrayal of our kings and nobles, especially in Europe and America, makes it necessary to state the position which our rulers occupy among their own people. The term "Chief," which is always employed when speaking of our rulers, is the meanest term possible to apply to a monarch.

The African monarch differs from no other monarchs in the world. Monarchy is not a divine attribute thrust upon a person because of some peculiar talent, rather it is a symbol of the collective will of a people delegated to a person by the people empowering him to execute the affairs of the state in the best interest of the people. Should monarchy have divine attribute, it emanates from the people; its source is the people. It is the people alone who can sustain it; and, in the same token, the people can withdraw their support. Since in all places and at all times monarchy presupposes collective will, and since people must be people, no matter in what geographical location they may be, it is logical to say that monarchy in Europe cannot differ from monarchy in Africa, for the monarch derives his power and source from the collective people of that particular locality.

Granting that monarchs must be monarchs no matter where they are found, it does not dismiss the argument that one monarch can stand above others, either in priority or in acquisition of material wealth.

Africa has a good case for priority. While Europe was still shivering with cold, and before Egbert became the first king of England, kings and nobles had been ascending and descending the thrones of the Pharaohs in Egypt, coming at different intervals from the four corners of Africa. King Menes had already founded the first dynasty of Egypt. Ethiopian monarchs had already driven out the Persians and founded the twenty-fifth dynasty. Timbucktu was already teeming with intellectual vigor, giving instructions to future rulers in the art of statesmanship. When Europe was still in the midst of its dark ages, King Mansa Musa of Malle had already made his celebrated pilgrimage to Mecca, dazzling the eyes of all that saw him.

Today we have been forced to bow to European vandalism and robbery. Our European seducers abused freedom of the press and even went to the extent of indulging in academic fraud in order to represent us before the world as poor helpless members of the human race, worthy of nothing but the sympathy of the white world. Every modern instrument in their power has been employed to suppress us. And most depressing of all is that we are misinterpreted and misrepresented to the world.

Africa and African peoples are today the object of pity. Our kings and nobles who once stood in majesty and awe have been dethroned from their high estate. Their lands have been stolen from them. Their people, impoverished by acquisition, can no longer support their kings and nobles. Today, our princes and members of the royal family are seen in Europe poor and dejected. They even fear to claim their birthright because there are no pecuniary means to support the

high office they represent, and for this reason, whether in school or in business, they choose to travel incognito.

Our rulers are now known as "chiefs," a new word coined by our noble-hearted exploiters. Our economic system is already in ruins, and our people, incapable of answering the new challenge, sit in dejection.

The term "chief" has no relation to a ruler or a noble. The important advisers of the king cannot even be called chiefs. The English equivalent to the men around the king is lords, dukes, or princes. Among these men are the Onu-na-Ewulu-Oha, meaning the prime minister, through which the king speaks on behalf of the people. All the nobles around the person of the king are men of title, according to what they have been able to do during active service. Some people have even passed into the rank of nobility because of their wealth.

A man may abandon his name and go by the titled name. Such titles are these: Ozumoba (known and felt in all lands by means of conquest); Eze-Ka-Eze (king of kings); Onuomba (conquerer of lands); Mazi (highness, well born, noble son); Obu ka iye (as powerful as the streams). These titles are applied to rulers. People who come before their presence salute them. It is necessary that before appearing before the king or any of the nobilities to know exactly what his titles are and to salute him accordingly. At times the rulers possessed one or more titles in various fields and during big ceremonial occasions the chief trumpeters saluted them by all such titles, telling what had been done to obtain them. Other names by which rulers are called are Obi as in Onitsha; Obba as in Benin; Nazi, Eze, or Onye Nwaala, as in many sections of the Ibo land; Obong, Etubong, as in Calabar; Alafin, Awujele, Alake as in Yoruba countries; and Emir or Sultan as in Mohammedan countries of Northern Nigeria.

The king does not touch the money or gifts which come to him. There is always a devoted treasurer of the court. He receives all presents coming to the king and gives all presents suggested by the king. If he serves faithfully he may be titled and this title may be: Odesiaku (financial genius; caretaker of wealth). The prime minister, who is always the spokesman of the king, both in executive and judiciary matters, may earn the name of Nwa-afo (noble son, prince, a real son of the womb). The office of the Chief Justice is entrusted to a member of the court who has legal and diplomatic mind. He must be capable of prosecuting and must be capable of defending. He must be capable of delivering judgment in certain matters when acting for the king or must advise the king what to say. People with such talents are indispensable to the king. They are summoned to appear in the presence of the king at any moment. From this group ambassadors to other courts are selected. They are present whenever any treaty is consumated at the Aba-Iyi of the king. They may earn the title of Odosi-ana (the good keeper of the land), implying that they judge according to the (Odenana) constitution of the land. The minister of war has twofold duties: to defend the town and to conquer other lands. After a successful campaign, depending upon what remarkable things he did, he might receive the titles of Ochia-agha-oma (a wager of clean battle, that is to say merciful to his enemies), Obu-ony-isi Ogu (the capturer of generals and guns).

In a king's court there are five distinct buildings separated by walls. There are specific duties to be accomplished in each of these buildings: the Obi is a sort of park or play ground and has a small building at the center. Inside the building is a shrine where ancestors of the king are worshiped. Oaths are administered to people from this shrine. The Obi often forms the court where important tribal cases are tried.

The king makes a proclamation to the people from here. In ordinary times, it is a playground for young men of the royal family. From the Obi there is a gate which leads to Aji ta-Abe, meaning "from where you cannot go further." Some of the royal messengers and guards are stationed here, and these men allow no one to pass on unless so ordered by the royal body-guards of the king. Any visitor calling on any member of the royal family must pass through this gate.

From this place there is another gate which leads to the Uno-nnta, meaning "the small house." This is a small house, closely built. Here important interviews with great men are held. Perfect silence is maintained here. Favorite children of the king may be present at these interviews, provided they have learned to guard their tongues. In all important interviews, the prime minister, his first son, the queen's mother, and other confidential advisers are always present. Food and drink may be served there.

From this building there is another gate which leads to Aba-Iyi. This is a house where covenants and important treaties are consummated. The chief justice of the king and his immediate relative and dignitaries of the court are always present. A covenant is called Ñbandu (the joining of life). After this stage two kings do not look at each other with fear. Their families can intermarry, since most of African political marriages are for alliances. They can visit one another freely. Kings who come under this stage meet one another ceremonially with full court honors at the Obi when the one visits the other. The king and his close advisers can be conducted to the palace, while other retinue wait at the second entrance.

There is another gate which leads to the Uno-Eze (the King's Palace). Here the king sleeps, and entertains his great visitors and most distinguished nobles and foreign ambassadors. In all these houses there is

a special place where the king may sit. The children of the king may see him at the palace during his dinner time, which is announced by a big peal of the bell.

The last place is the Ofe. This is a confidential place where the king's food is cooked. Only the members of the family of certain age can enter here, since it contains so many young girls, the palace maids.

There were many celebrated kings during the British occupation of Nigeria. Many of these powerful kings were either killed or banished. There was His Majesty King Ja Ja of Opobo. He is often referred to as the Merchant Prince. The rise of King Ja Ja to the most royal office of a king is a typical illustration of the Ibo democracy. It is a society which worships energy, character, courage, and intelligence rather than the mere attribute of royalty. King Ja Ja was one of the greatest economists and diplomats of our modern era. A noble-blooded African who challenged the imperial agents of England, in commerce, in diplomacy, and to some extent in military tactics. The deportation of so noble and illustrious a son of Africa by British agents is an irreparable atrocity which will remain forever in the minds of the progressive youth of Africa. This action brought out clearly the British system of trusteeship, which in practical interpretation upholds ignorance to intelligence. His Majesty King Ja Ja was deported to the West Indies in September 1887. The deportation order was executed by Acting Consul H. H. Johnston.

King Ja Ja was originally a slave of the Pepple House, but by his ability and industry he rose to affluence and freedom. He moved from Bonny and established the Opobo Kingdom. King Ja Ja maintained an enormous fleet armed with cannon and rifles. He carried on an extensive correspondence with the Secretary of State and the Consul, and his language was a vindication of his diplomatic ability. The Foreign Office

pointed out that Ja Ja was the ablest of the Coast Middlemen, and also a man of energy and considerable ability.

Ja Ja, a king within his own territorial jurisdiction, was charged with (1) barring the trade to the inland districts beyond his own jurisdiction, such as Ohambela; (2) blocking the highway; (3) failing to carry out the provisions of the Protectorate Treaty of December 19, 1884.

On September 13, 1887, Sir J. Fergusson, the Undersecretary of State, received at the Foreign Office Ja Ja's deputation. Meanwhile, the British Consul in Nigeria was planning Ja Ja's arrest.

On September 18, 1887, the Acting Consul Johnston wrote him thus: "I have summoned you to attend in a friendly spirit. I hereby assure you that whether you accept or reject my proposal, no restraint whatever will be put upon you. You will be free to go as soon as you have heard the message."

King Ja Ja, trusting in the sincerity of His Britannic Majesty's representative, responded to the invitation with his followers at Harrison's factory, and the Acting Consul landed with the officers of H.M.S. *Goshawk*, which was on the river. The *Goshawk* turned its guns on Ja Ja's followers. An ultimatum was there and then issued to Ja Ja by which he must leave for the Gold Coast for trial. King Ja Ja was then deported to the West Indies; his health gradually decayed, and he died of a broken heart at Teneriffe on his way back. Ja Ja was much beloved by his people and rulers, and they endeavored to return their king's body for internment at Opobo where they erected a monument in his honor.

The King of Benin, Lord of Seven Kingdoms. No other kings throughout the whole coastal seaboard of West Africa were regarded with such awe, reverence, and majesty as the Great Kings of Benin. They were so great and their influence was so far-reaching that

their story and history give color to the folk stories of Africa, even to this day.

The Benin kings waged many successful wars against neighboring towns and consolidated their conquests into one central whole. Had not the British people disturbed the natural course of events, the entire Nigeria or at least Southern Nigeria, could have become one kingdom. Some accounts related that a Benin king and his war lords could mobilize over 100,000 men in twenty-four hours.

In many celebrated museums of the world Benin art and Benin carving still remain a testimony to the great days when Benin was holding her own in industry and commerce. Benin was often referred to as the "city of brass." By 1472 Benin was in contact with the Western world through Portuguese agencies. In fact, Ruy de Sequeira was reputed to have discovered the kingdom of Benin at that time.

The kings of Benin were men of great experience and foresight. They were in constant touch with Portugal. In 1540 the king of Benin sent certain ambassadors with a cross to King John III of Portugal, which was said to have come from the Awni of Ife. This was during the reign of King Esigie. It is also related that in 1544 the king of Benin visited Portugal, where he became a Christian. I may add that he became a Christian diplomat. For when he returned, as the account had it, he occupied the Island of Lagoes, and erected a large number of substantial houses, some of which were occupied by Portugese merchants. He made Lagos for a time the headquarters of the Western dominions of his kingdom. In 1608, the king of Benin invited the Jesuit missionaries to come to Benin.

The extract of Dapper about Benin in 1668 reads:

> . . . This town, including the Queen's Court, is about five or six miles in circumference. On one

side it has a wall ten feet high made of two thick rows of trees fastened to each other by crossbeams five or six feet long and thrown crosswise and filled with red earth and very firmly worked into one another. On the other side of the town is no wall but there lies a morass and thick bush, by which it is not a little protected. It has several gates, eight or nine feet high and five broad, with a door made out of a single piece of wood, hanging on a peg and turning round like toll bars.

The king's court (or castle) is square and stands at the right side of the town to one entering by the Ugwato gate. It is quite as large as the town of Harlem and surrounded by a special wall. It is divided into many magnificent dwellings and has beautiful long square galleries which seem about as big as the Exchange at Amsterdam, but one is larger than the others. Its roof rests on wood pillars covered from top to bottom with cast copper.

The houses stand along the streets, built in good order, close by one another as in Europe, decorated with gables and steps and covered with palm or banana leaves. They are not high but generally big, with long halls inside, especially the houses of the nobles, and many rooms whose walls are made of red earth. They wash and rub in such wise and so smooth that they shine like a mirror. The upper stories also are made of the same clay.

In the town of Great Benin the king has for the government of the country three high state counsellors whom the Portuguese call Fiador. They are the highest in the land after the king, for above them is no one but the field marshal, who is next to the king and is called Owe-Asseri or Sia Seere.

The kingdom of Benin was famous. It needs greater talents and descriptive power than mine to portray to readers the place which Benin occupied among the kingdoms of the world. So efficient were its kings in conquest, consolidation, and administration that the fame of Benin kings even till this day is fresh in our folk songs and folk lore.

When Europeans overran Africa with their acquisitive spirit, Benin like other kingdoms of Africa, became a victim of aggression and butchery. Its mighty kings fell from their high estate, totally drained of their wealth they became disillusioned and hopeless. The Portuguese had very great respect for the Benins and encouraged their art and industry. It was not until the arrival of the English that the term "bushmen" was used in regard to Benins. They were of course looking for a pretext of taking them into British protection, and they did find one.

The great Benin kingdom was battered down by English cannon so that a highway to promote English investments could be constructed. The great king of Benin, whose high estate was no less proud and majestic than that of Queen Victoria, was made to bow to the English overlords in disgrace and degradation. A king who once called 100,000 men to arms can no longer fire a rifle without permission from mere British servants, who are not worthy to stand before the sacred presence of the king of Benin.

Intrigue by British commercial and imperial agents to carry out expeditions to Benin was begun in 1895-6. In December 1896 Acting Consul General Phillip decided to visit Benin with a group of officers and commercial agents on what he called a "peaceful mission." The action against King Ja Ja of Opobo by an acting British consul general has demonstrated how a "peaceful mission" may be interpreted. In the best circumstances it might be arrest and deportation.

His Imperial Majesty, the King of Benin, the Lord of Seven Kingdoms, warned Consul Phillip to delay his coming until a more auspicious time as he, the king, was engaged in a sacred duty "the custom of making his fathers," and under such condition, it was disloyal to his ancestors for him to see a white man. Phillip ignored the order, and he and most of his followers died for their arrogance. With this incident as an excuse, the Benin kingdom was sacked. On February 18, 1897, Benin City was taken. A great fire raged over nearly the whole of Benin, which destroyed all the treasures of that historic city. The Obba Overami, the king of Benin, who had fled to Erua, surrendered at Benin City on August 5, and was deported to Calabar on September 15. Of the king's ministers, Obainnana committed suicide. On April 24, 1899, Ologboshere, the Obba's prime minister, was hanged. And thus the Great Benin Empire faded like a dream and, in its place came the beginning of a degraded Benin fostered by imperial agents of England. The world, not aware of what is happening in this distant place, believes whatever it is told.

Custom of making his fathers is actually an ancestral worship, and any great ranking man is not worth his name if he does not pay occasional tribute to the memory of his ancestors.

Chapter V.

AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS AND EUROPEAN CONTACT

WE have examined African institutions before the advent of the Europeans; in this chapter we shall examine what changes have occurred in such institutions as a result of the contact.

Contact is very desirable, if not indispensable, in human relationship. Communication, contact, and transportation are really forerunners of progress and civilization. Empires have influenced empires, countries have influenced other countries, and man has influenced man; all are the outcome of contact.

Contact is of two kinds, constructive and destructive. During the Middle Ages Africa had constructive contact, contacts which enabled her to reinforce the weakest parts of her structure and which strengthened her against the rough weather and invisible changes of time. In this modern era we are no longer fortunate, in that our contacts have changed from constructive to destructive. Our contacts with the Europeans are destructive. All those things we treasured have been battered down and ruined. We have re-examined ourselves and what do we find? Confusion. Many distinguished writers have tried to draw a balance sheet of what such contact has been. It cannot

be anything more than a debit. Take our present-day government, take our education, take our economics—examine them from the point of view of progress; you can discover nothing but confusion.

The government of a country is an institution set up by the people of that country, through the exercise of their free will, so that it can minister to them in the best interest of the whole people. Since it is set up by the people, it cannot be above the people. Since it must be for the best interest of the people, if it repudiates their best interest the people can withdraw their support, and there will be no government. Such was the situation in our country before the arrival of the English.

Our contact with this people defeats the sanctity and the significance of government. The new system introduced by the English agents are what they term Direct Rule and Indirect Rule. In theory, a minor difference between these two could be found, but in practice, it is the same principle that prevails in the two. Direct rule is the form of administration which places the government of our country entirely in the hands of European officials, with minor posts only, such as clerkships, fitters, and messengers, being filled by the natives. By this system the policing of the country is entrusted to European officers. The Emirs and native rulers are left as mere figure heads. They cannot do anything without the sanction of the European officials. This policy invites the establishment of European institutions and modes of life and thought among the natives as rapidly as possible.

The government of a country must be endorsed by people of that country, whose interest it must serve. Who then endorsed such direct rule? Who invited the administrators of such a government? It neither consulted the people nor received their consent. This system of direct rule from a modern interpretation of

what a government should be is not a government. It embodies implications which make it undesirable to any rational being. It embodies superiority over the ruled, right to rule without the consent of the people, a means to an end. This so-called direct rule is an exploitive machinery, organized for robbery, to exploit human personality and human intelligence.

There are many other things which make direct rule undesirable. The European individualistic outlook cannot and does not fit in the African social system. Enormous expense is involved for extensive home-leave of European officers who cannot stay in Africa for a long period. Mr. C. L. Temple, former Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Provinces, Nigeria, in his book *Native Races and Their Rulers*, gave a formula whereby the cost of a European employed in our country could be found. He said: "To arrive at this sum a sound basis to adopt is to double the amount of his personal salary and local allowances; this is the annual charge of the official to the country by the time all his claims upon it, including his pensions, have been paid."

Further, by this system the native is rapidly denationalized. He looks up to European institutions and customs and holds his own in contempt. Under this system the native ruler who once owed his power to his people could, by executing the wishes of the European official, and supported by his own armed forces, remain in power regardless of what the intentions of his people are. Again, as to the Residents who are senior European officials placed in courts of native rulers: due to the shortness of their terms of service in the tropics, and their shift from one place to another, it becomes impossible for them to endear themselves to the customs and traditions of the people. Under such conditions the administration has no fixed standards, since the patterns of government are influenced by the

individual fancy of the official who holds the reign of government at any particular time. If the Resident's disposition is democratic, he intends to import democratic ideas in his governmental structure. His successor may be autocratic, in which case all the democratic ideals which the predecessor tried to establish will be blotted out within a few days. Such a changeable governmental system has no place in a modern conception of government, a system where the destiny of millions of people are entrusted to the fancies and good graces of one individual.

C. L. Temple, former Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, defines indirect rule as a system of administration which leaves in existence the administrative machinery which had been created by the natives themselves; which recognizes the existence of Emirs, chiefs, and native councils, native courts of justice, Mohammedam courts, pagan courts, native police controlled by a native executive, as real living forces, and not as curious and interesting pageantry; by which European influence is brought to bear on the natives indirectly, through their chiefs, and not directly through European officers — political, police, et cetera; and by which the European keeps himself a good deal in the background and leaves the mass of native individuals to understand that the orders which come to them emanate from their own chiefs rather than from the all-pervading white man. The underlying policy of this system is to assist the native to develop that civilization which he can himself evolve!

Mr. C. L. Temple's conception of indirect rule is very plausible and hopeful, but the most unfortunate thing about it all is that it is still a theory. There are so many conflicting elements which will make its practical application impossible. There is no time that the European officials can consent to be in the background and allow the natives to assert authority. Man's thirst

is for recognition. There is always in him a will to power. Why then should a man see a way to power and let it go because of fine theories of "indirect rule"? Secondly, the official carries with him legal superiority over the native ruler, and it is almost an impossible task to get the official to act in a mere advisory capacity.

Indirect rule in practice is simply an imposition of the will of the dominant races over the subject races. Here the Resident, who is supposed to be the senior advisory officer attached to each native administrative center, is in his office to see that work in his area is well carried out. He is the intermediary between the native administration and the central government. He relays the executive orders from the central government to the native ruler, and he is there to secure obedience to those orders. The Resident's advice must always be taken, so "advice" in this instance is a misnomer. The Resident, in correct language, is a dictator in native administrative affairs. The native ruler, other than as a mouthpiece of the Resident or other European officials, has no executive powers. The Resident is the president of the provincial courts. In this capacity he can transfer any case from the native administrative courts to his own, and by this way he controls the native court. The Emir and high-placed rulers no longer strive to please their people but to please the Resident.

Indirect rule is a failure. It can never be a system of government. It trains rulers in evil practices and stirs hate among the various classes of people under its rule. The nobles, who are also ambitious to be distinguished rulers, plot against the Emir by bringing false accusations against him to the Resident. The Resident and the Emirs are constantly in disagreement as to policy. The people are dissatisfied with their Emir and pray for relief. All these are but a few of the complications of indirect rule under the British. In-

KINGSLEY MBADIWE MAKES HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS AT THE PALLADIUM
Port Harcourt, Nigeria, before departing for the United States.

BRITISH OFFICIALS AND AFRICANS IN A TRIBAL CELEBRATION
at Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.

direct rule defeats all our conceptions of government. It is a futile system, fostering corruption, divided allegiance, and confusion.

Take our educational system since our contact with the Europeans: the same confusion is noticeable. African education trains the man and prepares him to condition himself to his environment. Today there are two purposes in English education: to train the African to be a good Christian: to train him to calculate figures so that he may be useful as a clerk in the process of this education. The native loses touch with native ideas and native ideals. He is just as much an alien to the native communities as is the European.

From the economic aspect, there is still another confusion. Before our contact with the English, our economic set-up was one in which everyone had a right to share in the wealth of the country. Our land, which is the bedrock of our economic security, has in most places been taken away from the natives. Being dispossessed, they had to leave their homes and families to seek wage labor from the Europeans. In this way the warmth of their homes is cut off from them, and, in addition, the wages paid them do not exceed twelve cents a day. There is nothing to be proud of in our contact with the European powers. They have set back our progress thousands of years. They have thrown us in the most terrible confusion ever to be recorded in history.

Chapter VI.

CONCLUSION: RESTORE INDEPENDENCE TO AFRICA

AFRICA has had its day. Those days, as we saw in previous chapters, were progressive and memorable. We were unfortunately sundered from our progressive course by our contact with European mercantile adventurers who came to us in the garb of ambassadors of good will. Our experience since then has been suffering and confusion.

Our governmental system was replaced by what they call direct and indirect rule. Such innovations will fail as a governmental system. It is unnatural. It is therefore destined to die in a progressive human society.

Africans cannot be kept in ignorance forever, although our ruling overlords think they can. But Africa is awakening as never before. The dawn of consciousness has come. We have sensed the wrongs and are beginning to ask, "How long must we be kept under such chains?"

The members of the ruling class are also aware of these wrongs. They are daily and more and more often asking themselves whether it can be right to establish amongst subject races those forces of bureaucratic government which they have fought to abolish in their own country.

On August 15, 1941, Major Clement R. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, told West African students in London that the Roosevelt-Churchill principles apply to all races. "I look forward," he said "to an ever-increasing measure of self government in Africa and for an ever rising standard of life for all the people of Africa. We in the Labor Party have always been conscious of the wrongs done by the white races to races with darker skins. We have been glad to see how with the passing years the old conception of colonies as places inhabited by inferior people whose only function was to serve and produce wealth for the benefit of other people has made way for more just and nobler ideas."

The pronouncement of Major Attlee is not new to us. We have heard in the past from sweeter voices than that of Major Atlee. Mr. Winston Churchill said finer things when he was Colonial Secretary, and today, the colonial exploitation goes unabated! Mr. Malcolm Macdonald said in 1939 that there cannot be one system of government for the colonies and another for England. That assertion has not eradicated the totalitarian form of government in the colonies.

C. L. Temple, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., late Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Provinces of Nigeria, one of the far-sighted men of colonial administration, said: ". . . But so long as a race remains under the domination of another race it cannot be said to be living under normal conditions. Not only is the circulation in the body politic hindered, it is stopped. The organization is in a state of suspended animation, which, I submit cannot go on indefinitely; one of two things must happen, extinction or recovery. There is at all events no parallel in history to warrant our assuming that what appears to be a natural law will not operate in the future as it has in the past." C. L. Temple sees no complete fusion of the European conquerors with the colored conquered races, and the only

conclusion he arrived at was that some day they will recapture their liberty.

No other administrator has brought it out more clearly that the subject races are growing people who will not be satisfied with anything save independence. Temple, in his closing remarks, on the relation between dominant and dependent races, said:

"If we content ourselves with securing for the native peace and plenty, and nothing more, that is much, but it is not all; it is not enough to avert from us, in the long run, the effects of a growing desire for freedom on the part of the conquered on the one hand, and the throes of an unquiet conscience amongst ourselves on the other hand. We must, I submit, do more than that. We must give scope to the higher yearnings of human nature. We must open up channels and opportunities for the exercises of what I have described as the social ambitious instinct. We must permit, within certain limits—and the more they can be gradually extended the better—the native communities to manage their own affairs; we must impede as little as possible the circulation in the body politic and allow the native leader endowed with a legitimate and useful ambition to enjoy to a reasonable extent opportunities for the exertion of his talents."

Freedom. There is nothing which can satisfy the colonies except complete independence. Elsewhere in this book I have discussed independence from many angles. Whatever formula we adopt in relation to the colonies, there must be complete independence for them. It may be asked how I reconcile this independence with my plea to make the British Commonwealth of Nations include the colonies. Before the colonies can decide whether they should become members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, they must first of all enjoy unqualified independence, either under the system of "let alone," or under the Colonial

Service Bureau, which is fully discussed in later pages of this book. Their membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations will be that of free association—a social contract freely entered into and freely ratified by both parties.

In advocating unqualified independence for the colonies, I am not alone. Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, in point three of their eight points of the Atlantic Charter, agreed that "they respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forciby deprived of them."[1]

Only by such a move can the world secure enduring peace. Every man wants to be great and so, too, every nation. To suppress one for the advantage of the other invites conflict and eruption in the future. Justice for all is the only way to enduring peace.

[1] Eight Points follow:

THE EIGHT POINTS

Washington, Aug. 14 (A.P.).—The text of the declaration agreed on by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill follows:

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

SIXTH, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

EIGHTH, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

Chapter VII.

GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

BETWEEN the years 1870-1910 industry and agriculture, commerce and labor had advanced to the point of attracting the German government's interest and subsequently became "national interest." From the rapid advance of industry, and the adoption of cut-throat competitive mercantile practices, outlet was promised in the magic word "imperialism," or better still the term "manifest destiny."

The militarism and nationalism of Europe of the 1870's are too well known to warrant any comments here. Suffice it to say that Germany had become an important world power after the Franco-Prussian war. And as the by-product of social, political, and economic arrival of a nation, the desire for "living space" was only a natural consequence. Since the "ham-bone" for the carving knives of European imperialists was Africa, there was no reason why Germany should be restricted from taking her share in the "manifest destiny" of her compeers in the society of nations.

The scramble for Africa reached its greatest pitch between 1885 and 1920. The territory of the British Empire increased by more than 3,700,000 square miles, containing over 57,000,000 inhabitants. France, in

the same period, annexed 3,500,000 square miles, with over 38,000,0000 inhabitants; and Germany built up a colonial empire of over 1,000,000 square miles with nearly 20,000,000 inhabitants. None of these competing powers had the sanction of these inhabitants to be their protectors. It was self-assumed paternalism. The people refused the "benevolence," but were forced to accept it at the price of bloodshed.

Bismarck, who had stoutly refused overseas imperialism, had to give way to the desire of the merchant to sell his goods, the desire of the capitalist to make lucrative investments, and the desire of the missionary to convert heathen peoples. In 1879 a German trading company was recognized in the Samoan Islands. Bismarck had assumed a new role as champion of German industry and overseas expansion, and by 1884-5, prevailed on the Reichstag to sanction formal protectorates over the trading outposts in Africa. Whatever Bismarck's foreign policy was, one fact stood out clear: that the protectorates should serve to ameliorate the condition of the German artisan to the German capitalist. Whether or not the native was rubbed and robbed in the right way was irrelevant as long as German sons and daughters lived their lives abundantly.

This policy of the German home government in regard to her African colonies was Germany's idea of man's humanity to sub-humans. The African colonial or subject was a sub-human. He had no capacity, no ability other than "hewer of wood and drawer of water" for the German overlord. That was the German belief.

The occupied areas were grouped into co-operative plantations, the Germans "co-ing" and the natives "operating." Under such slave conditions there was nothing like native authority, there was nothing like "habeas corpus" law; the native was shot at sight and

at will by the master. Clothing, especially European attire, was believed not to have been made for sub-humans; and education, for that matter, was out of the question. The best way to give the native a shave was to pull his whiskers with pinchers. Cases of atrocities by this so-called civilized nation can be cited *ad infinitum*, but that is not the way for a people to remember in their hearts what their fathers had passed through and the intelligence passed on to them on their fathers' death beds.

Let us for a moment glance through the German efforts at protecting her wards of five decades ago. We shall take first the late German protectorate of Tanganyika in East Africa.

From the propinquity of East Africa to both India and Arabia, it is probable that the East Africans had some trade intercourse with the Indians and Arabians in very early times. By the eighth century A.D., with the surging spread of Islam at this time, Arabs and Persians had colonized East Africa; they worked it in their brutal way to a pitch of apparent prosperity from A.D. 1100 to 1300. The strong Arab and Persian rulers succeeded in throwing out the Portuguese from their territory. From 1650 to about 1700 the Arabs continued to harass the Portuguese in the other parts of East Africa. But soon an internal quarrel broke out to give respite to the Portuguese. Sultan Seyid Said, who was victorious in the civil strife, moved his residence from Maskat to Zanzibar (1840). After his death, his two sons took over the government with Zanzibar as an independent sultanate (1856). Then came the period of assault on the inland territories for slave labor. The slave trade at this time was so lucrative to the Indians and Arabs that even the treaty of 1873 between the English and the Sultan of Zanzibar did not improve conditions.

This grave condition was stopped by the famous

partition of Africa, which enabled the Germans to step into East Africa in 1884. Through the efforts of Dr. Karl Peters, more territory was acquired by the Germans. In 1890, by the payment of 200,000 pounds, the Germans took over the Sultanate of Zanzibar, the coast-strip of the territory. The clashes between the natives and the Germans during the years 1891-3 were minor incidents when compared with the great native uprising in 1905. This episode brings us to a major point for consideration in this work — the German treatment of the natives.

Forced labor was an administrative policy. This was often procured by harsh and inhuman methods by the administration. To add insult to injury, the hut-tax was introduced in 1897 in order to force the natives to work on German plantations in order to earn money to pay the tax. The treatment meted out by the conscienceless German masters to the natives cannot be fully described without becoming sentimental.

The natives, as would be expected, resented the measures and were mowed down like weeds. Sir H. H. Johnson in his *Colonization of Africa*[1] put the number of dead adults and children at 120,000. But that was only half the picture. The Germans showed their real selves by continuing reprisals even though the rebellion was over. The military authorities seized all available food supplies and crops and herds were deliberately destroyed. The result of this inhumanly savage action could be seen in the depopulation of Kilwa and the Rovuma watershed.

Despite the official personnel set-up, which was, so to say, an innovation by Herr Dernburg after studying British colonial methods, brutality to the natives yet prevailed.

[1] Second edition, page 413.

In 1911-12 there were:

5944 official floggings.
16 death penalties.
10,718 imprisonments under 6 months.
1,127 imprisonments over 6 months.
3,518 fines.[1]

We must not forget that the cloak of imperialism has been education (the arms of the cloak), civilization (the back of the cloak), and Christianization (the front of the cloak). As far as education was concerned, the German theory was to teach a sufficient number of natives trades and handicrafts in which they could be of use to the European master. Calvert gives us the following statistics for 1911; when the native population was 7,495,800:

NUMBER OF PUPILS[2]

	Elementary	*Higher*	*Industrial*
Government Schools	3,494	681	137
Mission Schools:			
Roman Catholic	31,274	724	61
Protestant:			
6 German, 2 English, 1 American	29,716	472	88
Total:	64,484	1,877	286

Turning to the late German Southwest Africa, we see almost a reduplication of the policy. We shall not waste ink on treaties with native rulers, treaties which were written in a foreign language and presented to ignorant or rather illiterate native chieftains, who at best could make the *X* mark or smear a soiled thumb over a piece of paper. Thus he signed away his birth right.

By September 14, 1892, Southwest Africa had not only become a sphere for German influence but had become a protectorate of Germany. Von Leutwein,

[1] *Handbook of German East Africa,* Admiralty 1923.
[2] Calvert, *German East Africa,* p. 101.

who was governor from 1894-1905, seemed to have had the human touch, and regarded and even respected the native customs. However, the respect was not complete, as the tribal land was gradually seized from the natives. Furthermore all land thus acquired became outright property of the government; it became a contravention of an ordinance for the rightful owners to graze their flock on the land. This state of affairs was soon aggravated to a point that the natives could stand no longer.[1] As would be expected, the uprising that resulted was quelled in the most brutal way.[2] Before the rebellion in 1904 the Hereros tribe numbered 80,000; the Hottentots 20,000; and the Berg-Damaras 30,000. In 1911 they had fallen to 15,130, 9,781, and 12,831 respectively, a total of 37,742 instead of 130,000.

Thus were the geese that laid the golden eggs nearly exterminated, and even the shortage of labor by this time did not affect the treatment by the Hun. By 1906 the natives owned practically no land.

Further north of the German Southwest Africa, we come to the Cameroons. Dr. Nachigal, who was sent out as Imperial Commissioner to West Africa to promote German trade, had in his briefcase a secret order to annex whatever land he could find as no-man's land. On July 12, 1884, he hoisted the German imperial flag over Cameroon. Von Soden became the first governor and without delay began opening up the interior by punitive expeditions, since a little resistance was encountered from the coastal middlemen. Furthermore he appropriated villages without compensation. The inhabitants as a whole were fighting men and would not tolerate such high-handedness. On the other hand the Germans, not being used to attacking any

[1] Von Leutwein, *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Sudwestafrika*, p. 467.

[2] Frenssen's *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Sudwestafrika*.

problem with tact or humanity, would not tolerate any opposition to their manifest dignity.

The story of the Cameroon was a story of expeditions and more expeditions. Coupled with the destruction from the expeditions, forced labor was obtained in the usual German style, depopulation not withstanding. It was a question of whose ox was gored. The judiciary was corrupt, justice and reason had fled to the beasts, and native potentates were dethroned at will during the governorship of von Puttkamer and the judgeship of von Brauhitsch. Uprisings upon uprising followed and thousands of natives lost their lives. The arrival of the Germans in the Cameroons marked the beginning of a long period of bloodshed and brutality. In the Togoland it was a question of the well-known German brutality. Expeditions were led to open the interior. This was done without regard for cost in human lives.

From these illustrations of the German methods of administration, it will not be hard to deduce what Germany would do with her late colonies if and when she gets them back. Some wishful thinkers believe that Germany would be more humane this time. Furthermore these mentally bankrupt dreamers hope that Germany would so treat the African native that the American Negro would wish that they were so treated and would turn against the United States, thereby precipitating a civil war. This is not all, for when the civil strife would be on, Germany would be relieved of her civilizing mission in Europe, and naturally would come to the rescue of an oppressed people.

It would be mid-summer madness for any one to have such a fantastic hope. The theory of Nordic superiority has so eaten up the mind of the German youth that there is nothing to expect other than that "Our fathers had scourged you with cat-o-nine but we shall scourge you with scorpion." In whatever lan-

guage the word imperialism may be translated, no matter how much of sugar-coating, no matter how the legal definition may be framed, imperialism will always connote exploitation.

Turning to the Italian adventure in Africa, let us refresh our memories with a little study of Italian history. In the medieval period the economic position of Rome was prosperous. Her Roman-Peace (Pax Romana) influenced commerce and Rome led the world in trade. She built up a large credit system and influenced nations. Up until 1500, Rome maintained her position as a great commercial country. This economic independence could have meant political stability and social regeneration. But her prosperity was short-lived, for an age of consciousness dawned, for knowledge was no longer a monopoly of any special country.

At no time, even in the great days of Italy, did she show traces of self-mastery in her problems. Italy was never a nation prior to the Franco-Prussian war. But she was destined one day to be the harbinger of others' freedom. The treaty of Plombières with France in 1858 was a determination to drive the Austrians out of Italy and pave the way for a New Italy. The victories at Magenta and Soleperino enhanced this aim. In 1861, Victor Emmanuel, perhaps the proudest name in modern Italy, was declared king. Finally in 1870, as result of the Franco-Prussian war Italy became a nation.

The first dream of Italy had been realized. And it is the verdict of history that when a country has achieved its own salvation and stands erect and free, it takes upon itself the mission of spreading that salvation to less favored lands: unity at home is followed by expansion abroad. At this time the Tunisian treasury was controlled by a tripartite commission of French, British, and Italian representatives (1864). Owing to the position of Tunisia, for a successful de-

fense of the Italian sea and mainland, Italy began to cherish a secret hope of annexing the territory. But the French in 1881 beat Italy to the prize and occupied Tunisia. This apparent double-crossing by the French added momentum to the Italian desire for an onward march toward the realization of her "manifest destiny" in Africa.

As all late comers, Italy was crude in her venture, but her only excuse was, "I am a late comer." Encouraged by the support of the central powers, she consolidated her gains around Assab Bay. In 1895 she tried her hand in the game of pulling out chestnuts from a burning fire. She seized the Tigre Province of Ethiopia. As quickly as she seized the province, so quickly did Menelik take up arms against the Italians. The story of the battle of Adowa is too well known to elaborate further upon it. Suffice it to say that the Italians suffered ignominious defeat and had to sue for peace.

As for the acquisition of Cyrenaica, it is well known that Italians and Turks agreed to disagree, and a quarrel broke out between them. This war was ended by the treaty of Ouchy, also called the Treaty of Lausanne. With the end of the war Italy took over Cyrenaica.

From the time Italy went out for expansion to the present, she has remained a hungry nation, and this fact must be borne in mind when considering what type of colonial administration she had. In the First World War Italy played the role of an opportunist, and was amply rewarded. For at the close of the First World War, all the promisory notes Italy had received proved to be rubber checks. England had no time for an opportunist, and France was too busy. Italy soon found that she had a Caesar but did not know it. In 1922 the new Caesar asserted himself in the person of Signor Mussolini.

The diplomacy of Mussolini will yet be written about, but it will always be remembered for all ages to come that Mussolini had an eye for choosing good friends who dream the same dreams as he does and who believe in the impotence of democracy—or call it freedom. Mussolini and Hitler today are showing the world only a sample of what the ideal world would be like and it needs no imagination to predict the position of the Black Man in the new World Order of the Axis.

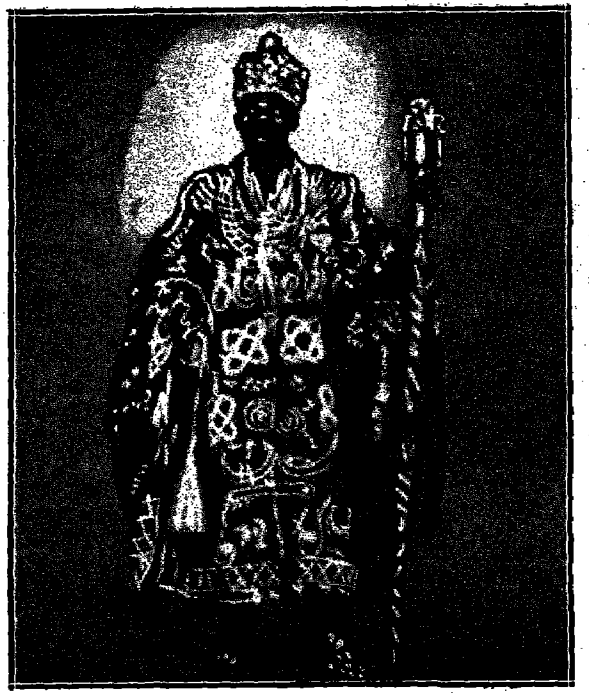
The philosophy on which the governmental machine of Mussolini is reared is anachronistic and repugnant. This philosophy insists:

1. That all citizens must act in a particular way; that is to say, no freedom of choice, and no freedom of worship.

2. It excludes from a share in the government all those parties and sections who do not subscribe to the idea of the dominant party.

According to Mussolini, "Fascism scoffs at democracy, the absurd conventional untruth of political equality dressed out in the garb of collective irresponsibility. Fascism denies that the majority, by the simple fact that it is a majority, can direct human society. It denies that number alone can govern by means of periodical consultations, and affirms the immutable, beneficial and fruitful inequality of mankind, which can never be permanently levelled by mere operation of a mechanical process such as universal suffrage." Mussolini, in asserting the absolute state, was voting with Hegel and Fichte. "The principle," says he, "that society exists solely through the well-being and the personal liberty of all the individuals of which it is composed does not appear to be conformable to the plans of nature."

Mussolini's philosophy has no place for colonial people other than to use them as an economic footstool for Italy. Mussolini's march into Ethiopia in 1935



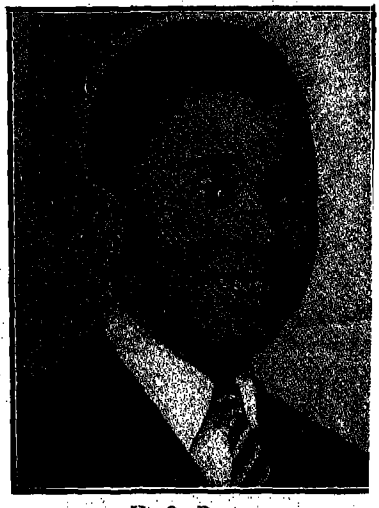
His Highness the Alake of Abeokuta
erudite and progressive ruler of the Egbas of Western Nigeria.

Hon. G. C. Whiteley, C.M.G.
Commissioner, with the Oba of Benin

DR. C. C. ADENIYI JONES
president of the Nigerian National Democratic Party.

PROFESSOR NNAMDI AZIKIWE
managing director of "The West African Pilot," who has recently demanded from Prime Minister Churchill an explanation of the implications of the Atlantic Charter as it relates to Africa.

WALLACE JOHNSON
labor leader of Sierra Leone, now



H. O. DAVIES
graduate of London School of Economics, general secretary of the

justifies this assertion. It is known that Italy was the godfather of Ethiopia in the League of Nations. She proposed Ethiopia's entry and recognized her as a nation. Yet Italy raped that ancient kingdom of that nationhood. There is no baser action in all modern history, an action for which the world is still paying heavily.

Italy admitted that her act was for economic ends. Mussolini is attributed to have said, "The wheel of destiny moves towards a goal—the rhythm has become faster and cannot be stopped. An attempt is being made to commit the blackest injustice against Italians, that of refusing them a place in the sun. Until it is proved to the contrary, I refuse to believe that the people of Great Britain wish to shed their blood and drive Europe towards catastrophe to defend a barbarous country unworthy of ranking among civilized peoples."

The aim of Italy in Africa is to conquer and dominate it. It is not a conquest to Romanize the African people, because the culture and civilization that were of Rome are no more. They were lost in the nightmare of power. It is a conquest to strangle the optimistic ideals of the colonial peoples, to make them perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Italian state. Individual freedom and initiative, which are no longer in existence in Italy, certainly cannot exist in a subject country. The colonies will be subjugated and exploited to stabilize the economic and political deficiencies of Italy.

To the African youth it means doom! It means spiritual and physical regimentation — a spiritual plague. How long must nations be told that human beings are sacred and cannot be materials for barter? Italy must preserve her own life before she can preserve it in the life of others.

Germany Then and Now. What was Germany in

the past years? Has she changed now? In other words what has been and what is the constitutional philosophy of the German People? It is necessary to know this, for the rest of the chapter dealing with Germany will endeavor to establish whether Germany has any consistent philosophy of life. By consistent philosophy of life, I mean a philosophy of inclusive humanity, that takes into regard the sacredness and uniqueness of human personality, that strives to make that individuality in a man grow, that treats a man as an end, and not as a means to an end.

When points bearing on this are finally cleared, then we can determine the ideologies which motivate the decisions and actions of that nation. At this stage of our endeavor, it will not be an exaggeration to say that we have known the country in question. It is only then that we can predict what that country's attitude to other countries would be. In order, therefore, to determine what Germany's intentions in Africa will be, Germany must first of all be understood.

Then we can ask, what will Germany's role in the colonies be? What part is she to play in her civilizing mission to Africa? In other words, just what is her fitness to determine the destiny of God's creations of other lands?

The Germans, from their earliest time to the present, have no consistent philosophy of life. Each period of their national life has been examined in the succeeding chapters and in none can we state categorically that the Germans believe in individual and civil liberty which ought to form the cornerstone and foundation of any progressive life. There were traces of freedom-loving ideas at certain well-marked periods in German life, but since such ideas were foreign to Germany, she gave them no fertile soil in which to grow, and so they died unmourned.

Take the period when the Germans were divided

into tribes: unorganized and un-unified. It was during this stage of their development that they destroyed the Roman Empire and all that it stood for. The Roman Empire fell. The conquerors took over the Vandals in North Africa, the Franks in Gaul, the Visigoths in Spain, the Ostrogoths and Lombards in different parts of Europe. These tribal peoples had no plans, no ambitions other than conquest. They had nothing to offer in the place of Roman culture. With the Germanic Empire of the West, progress ceased. The old Roman schools disappeared or were replaced by new monastic schools with meager instructions.

Since these Germanic peoples had nothing to replace the culture they destroyed, Europe was plunged into the Dark Ages, the most gloomy and the most lamentable epoch in European history. Confusion, lawlessness, and ignorance were the order of the day, the lowest point reached by European civilization. The conquering rulers did not care for old literature and science. Meanwhile, light had gone out of Europe, and Germany was responsible.

Then came Martin Luther with his lofty idea—an idea which hit hard the religious and political traditions of the time. Nothing promoted by a single individual against a mighty and formidable force of religious conservatives of any time has been more daring, more dynamic, and more challenging than this act of one man, Luther. This challenge took Europe by storm, its daring alarmed the churchmen, its vision inspired the masses of the people—yes, this beginning of individual freedom was made by Luther—and Luther was a German. What a lofty ideal! The ideal that an individual has a right and a soul, or what Kant called a "moral imperative."

Germany got the credit for Luther, but not the fruit of his efforts. Luther's idea reformed France, England, Holland and many other countries, but not Germany.

Germany ratified Luther's new doctrine only in so far as it did not interfere with her policies of the state, but the part which applies to uncompromising religious tolerance was left out. Germany failed completely to understand this new philosophy of life. Her constitutional philosophy was still domination and force.

Then came the period when Germany was under the domination of France. We thought that the experiences under Napoleon would have taught her to differentiate between domination and liberty, but such experiences taught her no such lessons. The Germans loved liberty because they struggled to get themselves out from under the domination of Napoleon; but when they eventually did, they forgot to make that liberty endure in their own civic and individual lives.

Then in 1871, as a nation that came to birth under the most successful circumstance, by defeating France and securing other rich booties, the Germans still adored the absolute state in which man figures only as a means to an end.

After the Great War, their suffering brought the idea of liberty much closer to their doors than at the time when Napoleon's conquering army brought the slogan of the revolutionaries of France—"Equality, Liberty and Fraternity." Metternich helped them to cast this philosophy aside. That post-war idea of liberty was expressed in the Weimar Constitution; but again it was short-lived.

Then came the Nazi regime which decided once again that the German state should be absolute, that the ruler of that state is divine and superhuman. In the succeeding section we shall observe Germany in various periods, beginning from her struggle for liberation from France until the time of Germany under the chancellorship of Adolf Hitler.

Germany Struggles for Freedom. Napoleon conquered Germany and brought her under the domination

of French rule. Germany resented this and determined to shake off the shackles of French militarism. Ah, how sweet is the fruit of liberty! Long live liberty, long may it reign! If the Germans understood how dear liberty was — what could they have said when reviewing their past career? This critical period brought a new dawn in the life of the Germans. Men like Stein and Scharnhorst rose to the occasion. They sought to know how the German peoples could liberate themselves from French domination. It was a period of self-analysis and self-study. It was a period of deliberation, plan, and action. It was such an hour as hastened the unity of Greek states. In the life of the German people it is known as the renaissance of Prussia.

Stein and Scharnhorst carried through a number of measures, such as the abolition of serfdom, the creation of local self-government, and the reorganization of the army on a national and patriotic basis, which gave Prussia many of the advantages of the French Revolution. And with the new institutions was born a new spirit, unknown hitherto in this feudal and military state, which bound high and low together in a common passionate love of country. For the first time within her life Germany was learning the principles of liberty. She saw that to liberate herself from France she must first liberate herself from her own bondage. For the first time, traces of liberty were discovered in Germany's life. How far she carried and practiced it will be seen.

The German leaders gave liberty to the people and united them against a common cause. Other European states, anxious to check the ambitions of Napoleon, joined the cause of Prussia. The military reverses of Napoleon saved Prussia, at least for a time.

The defeat of Napoleon made possible the Congress of Vienna. This congress of the powers assembled to

discuss the reconstruction of Europe. The modern age has not seen a more brilliant gathering of notables—a simple drawing room sometimes held Czar Alexander, the Great Wellington, the German patriot Stein, the courtly Talleyrand, and that master of diplomatic wiles, the Austrian Chancellor Metternich. The object of the Congress of Vienna was to restore the legitimate states as opposed to the illegitimate creations of Napoleon.

As far as the Congress of Vienna is concerned, it is interesting to note that it failed to achieve its objective. The great powers did not fail to compensate themselves territorially for their past losses and labors. Their hunger for land modified the plan of a restoration. England, the oldest and the most successful of the enemies of Napoleon, was paid in colonial territory, receiving South Africa (the Cape), Ceylon, Malta, and Heligoland. The most serious danger to the permanence of these arrangements arose from the fact that they disappointed the national hopes of the Italian, the Polish, the German, and the Belgian peoples. The seed which Europe in the future will harvest is right here. Thus we see the setting up of the "Have and Have-not Camps" of modern Europe.

Furthermore, Metternich, the chancellor of Austria, determined to use the congress as an instrument for suppressing liberal principles. The Congresses of Tooppan and Laibach were engineered by Metternich to suppress liberal principles in various countries. In this daring adventure he was strengthened by the Holy Alliance. His attempt to destroy liberal ideals in Italy and Spain was greatly opposed by England. Ferdinand VII, encouraged by him, held the doctrine of absolutism of the states as correct. England backed President Monroe, and the Monroe Doctrine was born, which liberated the Spanish colonies from the authoritative government of Spain. Here was the beginning of the

defense of democracy against absolutism. Already Europe was gradually dividing into camps, some to follow the leadership of England, others to follow in the footsteps of the German, Metternich.

England, under Canning, deserted the Holy Alliance. The Treaty of London, made by a majority of the powers and formed in behalf of freedom against an established and legitimate sovereign, may be accepted as a finishing blow to the so-called Holy Alliance. Metternich was a great drawback to German aspiration at this period. He was opposed to anything liberal. And there arose the first clash between England and Germany on questions of political doctrines, principles, and practices.

The domestic situation of Germany was hopeless because liberalism had not come to Germany to stay. Scarcely fifteen years before, when Germany was under storm and in distress, under her able and patriotic leaders she had adopted liberal principles in order to hold the people against France. Now that France had been checked and Austria and Prussia once more enjoyed free air, why could not this interlude be used in furthering those ideals laid down by Stein and Scharnhorst?

Metternich was the stumbling block. The idea of German unity was unthinkable to him. The bond of 1830 which he favored was just a loose confederation of princes. The common man had no voice in the affairs of state. Nevertheless, the world over, man was becoming cognizant of the situation. Means of contact and communication were developing rapidly. Man can be kept down only during the unconscious period of his development; but when he can speak for himself, any attempt towards suppressing him is difficult. The breeze of freedom was still blowing from the landscape of France, echoing equality, fraternity, and liberty to all the nations of the world. The first liberal

move of 1830 had little effect on Germany. "Phlegmatic Germany," says Schwill, "unused to the exercise of political rights, had not acquired the revolutionary habit, and the sole result of the year 1830 was the establishment of constitutionalism in the small states. In Austria and Prussia the absolute system as yet survived, though it was clearly evident that the peoples of these states, too, would before long be seized by the liberal current of the time."

Another liberal movement, that of 1848, blowing over France gave further impetus to the growth of German manhood. The Germans began demanding liberty, equality, and fraternity. The people who eighteen years before had missed the spark of liberalism now saw it and demanded it at the expense of the chancellor. Metternich's own capital, the very hearthstone of the spirit of reaction, was one of the first to feel the new freedom.

On March 14, 1848, Vienna rose and drove the aging prince, who more than any man was responsible for the narrow conservatism of the first half of the century, from the chancellery of the Austrian Empire and from the capital. On March 19, Berlin followed the example of Vienna and rose to protest against the autocratic system. This was the most revolutionary period in the life of the German people. Liberty for all gave the signal for German union. Frederick William was offered the crown of united Germany, but he hesitated. The people would not stop short of anything but liberty. The advent of William I marked the beginning of a new era in Prussian history. The king called into his cabinet as prime minister the man who was destined not only to break the opposition of the parliament but also to bring about the unification of Germany. Otto von Bismarck was a Brandenburg squire of ancient lineage, who in the revolution of 1848

had fearlessly defended the royal prerogative against the democratic innovators.

He carried on a successful war with Austria and his triumph led to the formation of the Northern Confederacy of the German people. France, the mortal enemy of Germany, he again humiliated; and through this success he achieved the entire unification of the German people. Germany marched triumphantly into France. On January 18, 1871, the edifice of German unity was completed and the fact proclaimed to the world from the Hall of Mirrors, the sumptuous palace of Louis XIV at Versailles. Bismarck, the architect of Germany, was raised to the rank of prince and became the head of the national cabinet under the name of Chancellor. The war was over. France had to buy peace from Germany by paying an indemnity of one billion dollars and ceding Alsace and a part of Lorraine. This was the signal of the rise of the German nation.

New Germany. This rise of the German nation seen in 1871 was a landmark in their history, and at the same time, an announcement to the world of the birth of German consciousness itself. When a country or a nation has incorporated all its complicated ideologies into a centralized, harmonious whole, when that country has gone through life's hardships and difficulties, it is worthy of an honored place among nations.

Neither William I nor Bismarck was the author of the new Germany. They helped in its conception. Out of the battle and humiliation of Tilsa, out of the intrigues of the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance, out of the diplomatic wiles of Metternich, out of the endurance and patriotic enthusiasm of Stein and Scharnhorst, out of the sorrow and thirst for liberty of 1830 and 1848, out of the defeat and triumph of succeeding years, sprang the new Germany to be guided by William and Bismarck. The federal constitution,

a compromise between Prussian autocracy and German liberalism, left the sovereign in control of the army, the administration, and the ministry.

New Germany emerged with great determination and pride: with pride because she had paid the old scores with France. What now was the goal of Germany? Had her long studies in the university of life meant anything to her? If Germany failed to understand life at this time after she had passed through an anguishing and grinding period, never could she understand.

Unfortunately, the victory over France had made Germany more ambitious than ever. The rich coal and iron deposits of Alsace and Lorraine had proved a booty vital to industry and the military program. In her jubilation she missed the vital link of man to the state. Bismarck's militaristic idea was not abandoned after the defeat of France. The German people were still imbued with theories. The fruits of victory over other states meant liberty to the German people, it meant idealization of the state and absolute obedience to it. How could the people who fought bitterly through 1830-48 to liberate themselves from the dupes of statesmen surrender themselves completely to the mercy of the state? How could a people who rose with one accord to ward off a common danger at the threat against their state, work unceasingly to invite a danger to their state at peace, instead of trying to achieve a better life and thought? Neither German conduct nor her philosophy of life at this time can be explained.

The defeat of France added another segment to her political philosophy. Liberty, fraternity, and equality went down with France. Germany believed now in power and her ambition was to dominate. If Germany could defeat a power like France, with her well-trained and best-equipped army in Europe, at a time when Germany could scarcely be called a nation, how much

more could be accomplished in a time of national greatness? Germany built her indomitable will on the philosophy of Hegel, Fichte, and Nietzsche. A premium was put on war and power. Nothing more clearly marked the German political thought at the time than the expression of Fichte: "The universe is myself."

It was also the period of nationalism and expansion. Germany was aiming a decisive blow against England. Bismarck knew it and was preparing feverishly for it. The German general, von Bernhardt, wrote: "War is a biological necessity, an indispensable regulator in the life of mankind, failing which would result a course of evolution deleterious to the species and, too, utterly antagonistic to all cultures."

Meanwhile, the scramble for Africa by European powers was preparing a fertile soil for the fulfillment of German ambition. As the dismemberment of Africa reached its critical stage the European powers viewed each other with suspicion. Africa was to determine the balance of power in Europe. Already some had the lion's share in the human spoils. The Christian nations, who were to teach the rest of the world Christian love and universal brotherhood, now plunged after human booty. Gold was their religion, gold their God. No wonder Germany viewed England with suspicion. France, Portugal, Spain, and Belgium all suspected each other. Their lust for Africa grew fiercer than ever. Leopold had sown a seed which was to be the seed of discord in Europe. Bismarck warned Germany that she must share in the fruit—good or bad. Disraeli, Joseph Chamberlain, and Sir Edward Grey were great Britishers and great imperialists. They were destined to secure for England her lion's share. In their characteristic coolness they pursued a policy of neither compromise nor abandonment in their colonial venture. Germany's protests were met in the usual smiling

manner or the usual diplomatic style—"His Majesty's Government will consider."

England was dealing with a nation difficult to understand, a country suspicious of diplomatic talks and heeding no reason. Germany made up her mind that England opposed her realizing her colonial ambition. The submission of England became the cry of German aristocrats. German citizens were at once educated to the fact that England was Germany's mortal enemy. The Triple Entente entered into by England, France, and Russia was played upon in Germany. Germany claimed that she was encircled and, what was more, that she was obliged to defend herself and ward off the threat of England once and for all.

The World War was the climax in the history of the expansion of European powers. The war itself was the blackest, the gloomiest, the bloodiest in all human history. It wrecked the hearts of millions, it threw many into perpetual agony worse than death. Disorganization of the mind and body were the immediate results. It was the war which sealed the brilliant and illustrious career of the German people. Their great economic organization and industrial machinery collapsed under the heavy burden of war. The dejected mothers looked to their sons for consolation, but they were dead. The defeat of Germany blotted out her greatness and influence throughout the entire world. What she had was taken from her; her very life was in jeopardy.

What was the cause of all these things? It was the scramble to possess and dominate Africa. Africa caused the world woe, unheard of before. The result did not compensate for the labor and sacrifice. Ambition choked new Germany and her fall in 1918 was not unexpected. With the second humiliation of the German people arose the German Republic.

Death of the Republic and Rise of Nazism. Novem-

ber 11, 1918, was the gloomiest and most solemn day in German history. The armistice signed on this day not only called a stop to the bloodiest and the most perilous war in all human history, but it also called Germany to testify before the world why sentence of death should not be passed upon her. It was a gloomy day because on this day a great nation fell. It was solemn because sentence of death was passed as her children buried their heads in sorrow and shed tears, tears which had rolled unceasingly for four years of anguish and pain. It was a severe blow to the ambitions and proud hearts of the Germans. Amidst these travails and destitution once more the people shouted, "Give us peace—Give us liberty!" The Kaiser would not heed. His knowledge of men was limited. To him, they had no will and could not revolt. The voice of liberty was too strong a thing, however, to be stifled. The people rose and revolted. They demanded a republican form of government, and the Kaiser was forced to flee.

The German Republic was born. The Weimar Constitution became the first authentic democratic document of the German people. The Weimar Constitution, the new republican government, was received with mixed feelings of suspicion and surprise by those who have followed closely the history of the German people.

The Germans for thousands of years had been used to iron discipline. They were not accustomed to the democratic way of life. It was foreign to the German language and thought. Why was it that a people who had gone through all the grinding period of ancient times, and the Middle Ages, had fought Napoleon so vigorously, had so valiantly worked for the unification of Germany and labored for more than 1500 odd years to establish a new Germany, could not learn either from experience or observation of others the signifi-

cance of freedom and liberty? How could this people jump overnight to democratic ideals and principles?

The republic was ill-planned, ill-conceived, and at its birth was a weakling. It was not destined to stand the test of democratic life. The soil on which it was reared, and the process by which it was nurtured were inadequate. Even those who became its custodians were foreign to the ideals they pretended to represent. The foundation was too weak and the executives weaker. Hindenburg assumed an impossible task for which he was suited neither by training nor by enthusiasm and loyalty. Justice, morality, and obedience to the dictates of reason and conscience, which are the keynotes of liberty, had long fled from him. He listened to the voices of his cabinet ministers and their policies, and the sweetest to him was right. Democracy means life, life means strength and reason, but strength had gone from Hindenburg and life was also gone. He was too old to lead.

Then came Heinrich Bruling. He confused democracy and autocracy. He ruled more by decrees than by the provisions of the constitution. He stabbed the young republic before he was aware of the danger and consequences. Franz von Papen gave a finishing touch to whatever remained of the republic. How could people pretend to guide the destiny of a nation without first finding out what were the possibilities and what the difficulties? The goal, the purpose, must be clearly understood. The patterns for accomplishing them must be sought. The republic failed to do this. It mixed autocracy and democracy. The royal titles were still adored. The deep-seated respect for the princes was still clearly marked.

The same military pomp of the old Kaiser's days was still worshiped. Private armies paraded the streets. Everywhere they openly defied the republic. The number of secret service men in private pay was enor-

mous. Democracy means security, but security was absent. The republic retained the old school of thought. If Germany wanted to be republican at heart and the leaders had been thoroughly sure that it was the right thing, the educational system of Germany should have been completely overhauled. Everything which spoke of militarism should have been blocked or exterminated. What futility! To found a republic on the very heart of Fichte and Nietzsche was ludicrous and impracticable. The German republic was a product of emergency; it was never destined to be permanent, for it was out of tune with the German way of life.

The conspirators against the young republic were thoroughly aware of its defects and weaknesses. They were further prepared because they had their plan and objectives well laid out. Their foundation was thorough. The materials they used were borrowed from the very soul of Germany. They knew what Germany wanted and they gave it. They knew the soul and the aspirations of the German people. Otherwise, with its limited resources and limited possibilities the Nazi Party could have been utterly exterminated from German soil before it got anywhere.

Hitler used every method conceivable to promote his rise to power. He played upon the psychology of the German people. He persuaded them to believe that Germany was a sick child and that he alone could bring it back to life. He played upon the magnificence and grandeur of Germany's past and reminded the people that they were now in the clutches and chains of their mortal enemies, England and France.

One can picture Hitler saying: "You cannot be German if you feel satisfied to remain under this chain and imprisonment; you have betrayed the trust of your fatherland if you do not avenge the disgrace and humiliations; you have sold your sacred trust if you allow your women and children to be insulted and disgraced;

you have become virtual hewers of wood and drawers of water for France and England. You have been crushed under the burden of debt imposed on you which you have neither enjoyed nor guaranteed. Ruhr, the very hearth of your father, is invaded; you neither can buy nor sell; your very home, your beloved wife and children, your very language are all at the mercy of other nations. Are you Germans? If you are, show it; show the world you are not sick. The world is for you, not for England and France. Show that you can defend your fatherland and preserve the ashes of your fathers and the temples of your gods. Germans awake! Defy death! It is only by force that you can save yourself. It is by this alone you can show the world that you are not weak—a dying thing as they call you. Now shake yourself from the lethargy that grips you and be worthy of the German name. If I go, follow me; if I march, march. If I win, you win, and the glory of our illustrious country shall once more be restored."

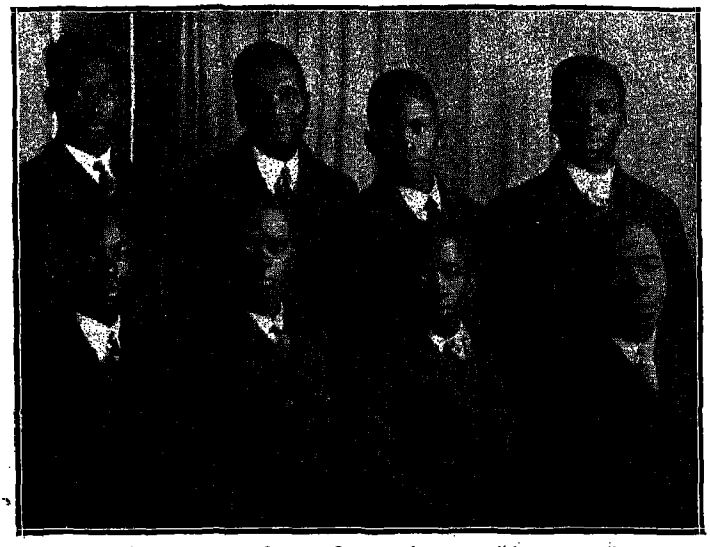
Such an appeal was German in language and German in disposition and thought. He had touched the core of their hearts. They were ready to forego liberty and curse the very name of freedom. Hitler was a good psychologist and a good realist, as well as being sincere and determined. He knew the mind and disposition of the people and he played upon them. As a realist, he knew the problems confronting the German people.

Invasion of the Ruhr was a mortal wound to the Germans. The result was inflation, which ruined the middle class, labor, and industry. The Weimar Constitution rested on a shaky foundation which never escaped the attention of its enemies. Hitler hit hard on its weakest points and secured its collapse.

It would be prejudice and a distortion of facts to brand Hitler simply an emotional and irate dictator.

MAZI DAVID OKOLI MBADIWE
the spiritual leader of Mbadiwe family, is senior brother of Kingsley.

MAZI GEORGE IGBODEBE MBADIWE
philosopher, who accompanied Kingsley to America. Illness compelled him to return to Africa.



KINGSLEY AND SEVEN OTHER AFRICAN "ARGONAUTS"
in Liverpool, England, en route to the United States.

AFRICAN STUDENTS AT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, CHESTER COUNTY, PA.

It is not what we like to think of Hitler that matters; we are compelled to view matters in the light of the facts. Hitler did not jump to be a dictator. He was made a dictator by the German people just as now Churchill, because of a national emergency, has been made the dictator of England. If emotion and irritation were the only qualifications of Hitler, he could not have secured a group of followers and admirers to surround him. At least, if the majority of Germans had no faith in him, what happened to Metternich could have happened to him as well.

Hitler came into power because he had a program. I am not here to defend or justify his program. Hitler came to power because he knew the psychology of his people and how to move them, and because the time was favorable.

Chapter VIII.

HITLER

HITLER is a great dreamer—and actor. When he became leader of the German people he had a program. Of course, he had dreamt of his program long before it became a reality. Hitler's dreams were:

1. To liberate the German people from the clutches of Versailles.
2. To dictate the policies of Europe and the world.

It is equally important to study the machinery by which Hitler intended to accomplish these ends. This is necessary, for it will be the bedrock of German politics. We know the German people to be a people without a philosophy of life. This is true of ancient days, of the Middle Ages, and of the early period of the modern era. When I say they have no philosophy of life, I mean that there is no foundation on which the German nation rests. The goal to which she is aspiring is not clearly defined, and there is no code by which she can live. The relationship between the state and the individual is not seen; morality and justice are all bound in one confused mass. No country or nation can take its place in the world and community of nations without deciding what her conduct should be.

This philosophy is the legacy which one generation leaves another either to modify or improve. It is the plan for the nation.

The Germans, as we know them, leave nothing worthy of emulation; leave no principles to be followed by their successors save idealization of war, and brilliant campaigns waged in order to control the policies of the world. Their successors have nothing to aspire to. It is sad that for nearly two thousand years of German history we cannot say what is the foundation or the ideal these people are driving towards. Not until Hitler's regime could we say, this is the *political doctrine of the German people.* The political structure of a nation is the central lake which feeds the adjoining streams that form the nation's life. To Hitler goes the credit for working out a German creed, but how unique a creed is another question.

Hitler's creed was borrowed from the advocates of "Absolute State." It is therefore necessary to examine these forerunners of fascism. These people gave Hitler the material and Hitler collected, weighed, and molded it into one central body of doctrines. The great forerunners of fascism, or at least those whose thoughts have made it possible, are Machiavelli (1469-1527), Calvin (1509-64), Fichte (1762-1814), Nietzsche (1844-1900), and Hegel (1770-1831). Unless we glimpse the thoughts of these men, we cannot understand and evaluate fascism, nor are we able to gauge its implications to the colonies and the world at large.

Hegel, of all contributors to fascism, stands out prominently. Hegel speaks of the absolute state—the super-state. He calls it the spirit of the nation. "The spirit of a nation," says Hegel, "controls and entirely dominates from within each person; he feels it to be his own person, and looks upon it as his absolute aim."

The following can be deduced from the writings of Hegel:

1. The state is the repository of the general will.
2. Individual freedom is only achieved in the state.
3. The state is the actual God.

(Mussolini, one of the greatest exponents of Hegelian thought, wrote, "The fascist state is itself conscious, and has itself a will and a personality—thus it may be called the 'ethic' state.")

Machiavelli, although a writer of the fifteenth century, was still a great contributor to fascism. Machiavelli clothed the ruler of a state with absolute and unimpeachable authority. His security must be the concern of the state and whatever means is employed by the ruler to justify this is absolutely correct. To achieve security, force, and absolute authority in the ruler are necessary; men must be restrained by the one weapon they can understand: force. He must have unfettered authority. No rival can be tolerated, otherwise his whole purpose would be frustrated. He justifies the slaying of Remus by Romulus. "War itself," he writes, "is justified when necessary, and arms are allowed when there is no other hope but in them." "No international law," writes he, "can bend to its will the independence of the sovereign state."

In an absolute monarchy, the sovereign, being the community's agent, has supreme power in the matter of war and peace. He also is responsible for what opinions shall be taught in the community's defense, how its members shall be educated, and by what laws its people shall be governed.

Fichte, 1762-1814, idealized war. The education of the Germans must be devoted to this object of universal military service and everybody must be trained to fight. If the question is put, "Why are they to

fight?" the answer is not, as one might have supposed, "To safeguard freedom, to increase material prosperity—or to defend hearth and home—but because they are imbued with the devouring flame of higher patriotism, which embraces the nation as the venture of the eternal, for which the noble-minded man joyfully sacrifices himself and the ignoble man, who exists only for the sake of the other, must likewise sacrifice himself." The outstanding trait of the noble is strength of will, which Fichte calls "the very root of man." The will chiefly affirms itself by postulating not only itself, but everything else. Thus, "The universe," says Fichte, "is myself."

Nietzsche is the apostle of force and antagonist of religion. His contribution to fascism is the justification of force and the contempt of religion. Nietzsche affirms that power is itself an aim, and that by conquest and exercise of power the noble are to be recognized. In one of his celebrated passages Nietzsche writes "Passion for power is the earthquake which breaketh, upbreaketh all that is rotten and hollow; the rolling, rumbling, punitive demolisher of whitened sepulchres, the flashing interrogative sign beside premature answers; passion for power, before whose glance man creepeth and cruncheth, and drudgeth and becometh lower than the serpents and swine, until at last great contempt crieth of him."

In dealing with religion, Nietzsche first of all denies equality. "Equality," says he, "is myth, for human beings are not equals." Attacking Christian ethics, he writes, "Conscience is not the voice of God; it is a feeling, a guilt arising in the soul which has the courage to flout, but not to dispose the prejudices of the herd. Humility and meekness are virtues appropriate to slaves." "Christianity," he continues, "is in fact little more than an organized conspiracy to put a premium upon weakness. Christianity is the religion

of the inefficient and the cowardly; it assures the failures of this life that they will succeed in the next; the miserable, that they will be happy; the lonely, comforted; and the poor, wealthy, with a wealth more valuable than earthly riches."

Calvin made an amazing contribution to fascist thought in his denial that man is capable of decision in conduct of his life. Man therefore needs an autocratic ruler: "Let it stand," he affirms, "therefore, as an indubitable truth, which no engines can shake, that the mind of man is so entirely alienated from the righteousness of God that he cannot conceive, desire or design anything but what is wicked, distorted, foul, impure and iniquitous; that his heart is so thoroughly envenomed by sin that it can breathe out nothing but corruption and rottenness; that if some man occasionally makes a show of goodness, his mind is ever interwoven with hypocrisy and deceit, his soul inwardly bound with the fetters of wickedness. Such a creature could not be capable of running the business of government with any success. Obedience to the commands of those in authority is a religious duty."

On this ground religious persecution went on. According to the confessional book of the Germans: "To serve Hitler is to serve Germany; to serve Germany is to serve God." In such a state the conduct of the people is determined by the will of the ruler. The moral code, the educational system of any organization which promotes free exercise of thought and reason must be in conformity with the dictates of the ruler. Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* said that the duty of Germans is "not to select out objective truth, in so far as it may be favorable to others, but uninterruptedly to serve one's own truth." Herr Rust, Minister of Education, issued orders to the teachers "that they give to their pupils the fundamental principles of the philosophy and the idea of National Socialism." Justice

in this state is not giving every one his due, as Plato conceives of justice, but justice is that which conforms to the ruler's wishes. Field Marshal Goering, in speaking to an audience of lawyers, told them that "Justice and Hitler's will are one and the same thing." Accordingly, Herr Wagner, the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, has laid down the dictum that "What Hitler decides is right and will remain eternally right."

The question can now be asked, "What is fascism?" Fascism is a political philosophy in action, adopted not to satisfy reason but to meet the needs of the hour. It is presighted. It is not progressive. It clothes the state with absolute authority and holds its action unimpeachable, irrespective of how it affects the individuals who create it. The principle of totalitarianism, more particularly in its German form, demands certain sacrifices of free thought, free criticism, free combination, and free imagination in the interest of the state's welfare. The welfare of the state is that which is willed by the general will, that is, the real will of the people. This general will or real will is, in Germany, interpreted by members of the National Socialist Party, who explain what the interest of the community ought to be. These interests are in all respects identical with those of the National Socialist Party.

This is a state where the Divine Rights are still recognized and the state is absolute, and the people's relations to the state are those of unquestioning obedience and subservience. Individual initiative, freedom to select, and freedom to worship are no longer justified.

Hitler in World Politics. After Hitler had achieved an accord with the German people, he turned his attention to the world at large. Here his genius cannot be overlooked. He did not first address his intentions to the outside world; he began with the German people. He understood them and then educated them to under-

stand him—"Hitler," he often said, "is Germany and Germany is Hitler." There was complete understanding, at least an *esprit de corps*, before he turned to the world; and when he spoke he spoke with the united voice of the German people. Even England knew this too late, as shown by the leaflet it dropped over Germany at the start of the war, imploring the people to rebel against Hitler and his regime.

What were Hitler's chief complaints? They were: insecurity, humiliation, insult, and injustice, which he said were the lots of the German people after the war (1914-18). He contended that all these were expressed in the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty was branded as a stumbling-block to German industry, labor, and the general welfare of the people. The indemnity imposed upon Germany was fabulous. How could they find the money to pay this? Unemployment, poor wages, French insistence and threats all helped to paralyze the economic life of Germany. For many months after the armistice Germany still continued to suffer from the blockade. Every avenue of communication and transportation was blocked.

It was not only a domestic disaster but an international misfortune as well. The Allies could expect the indemnities to be paid only if the industrial outlook in Germany revived. Germany was again resentful of the foreign control introduced in her political machinery. The armistice commissioners were to check on all acts of Germany. The seizure of her colonies was taken as an act of humiliation; the separation and creation of independent states at her expense was looked upon as an unjust and deliberate design to bottle her up. Hitler, in one of his memorable speeches, said, "Neither the German people nor myself have taken an oath on the Treaty of Versailles; I have merely taken an oath on the welfare of those whom

destiny has placed within our living space, thus inseparably binding them to our own welfare."

It must be stated here that not only Hitler and the German people denounced the Treaty of Versailles. There were many liberal and reasonable persons, especially in the democratic countries, who denounced this treaty, not because of how its terms affected the German people, but because of its potential danger to the peace and security of the world. They saw in it an open expression of revenge rather than a treaty to prevent future wars. It was no more than the Congress of Vienna, and its final act, which deviated from the intention to create legitimate states as against the illegitimate ones of Napoleon's creation, by proceeding only to satisfy the territorial ambitions of the great powers. They contended that the annexation of Sudeten Germany to Czechoslovakia was a contravention of everything moral and reasonable. To annex these Germans living just a stone's throw away to a non-German state under a non-German government was in itself an artificial arrangement. The Germans called it a peace of humiliation and revenge, imposed by conquerors on a prostrate foe. Even before Hitler came into power there were many international organizations who did not favor the treatment of Germany in the peace terms. The Permanent Commissioner of Labor and Socialist International on April 26, 1919, passed the following resolution:

> The Conference refuses to recognize any claims of alien nations to sovereignty over such homogeneous German districts as form a geographical unit with German-speaking districts.

The Right Honorable Arthur Henderson in his book, *The Peace Terms* wrote, "Millions of Germans are placed under Czechoslovakian, Polish and Italian rule. This will create irredentist populations as con-

siderable as those which provoked the Serbian agitation before the war." Lloyd George was not himself happy over the peace terms because he knew the revengefulness of human nature. The unity among German people under Hitler is not surprising, because when he said the German people were insecure he had ample and practical proofs to substantiate his assertions. Hitler contends that the National Socialist Party was the outcome of injustice done to Germany at Versailles. "National Socialism," says Hitler, "is not a phenomenon which has grown up in Germany with malicious intent of thwarting League efforts at revision, but a movement which arose because for fifteen years the most natural human and social rights of a great nation had been suppressed and denied redress."

Despite all evidence which Hitler can bring to denounce the Treaty of Versailles, despite the denouncement of this treaty by eminent and learned men who are well qualified to speak on it, it can still be justified under the circumstances which brought it to life.

I have studied the Treaty of Versailles from its human angle; I have also studied it as an African who has long suffered from the wounds and reproaches of those who detest him — the imperialists. I can no longer see truth in international relationship. Reason and sanity have fled from statesmen; truth and facts have been replaced by falsehood and duplicity, often called diplomacy. These in turn have bred those monstrous creatures: nationalism, sovereignty, and racial superiority.

In a world where nationalism, sovereignty, and racial superiority have been created by man to advance his imperialistic ends; in a world where strata in international and national relationships have been created either economically or politically, it is evident that conflict must accompany competition. It is evident that

there can be no end to this conflict—the winner must defend his position and the vanquished must seek to win.

Let man no longer deceive himself. I know him as a kinsman, I know him as an acquaintance, I know him as a friend; I know him in society and I know him in international relationship. He is alive with a heart and conscience, with a heart that knows shame and knows dignity. He is an evolving creature. Like the plants he must seek the light of the day. He thirsts for recognition. In a world where people have drifted into states where some are independent while others are not; in a world of capitalistic economy where some are economically independent and some are not; in a world of imperialistic intrigues where some sovereign states have been classified as "have-not nations" and others "have nations"; in a world where racial superiority is invoked; where some people are regarded as inferior and others are regarded as superior; it is manifest that a psychological as well as a sociological factor has been created. The psychological factor makes for an inferiority complex, and the sociological factor creates a desire for adjustment. So long as society forms strata or creates a situation with such inequalities among the people as this, let us not further deceive ourselves, or try to distort facts: there can be no end to wars, whether we like it or not. A Hitler, a Moses, "a defensive war," "an independence war," "an adjustment war" and, later, "a racial war" must be expected.

The appearance of Hitler in Germany, or Mussolini in Italy, or Ghandi in India, should not cause surprise. The type of society in which we live brought them about. More will follow later, maybe in Africa, America, or England. Many have come and gone, but their annals, whether popular or unpopular, make an indelible niche in the records of mankind. No matter

what we call them, Dictator, President, Prime Minister, Plenipotentiary, they are heroes of the hour that brings them. America fought to liberate herself from the yoke of England; it was a war for independence. To England, George Washington was a dictator, a traitor to the cause of His Majesty; to Americans, George Washington is a hero. The Duke of Wellington was the most tyrannical murderer that ever lived to the Frenchmen, while Napoleon was the same to England; but each in the eyes of his respective country is a hero.

War can never cease while we dominate and imperil other nations and teach them the doctrine of lower over higher. Today Europe is fighting a war of adjustment, a war to adjust shelter, food, and clothing to a more equitable distribution. Tomorrow Africa will fight a war of independence. She can no longer suffer from the yoke of these deceptive nations who assume trusteeship without a contract. It is my unshakable confidence that Africa will before long find a way out. The injustice to Abyssinia is fresh—witness the massacre of innocent men and women in Nigeria. The injustices done to our institutions are no longer a story. How can renascent Africans view these things with complacency? Nor is this all. We forget racial wars. This may be the last and perhaps the most bloody in human history. It will be no surprise if a hero shall rise either to lead a particular country toward new social and economic adjustments or to wage a war of independence. Hitler has arisen as a German hero of adjustment and Churchill as an English hero of defense, and Ghandi as an Indian hero of independence. None of these is a traitor to the cause of his country, but beyond their environs they may all be seen as dictators or traitors.

Hitler has led me to probe into the Treaty of Versailles. Why? Because he complains about it. Again,

as an African I am interested. Why? Because I wish to know how the Christian world regards the colonies. I do not quarrel with Hitler for coming into power, nor do I complain of his leading the German people and helping to solve their problems. But I do insist that there be a reasonable conduct toward finding the solution to the problem of this country. I insist on this because to know what the problems are, and what the situation ought to be, reason is essential. Further, to know the relation of those problems with the universal scheme of things, reason is essential. It is in the art of application of this fundamental that some heroes differ from others. This has caused some to be immortalized while some die with their achievements.

I disagree with Hitler because he lacked clarity in his attempt to solve the problems of his country. Hitler is no internationalist. He regards the German people as a separate and distinct entity with no relation to the universe or to other people. His ideas, views, ambitions as a whole are directed to the advantage of the German nation. How such relations affect other people does not concern him so long as it is advantageous to the German people. This makes Hitler a narrow-minded individual. There is no man truly great who can be indifferent to the world around him.

Hitler began his mission by telling the German people that they had done no wrong and that whatever they did was the right thing. A father who takes delight in his son, who is eager to see him take his place among his companions and direct his own life after his father is no more, begins the training of his son by showing him what is wrong and what is right. Hitler claims that Germany is perfect. This is a lie, a distortion of facts. This assumption has led Hitler to the extreme measures which he has adopted.

Germany and no other is the author of the Treaty of

Versailles, and she alone can answer for it. The First World War created the treaty. Germany had no right to incite or motivate the war. I shall defend my assertion from political and economic points of view. Security and independence are the guarantees which every sovereign power seeks from her nighbors. Th right to shelter, food, clothing, and general pursuit of happiness is paramount in every sovereign state.

Prior to 1914 there was no threat to the peace and security and independence of Germany. Politically, she was a thoroughly consolidated and a balanced country. Germany was at the height of her political glory, which was made possible by the labors of Bismarck and Wilhelm I. The unity of the German people was a monument to national pride. She had full sovereign powers to conduct her treaties and ratify them. She created and joined the Triple Alliance without molestation from any power. Although the period was one of extreme international duplicity, suspicion, hatred and fear, Germany was a power of weight and importance. She was feared, and as for her security and independence any threat or molestation by a third power was entirely absent.

Germany, for economic reasons, had no justification for entering the war. In 1870 New Germany arrived. She had beaten France. The victory brought one billion marks indemnity and the annexation of Alsace Lorraine. Germany had sufficient arable land, coal and iron deposits, and capital. In 1913 the export of Germany was 11.4 per cent of the world's total, compared with Great Britain's 15.4 per cent. Germany had her colonies and also had access to others, because at this time the major colonial powers maintained an open-door policy in their colonies. England was in an era of economic liberalism. She repealed the corn law and the navigation act and advocated and practiced free trade.

I can therefore say that during the era of economic madness which seized Europe, Germany, owing to her geographic position, her resources, her outlets, her industrial ability and the methods of international trade and practices (such as tariffs, duties, and agreements), was one of the leading nations in trade and industry. There is no reason why Germany entered the war except to test her power and achieve world domination. That desire for domination has been the German creed from the times of Metternich and Bismarck. Their ambition was to dictate the policies of the entire world. It was clearly marked in both. Germany paid the price of her ambition and that price was the Treaty of Versailles.

The denouncers of the Treaty of Versailles have based their objections on the theory that it was not reasonable. There is nothing so insane as this conclusion. If reason had controlled human conduct and human relationship there would have been no war at all. How can we be so generous as to think that peace must be based upon reason when the circumstances which led to it were completely devoid of reason? We must ever congratulate the makers of Versailles Treaty that they combined intuition and reason. If it had been based purely on human feelings, Germany would have been blotted out. England saved Germany — Lloyd George pleaded while Orlando watched, Clemenceau demanded a pound of flesh, and Wilson was the modulator—and these four sat and determined the destiny of Germany. The opponents of the treaty would have held it reasonable if it had treated Germany with greater consideration and given her back her colonies. This is still not reasonable.

The colonies are not beasts of burden to be shared and distributed at will. Neither Wilson nor the opponents of this treaty took any consideration of the colonies, and yet they talk of a reasonable treaty.

They forget that the colonies will one day demand their independence just as Germany will demand adjustment in the European *status quo*. To achieve a reasonable peace all conditions that create war must be eradicated. In upholding the Treaty of Versailles under the circumstances which produced it, it was certain that Germany was the author of the treaty because she brought about a war which had no justification. Since war is not a product of reason, it is evident that its fruit cannot be reasonable. The opponents are in error to think that if the treaty had satisfied German interests it would be reasonable, without regard for the colonies who feel just as much offended as the Germans.

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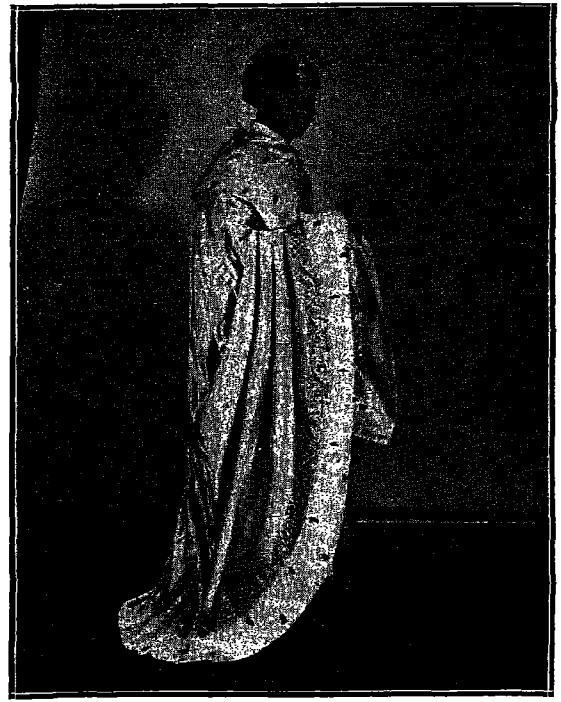
THE SULTAN OF SOKOTO
defender of the Mohammedan faith and one of the many rulers of the northern provinces of Nigeria.



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PART II

AFRICA AND BRITAIN

Chapter IX.

THE COLONIES AND NAZI GERMAN INTENTIONS

AT present, Germany has no colonies in Africa, but there is ample evidence to show that Germany has colonial intentions in Africa. To quote the pronouncement of Hitler in his recent speech to the Reichstag on October 9th — "This demand for colonies is based not only on Germany's historical claim to German colonies, but above all, on her elementary right to a share of the world's resources of raw materials. This demand does not take the form of an ultimatum nor is it a formal demand backed by force, but a demand based on political justice and sane economic principles."

He has an insatiable thirst for world domination. I say world domination, because Hitler had achieved more in possessions without a shot or without loss of life than was achieved by the Kaiser's army in three years of fighting—by this I refer to the occupation of the Rhineland, the incorporation of Austria, and the annexation of the entire Czechoslovakia into the Reich. The fact that Germany was not contented shows that her intention is to dominate Europe and then make Africa the footstool.

It is further evident that German intentions in Africa cannot be realized until England is defeated, because

it is unthinkable that England would grant the wholesale return of German colonies. It is the understanding between England and the colonies that such extreme measures cannot be undertaken without consulting the colonies and taking their interests into consideration.

What will be Germany's policy in Africa should she defeat England and assume control. In other words, what will be Africa's position in the dark ages that will follow such a defeat? I say dark ages, because the absence of any enduring philosophy in German life and thought, save force, will arrest progress and the result will be a second period of dark ages in the history of human progress. We cannot understand the intentions of the Nazis in African colonies unless we understand what the colonies are, and what the Nazis are. The colonies are living conscious entities. Here I will repeat the warnings of Drummond about life and the higher significance attached to it. "Life," says he, "to an animal or to a man is not a random series of efforts. Its course is set as rigidly as the courses of the stars. All its movements and changes, its apparent deflections and perturbations are guided by unalterable purposes; its energies and caprices definitely controlled." Life is patterned and in tune with reason and order; it has its possibilities and also tragic handicaps. Its characteristic is growth.

The colonies, being composed of people of God's bearing, are entitled to self-determination, entitled to a decent and a purposeful life. It is according to whether or not Nazi intentions include progressive life for the colonies that we can characterize them either as good or bad. Since Germany has no colonies now we cannot judge her intentions by results. We can only draw an analogy based on the actions and thoughts of the Nazis in their own life and in their relations with other people.

Life assumes that every personality is unique. The

peoples of Africa are living beings. Unfortunately, the philosophy of the Nazis does not recognize this. To them the Germans are a pure race — the other peoples of the human race have no right to existence. The treatment of the Jews under the Nazi regime is well known. Not only were the Jews persecuted, tricked and hanged, but they were robbed of their possessions, robbed of their wives and children, deprived of their own soul and heart. Such an inhumane and brutal picture has never been paralleled in human suffering and agony. Jews were barred from being real estate agents, traveling salesmen, or bookkeepers. Landlords had to expel Jewish doctors, and in most cities Jews have no choice of where to live. The social indignities were still worse—Jews were excluded from state schools and universities, from parks and from bathing beaches. In 1939 all their jewelry and other valuables were confiscated. In the light of such human indignities it is not difficult to imagine what the Nazi intention in Africa will be. Since Jews, of the same color and bearing as the Germans, are made to experience such torture, there can be no doubt that the Africans, totally different from these people, will not only be sterilized according to Hitler's will, but stand in danger of total extermination.

From various extracts representing the sayings of the foremost leaders of the German people it will be apparent that they have no conception of man as a human being. Dr. Goebbels once said, "A Jew is for me an object of physical disgust. I vomit when I see one. . . Christ cannot possibly have been a Jew. I don't have to prove that scientifically. It is a fact . . . I treasure an ordinary prostitute above a married Jewess." From *Mein Kampf*, by Adolf Hitler: "Never yet was a state founded by peaceful economic activity, but always alone by the instance of the self-preservation of the species, whether this be of the heroic-virtue type or of

subtle cunning. The outcome of the first type are Aryan states of work and culture; of the second, Jewish parasite colonies."

From *Mein Kampf*: "The missionary will go on founding Negro missions . . . until our higher culture will have converted away their healthy but primitive and low-down human beings into a putrid, bastard breed."

Some extracts from anti-Jewish legislation: law on officials, salary and insurance:

> "No person of non-Aryan descent or an Aryan married to a person of German or cognate blood may be a peasant."
> (*Homestead Law, September*)

> "Persons of non-Aryan descent or married to persons of non-Aryan descent may not be admitted to the Reich Labor Service." (*Labor Service Laws*)

> "God has manifested himself not in Jesus Christ but in Adolf Hitler." (*Dr. Engelke, German Christian*)

> "Jews are not to be admitted to the law profession."
> (*Regulations Regarding Lawyers — Field Marshal Goering—Decree to Eliminate Jews from Economic Life*)

> "From January 1, 1939, a Jew can no longer be head of an enterprise within the meaning of the law. If a Jew is employed in an enterprise in an executive position, he may be given notice to leave within six weeks."
> (*Field Marshal Goering—Decree to Eliminate Jews from Economic Life*)

> "After we have forced the wealthy Jews to support their poor racial comrades, they all will fall into criminality. In this stage of development, we will be compelled to eradicate the Jewish underworld as we do criminals: with fire and sword. The result would be a factual and final end of Jewry in Germany, its total annihilation."
> (*Oas Schwarze Korps—November* 1938)

> "The German has no idea how much the people must be misled if the support of the masses is required."
> (*From Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf"*)

There is nothing in all human history that has equalled the outrageous, unbalanced and irrational

statements these leaders unleashed upon God's creatures. From these few extracts it is evident that people who are not Germans, who live under German domination, will be treated like brutes and beasts of burden. How can people whose delight is human savagery and murder be the custodian of people aspiring to live the better life? The German state is *not a state*; it is a poor patchwork and will be of short duration because its foundation is weak. We could compare extracts from the foremost German leaders with those of Americans and see how far the Germans are from the gates of life—how ignorant their conception of man is. In these American extracts we see the lofty plane on which man is placed. Society or state is made for him and not him for the state.

> "Natural liberty is a gift of the beneficent Creator to the whole human race; and that civil liberty is founded in that, and cannot be wrested from any people without the most manifest violation of justice. Civil liberty is only natural liberty, modified and secured by the sanctions of civil society. It is not a thing in its own nature, precarious and dependent on human caprice; but it is comparable to the constitution of man, as well as necessary to the well-being of society." (*Alexander Hamilton*, 1775)

Civil liberty is a gift from God. In Germany it is a gift from Adolf Hitler.

> "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." (*Patrick Henry, to the Convention of Delegates, Richmond, Va.*, 1775)

Such words of Patrick Henry cannot be uttered in Germany today, because liberty is not the choice of the individual, but a gift of the state and its ruler.

> "We should keep steadily before our minds the fact that Americanism is a question of principle of purpose, of idealism, of character; that it is not a matter of birthplace or creed or line of descent." (*Theodore Roosevelt, address delivered in Washington,* 1917)

These words coming from the head of the greatest American state speak not only of the idealism of man but of the significance of his pursuit. In a totalitarian state there can be no idealism or purpose other than that given the individual by the state.

> "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principles that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property." (*President Woodrow Wilson, address to Senate,* 1917)

The object of these extracts is for the reader to see the conception of man in the fascist state and compare it with the conception of man in the democratic state. Hitler will not agree with Wilson, because according to him man has no voice in the conduct of the government—he is an imbecile, or decrepit creature.

> "This country is thoroughly committed to the principle of civil and religious liberty. Instead of deploring the variety of racial strains and spiritual traditions which are an inherent part of our people, we welcome them as a token of the free-

dom that we enjoy and believe that the common life is enriched by what each of these groups contribute. In this nation we proclaim the equal rights of all religious groups, whether of the majority or of minorities, and find our unity in common citizenship. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly are guaranteed to all by the Bill of Rights." (*President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a message to the National Conference of Jews and Christians—December* 18, 1937)

To President Roosevelt, variety enriches democracy, but to Hitler variety is the very parasite which saps the well-being of the state. We have examined statements from the foremost leaders of two states. In one we see man under the state working toward suicide, and in the other we see man granted opportunity to achieve the "good life." All this will help to discover the Nazis' intentions in Africa.

The second means by which we can reach a conclusion will be by drawing some analogy from Germany's past life. We saw the Germans in ancient times; we saw them in the Middle Ages, and we saw them at the dawn of the modern period. What can we then say their intentions in Africa will be? The Germans, from the time they came to the notice of the world to the height of their greatness, have shown themselves as people without principle. Their government structure is not flexible or capable of expansion to meet the exigencies of changing life. As a nation they have no moral code. Their ultimate ambition is to dominate anything that comes their way. The domination is not based on any wish to elevate, but on a desire to subdue by force. Their language is force and their very thought is force. We cannot but own the great contributions that individual German people have given to

human life and progress, but Germany, as a compact people, as a people in spiritual unison bound by the ties of kinship, environment, and language, has also contributed sword and bloodshed to all that is sacred.

The rise of the Nazis signaled the most degraded period with regard to human liberty and freedom of thought. It is not mainly the domination of the world that the world fears from fascism, but the persecution of a whole race, the contempt of living man, the distortion of truth, the prevention of justice, and the lack of any philosophy of life. All these have led to the conviction that the triumph of Nazism will mean another dark age.

From the persecution of the Jews, from the various extracts quoted previously, from the survey of Germany's past, from the Nazis' actions and thoughts, it *is evident that the triumph of the Nazis is tantamount* to a death warrant for Africa. It is impossible to think that after the Nazis have dominated the whole world they will be satisfied and will treat its subjects with respect and common decency. What we ought to be concerned with is the means and not the results. The means involves the intention of the Nazi state, the machinery by which it operates, the amount of spiritual vigor it entails; in other words, its philosophy and its ethics.

Under the Nazis, Africa will be plunged into sudden death. The far-reaching result will be spiritual collapse of the people. The Nazis are going to destroy everything from which the people drew and formed their spiritual insight, and since nothing will be provided to take its place, the optimistic idealism of the Africans will be lost forever. The German press and the German people not long ago contended that the African primeval forest was barren, that there were no traces of culture. To meet that challenge, Frobenius made an expensive and tedious expedition, only to prove

the contrary. How far Hitler's regime and his successors will countenance Frobenius' research is impossible to say. Perhaps the words of Hans Johat, president of the Poets' Academy, will throw light on how the Nazis will take it. "When I hear the word 'culture,'" writes Johat, "I slip back the safety-catch of my revolver." It is unthinkable that Hitler or his associates can conceive of the Africans as having culture. In a period of Nazi domination it means that the African's creed, his religion, his code of laws will be entirely destroyed.

Cruelty will be rampant. Those who raise their voice in protest will be shot on the spot. There will be no room for civil liberty. Those who have the heart to live, will live the life of imprisonment. Since their institutions will be destroyed, they will have nothing from which to derive their strength. The life of aspiring will be completely ended. Africa, that illustrious land which helped Europe recover from the Dark Ages, will be plunged into the gloomiest period in all its life—a life of anguish and sorrow, a life of beasts and vultures, a life whose tragedy will know no end. African laws, kingship, and leadership will be treasonable to think of. Our sons and daughters will curse the hand that brings them to life. They will doubt their very soul and doubt their Creator, because the suffering will be great.

Education of the natives under the Nazi regime will be unthinkable. Hitler has made it plain that the natives need no education. His condemnation of the missionaries for giving Africa education substantiates my assertion. "The missionary," says he in *Mein Kampf* as I quoted before, "will go on in founding Negro missions . . . until our higher culture will have converted away their healthy but primitive and low-down human beings into a putrid, bastard breed." If the Jews of the same stock who have lived and inter-

married with Germans are denied schools and education, why should the African think he can get it? Education, as we know it, is entirely foreign to Nazi thought and language. Education is that which brings out the best possibility in man, but education in the Nazi school of thought means military discipline and complete obedience to the state and its head. Hitler writes in *Mein Kampf* that it is the duty of the Germans "not to seek out objective truth, in so far as it is favorable to others, but uninterruptedly to serve one's own truth." Since this is how education is to be for the Germans, what system of education would be pursued in Africa?—Perhaps none. Africa is there to assure Germany of its share of raw materials and to take a decisive position in the balance of power in Europe; beyond this Hitler has no use for Africa.

Again, what will be the Nazis' attitude toward religion with regard to the African? As the Afro-American is known by his song, so is the African known by his religion. Religion in individual or state is a driving force toward something supreme which will claim that man's allegiance and which, from then on, will be the ideal goal to be aimed at by individual or state. For thousands of years man has struggled, worshipped fire and wood, wandered here and there, shifting and balancing evidence, until at last, after a weary and tedious journey, he has found a God. Religion answers for him such questions of life as "Who is your Creator? How are you related to your Maker, and what is your duty to your neighbors?

"Religious liberty," says former Secretary of State Thomas Gayard, "is the chief cornerstone of the American system of government, and provisions for its security are imbedded in the written charter and interwoven in the moral fabric of its laws. I am satisfied that my countrymen, ever mindful of the sufferings and sacrifices necessary to obtain it, will never consent

to its impairment for any reason or under any pretext whatsoever."

To this the professional journal of Hitler's Officer-Corps Deutsche Wehr answers, "A new world has come into being for which war is frankly a postulate, the measure of all things, and in which the soldier lays down the law and rules the roost. . . . Every human and social activity is justified only when it aids preparation for war."

With the Nazis' triumph not only the religious idealism of the African people will be crushed, but along with it their optimistic idealism. And as soon as a country becomes aimless and lives a purposeless life, it is evident that decay will follow. Under the Nazi, there will be no form of government for the people, by the people, in Africa, since none exists in Germany. No religious or civil liberty will be countenanced. The so-called justice and morality of governmental structure will be patterned after the will of Hitler and a chain of laws to suit the pleasure of the German ruler. Native laws and native customs to be interpreted and administered by the native rulers will be gone. In fact, there will be nothing like a government, but there will be a central body of German officers who will keep order and see that the people increase their productive effort to keep the German war machine supplied.

There will be no respect for private property owned by the natives. Africans will not be allowed to own private property. If Germany ever finds the way to assume control of Africa, all real estate, business, and industry will automatically become the possession of the Reich. The role of Africa will be to labor, to till the soil and plant the seed. The professional man will be forbidden to wear ties and shoes. The dead will be buried without cremation or coffins. A decree will be introduced which will make it treasonable for Africans to attain education or undertake professional pursuits.

Publication and the press will be completely banned. Thus four hundred million people will be sealed in a caldron of hot water, there to languish and die—and thus the brave hearts of Africa will seek to speak and will not; they will want to laugh but only at the risk of instantaneous death; they will want to love, but they will find love very cold—not worth the name. A brave and daring country that once sounded liberty to the entire world, that brought to Europe new light and new hope, that said to the world, "give us a universal brotherhood of man," that became the cornerstone and patron of the Christian religion, that during the Middle Ages fought the war of freedom and liberation—this same country will be sentenced and crucified by the people to whom it once gave peace.

The questions of food, clothing, and shelter have been and will continue to be vital problems to individuals as well as to nations. They have more than anything else shaped and determined the government of nations and have become a force in international relationships. There can be no denying that the major cataclysms of history have been more for economic reasons than for political or religious ones. It is not surprising that one of the most significant aims of the Nazis in Africa is to secure economic betterment.

The Great War of 1914 cost Germany all her colonies. As a result of the war, the colonial powers, which previously had adopted a very liberal attitude and practised free trade and an open-door policy in their colonial area, now introduced a closed-door policy. Mixed and preferential tariffs came into being. Trade became mostly bi-lateral instead of multi-lateral. Under these extreme colonial measures, Germany found herself shut off from the world's arteries of raw materials and had no repository for her manufactured goods.

Hitler viewed the situation with alarm, for his

promise to bring an era of economic prosperity was one of the moving forces which helped him into his present position. Goebbels speaking not long ago said: "The basic materials of modern industrialism are coal, iron, oil, cotton, rubber, copper," but of these six basic materials mentioned by Goebbels, Germany can boast of only coal. The control of Africa would give Germany ample control of the forementioned materials. From the former German colonies she would get ample phosphate and potash, from Kimberly she would get large quantities of diamonds. From the mines of South Africa and the dependencies of the Gold Coast ample quantities of gold could be obtained, which would encourage Germany to return to the gold standard. From Nigeria, including her former colony of the Cameroons, Germany could secure tin, palm, and palm-kernel oil, groundnut oil seeds, cotton, hides and skin, and rubber. Also from the Gold Coast, Germany could secure manganese, gold, and cocoa. From Egypt and the Sudan, a large quantity of cotton could be had. South Africa could provide all the necessary wool and a good quantity of dairy products. German interest in Africa is economic—not Africa for settlement—though of course, eventually this would come—but Africa for raw materials. It may not even be significantly an outlet for manufactured products, since Germany is not eager for her subjects to be taught to read and write.

German economic nationalism has failed. The world economy has been destined to be international. Specialization has taken the place of self-sufficient economy and Germany has now seen its economic fallacy. Calvin, in his book, *The Economic Foundation of Peace,* speaking of the Germans said:

> "Their ideal was that of supremacy achieved by force to an extent enabling it afterwards to be self-maintained. But unawares, they had become

totally dependent on the new international and inter-continental conditions of transportation and supply. No tariff could alter this. Here no science of substitutes could be a real substitute. Their recent industrial system and its millions of workers were dependent on foreign states even for certain iron ores (despite their own huge deposits), for copper, zinc, gold, for the rarer metals of industry, for mica as for tungsten; for cotton, wool, silk, flax, jute, for timbers; for skins and hides; for rubber, petroleum, oil seeds, and other oil-bearing products, for nitrates, and for tobacco. An increasing balance of food stuffs had to be imported, necessaries and luxuries, wheat, barley, rye, maize and rice; fish and lard, fruit and vegetables, coffee."

Give Germany entire control of Africa and you have transferred economic leadership from America to Germany and sentenced to death Great Gritain. How would this German economic control affect the natives? At present the imperialistic loot is divided into: crown colonies, protectorates, mandates and self-governing dominions. Under England each of these divisions has a different type of governmental structure. Under German control all these divisions would automatically disappear. All territories under Nazi domination would be worked from the angle of the economic advantage to the Reich without regard to the well-being and the future progress of the country itself.

Again, the African Germanic empire would be classified according to its geographical position—non-settlement areas, settlement areas and areas of strategic importance. The non-settlement areas would be places in which the climate is not suited to the white man. All the West Coast of Africa, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Gambia, and some places in Central and Eastern Africa come under this classi-

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCESS TSAHAI, DAUGHTER OF HAILE SELASSIE
broadcasting in "The World Goes By."

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I, AS FIELD MARSHAL OF THE ETHIOPIAN ARMY

fication. The peoples of this area would be spared to live and would be the main source of labor supply, especially in big rubber and palm oil plantations that must be cultivated on a big scale. The people of Senegal, now under French rule, would be trained soldiers, not for fighting in Europe but to ward off an attempt by any power to penetrate into Africa. They would be called the fighting guards of the African Empire. The people who come under the settlement area classification, which means areas which are suitable for the white man would either be sterilized, or segregated into one uninhabitable area, as the British are doing in South Africa, or they would be expatriated to the non-settlement areas.

Their expatriation would make room for Germans, who would supply the skilled labor for mining, oil refining, leather works and other specializations needing skill. Egypt would be greatly affected. Germany would have to police the gates of Gibraltar (despite the fact that Spain or Italy may want it), the Suez Canal, and the Gulf of Eden. In this vital task of guarding the life line of the Empire, the soldiers must be of pure German blood. These soldiers must have sufficient numerical strength and there must be ample room for all military expediences. In this case, Germany would find itself compelled to expatriate about five to ten million Egyptians to the Sudan area. The natives would be paid in kind—the yield from the soil. This sounds economically unsound but Germany has not been known to be controlled by economic logic but by economic instinct. Its very life is founded on ill-connected platitudes not capable of reason or logic.

To quote Carvin: "Germany was of an imitative bent and of a temperament at once exaggerated and dogmatic. Its economics were in many ways ultra-modern but hazardous. But her politics, on the contrary, were stubbornly traditional and obsolete.

Though she thought herself capable of being the ruthlessly dominating and conquering power in the world, the chartered libertine of force hers had become of all societies the most dependent on the good-will and cooperation of the majority of mankind."

There is the international angle of the Nazi's aim in Africa. The naval and imperial greatness of England has always been irksome to Germany. Nothing would please Germany more than to see the collapse of this empire. Then Germany would have room for her industry and surplus population. Seize the African Empire, seize its water ways, you have then sealed the life stream of British blood and her collapse will be sure. For England produces nothing for her industrial needs but coal. As a result the life and well-being of that dense industrial democracy before the war was based not on the soil of the nation but on the soil of the world.

Germany is also out for revenge, a revenge which aims at the entire dissipation of British power. Chancellor Hitler, addressing the German Reichstag on October 6, 1939, said: "This I ask: If forty-six million Englishmen claim the right to rule over forty million square kilometers of the earth, it cannot be wrong for eighty-two million Germans to demand the right to live on 800,000 square kilometers, to till their fields and to follow their trades and callings; and they further demand the restitution of those colonial possessions which formerly were their property, which they had not taken away from anybody by robbery or war but honestly acquired by purchase, exchange and treaties."

Germany will go beyond Africa. She will use Africa as a foundation for blocking England for life. Her immediate ambition will be to secure the control of Gibraltar—the gateway to the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal—the gateway to India, Australia, and Asia. In this way Germany will not only control the resources

of Africa, but will control also those of India and all of Asia. Germany will then control zinc ore of Australia and tungsten from various parts of the Empire. The enormous rubber supply of the Netherlands and East Indies and Malaya will be at her command. India, Australia, Iraq, Cyprus, Palestine and those countries very vital to the life of the British industry and people will automatically come under Germany. The line of transportation will run from Damascus to Mecca, to Bagdad and Calcutta, to Peiping and Shanghai.

The vital needs of England, such as rubber, tin, manganese, graphite, phosphate, vegetable oils, and copper which come from the protectorates and mandates, will then be entirely in German hands. The oil fields of Burma, Iran, and Iraq, the potash of Palestine, the cotton of Egypt and the Sudan, will then feed the German industrial machine.

England would then be reduced to a second-rate nation. Not all the co-operation she could obtain from the United States or Canada could save the gloomy situation. Let it not be assumed that should England collapse she will continue to receive the continued sympathy and cooperation she is now receiving from the United States. As individuals, so are nations. When you have, you are respected; when you have not, not all the past memories can save the situation. Of course, should Germany control Africa, America will not be free from German menace and insult. German aerial bases established on West African coasts would make Brazil and South American countries within easy reach of German bombers. There would be ample gold and other inducements to lure them. A clash with the United States would therefore be inevitable.

The intention of the Nazis is therefore very wide in scope. Its effect on the natives would be disastrous. It means moral and spiritual bankruptcy. It means

suffering, and physical and perpetual agony and lamentation. To the people it means an aimless and purposeless life.

Still worse for England. Africa can exist without imports, England cannot. With her trade routes wrested, with her strategic waterways closed to her, her very life will be at stake. Africa will forever remain the sorrow of European powers. It has often enriched some and not many times has been the sources of their collapse. In ancient times it was the granary of Rome, that granary was wrested from Rome by German stock, the Vandals, and Rome collapsed. The same Germans would give England a mortal blow by seizure of African colonies. England's life is in Africa.

Chapter X.

AFRICA AND IMPERIALISM

THERE is no continent on the face of the globe which has been so misunderstood and misinterpreted as Africa. The merchants, the missionaries, the journalists, the imperialists have all described it in order to produce certain reactions suiting their own ends. There has never been a direct attempt to reveal the true picture. The stories told seem to have been almost more to amuse than to portray facts. The missionaries see the people as heathens whose sole need is to be brought nearer to Christ. They always report their difficulties. Not one in the audience will have the boldness to ask why, after fifty years' labor in this place ,they can tell of no heartening results. They still picture the people as dying, and languishing in disease! No one is daring enough to ask, "Minister, what have you accomplished?" or to say "We can no longer give you money, for the task is hopeless."

The journalists of today still write of the Africa of Stanley's day. The journalist is out to entertain, to provide some sort of amusement for the man who has no appetite for the mental exercise required to discover the truth. Why does the reader not doubt that the Africa of Stanley's day is still the Africa of today? When Stanley was in Africa there were no cable lines

and connections, no radio appliances, no steamships as we know them now. Can a country living in proximity with civilization, with communications connecting all parts of the world, with ships of various makes and descriptions sailing the seas, bringing and carrying cargoes from coast to coast, with the improvement of the commercial airplane, still be indifferent to the light of civilization? Can we imagine the America of George Washington being the America of today? Nevertheless propaganda has made people in Africa believe that.

In Africa today the great majority of people do not know that America has skyscrapers; they are not aware that most of the automobiles they ride in are of American make. They are not aware that most of their agricultural machinery is American! They believe all they see in the movies, even though beside them stands a thing which proves the contrary, as we can prove the contrary to the tales told of our country. In the movies as shown in Africa, we see and come to know the Americans as wonderful horsemen! We see them riding, guns in hand, from high hills in full speed and fury. All at once, a fight takes place. Now murder is committed; now robbery takes place. Nobody ever conceives of the American people as industrious, honest, sincere, and loving. They have been always considered murderous, turbulent, and mannerless.

This belief is so great in Africa that when we were about to sail to this country, two years ago, some mothers persuaded their sons not to come for fear that they would never see Africa again. We heard that in America the watchword is "Keep moving." We were warned not to speak to anybody unless that person was thoroughly known to us, for it was believed we would be risking our lives. This may seem strange, but it is a fact. It is not only in Africa that this idea is held, but in many parts of Europe. The era of nationalism

has been very unfortunate in human relationship. It is an era of self-interest. Each country tries to idealize itself at the expense of truth. America, who can doubt, has no match in this era of human progress; but since the European countries who control Africa do not want to be contrasted with America, for fear of losing their reputations in the colonies, they distort facts and educate the people to a contempt for the American; the same thing is done in the case of Africa.

What is the story of the imperialists? They see the Africans incapable of self-rule. Since they are masters of propaganda, they introduce Africans in the movies as wretched, ignorant, wild, and wicked. Of course whatever they do has a direct purpose. In America this helps to keep the Afro-American down and make him ashamed of his past, and to uphold the superiority of the white man. It also helps to play the darker ones against the half-white types, and thereby achieve disunity amongst them. This helps to make them inefficient as collective bargainers in labor or in any activity where united action is essential. In the same way it helps to keep them unorganized as voters so that they seldom secure seats in their local governments.

In England, such propaganda is aimed at keeping up the belief in white man's superiority. It serves as an educational service for the future colonial administrators, telling them both directly and indirectly what they are expected to do with the natives in Africa. They are to be treated as creatures without hearts. They must be expected to bow and tremble before the white man. If these administrators arrive and find the natives contrary, they try to secure obedience by force. It prepares the investors in the African market for the wages to pay the "savages." Is it not strange that the people in Africa do not see these movies that are shown about them in America and various parts of Europe?

What an emotional world! Even so-called intellec-

tuals feel satisfied about such tales and hand them on for the consumption of students. And yet it is claimed that this is an analytical world. No one dare ask the imperialist, "Since your civilizing expedition to Africa, is that all you have accomplished? If that is all, why not leave the people to their fate and give them up as hopeless? Tell us why it is that day by day more Europeans leave for Africa; they go with nothing and when they return we see them wealthy, with fine automobiles; and soon they put up remarkable buildings which their neighbors who have stayed home working hard all their lives are unable to do? Where do they get these things, and how do they get them? From the jungles, from the snake-ridden towns, or from the leopard-infested villages?"

Propaganda has become one of the greatest enemies of civilization. Once the mind ceases to be educated to facts and realities, but is forced to accept lies instead, we are marching towards decay instead of towards progress.

Africa is beloved, but unfortunately it is unacknowledged love. There is no country in the world that has given more to the world than Africa! When in the summer of 1940, I was engaged in an extensive tour of upper New York, under the auspices of the Lisle Fellowship, better known as the Christian Mission Service Fellowship, under the direction of Dr. DeWitt Baldwin, as a guest speaker at Si Ha Camp I told the young men and women that if they could allow me to tell them to what continent they are most indebted I would say "Africa." People all over the earth owe her unacknowledged gratitude, which must be expressed in the future.

I pointed out to the women their use of cosmetics, toilets, and other beautifying make-ups. I told them that inasmuch as they hold these things important, they

should hold Africa with esteem and affection, because without Africa these things could not have been possible. I went on to show how the automobile has become a necessity in this country, but without the enormous rubber plantations in Liberia and other places on the West Coast, automobiles would still be a luxury here. Transportation would be very dear. Agricultural implements would not only have been expensive, but also very scarce. When one enjoys cocoa at breakfast he should realize that he should be saying "God bless Africa," for we still produce three-quarters of the world's supply. If you intend to marry, you think of wedding and diamond rings, and here again you are thinking of Africa. I concluded by saying, "Africa is still the custodian of much that makes human life attractive. Have you ever paused to question the stories told you about this country in the light of what you get from that distant place? Have you ever asked, how is it possible to grow and harvest cocoa; grade, assort, assemble and transport it to various places in Europe and America, from such an uncivilized and jungle-infested country? How was the transportation secured? How were the problems of exchange, bills of lading, warehousing, and storage met in a place devoid of modern facilities?"

How could rubber be grown, processed, and prepared for shipment in such a desert-like country as Africa is represented to be? How can mining operations be carried on without transportation, skill, and labor, power and maintenance departments, improved housing for supervisors and managements? Can these things be possible? For international trade to have strength and stamina there must be a medium of exchange, improved means of transportation, regular and reliable communication lines, there must be business experts, government industrial experts—all these must be assured, as connecting links. To be effective,

the countries specializing in articles for foreign market must maintain adequate domestic transportation, communication, trained commercial agents, domestic finance banks, commercial salesmen, industrial buyers.

Africa must have satisfied these requirements in some measure. Can this be called a jungle? No country today is self-sufficient, and international trade has made it possible for diverse peoples to meet in a bond of economic interest.

This charge of unacknowledged love is also applied to England. No country owes more to outside support for her well-being than Engand. And no country has supported her more than Africa. And yet on no country has England looked down upon so much as on Africa. England has coal in abundance, and nothing more. The wool from South Africa feeds the looms of Lancashire. The cotton from Sudan and Egypt makes Yorkshire important for cotton products. Our diamonds, our gold, have enabled England to be one of the leading commercial nations of the world.

Through the command of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal England has been able to extend her influence into India, Palestine, Iraq, Indo-China and to all the places without which England could not have become what she is today. Yet of all the democratic powers in Europe, England has degraded Africa the most. All types of vicious propaganda against our country are the machinations of England. In the first place, we have given no country at any time mandates to rule us. Such a task did not meet with our approval. We were forced to accept, and at how high a price! Our children and wives were slaughtered, our kings and rulers were disgraced and banished, expedition after expedition reduced our towns and cities to submission or shambles. This was true of the Benin Expedition, it was true of Aro-Chuku expedition. The Ashanti War and the seizure of the Golden Stool are still fresh in

our memories. If we did not love, and if we were not proud of our country, we would not have fired a shot, we would not have defended our firesides. But we fought and defended with heroic bravery those things we love and cherish. Those who know the Africans know them as a proud people, a people who cherish and love their own. The invading foe crushed their pride and left shame and humiliation as the heritage for succeeding generations. Sons grew up and saw nothing where our fathers once had trod save graves and battered walls. The heart of oak of our fathers had gone forever. The sons grew to look up to the white man as a semi-god in human form.

We were the first to smelt iron; today we are banned from using guns. We were the first to build empires, such as Songhay and those that thrived along Lake Chad; but they were crushed and we are shown in huts. We discovered and used gold and our rulers lived in luxury and plenty; today we have no proud names in Africa, no more rulers like King Premphei, King Ja Ja, King Cataway, King Ikanaton, King Chaka Moshese; they have all been crushed. Today our gold maintains the luxury of European kings and our own kings are contemptuously called "chiefs."

But the sons of Africa are no longer asleep; they are reviving the hearts of their fathers, the hearts of oak, the hearts that know no defeat. When they awake there shall be no way of stopping them. The Europeans have sacrificed our lives, homes and everything dear to us, just to keep Africans illiterate so as to make outside dominion possible.

As for religion, Africa was the custodian of all that has made the Christian religion what it is. In fact, Africa was its birthplace. The celebrated church fathers had their early training in Africa. Today, the European imperial agents in the form of missionaries go to Africa on "civilizing" missions. They save others

when themselves they cannot save. How can God be preached to people who by their mode of living are god-like—even to the people who gave to the world the conception of the one God idea? Nevertheless, the Africans have welcomed these men, heard all that they have to say. They have even laid down their arms! What happened? As they took the Bible, and became meek and humble so as to be the inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, the sons of those who preach to them grab their lands and minerals, just as fast as the African receives their Bible. When the Africans forget about guns, these agents appear and threaten them with machine guns. People are becoming conscious of these things, and fear that the Christian church may have spent its usefulness in Africa. Christian churches are still doing useful work in Africa, but the best task remains to be done—educating the African to stand on his own feet.

This is the setting of Africa — forget the jungles, forget the Africa of Stanley and Livingstone. Now follow me to Africa—the land of palms and glowing sun—the land of love and promise, teeming with life.

When we talk of colonization in Africa, or of capitalistic imperialism, or of trusteeship, we cannot follow the discussions with interest, with a human touch, unless we know the background of Africa. The nature of Africa must be understood in order to follow its problem with interest.

Africa has a past and a culture that compare with any in the world. Her problems are the common problems of man: security, shelter, and the pursuit of happiness.

When we talk of Africa we make the same mistake as we do when we talk of the South American market. We forget that many different peoples make up South America—peoples with different peculiarities, different

racial traits, different traditions and customs, above all, different languages. Even so is Africa. Africa is made up of various peoples. They are just as various as the different languages in use there. "Racial and cultural differences" writes Diedrich Westermann, "exist not only between Europe and Africa but also within Africa itself, and, strictly speaking, the term African should not be used without qualification. The people of Africa are divided into a number of races, each of an individual type, and even within the races variations are found which have been caused by intermarriage, by environment, and by history. Indigenous races and civilization have influenced each other, and moreover, for thousands of years streams of foreigners and of foreign culture have flowed into Africa from the outside. The result today is an extraordinarily rich diversity."

Westermann referred to the Semites in the east and north, the Indians in the east and south, the Malays in Madagascar. He made special mention of the Pygmies, Hamites and Negroes as the ancient inhabitants of Africa. The Pygmies he describes as small of stature, with light colored skin, and covered with light downy hair. The Hamites, he said, embrace people who are akin to European and Semitic races. He said they are light-skinned, with straight noses, thin lips, narrow faces, soft, often wavy or even straight hair, without prognathism. The Negroes, he said, have a wonderful aptitude for adapting themselves to changing circumstances. I have quoted and followed Dr. Westermann very closely to show the heterogeneous elements present in Africa, which we have often treated as if they were homogeneous. I am not saying that the terms employed by Dr. Westermann receive our cognizances in Africa. Africans will be ever Africans—the shade of the color has nothing to do with us. Again, we do not use the word Negro. We are Africans, and no one can identify

a people of a big continent like Africa as Negroes. This rich diversity in Africa is, I judge from my experience in West Africa, not noticed in Africa at all. In fact, people become color-conscious when they enter the United States and it is there that all the different classifications engage attention.

With this characteristic of Africa well fixed in the mind, it is necessary to examine another thought that comes to people in regard to Africa. It is a thought which needs clarification both in the African and in the non-African mind. People have talked so much about the backwardness, savagery, and barbarousness of Africa, that it appears that Africa is destined to be synonymous with these words. In fact, comparing the earliest film shown about Africa with the latest now available (on the same topic), no change can be discovered. The Africa of David Livingstone is still the Africa of today. To the Western world our position is marked and never will change. I do not grumble at this, for we are not prevented from going to the South in United States of America, and to the slum areas of Europe to make our pictures, and return to Africa to show them as typical of America and Europe. No country can solve the problems of another. It is entirely up to the sons of Africa to study and counteract the efforts of these vicious men.

Coming back to the question most often asked, "Why has Africa remained so long uncivilized?" it is necessary to leave a counter-question on record: "Have they been tried and did they fail?" Again we may ask, What is civilization? Are the Europeans civilized? We have of recent years been so accustomed to think of Europe as civilized and Africa as primitive that we do not go further to find out what the nature of civilization is. Europe, as we know it today, cannot be considered civilized. When I think of civilization, I think of the mental and physical growth of a people from the un-

conscious to the conscious, to a stage where the mind and body are capable of using all the materials around them for achieving the higher life in society—where rights and duties are well defined and the rules of conduct towards neighbors are known and respected. It is a spiritual as well as material growth. The Oxford dictionary defines civilization as a "bringing out" of barbarism, or enlightenment and refinement. Europe, it is true, has attained a remarkable material progress and outward refinement, but Europe is still primitive and barbarous. Her methods of warfare, her selfishness, are evidences of the lack of any spiritual attainment, without which civilization is a misnomer. Those who study Africa without bias will acknowledge the spiritual excellence of its people. It is in material progress only that Africa is retarded.

Africa from the spiritual point of view is civilized. What we desire to know is the cause of its material backwardness. Whatever may be the deficiencies of Africa in progress as conceived of by the world of today, the European nations are responsible. Their barbarism, their primitive instinct of warfare, their selfishness are responsible for the mortal blow which our culture and past developments have suffered.

Another problem has puzzled both the average mind and also the most intelligent. Why is it that the country which has left the world testamentary evidence of art and refinement in its pyramids and catacombs, which has left the impress in the hearts of men that all may be one in God, still the religious aspiration of the world —why has this country now fallen into complete oblivion—suffered a deadly blow mentally and materially almost without equal? Europe is responsible. The progress of a country is the evidence of contact, communication, transportation, and assimilation. It is a process of give and take. Africa freely gave to Babylonia; Babylonia sprang up brilliantly. Babylonia

gave to the Chaldeans, and Chaldea rose. Likewise, Greece freely caught the light, and then lighted Rome. When this light dawned in Europe, it was arrested, the spiritual quality was completely lost. The era of selfishness dawned. How did it come back to Africa? In the form of exploitation. Europeans butchered Africa and intended to degrade her forever. "Historically," writes Lord Olivier in his book *White Capital and Coloured Labor,* "the partition of Africa was not engaged in order to take up the White Man's Burden or for any philanthropic or humanitarian motive, but in order to ensure that the productive resources and the consuming markets of the distributed territories should be kept open to the several national powers that appropriated them, or, in some cases to guarantee from encroachment the boundaries of previous appropriations." This is how a branch of the human race has become "an investment" for other branches. We have become mere chattels — slaves though left at home. What is in the back of any thinking man's mind when he realizes that we are not considered human beings! We are considered real estate—Mr. Joseph Chamberlain calls us "undeveloped estates." If we are human beings, why should we be divided among European powers—England, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Portugal? How are we expected to live when people have dug deep into our very heart and soul and stolen our life to be sold for gold? That Africa still survives should puzzle the world. No country can endure the strain of such high-handed oppression and still hope to live. What shall President Roosevelt say when he comes to learn that freedom of information, and freedom of religion, which he holds as essentials for a lasting peace, are so foully used in Africa? The atrocities in Africa if known would confound the civilized world.

Since we have become chattels, education necessary

for a progressive life has a new purpose as applied to us. Our education is provided to develop a more productive estate, to avoid depreciation on foreign investments, and to provide a sinking fund for maintenance.

Despite this, we have resources which have no equal in the world. In resources America is second to us—but it will take us another thousand years to reach the point in development where America is today. Why? America was once a British colony, it is true, but the advantage which America enjoyed is not paralleled in Africa. England was then inexperienced as a colonial administrator. America came of the same stock as the mother country and therefore was not subjected to serious limitations. The Americans then possessed one religion, one political philosophy and one language. The Americans had free bargaining power. Before we discuss this, we must not forget the geographic location of the United States and the facts connected with the new world. We must always keep in mind that contact, communication, and transportation are of dynamic force in world progress. During this time America maintained extensive trading relations with France, Holland, Spain, and England itself. America was often referred to as the melting pot of cultures, being influenced by nearly all the civilized world. England was then experiencing internal troubles. Two great powers, France and Spain, backed America against England.

Let us look again at the cultural aspect, without which no progress is possible. America had educational facilities which compared favorably with those in England. The following institutions were in existence before the Declaration of Independence: Princeton University 1746, Pennsylvania, 1747, Columbia, 1754, Brown, 1764, and Dartmouth, 1764. There were also many libraries. What of Africa? The loss of American colonies taught England how to be a colonial master. Our contact was that of oppression. Those

who helped America had no share in the human loot. What of education? Now Africa has no university of any importance. Any form of school to help develop Africa is a productive machine for the capitalists. They know that once Africans are educated, they are certain to assert their rights. That would mean depreciation of investment. How can interest on loans be met, how can capital be attracted where no dividends are possible? How can the lords and nobles of England maintain their estates and dignity?

The foregoing is the picture of Africa. Those who have hearts can appreciate the difficult problems of the African people. Now, just what is our relation with England?

Chapter XI.

WHAT IS THE DESTINY OF IMPERIAL BRITAIN?

IT is evident that unless Britain is defeated, Axis intentions cannot be achieved in Africa. Nobody can tell what is actually coming to the world. The defeat of France, the conquest of Holland, Belgium, and Poland, the capitulation of the Baltic and the Balkan States before the Nazis' military might have left everyone fearful about what may be the outcome of the war for Britain. The possibility of defeat haunts the heart of every Englishman; it haunts the hearts of those in the colonies, it haunts the hearts of lovers of freedom everywhere.

What will be the destiny of Imperial Britain? Will her lot follow the destiny of the past empires—Rome, Greece, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt?

The imagination is stretched to the utmost to try to decipher the handwriting on the wall. Every known theory is applied and analyzed. Questions are asked, and answers suggested.

What is more puzzling to us is the idea that empires have fallen in order of their rise! Why is this? Is it an act of God—a visitation of the divine vengeance that destroys one and brings another into being? Or

is it a law similar to the law of the seasons or caused by the revolutions of the heavens? Or shall we follow the line of thought of the Hebrew Prophets: "One generation passeth away and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth for ever."? Or shall we endorse Machiavelli, who sees in all empires their rise and decline? If this is to be our line of thought it means that the British Empire has spent its usefulness and its fall is inevitable.

Fortunately, this is the age of reason. It is the age when men seek to know and by knowing to understand what things are and what they ought to be. Scientific mind has replaced the mind of make-believe. Philosophy examines the mind content; what is behind living matter, science analyzes, and the mind builds to a conscious whole. It is our task to discover how the Empire of Britain differs from past empires. If we see no essential differences, then we can say with confidence that what happened to all the past empires will happen to Britain.

What did we see in the past empires? They had no guiding philosophy upon which they erected their foundations. In the empires of the past, ideals were absent, and structural designs, upon which the sacred trust of human life was to be exercised, were absent. The greatest ambition of Hellas was to spread its name, and with the name the attributes, the civilizing power, of Hellas throughout the world. This was the ideal of Macedon. What of Rome? To subdue the world, to establish there her peace, governing all in justice, marks the Rome of Julius, of Vespasian, of Trajan! Egypt was conceived in mystery, and in dying, left mystery behind. Wherein does England differ from these empires of the past?

England more than any nation that founded an empire had the time to learn lessons from the fall of others. Her own defeats and disappointments were

the beginnings of her education in the university of life. There are two periods which we must notice in the growth of imperial England. The hour when she was learning through her own defeats and sorrows and the hour of struggle towards self-mastery and self-conquest. The past countries had never reached this stage of self-mastery. National defeat and disaster is tantamount to tragedy. What is tragedy? It is an agony which purifies the soul by "compassion and terror."

In a tragic hour the soul is evidently capable of a higher vision, discerns a remoter, serener, mightier ideal, which it henceforth pursues with zeal and interest. This is the case with England. The disasters and humiliation after humiliation, calamity after calamity, which followed England after the short-lived glory of Agincourt brought her tragic insight of great consequence! England lost in a day the empire she purchased by a century of war.

The havoc of a civil war prolongs the rancor and the shame of foreign defeat. England has within these changing tides in her career felt what it meant to be dominated, what it means to be humiliated; she had graduated from the school of human vicissitudes. According to Dr. Cramb: "Thus it has arisen, thus Imperial Britain from the dark unconscious emerging to conscious, not like an empire of the past uprising under the winds of magic-working architects, but based on heroisms, endurances, lofty ideals, frustrate yet imperishable, patient though slowly elaborating itself through the ages." Some events in the history of the English people are tragic, but they have helped to shape her and to show what part she was destined to play as an empire builder. "The English people," writes John Gunther, "like the French, have paid a high price for freedom; to gain freedom they had to shed the blood of kings. The execution of Charles I made great in-

roads on the English conscience, and the constitutional privileges and prerogatives of Parliament are to this day zealously guarded."

The second period in the life of the English people is the period of self-conquest. Man, know thyself, is one of the greatest laws of life. Self-preservation comes before the preservation of the lives of others. As Cramb puts it, "For only a race deep centred in its own faith, yet sensitive to the faith that is in others, can understand the religion of others; only such a race can found an empire characterized at once by freedom and by faith." The Reformation, which had no bearing on the inner life of the German people, transformed the inner life of the English people. It brought about a unity of conscious growth, growth which seeks to interpret itself in a larger and cosmopolitan self. Her great apostles of life were Locke, David Hume, Glanvil, Scott, Hooker, and Milton. They were the annunciators of the doctrine of the inviolability of conscience. With one voice they proclaimed, "There is God." They claimed for humanity absolute liberty. Equal and impartial liberty, they say, must be the cornerstone of any governmental structure. America was fired by the imagination of these men! It is in the light of the consciousness of man's destiny that England rose a new state.

In politics, which is the central power of its being, England established a constitutional government, and made sure the path to the wider freedom of the future. In religion, she fixed the principles of that philosophic tolerance which the later centuries developed and applied. England became the asylum of the oppressed, the home of political and religious freedom, as never seen before in all history of human endeavor. These are the things which gave England its greatness! Rome slept and woke in power, Egypt collapsed in mystery; Greece awoke, misstepped, and fell. Germany grew

in power, but was destitute of spiritual and moral bearing. Despite her power and prowess Germany has never been a happy race. How can we compare Fichte to Locke, or Hegel to Hume, or Nietzsche to Hooker, or Bismarck to Oliver Cromwell? As England was racing to life, Germany was seeking the way to death.

What was the result of self-conquest in the English people? Self-knowledge led them now to speculate about the universe and the world around them. Justice was no longer a gift from the imperial throne, as the Romans conceived it. England was to spiritualize the conception of outward freedom, of outward justice, to rescue individual life from the incubus of the state, transfiguring the state itself by the larger freedom, the higher justice of which Hellas was devoid and which was nowhere to be found in Rome.

Thus England's preparation for an empire was conscious, appraised, and determined. Her endeavor was to discover the destiny, the aspiration of man, and from that cornerstone rear her empire.

England's imperial structure in its ideal form stands on the wide conception of man, the universe—life. It is the structure of inclusive humanity—it is one conception for the entire world. It supplies equally to Africa, Asia, Europe, and America. Cramb states that England's imperial formula is "To liberate God within men's hearts, so that man's life shall be free, of itself, and in itself, to set towards the lodestar of its being, harmony with the Divine." This conception in its ideal form has never been paralleled in all the history of imperialism. It is in this regard that England departs from the ancient empires! England will never suffer what they suffered if she puts her ideal into practice.

England's destiny is the destiny of man. England will only suffer when she loses this structure on which she stands. That day the fate of England will be

sealed. And her life shall be bitter and gloomy, and those who love her shall sigh, but in vain.

No enemy and no combination of them can foil England once she keeps and practices her ideal. What happened in 1914 is a clear example of how people came with one mind to throw in their lot with England because her philosophy was in tune with life. It is not because England is clever and diplomatic that she enjoyed so wide a confidence!

The "war for democracy" helped to bring America, France, Italy, Japan into the conflict. America forgot her past grievances and marched off to defend liberty which she obtained from England at such a high price. She returned to find not only that the world is not safe for democracy, but that her own home is not even safe. A series of financial collapses followed. Unemployment increased fourfold; community disorganization and family disorganization were attendant results. Love grew cold, crime and hate swelled the rank of human society. Today America is called up again to defend democracy. After the last war, its agony had been firmly intrenched in the hearts of many. Read what Elmer Davis, able American commentator on world affairs, has to say in his essay "We Lose the Next War:

> "If we fight for British and French democracy we also defend the British and French empires. Co-operation with the peoples mean co-operation with their governments. The present British government is an excellent argument for American isolation. Its foreign policy for the past seven years has been an almost unbroken series of blunders. It proved its unscrupulousness by the way it got rid of King Edward, proved its stupidity in the Manchurian affair; and proved both when rebellion broke out in Spain. A government that hazards its own imperial interest to protect

class interest, and fails to protect either, would be no safe partner in war or in making peace."

Why is it that America has again decided to throw in its lot with England? It is this: England has projected an ideal which is unexcelled in all human history. It has always enticed those who believe in man and democratic ideals. Even when England has not achieved an ideal in practice, there is always a hope that in future it may be possible. Elmer Davis was of this opinion when he said, "There is something in English character, something else in the French character, without which humanity would be the poorer." President Roosevelt, one of the ablest thinkers of modern times, knows this thoroughly. In England we could hope; in Germany there is no hope, because its very structure has no substance of life.

The same thing applies to France. We cannot assume that France loves England so much that they must always be co-partners in life's endeavor. France is compelled to throw in her lot with England because that is the only way out. At least with England life is possible—because life is the ideal of England. An article published by the French newspaper *Gringoire*, organ of the Right, "Should England Be Reduced to Slavery?" shows how the inner heart of the Frenchman regards England:

> "England's policy consists of troubling the earth so that she can rule the seas. I think English friendship the most cruel present the gods can give a people. When I see England, the Bible in one hand, the League of Nations covenant in the other, upholding the cause of the weak or righteous, I can't but believe she has her own reasons. . . . I have seen his Majesty's police slashing Egyptian students in the street of Cairo.

> I saw convicts, disguised by Lloyd George as soldiers, shooting down the Balbriggan martyrs at their cottage doors. . . . Is it indispensable for human happiness that the route to India be British?"

The enemies of Great Britain have never characterized England with such a severity. But what happens? France again in this war throws her lot with England. Why? England has discovered the water of life—those who follow will in time, after anguish and painful struggle, still reach it and drink of it.

The destiny of imperial Britain will depend upon how far she tries in practice to make her ideal a reality. It is clear that she has discovered a way to life; the question now is: is she trying to partake of that life? Within, England has achieved a religious and political unity which in its amplification means a better life for man? Has this been achieved in the Empire so as to make England one with her own Empire? If this is missed, she will be in danger — a danger which will threaten not only the Empire but the entire life of England—because she has taken an oath before God and man that her task will be to liberate God in the hearts of men and bring justice and freedom to all. Unless she fulfills this pledge she is sure to fall.

Chapter XII.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN PRACTICE: GOVERNMENT

IN my previous discussion I implied that there are two forms of imperialism—the unconscious and the conscious. The former comes by accident, it is neither planned nor foreseen. The latter is deliberate, premeditated, with purpose and goal well marked. The past empires belong to the first. England belongs to the second. In this regard, there is a thorough demarcation between the past empires and the British empire. The British empire is not only an improvement on the past empires, but with it rose ethics in imperialism. In the face of this, we cannot presuppose that what happened to the past empires will happen to the British because neither by reason nor by analogy can we justify such an assertion; to recapitulate:

1. There is no similarity between the intentions of the Axis and the intentions of England. The former has no single conception of the objective or the destiny of man, while the latter has evolved a philosophy in harmony with divine, which places man above the state. The ideal of Britain is one of inclusive humanity.

2. No combination of powers can vanquish British might once she keeps in tune with this ideal, both in principle and in practice.

3. The total collapse of the British Empire is inevitable when in the pursuit of this lofty ideal a deliberate gulf is made between what should be for England and what should be for the Empire. This will defeat the oath which England took before God and man that her ideal will be that of inclusive humanity — which will know no geographical locations. If this end is defeated, we shall not know England in its true color, because the result will be dual personality. Under such uneasiness and duplicity, the British Empire would have decayed within and collapsed without.

The examination of British imperialism therefore involves, (1) the problem of ideal and (2) the problem of practice. We are in agreement that imperial England has, in her governmental structure, harmonized *ideal and practice as much as it is humanly possible.* Our present task is to find out how in practice she has carried out her ideals in her colonial policies. For only here will the future of imperial Britain be determined at this most critical time in international relationships.

I have selected for such a study Africa, more specifically Nigeria, where by birth, observation and participation I find myself qualified to speak on its political, economic, educational, and religious problems.

The colonial possessions are divided into Crown colonies, protectorates, mandates and self-governing dominions. Nigeria is limited to the first two. In the Crown colonies the local government and the conduct of foreign affairs is in the hands of Crown agents: the natives may be given representation. In the protectorates the conduct of the local government is supposedly in the hands of native rulers who exercise their power under the guidance of a British overlord, while the foreign affairs are in the hands of the foreigner. To all intents and purposes, in practice, the government

is in the hands of imperial administrative officers both in the colonies and in the protectorates.

The colonies in the British sense are countries which are supposed to be incapable at the present time of directing their own economic and political activities, and it is the task of other powers to help them until they can stand on their own feet. Speaking in the House of Commons on June 7, 1939, the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald) said that "the purpose of their colonial administration was to enable the peoples in its charge, in course of time, to become full citizens of the modern world." Who is to decide the age of maturity of the colonies, or the time when they should graduate from tutelage? But this involves the ethics of imperialism, which is outside the scope of this discussion.

Nigeria, to which we shall turn to study the system and practice of imperial policy in the Empire, has an area officially estimated of 370,674 square miles. It has two seasons, wet and dry. The mining areas of the north (jos) are temperate at certain periods of the year. The population is estimated officially at 21,000,000 but it is probably far more than 28,000,000 souls. The chief occupations are agriculture and fishing. The exports include palm oil and kernel, rubber, cocoa, gold, tin, peanuts, hides and skins, cotton and timber. It has four principal ports and its capital, Lagos, is often referred to as the Liverpool of West Africa. It is the second largest British dependency, India being the first.

The principle through which England administers Nigeria is known as "trusteeship." That is to say, the people are the beneficiaries of the British governmental efforts until such time as they are able to "become full citizens of the modern world," to use the words of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. Who are the electors of such

a trustee, and when or how the trust can be suspended are not within the scope of this discussion.

It is the Duke of Devonshire who elaborated the principle of trusteeship in the Kenya White Paper of 1923 (cmd 1922), declaring that in all African territories the interest of the natives must be regarded by the government as "paramount" and that "if and when the interests of African natives and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."

> "His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and the advancement of the native races.
>
> "There can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans toward a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the administration of this territory."

As far as the ideal of trusteeship is concerned, it is a triumph for imperial Britain. The principle regards the colonies as ends in themselves. The government must be in their interest. They must be free from opprssion and repression. Since the people will be educated to take over the reigns of the government, it allows room for growth and improvement. It cannot therefore be doubted that the principle is in harmony with that general concept of "inclusive humanity."

Foreign rule is still a foreign rule to the colonies, no matter whether it is cloaked in trusteeship as in Great Britain, assimulation as in France, or parallelism

as in South Africa. As far back as 1862 King Moshesh opposed this system in a very subtle way. In his message to British authorities, he said, "I will be under the Queen as her subject, and my people will be her subjects but under me . . . I wish to govern my own people by native law, by our own laws. . . ." Dr. Cate Kwendla Dipolo of Nigeria, in his article "Trusteeship for Whom," writes, "The 'Trustees' of our land and our life have been very zealous of their self-assumed office. The responsibility they have undertaken reminds one of the anecdote, 'one for Parry and two for Knight.' Their colonial philosophy has been so designed as to hoodwink the African into believing that his interests are paramount, whatever the situation, and whatever the dictation from European capitals." This clearly shows that European paternalism is regarded as an imposition, the acquiescence to which receives no popular mandate. Since the process through which it comes has been full of bloodshed and brutality, paternalistic government is regarded with suspicion.

As I have said previously, the colonials are aspirants and adventurers. If by stroke of fortune, there appear unsolicited friends, desirous of performing (at the expense of the lives of the very friend) the work of a good Samaritan so that they may enjoy life more abundantly, I shall forget — and I shall ask the indulgence of any readers that they too forget—the history of shame and bloodshed which has sullied the history of imperialism; I shall ask them to turn to trusteeship, since trusteeship is an ideal. The means laid down for accomplishing this ideal must be worthy of scrutiny.

There are two chief organs of governmental machinery through which it is to be hoped the principles of trusteeship may be applied in Nigeria: (1) the central government (2) the native administration. The two chief organs of the central government are the executive and legislative councils. The executive acts

in an advisory capacity; the legislative council legislates for entire Nigeria. While the executive has no African representative, the legislative consists of the governor (a British overlord), official members (high imperial children of England), elected unofficial members (four in all) representing the municipal areas of Lagos and Calabar, and a further number of nominated unofficial members. In essence the legislative council of Nigeria is bureaucratic. The Africans in a real sense have no voice and no representation. Since the British interests and British administrators number against the Africans 4 to 1, we cannot call this a representation, because what the governor justifies becomes a law. It has been the feeling of the progressive section of Nigeria that taxation without representation is nothing but a caricature of democracy.

The editorial of the *West African Pilot* of March 2, 1940, a leading Nigerian paper, characterizes the legislative council of Nigeria thus:

> "The existence of the Legislative Council of Nigeria is not only anachronistic but also it does not hold out to the people of Nigeria any hope for a better status, under the aegis of the British Empire.
>
> "If the pronouncements of British statesmen in respect to the welfare of the native races, both before and during the Second World War, should not be taken *cum grano salis,* by enlightened African opinion, then it is our submission that the time is everdue for these high ideals to be translated into practical reality. There is no need to soothe us with the promises of Canaan, when we are yet in the stage of our exodus from Egypt, and are wandering blindly in the wilderness of Kadesh-Barnea, not even able to cross the River Jordan, to witness the fall of Jericho, before

reaching the Promised Land. That is how the African feels about all these pronouncements which are germane to the policy of trusteeship in British Tropical Africa."

It is not in ideals that British colonial policy lags, but in practice. It will defeat the aspiration of anybody who believes in British trusteeship when he comes to examine it in practice, for: (1) it is evident that the system as it is now constituted is anachronistic because it is not representative; (2) it clothes the executive with absolute powers; (3) the representation given to British shipping, mining, and other commercial concerns is an absurdity which is unheard of in the annals and philosophy of representative government, in general, and the British Constitution in particular; (4) it does not offer the people intelligent participation in the government, which is supposed to be held in trust for them as the principle of trusteeship implies.

Since the state is all powerful, its will is made to prevail upon the people instead of serving as a servant of the people, and since the method of representation implies that the superior must rule over the inferior, I submit that the governmental machinery is, in the colonies, totalitarian in structure and in operation.

The "native administration" which is often referred to as indirect rule, a prelude of preparing the people to stand on their own feet, whether in its advanced stages or in minor form, is only a refinement in colonial imperialism. It is an agent of imperialism and an apostle of propaganda. It splits the people into various autonomous units and sets them one against the other. England is too long known as a "specialist in divide and rule." Captain J. J. Fitzpatrick criticized the indirect rule as "Nigeria's Curse," expensive, inefficient, and oppressive. The following is an extract

appearing in the editorial of the *West African Pilot* entitled "Against Trusteeship":

> "If the Native Administrations have been as successful as has been held out in Government reports, could it not have been possible to seek for adequate representation through these Native Administrations? Some of our Native Chiefs have been vested with extraordinary powers, holding authority over issues which mean life or death to the people over whom they rule. If these men are competent and have been wielding their power with efficiency, why should they not be called upon to represent their people and bring their grievances before the Government in an open and constitutional manner."

This goes to substantiate my assertion that native administration is an agent of imperialism. By giving the native chiefs this authority, there is no way in which the people can revolt against the central government, thus bringing the British government to the examination of the world.

There are enlightened rulers who realize these implications and they have sought to make their administration progressive, but such measures are soon resented by the British officers. When Chief Tschedi of Banagwats in the exercise of his office punished a white resident who committed an act of immorality — the proud heart of the Britisher arose. The home government (that home of liberty and freedom) demanded a full reprisal from the king under threats of destroying the entire tribe by bombs. He was deposed. Here the trustee became the tyrant.

I am not against native administration, but I am against using it as a means to an end. The system of trusteeship as upheld by the British government is not

only unfortunate but self-defeating. In ideal it is democratic, in practice and structure it is totalitarian. The two are diametrically opposed. How can we now reconcile the Axis totalitarianism and British colonial totalitarianism? In short range view they are the same, since they make for repression and unprogressiveness; in the long range view, in one there is no hope —in the British kind there is hope and speculation, and hope in itself is the essence of life. Nevertheless the British government is here warned that unless her principle of inclusive humanity is put into practice all over her empire, she stands before an inevitable doom — a doom which will plunge the world again into dark ages—an experience which will be painful to the whole world.

Twenty-five years ago people of every color and creed came to champion the cause of democracy because they loved England and her ideals. Now in all parts of the world even those who are helping England are suspicious of her intentions. Lloyd George speaking recently against Chamberlain's foreign policy, said, "A few years ago we had fifty-eight nations proud to follow our lead. Can you name two who will stand by us today?" Dr. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, insisting in his speech on January 4, 1941 that the United States should keep out of the war, said, "The Government of Great Britain has repeatedly refused to state its war aims. . . . If we go to war, we shall not know what we are fighting for." Taraknath Das, in his *India and World Politics,* said, "Again, it must not be forgotten that British Government in India is not a good government, and it stands condemned before the world because its principle motive has been profit in preference to the benefit of the people of India and fitting them for self-government. The very fact of the neglect of education and the long exclusion of the people of India from responsible positions in the

government of India make the charge conclusive." The decline of faith in the British government is becoming tragic. The British Empire endured because the world gave it a mandate, because its ideals were sound. If the people lose confidence, the Empire will go out of existence. It is not too late to build this conscious homogeneity within the Empire. The materials are at hand. If the Empire endures, imperial Britain will endure. We love and cherish the British Empire, but we must be assured of a life for all human beings. We do not advocate secession, but we insist we must be free from the chains of thraldom. We must be assured that the British Government is better than Nazism not only in words but in deeds.

The collapse of the British Empire is inevitable unless there is an immediate overhauling of her inner house. Doing this will revitalize her spiritually for the task before her. If this revival goes now into action the spiritual response in the form of sacrifice and of eagerness to fight for England will be more than England can imagine. People will give to their last shirt, people will give their last farthing. There will be no grumbling, because the people will hope to live. Is it not a shame that Germany dares to look upon the British Empire and is courageous enough to challenge her? It shows England's mistake. In keeping down the colonies she was defeating her very life's purpose. In trying to assert her superiority she was paving a way for her humiliation! England must now try an innovation, the art of love in governmental structure rather than force or intimidation to secure obedience.

I know too well that if Britain goes down, we shall go down with her, but much as I wish to see her stand, I must tell the truth, even though it be bitter.

Chapter XIII.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN PRACTICE: ECONOMICS

ECONOMICS deals with production and consumption of wealth, with the making and spending of money, all of which is to satisfy varieties of human wants. Economic independence makes for the stability of any government, which in turn gives a wider scope of freedom, liberty, and general pursuit of happiness to its people.

How does economy work under British colonial trusteeship? It is necessary to have all the implications of trusteeship in mind to evaluate intelligently the economic system.

Production is essentially a very important element in economics. We have to produce first and then later decide how we are going to use the products. Products may be divided into two classes, agricultural and manufactured goods.

When the economic question began to engage the attention of Europeans they first turned to the soil, the mother of production. In fact the physiocrats insisted that only surplus products of the earth should be taxed. In England, Adam Smith, Richardo, John Marshall, and others led the way, reasoning from the soil to the empty air. Today in England and America, in fact in

all the progressive countries, agriculture remains more or less a government concern. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of America is well-known. Various reclamation and soil improvements have cost the government millions of dollars. The government cannot expect to reap where it does not sow.

In Nigeria, as in other colonial dependencies, the government is totally ignorant of the economic pursuits of the people. In fact the educational system holds agriculture in utter contempt. No school boy in West Africa wants to be a farmer because the school system disregards the field. The irony is great when it is known that the African is traditionally attached to his soil. European colonial practice has no place for agriculture. The agricultural pursuits of Nigeria are still confined to the most primitive methods. The salvation of Nigeria is today in the hands of those who fail to get British education—for they still enjoy the old way of life. It is to these people that the government of Nigeria owes its existence. These people labor with the most strenuous methods ever conceived. They labor under the handicap of no real schools, no loan banks, no mortgage companies, no farmers' credit associations, no co-operative farming, no government loans, no marketing information, no assistance in any direction!

Nigeria, of all British West African dependencies, is very rich in mineral resources, but who is to develop them since the government is not interested? The extractive industry is confined to British mining firms and a handful of natives in gold-mining concern.

How about manufactured goods? There are no manufacturing concerns of worthy name in Nigeria. Despite the waterfalls, the untapped resource of the country, Nigeria remains essentially a raw material vineyard for European capitalists. It is unthinkable

that the British capitalists might conceive of the colonials becoming manufacturers.

We produce rubber, cocoa, palm oil and palm kernel, gold, tin, timbers, peanuts, cotton, and cattle. Not one of these raw materials is manufactured into goods for domestic needs. We have to import from British manufacturers.

Our every-day needs for health have to be imported in tins when they could be obtained fresh. Thirty oranges can be bought for two cents, but still we have to import orange sodas. Lemons are thrown away in most sections of the country, but not two natives out of four thousand can make lemonade locally. We have to buy from a British factory. What of milk, so essential for health? We have plenty of cows and goats, but not forty out of five thousand know how to milk a cow. We have to buy imported milk from British firms.

There have been labor disputes and labor disturbances, but labor unions are not permitted, and collective bargaining is regarded as inimical to the interest of the government. Under such totalitarian legislation, which would shock the civilized world, the entire African population has become reduced to a condition of appalling serfdom, toiling in mines, on plantations, and in mercantile offices for European firms: in South Africa, the Africans are subjected to human indignities unparalleled in all human history, not even in German colonies. England should be completely ashamed of herself, for permitting the most wicked, atrocious, suicidal act that can be committed by a Christian nation. The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1905 recommended the following measures in pursuit of acquisition of land by natives. It recommended that purchase of land by the natives should be limited to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactments, and that purchases of land which may lead to tribal,

communal, or collective possession, or occupation by natives should not be permitted. Africa, to the British ruling classes, not to the innocent people as a whole, is just a market for European goods, a virgin field for investment of capital. Dr. Dipolo denounced it in these words: "Alas! our 'trustees' are adept masters in repression and suppression. But it is somewhere written that 'they that live by the sword shall perish by the sword.' They, therefore, ought to look the shilling on both sides. The repressive and suppressive laws and acts of Europeanism in Africa are found everywhere. They impose a moral and spiritual burden which is unbelievable to the outside world. But commensurate with this weight, our sinews are developing, and by the law of compensation, the strength of the masses of Africa will meet it."

The social consequences of the new social order are even worse. The economic life of the tribes becomes detribalized—a situation is created in which they cannot follow the old order nor can they follow the new one successfully without previous preparation. The result is that crime, stealing, house-breaking, burglary, and vagrancy, hitherto unknown, are now rampant. Undernourishment, poor health, high infant mortality are widespread.

What is our "trustee's" attitude in this whole matter?

The government is concerned with the collection of revenue and imposing unwarrantable taxes. Desiring to reap where it does not sow, it is concerned with creating thousands of new departments for imported European cadets, who come to render the country more impoverished. Lord Luggard left it on record that there must be equal opportunity for those who achieve. Day by day native sons of Africa are returning from Europe and America, but they are denied responsible

positions in the government of their country. This is British trusteeship in action.

It is unreasonable and economically unsound that hitherto undeveloped Nigeria should constantly import European officials, paying them fabulous wages. We would not grumble or complain if there were any effort on the part of the government to lead the way towards developing Nigeria to the place where its resources could take care of those importations. There is no justification for the governor of Nigeria to pay himself more than $30,000 (excluding travelling allowances, entertainment allowances, and other types of allowances) out of the poor revenue of Nigeria. The wealthiest country on the face of the earth, the United States of America, pays its president $75,000. Comparing the standard of living in America, we can see that these colonial administratives intend to squeeze from the people as much as they can. The Prime Minister of England, or the Colonial Secretary, does not enjoy one-half of what the governor of Nigeria receives. While 90 per centy of the population remain in utter poverty, the handful of British colonial officers live in a luxury such as is never dreamed of in Buckingham Palace. When they return to England, they are fabulously wealthy and expect the Africans to beg the crumbs that fall from their tables.

It is the people who must suffer and labor to keep up the luxury of these heartless, proud, arrogant officers. Taxation in the modern conception presupposes the ability of the person to pay and also takes into account the benefits received. This is never thought of in the colonies. These people are subjected to any type of taxation which the British officers may declare. It will shock the modern world to learn that persons in some places are forced to pay taxes for their dead sons or relatives and that school boys are also subject to taxation. The editor of the *West African Pilot* con-

demned such a system in these terms: "After all, boys are dependent on their masters or guardians for support, and asking them to pay taxes amounts to asking their guardians, who have their own taxes to pay, to pay theirs also — an indirect manner of asking the average tax payer with responsibility to pay double taxation. True, we have the indirect rule obtaining in the colonies, but the question of paying double taxation indirectly is decidedly foreign to our conception of British Trusteeship." Such economics not only defeats efficient public finance, but it amounts to betrayal of trust.

What benefit does the native taxpayer get? Nothing but disease, hunger, and death. Good roads and lines of communication run only where there are European officers in residence, but the interior is devoid of communication; *there are no roads, no adequate water* supply, no hospitals and no recreational facilities. When one who has seen those things looks back, he is apt to shake his head in shame and horror.

The finances of Nigeria are in the hands of inefficient administrators. The Colonial Development Fund which His Majesty's Government said would be used for development and welfare, a total estimate of $1,000,000 a year, and another separate allocation of $500,000 a year for colonial research, are just other instruments of propaganda. Even if this money is available and will be used for the purpose thus indicated, an army of British cadets who, within a year, will exhaust the money in salaries will be imported. Back the money returns to England. *The Nigerian Guardian* in its editorial said, "We realize, of course, the fact that the amount so voted is not intended for Nigeria, *per se,* but what we really dread is that like most Governmental funds, this generous donation may be left to lie dormant for a long while, while the needs for which they are intended are left undone."

The African has of course realized that it is hopeless to trust its destiny to any foreign government! The Nigerian National Bank, financed by Africans and managed by Africans, is doing its best to educate the people out of the lethargy into which their so-called trustee government has plunged them. The New African Company, formed only a few months before I left home and in which my brother[1] is one of the directors, is doing its best to finance the farmers. This firm has co-operators here in 111 Wall Street, the American African Overseas Ltd. Their activities have been suspended owing to the war. Mr. A. Olu Alakija,[2] who is the African managing director, in Africa, writing recently[3] about the efforts of the government to strangle trade which it has not helped to create, said, "The farmers have secured finance through the New African Company, Ltd., for containers and for shipments. They are prepared to charter their own boats. The documents to prove all these statements can be examined in my office any day, any time, any hour. . . . Had his Majesty's Government decided to buy up all the surplus stocks of produce without interfering with business as usual, then the help would be appreciated, but to buy all under compulsory purchase and say she is helping Africans without knowing what the foreign market is, makes it necessary to reject any such proposals."

The economic history of Nigeria is a narration of shame and exploitation. It is the story of handfuls of fortune-seekers, with the blessing of England, coming

[1] Mr. J. Green Mbadiwe is the son of Chief Mbadiwe Odum of Ibo-land, Nigeria, West Africa. He is one of the financiers of Nigeria. He is a merchant, contractor and a mine owner.

[2] Mr. A. Olu Alakija, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon), is a native of Lagos, Nigeria. He had his early education in Nigeria and proceeded to England, where he read law in Oxford University. He is now a practicing barrister in Nigeria.

[3] The article in mention appeared in *The Eastern Guardian*, a Nigerian daily, printed and published in Nigeria.

to Africa under the guise of trusteeship only to strangle the people and thereby strangle the goose that lays the golden egg. Instead of educating the people to stand on their own feet, these foreigners aim at the economic deformity of the people. Here in practice, trusteeship has failed.

Chapter XIV.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN PRACTICE: EDUCATION

WITHOUT education trusteeship is inconceivable. This principle inherently demands a systematic education which will enable the people to stand on their own feet. The education here conceived is education for manhood. It involves education for self-mastery and for the mastery of the surrounding environment. In order to stand, we must first of all convince ourselves of the necessity of standing. We must know where we are to stand, and we must accurately understand the purpose of standing. Such education must not only have a meaning, but must be capable of tapping all the latent possibilities of the man.

"This is what education should do for every African child," writes Professor Ayo Ita of Nigeria. "As a people it should help them to make the most of what has come to them through the blood, traditions, lands and waters of their fathers."

It is our task to find out how this educational program is carried out in the colonial dependencies. Any progressive country regards education as a part of national endeavor. It therefore tries to secure the most up-to-date equipment available and at the same time to see that it keeps abreast of the times. Plato

insisted that it is the duty of a state to provide education for its children, who will become its rulers of tomorrow. American education is practical. It strives to reconcile the individual to his environment, and then prepares him for the better life. It enriches him from within, and then stretches to incorporate outside experiences. Education of the individual, the United States agrees, makes for an intelligent exercise of voting right, which is a direct aid to the efficiency of the government. In England education tends to be academic. Suffice it to say that England and America have a compulsory system of education. That means that all children at a certain age must be sent to school. Elementary education in both countries is compulsory, free, and open to all.

If progressive countries like America and England regard compulsory education or even available systematic education as a necessity for building a healthy nation and efficient government, I would then say that the system which should be in force in the backward areas should indeed be compulsory. Is this the case in the colonial dependencies? Is this the case in countries where trusteeship implies the responsibility of educating and uplifting its people from the incubus of intellectual stupor? I say no.

There is no compulsory education. There are no adequate schools. Those schools we do have are expensive. From the time you enter school until the time you are out, you have to pay. Only those who can afford it go to school. How can the people of an impoverished country, taxed to the point of starvation and collapse for the upkeep of the British officers, afford it? It is true that people are anxious to see their children avail themselves of the opportunity for studies. Money and not desire is the deciding factor. Are people not ashamed to call us backward when we are denied every means of getting an education? And

thus the African youth flourishes unseen, only to languish before the onslaught of European capitalists. Even when we pay to get education, what do we get? We purchase arrogance and deceit. We get empty airs. Africa is the only place I know of where education aims to destroy the individual instead of equipping him for life. In America, education means life or the ability to apply theory to every-day living. Here I see that my colleagues not only can read and write, and master their text books, but they can apply their education to dishwashing, auto driving, radio fixing, window cleaning, and almost any practical thing of domestic concern. Seeing all these things, my mind once more drifted to Africa, and I saw how much we have deceived ourselves—I saw how much our educational set up has been designed to crush the optimistic idealism of the people.

The education in Africa is foreign. It does not begin with Africa and its needs; it begins with the soil of England, only to advance to the waters of Jordan. Get hold of the African boy of a high school standard and ask him about the products of Africa. That question will seem too foreign—in fact, he will think the questioner mad.—He will answer, "Has Africa any products?" How can you blame him? He buys everything from the British, Italian, and French firms. Ask him what the products of England are and he will recite them off hand. He will tell you all about Wales and Scotland, about how His Britannic Majesty moves in pomp and glory. Perhaps the ancestry of his father is just as proud as that of the king of England—he does not know. His education is not reflective. His education has no spiritual content; it does not begin within to stretch without. He recites the history and geography of England or Europe like an automobile machine.

The education is not conditioned to fit his needs.

Africa is a rural country; any education which tends to neglect the soil is not an education fitted to African youth. Education in British West African dependencies utterly neglects agriculture, and it neglects social hygiene, health, arts for the home, and other such subjects needed by the people.

The education neglects the native institutions. I know that when education shall come to be what it ought to be in Africa, we shall turn back to America and South American republics to look for the survivals of our native institutions. All of what our forebears bequeathed to us, our drums of war and of peace, our songs of death and our songs of love, our songs of heroism and our songs of nobility all have been woefully lost to us. We talk of epic and lyric poems of the Greeks or Romans. How far had the Africans dwarfed the Greeks and Romans along these lines? What African has not been to the court of the kings and listened as the royal minstrels with trumpet recount the entire history of a generation, saturated with dates and records of heroic deeds. Who has even witnessed a funeral of a great man or woman in Africa and been able to refrain from shedding tears when in song her deeds are chanted and praised. They grip the soul and mind so as to force tears from thousands of mourners. I have wondered about the intelligence of these great artists. Our education in European schools robs us of these rich spirit-building materials of our forefathers. We become spiritually dependent. We no longer have a foundation. We can no longer resist oppression, because those things which gave our fathers strength are completely wiped out. The day we enter school in Africa, that is the day we sell ourselves to be perpetual wards of England — that is the day we relinquish our birthrights, and contract to drink from the bitter cup of humiliation. People have talked so much of economic imperialism that they have forgotten

educational imperialism. Perhaps it is yet unfamiliar, but it exists. When education becomes an instrument of exploitation either spiritually or physically, it completely loses its essence; it thus becomes a means to an end. Such I call imperialism in education.

In progressive countries people can take correspondence courses when they cannot enter a college. This is a method to help working men who otherwise cannot avail themselves of educational opportunities. African schools are in love with examinations of Oxford or Cambridge. Instead of preparing the African youth to acquire those things vital to his progress, they saturate him with English histories, mathematics, and classical literature. If this were all, I would not quarrel. It costs money to take these examinations. The fees range from $7 to $12 per person. This may not be exorbitant in America, but for an impoverished country to pay this, it means thousands of pounds going out of the country for the many hundreds who take them. This money could be used to open up more schools in the country or further support the mission schools, which take care of more than nine-tenths of those of school age. Of course, 90 per cent of the people are still illiterate. This education provided by the British is simply an economic exploitation in the form of education. Why should boys be in school and then pushed out to take Oxford exams?

Since those boys are not given adequate education which will suit them for life, they become confused in their personalities and conduct. They are not in balance with themselves. They cannot pursue independent means of livelihood by returning to their fathers' soil, so they are compelled to seek employment with European firms. Since the work in these firms has been simplified into routine forms, these systematically prepared individuals can figure computations to advantage. In other words, the type of education

offered prepares these young men as efficient aids to advance European investments.

Another evidence is that under this guise of trusteeship many Britishers are imported ostensibly as educators, but in reality as the agents for bringing Africans down to their knees. They live in elegant buildings, have fine automobiles and every other luxury which keeps up with traditional British prestige. They cut deep into the revenues of the country for salaries which we can ill afford to pay. Each goes back to England on leave every nine months. This means paying first-class fare for the man and his wife. He receives pay while in England for possibly three to six months. Just remember that this fellow, even when newly imported, costs the country $8,000 or more per annum. This includes salary, travelling expenses, building and equipmen, and different types of allowances. This is equal to the salary for an Assistant Secretary of State in the United States, yet this is also the sum that a poor country like ours spends on a boy who is just out of Oxford—during his first year in world affairs. The African who has labored for more than *fifteen years* does not earn more than $1,500 per year. If newly engaged, he gets about $400 per year, and even at that he is lucky. That is your trusteeship. What do we get from this imported twenty-year old boy? (A lot of lies—most of them are sincere, but still lies.) He tells how beautiful a place England is, how the English live, and what lovely times they have. Many boys listen with awe and reverence. Of course, we are apt to take a positive stand, and ask what he came here for if England offered him so much promise. This is just a sample of imperialism in education.

Since there are no universities in the British colonies of West Africa, the few who can afford it proceed abroad to get their higher education. This is another form of economic exploitation. The fees and living

costs are fabulously high. Such a system affects us terribly. Since there are no higher institutes of learning at home, it is impossible to carry on research on spheres of African life. Research requires materials, accommodations, time, and resources. Africa has none. Teachers cannot write text books adapted to the needs of the pupils; they have to be imported from England directly to teach the African about England. After the parents have squeezed out the very last farthing, and are often plunged into debt to educate their sons in Cambridge or Oxford or London University, they little realize that they are spending to import a Britisher in African skin into Africa. We call them "Europeanized Africans." These people fall into line with the imperialists and begin to exploit their own people and subject them to indignities. There is another form of imperialism in this sort of education. Those who think they can override the authority of their parents bring back English wives. Economically it is unwise, traditionally it is un-African, politically it is a setback. Despite slow material progress, Africa is one of the proudest races on the face of the globe. The white people who first penetrated Africa would have admitted this if they were sincere. They knew how they were regarded in the Gold Coast, Benin, Aro-chuku and Beda. They were regarded as people to be pitied. Now all traces of this pride have been wiped out. Our turbulent kings and rulers have been killed or banished. By force, bloodshed, and education, Europeans established their superiority. Nearly all those who had European education have become alien to our native institutions and culture. How can you compare these men with our fathers, who were educated in African traditions and customs? For these men knew no fear. Their very names were won by heroic deeds.

Now we answer to names like Tom, Jack, Robinson, Kingsley and all such foolishness. These names have

no meaning. All African names of dignity have meaning. And these names have enabled them to fight the world with delight and pleasure. They revere them as they do their gods. Take my name "Ozuomba." That name has constantly reminded me of responsibility. Literally it signifies a world conqueror. My great grandfather who had this title thought that Ibo Land was all the known world. Through war and trade, and at times by peaceful penetration, he established his name over all this land and thereby earned the name "Ozuomba." When I was born, according to tradition, a soothsayer was called to "say" all about me and to tell why I had come into the world. It was then that the prediction came that I was Ozuomba come to life again (reincarnated). The soothsayer went on to say that the sword of my grandfather belonged to me and that its sheath must be of leopard skin. My father respected me from birth and called me "My Inlaw," and my mother called me "The Great Father" and the sons and wives of a whole section which this man ruled have paid tribute to me from my birth until now. Of course, I am not a warrior. I have never handled a gun. This name has made me serious minded from my youth, and I have not enjoyed the games common to my age. Even when I go by the name of Kingsley it frequently occurs to me that I am the expected Ozuomba and I once more deliberate on the story of such a historic character. This is just a digression to show what education would have meant to us if we had continued with our traditions, and not changed to those of others.

What do our boys study in England? Anything that will bring the quickest money. Law and medicine are their chief concern. — Not law preparing business lawyers, but exploitive lawyers! Not doctors who inquire into native herbs, but doctors who ply the European surgery upon the African skin. The education

is a selfish one. It is not the education preparing the African to live for others, but that which makes him look down upon his very life. He forgets that one tree cannot make a forest, that his education does not relieve him from being an African and for sharing in the reproaches which come to the less fortunate ones. He cannot create wealth, but he likes to spend it. The simple rules of economics he does not know. He may be a good orator, but what of that? The governor and his white associates orate upon the finances of the country. Our boys know nothing about public finances.

Education in England ranges up from $5,000 per person, depending upon the profession and the quality of work already done before entering the university. On return, the imperialistic vanguards that make up the bureaucratic government of the country block any outlet for these men. Why employ them? This will prevent the importation of more Europeans, and, further, it will tend to make Africa economically independent. This idea of equality is biting to the imperialist. The Europeanized African must either accept an inferior position or die. Even if the government is inclined to employ a native, it is likely to import the West Indian either from Jamaica, or Trinidad. This has now created a conflict between the two peoples. It must be remembered that the same thing happened in the Ashanti Wars. When King Premphia became difficult to subdue, the English imported West Indian soldiers and the Ashanti people had to surrender rather than fight their kinsmen. The imported West Indian, just as much an "inferior" as the Africans, accepts the role of playing the imperialistic ball. I must define this word "inferior." Anyone who cannot think for himself, completely devoid of spiritual convictions and allowing himself to be used as an instrument toward some end which in his inner consciousness he realizes as irrational, is inferior.

European education produces no African heroes. No one who is at loggerheads with himself can be a martyr to any cause, no matter how lofty that cause may be. These Europeanized Africans are not capable of becoming heroes, as their fathers once were, because they are the product of the foundation from which they were reared. European education seals the past of their youths and they become products of imperialistic machination. How can they prophesy of the future when they are completely blind to the past? There is nothing to fire the spirit or revive the imagination. It is all benumbed and dead. As Professor Ayo Ita, the philospher of the Equatorial Desert of Africa, puts it, "He who can see human apparel in the cotton seeds and bleating lambs, who recognizes gravitation in the fall of an apple, and happy growing children and healthy citizens in the milk of cows and goats that roam over the fields, or hears the thump of death in the buzz of the poisonous flies and sees the wreck of the moral or social order of the world in trivial deceit, is as inspired a prophet as any that ever lived."

What are the implications behind African education? Never has a country so paid and struggled to purchase evil for itself. It would seem that the purposes of African education are (1) to keep the African in his place; (2) to prevent loss of market and depreciation on investments, which the British believe will result if Africans become intelligent consumers (of course, this is bad economics, for education will tend to create more demands); (3) to prevent diminishing prestige of the English civil servants and other imperialistic agents (the system of education in Africa is made to advance this prestige); (4) to prevent any national consciousness (education based on the needs of the African will awaken in him an urge to assert his independence and to cast off the British yoke).

Africa is not silent. She is answering back. Africa

is now in ebullition and out of the debris of Africa new prophets have arisen. They speak in African language, they drink from its fountains of wisdom, they are clothed in the tradition of its past; they are sustained by the words of its sages, and they are founded on the hard rocks of Africa. They declare Africa must live again. It must live not in the soil of Europe, Asia, or America, but in the soil of Africa. The language must be African, the thought must be African.

The youths of Africa must be reared upon the hard rocks of African tropics and baptized from the spirited wisdom of their fathers. They must seek the soul of their fathers and tread on the paths which their fathers once trod. African youths must henceforth answer fire with fire, match brain with brain, return kick for kick, love for love and, in the place of hypocrisy and diplomacy, show light and truth.

This has moved Ayo Ita to write: "Again, when I see the minds of some members of my race growing, measuring up with the intellectual heights of the ancient and of the present time, and when I find the strength of their will and emotion waxing high and coping with the finest of our day, I say a hearty 'thank you' to the ancestors in whose seeds lay all the potentialities and most that the children will have."

Africa has caught the spirit of fire. There is no stopping. Professor Nmandi Azikiwe led the way, and others are following. He began preaching in 1935 from coast to coast in West Africa—"Africa for the Africans" was his keynote. He said, "African industry, African art, African lady, African mother must create the new order." He led the way toward economic independence. Africans heaped on him what they had. He runs the biggest daily paper in West Africa. He understands economics, he understands life—thanks to America. This country has given our sons more prac-

tical education than any other in the whole world. For Azikiwe was a product of Howard, Lincoln, Pennsylvania and Columbia Universities. Professor Ita, a product of Columbia, and Dr. Dipolo, a product of New York University and Chicago University, these giants set Africa ablaze. By 1938 the fire was unquenchable. Men vacated their jobs, resigned lucrative services, left businesses, left homes of comfort and turned their eyes toward America for the type of education that will emancipate Africa. "All eyes now on America," says the African youths—"no more law, but economics and science."

The beginning of 1938 saw fifteen students in Lincoln University. We came by sevens and eights. We received the blessing of the entire country as we set sail. A new day, a new consciousness, and Africa shall be restored to its ancient dignity. A new day in African thought and education is not the result of trusteeship but the outcome of a people yearning to live and break the clutches of educational imperialism.

Chapter XV.

WARTIME EDUCATION IN AFRICA

THE day of accounting has come. We had expected that day and we had warned the British government to help us stand on our legs, so that in any eventuality we could play our part. Our plea fell on deaf ears. Finally, the German assault on the Empire has come. The Africans, as before, have maintained their traditional friendship with England, and have joined the war, giving all resources they possess towards winning the war. If the Africans had been given a fair chance, they could have given more than they are now giving, because they could have produced more. What is the cause of African unproductiveness? The African has no education. He pays taxes and supports the government but, unfortunately, the government forgot that the education of the people is a key to a progressive government. As Professor Eyo Ita puts it, "Thus, education for intelligent self-direction here advocated is basic to our very existence. If we are capable of education, then we are capable of democracy. Both must come or go together. Education is the creator and preserver of democracy."

The deliberate intention of the British government —to leave the masses of the people under its rule in utter ignorance—is in itself a betrayal of trust. The British government has repeatedly declared to the

world that her intentions in the colonial dependencies is to bring them the fruits of democracy and direct them to the mechanics of Western civilization. Take Nigeria as an example. Although three times larger than the United Kingdom in surface area, with potential resources comparable to the United States of America, this country for more than seventy years under the British government has never enjoyed the fruits of adequate education.

The 10 per cent who might receive any education at all receive the education which fits them as mere wards of the European firms. The education which aims at the full and harmonious development of the resources of the human spirit, of the integrated personality rightly related to the society from which it is inseparable, is entirely out of the picture. Dr. E. W. Smith, in his book *The Golden Stool,* writes: "Let people in England remember that in their name the principle of trusteeship for the well-being of Africans has been solemnly accepted. It is for them to see to it that this be not a mere pious aspiration but carried out in all the acts of Government, and particularly in all economic policy. . . ."

Again, Sir Hugh Clifford in a historic letter addressed to members of British Colonial Service in Nigeria, elaborated further on this principle of trusteeship:

> "Our primary function is not so much to rule as to serve the populations whose affairs we are administering and the countries whose resources we are helping to develop. Also, loyalty, discipline and devotion to duty should be the very life-blood of the service; and among the major tenets of our creed should be that if, as all too frequently befalls, public duty and private interests and affections threaten to clash, precedence must unhesi-

tatingly, nay, instinctively, be accorded to the former; that each of us while serving in the Tropics carries the honor of our country in his hands and must ever be scrupulously regardful of the sacred trust, that every precept of chivalry that lies at the back of the Englishman's inbred love of fairplay—every sympathy which weakness should quicken in the strong, and every appeal that impotence can address to power — should make it a point of honor for each of us to be meticulously just and unendingly patient, tolerant and kind in all the doings with the often pathetically defenseless people whose affairs are committed to our charge."

The world is weary of this trusteeship embodied in British colonial policy. For more than a hundred years this same flowery principle has been appearing in print, unimproved and undeveloped. The colonials feel that if it is a means of propaganda it is now too antiquated to have any more effect. The tactics must be changed.

Our answer to trusteeship is to give us a chance right now. A chance to see whether by trial and error we could, while exercising independent and free spirit, contribute to the British war effort more than we are now doing. The African youths feel that they can stand on their own with any race on the face of the globe if given the chance.

In order to prove this, we offer right here a challenge: Let all those countries that subscribe to the idea that Africa cannot stand alone bring their best brains, and let us turn these men to pursue one field of educational endeavor and later to apply the theories to practical reality; if Africa as one of the competitors fails to measure with other associates, I will then subscribe to the backwardness of the Africans. I put this challenge to any government or any philanthropist.

Or let them devise any other plan, and we shall be too pleased to compete.

Experience has shown that more than 80 per cent of the African students who go abroad to be educated are honor's men, and yet they are far from being the cream of our society. They go abroad because they have the money. If we can survive with the blood-draining education we have in Africa, why can we not do mighty things with the education that takes regard of immediate environment and surroundings. We cannot do anything with fractional education. Professor Eyo Ita, that lone educational philosopher of Africa, wrote: "Humanity cannot be rescued by the fractional method. Man must be rescued as a whole person." On another occasion, Ita wrote:

> "Thus the spirit, the principle and practice of democracy must permeate our school organization and methods and pervade our whole social structure and attitude. It is clear also that the first duty of our educator is to make business, or trade and occupations a Nigerian business or commerce, serving first and foremost the Nigerian life and interest. So too must science and art in Nigeria be essentially Nigerian; that is, use the Nigerian human talents and natural resources and serve the Nigerian life. Similarly our religion must be essentially Nigerian. We must win Christ, Mohammed, Buddha, and Confucius for Nigeria and not merely win Nigeria for Christ and other religious founders.
>
> "We are either Nigerians moving in the stream of humanity or we are nothing.
>
> "We must throw our roots deep down into our soil and the foundation of humanity, and stretch out our tops and branches to breathe from our local and from the more universal atmosphere the culture and civilization of mankind."

These sayings from a great African are our answer to trusteeship. We know exactly what we want and we alone can give it. Give Africa a chance, and we shall bring to Europe a fine and crystallized civilization full of life and energy. The African possesses a brain comparable to any race—destined to accumulate knowledge under any weather or climate. Take away machine gun and bombs, with perfect freedom the African can and will measure up to any race in the world in any field of human endeavor. If Europe is not afraid, why not give us a chance? Thus, we can answer educators with educators, engineers with engineers, statesmen with statesmen, financiers with financiers, and so down the line. At present, Africa has long been in prison. She is not free to answer back. Trusteeship has failed. It is more appropriate for Godless Europe than for the God-fearing country of Africa.

The solemn pledge of England cannot be left unchallenged though we realize the dangers to which the Empire is now exposed. The gravity of the situation makes it urgent that something should be done. We the Africans want to take full weight in the struggle to wipe Hitler from the world. England is doing something. Her contribution is both productive and distributive. In all her war efforts, she has not lost sight of what productivity can do. For this reason, her productive power is distributed around England, Canada, and America.

England is engaged both in material and human production. My emphasis is more on the human. England is still carrying out an extensive program for training her students in the dairy industry, medical sciences, and aeronautical engineering. In most cases, some philanthropic institutions in America have offered to undertake the expense and training of these students. The picture is different in Africa. The government

has turned into a great collector of money, and there is no machinery set up to produce wealth. There are several societies throughout Nigeria which do nothing more than collect funds for the war. "Win-the-war" relief funds, "help-win-the-war" funds are organized by women all over the country. This is heroic, but it is defeating. It is bad to destroy the goose that lays the golden egg, and is poor economics.

The governor's attitude (governor of Nigeria) towards education shows that his policy, whether he realizes it or not, is to destroy the productive capacity of the country. If the country is drained of its last resources, there is no doubt that the people will have to face starvation. Under mass starvation discontentedness will be the result. In that case, the country will be more of a liability towards British war effort than an asset.

Under mass illiteracy what can Nigerians do but give what they have and then die in disease? The government could, in order to correct its past mistakes, initiate education, establish educational institutions which will aid in reviving the productive capacity of the country. Rather, the governor is too backward to realize its importance. Recently, as reported in the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* of April 26, 1941, the Ibibio Union requested of the governor of Nigeria permission to send money to the United States to pay for the upkeep and education of two Ibibio Union students. The governor in reply said: "I am afraid the Government has got to say 'No.' The rules of this point are very strict indeed. If a man in England has his wife and children, his whole family, in the United States, he can only send them a very limited amount, one hundred and fifty pounds a year, and he can only do this if his family was in the United States when war broke out. . . ."

The same union requested a "middle school" in their

town. The governor's reaction is expressed in these words:

> "The present policy is, and I am of the same opinion, that there is greater need for expanding primary and elementary education than for establishing new middle schools. In Calabar you already have three good middle schools. I realize that as a tribe you are very keen on education, and that you have many elementary schools, and middle schools in Calabar are too far away from the homes of many of you to be convenient. It may well be that the time has come or nearly come for the establishment of a middle school outside Calabar. I am afraid it cannot be considered at the moment. As you say, it is a question of the expenditure of money. Even if you had no school at all, I could not give you one now because there is no money. The native administration cannot afford it, so it is no good talking about it now. We will talk about it again after the war."

The governor's reply to these two important requests places his attitude about the education of Africans at home and abroad on record. The world has been told that we are unable to stand on our legs; now that we have taken the initiative to force our legs if they are too obstinate to stand, every attempt is made by the people whose responsibility is to make us stand to push us back.

If England with all its educated element could deem it a vital necessity to nurse and improve its human resources at all costs, why should the colonial government not be encouraged to do so? Why should the colonials not go alongside the English boys in their special training in Canada or America? Germany is not fighting us by indefinitely collecting money from its

citizens, but its greatest weapon is in its ability to develop its human resources.

The governor's refusal to send adequate money to the African students abroad, the money produced by the sweat of their parents, is tantamount to asking them either to return or die! What provision of relief has been made for these students from the relief money collected from their countries? Provision is constantly made for English children. Why should we be passed unnoticed? How can we then serve the cause of our country and fulfil our duties as members of the British Empire, if we are ill-trained and unequipped for the greater task of manning our destiny? How can we then stand on our legs?

Recently a case occurred in which the governor of Nigeria, with the connivance of the official British authorities here, requested the return of one of the students now in the United States. In other words, to carry out this instruction, the family of the student was made to put out money for the return despite their protest that this boy should continue his educational career and that regular provisions should be made. This boy hails from one of the prosperous families of the country; he is the son of a people who had the distinction of marshalling all their energies and resources to serve the British cause during the last war.

Why should the governor and other official quarters undertake such a course? What regard have they then for the aspiration of the people they call "native rulers" in British dependencies? What right has a governor to dictate a policy irrespective of the feelings of the owners of the country? The official quarters answered that it was irrelevant whether the family is able to pay or not, that the fact is that money should be used for the prosecution of the war. What part then do we play in the affairs of our country since the governor is clothed with almighty power? Why should

the official quarters not treat each case according to its own merits?

Since our people are loyal to the British cause, giving their very life and money to do their part for the Empire, why is it that they are deprived of the handful of boys that they send out for further studies? What hands will there be then in Africa to restore our battered walls and ruins should the country be exposed to Hitler's bombs? Who are to restore them? We feel that at this hour of trial that all the elements of the Empire which have shared and are sharing in the suffering must share as well in the joys. Any attempt to arrest the educational pursuit of this handful of students abroad will bring great discontentment at home.

Productivity. The emphasis today must be laid on the productivity of the country. We have to produce healthy and resourceful men in order to produce material things needed for the war. The colonial governors have neglected this line of thought. To realize it, there must be more and more creative and productive education. It will be far better to reinvest all the money which is now being drained out of Nigeria into a productive enterprise which will yield abundantly in the future. Money invested in health services is not wasted. The health of the people must be improved so that they can work and fight. One authority holds that "the future of West Africa depends wholly upon insuring better health for African children. It has long been recognized that real progress in all phases of life in West Africa depends primarily upon the good health of the African population, and that a beginning must be made with African children." One medical officer has set down, "as the health of the African improves, so will the country progress."

The mortality in Africa is unbelieveably high. In the interior death takes about five hundred out of every

thousand children born. This is caused by lack of proper medical care and adequate maternity hospitals. In 1936 there were about fifty-five African hospitals and eleven European hospitals in Nigeria. These fifty-five hospitals are distributed in the cities, leaving the majority of the people without hospital attention. Moreover, the hospitals are ill-equipped. Only fifty-five hospitals for about twenty-eight million people and eleven well-equipped and well-conditioned hospitals for a handful of Europeans. There are about four government maternity hospitals distributed in large cities.

The missionaries are doing good work in checking and curing leprosy, a deadly disease, which is fast spreading to all parts of the country. Lack of funds makes this work very slow. It is alarming that the government has left this important branch of its task for other agencies to undertake. The British Empire Leprosy Relief Association can do very little unless the government takes the initiative in improving the general health of the country.

Here is then the opportunity for the government to send about fifty students immediately to study health services in the United States. Some of these students, after completion, may be sent to serve in the army while the majority returns to improve the health of their people. If the people can contribute generously for war, there is no reason why public sentiment will not be aroused sufficiently to support a program intended for its own health.

Other students should be sent out to study agriculture, especially chemical engineering. There is no reason why Africa should not supply Britain with all the food stuffs she needs. But since the people have been refused the opportunity to exercise their inventive faculty, as a consequence Britain, as well as Africa, is suffering. When agriculture comes to be what it should be, the farmers' condition will improve and the

earning power of the worker who is now getting nine to eighteen cents a day will be increased. This will be the right way of helping to win the war. In fact, a university to teach these productive sciences can be established right there in Africa, as there has been no worthy educational institution in West Africa since our contact with Britain. Colonial governors must be a people of the "doing" type. They must get to work.

Professor Nnamdi Azikiwe, the managing editor of the *West African Pilot,* was asked in the column of his paper of April 25, 1941, this question: "Tell me, Zik, if you were governor of Nigeria and you were authorized to state the war aims of Britain with reference to the future of Nigeria, what would you say?" Professor Azikiwe answered:

> I would broadcast a "War Aims" message and tell Nigeria that after the war, they will have a better constitution, using that of Ceylon as a model.
>
> I would assure Nigerians equal opportunity for all, irrespective of race, color or creed, after the war.
>
> I would promise to make Nigeria and Nigerians more economically secure by bettering the wages and conditions of workers; by providing employment for the unemployed; by establishing credit and banking facilities for the farmers; by introducing collective farming under government supervision and securing better price for Nigerian produce; by creating a Trade Department in the Nigerian Civil Service, and operating a government-supervised insurance company to provide sickness benefits, accidents, etc. for the workers and farmers of Nigeria.
>
> In harmonizing this message with my war aims, I would do the following:

1) Effect a general cut of 50 per cent on all salaries drawn by members of the Civil Service of Nigeria who are on a scale of not less than 500 pounds per annum and 60 per cent on scale of not less than 1,000 pounds and 75 per cent on others.

I would make necessary adjustments and revisions in the salary scales of the Service.

2) Abolish all duty pays (direct or indirect), standardize all allowances by reducing same by 75 per cent and using that as criterion to level the allowances of those who now earn negligible allowances.

3) Reduce my allowance and other expenses by 75 per cent.

4) Recall Sir Donald Cameron[1] or appoint a financial expert to use the scissors and shave the Civil Service of Nigeria so as to make it compatible with the earning capacity of Nigeria.

5) Operate the posts and telegraphs, P.W.D., marine, railway, et cetera, on a sound business basis, and if sustained losses continue, then either the present executive officers would be sacked en bloc, as is done in big commercial enterprises, or they would have to produce results.

6) Raise an army of one million soldiers, well-armed and trained and officered by Nigerians and non-Nigerians of British nationality.

7) Make Nigeria air conscious by training one thousand Nigerian pilots, and one thousand air mechanics, wireless operators, et cetera, to form the nucleus of a Nigerian air force whose strength should be two thousand planes to begin with.

[1] Sir Donald Cameron was formerly a governor in Nigeria. He is succeeded by the present governor, Sir Bernard Bourdillon. Sir Cameron was a financial genius who restored the economic condition of the country.

8) Establish a Trade Department which will be supervised by trained Nigerians and others and which will conduct collective farming, cooperative buying and selling, and perform incidental duties.

9) Build and maintain better railways, roads and riparian transport and prevent unnecessary competition.

10) Dissolve the present legislature until the end of the war and appoint a Directorate of twelve (six Africans and six Europeans) to act as an Executive Council to put the above into practice.

11) Substitute qualified Africans for some of the posts which non-Africans now hold, and release the latter for essential war work.

12) Engage unemployed persons to build roads, and perform other public duties, either as members of a Labor Corps or Civilian Conservation Corps or Storm Troops (call it what you will) in the effort to make Nigeria physically and economically fit to stand the shock for defending the Empire and winning the war.

After the war, I would order a referendum; and if my policy is not popular and practicable as a whole, I would step down and give another dreamer a chance.

But I would not claim the right to rule as a birthright.

In other words, I would make Nigeria safe for Democracy and unsafe for Bureaucracy.

The suggestion of Professor Azikiwe is exactly what we want the governors of all British dependencies to do. In fact, His Majesty's government should study Professor Azikiwe's answers very carefully. The present British colonial policy is not popular at all. The

opinion is current among his Majesty's colonial subjects that the agents of the Crown who come to the colonies do not take themselves as part of the country which gives them livelihood. It seems to us, and from actual practice it is so, that they come to pluck and drain the country and to return to their homes to build themselves fine mansions! If they are not indifferent to our aspirations, why should their consciences not revolt at the terrible condition in which these dependencies find themselves?

The attitude of these colonial administrators has created suspicion in the hearts of so many people that, while we the youths, by experience and history, know that there can be no future for Africa under Hitler domination, our old folks in their inner hearts would prefer to gamble with Hitler than remain under the present condition of things in Africa.

How can we blame them? The duplicity and arrogance of colonial servants is unbearable. They have brought confusion into the country and have lost track of British integrity and fairplay on their way to Africa. We can simply style them, "Little Colonial Hitlers."

Sometime ago it was flashed in the newspapers of the world that his Majesty's government authorized fifty million pounds to be spent on the improvement and development of the colonies. While it is held as a very generous gift, there was suspicion in many quarters that it was merely for propaganda purposes. This suspicion is turning out to be a truth. If this money is actually available, what is the necessity of closing several schools in the colonies? Is there any relation between improving and destroying? If this money is available, what is the necessity of refusing money to be sent to a handful of students abroad who will assist in improving the colonies without any expense to the government? If this money is available, why should the colonial governors initiate all forms of

amusement to drain the countries of all the available resources which could have been best utilized in productive enterprises to help prosecute the war?

Since this money has been made available, what has actually been done in any of these colonies? It will be better for the Empire to unite sincerely in the prosecution of this war. Instead of handicapping the education of the boys, *why should 100 per cent excess* profit tax not be imposed on those combines and mergers draining the financial life of the country? The West African Gold Mines still turn large dividends to its share holders despite the war. The United African Company in 1938 made over one and a half million pounds profit. And all the governors saw fit to do was to discourage education.

What we all desire at this time is the successful prosecution of the war. In order to achieve this, the combined resources of the Empire, spiritual and material, must be fused together. The following must be done in Nigeria to get the desired unity at once. The line of my suggestion should be followed in other colonies. What is our goal? Productivity, integration, and general *esprit de corps*. The following is suggested with Nigeria as an illustration:

1. The head of the Nigerian Government should be Mr. Herbert Macauley, C.E., founder of the Nigerian Democratic Party, defender of native rights and liberties, friend and admirer of the British people, scholar and a well-known personality throughout England. Macauley was a devoted friend of the late King George V. He is a native of Nigeria. I have not selected him because he is a native of Nigeria, but because he is the best fitted for the executive post.

It is not likely that Macauley will accept the post, but the united voice of the people will compel him. He understands Nigeria and its needs; he understands England and what it desires. By appointing him, we

shall combine genius with economy. We can by this process save about four thousand pounds a year, at least during the duration of the war. All allowances and useless expenses will be cut off and reinvesting this four thousand pounds in productive enterprise, we could contribute to war economy without touching the original outlay.

2. Professor Eyo Ita[1] should direct the entire educational activity of the country. At present Professor Ita has no match in Nigeria in the field of education. Since he understands the country and its people, he can best understand the type of productive education to introduce. By this process we can save about one thousand and five hundred pounds.

3. Profesor Nnamdi Aikiwe, now managing director of the *West African Pilot*, should leave for duties in the Colonial office of London. He should work a pattern and prospectus to be followed in colonial policies, at least in Nigeria.

4. Sir Donald Cameron, former governor of Nigeria, should be recalled to direct the finances of the entire West African dependencies. He is a financial genius, who puts productivity before distribution. Under him England can depend upon vital food stuffs from the colonies. Mr. H. O. Davis[2] should be appointed to work with Sir Cameron, who, himself, will be too glad to serve under a genius like Macauley for whom he has a devoted respect.

[1] Professor Eyo Ita is a native of Calabar, Nigeria, West Africa. He had his early training at the Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar. He taught for many years before coming to America for further studies. He earned his M.A., B.Sc. from Teachers College, Columbia University. He earned M.A. from London University. He is now the founder of Calabar National School.

[2] Mr. H. O. Davis is a native of Nigeria, West Africa. He was employed in the Government Service, the Survey Department, from which he resigned in order to further his education in England. He graduated B.Sc. from London School of Economics. He was for more than three years the Secretary General for the Nigerian Youth Movement. At present he is the Business Manager of the *Daily Service* which is the official organ of the Youth Movement.

5. Mr. Paul Cardoso[1] should be made Agricultural Director, authorized immediately to establish five agricultural schools in five key productive centers. Expert machinery for dispatching the vital food stuffs to England should be set up immediately. Under Mr. Cardoso, the farmers will be restored to life.

6. Mr. S. O. Akisanya[2] should be made the Director of Transportation and head of the Labor Mediation Board. He understands the internal and varying conditions of the country better than any one we yet know.

7. The training and equipping of the army should be left in the hands of a Britisher. The same applies to air pilots and plane mechanics. This officer should try to understand the military tactics of Africa and to correlate them with Western methods, to produce a compound whole.

8. The Honorable S. Ikoli[3] should be made the Minister of Propaganda for the entire West African dependencies. The slogan should be, "We the African youths are sailing to subdue Hitler."

The country, thus put in a high gear with the now newly discovered geniuses, will be awakened as never before for a showdown with Hitler. We shall call this shake-up, "a method of attaining common citizenship within the Empire." This common citizenship

[1] Mr. Paul Cardoso is the son of a great African industrialist, who has traveled extensively in Europe and South American countries. Paul Cardoso studied Agriculture in Hampton Institute, Virginia, and graduated M.Sc. from Cornell University. He is now on the Faculty of St. Gregory College, Lagos, Nigeria.

[2] Mr. S. O. Akisanya is one of the foresighted men of Nigeria. He has for years devoted himself to the organization of labor and industry. He is on the executive board of the Nigerian Youth Movement.

[3] Hon. S. O. Ikoli, the Nehru of West Africa, a fearless, outspoken, dynamic personality. For years he was the editor of the *Nigerian Daily Telegraph*. He was for a number of years on the faculty of the King's College, Lagos. This year, 1941, he was electe a member of the Legislative Council. He is the president of the Nigerian Youth Movement and editor of the *Nigerian Daily Service*, organ of the Youths.

within the Empire, which Mr. Herbert Macauley has previously advocated, runs parallel with an article entitled, "Inter-Imperial Goodwill," contributed by James Smith in the Christmas Annual of 1912 of the *African Times and Oriental Review*, edited by Duce Mohamed Alli Effendi:

> "The means of attaining the dignity of one common citizenship would be the enduring influences fusing into organic unity each of the human elements of the British Empire.
>
> "Opening up before each of these a lawful career along every avenue of human activity, in state, in church, and in the degree of elevation to which he may be entitled, according to his loyalty, integrity and ability.
>
> "Hereby these human beings would become more completely united together; politically, by the bond of citizenship, and economically, by the bond of community of business interest—all co-operating together in developing the vast resources of the British Empire, by the harmonious activities of the Europeans, Asiatics, Africans, Americans, and Oceanians, acknowledging allegiance to the one King Emperor, the one King and the one law of the United Empire."

This must be the common citizenship which we seek within the Empire.

The colonial problems cannot be adjusted in a day; the wrongs cannot be righted overnight, but the task to adjust matters, though difficult at first, must be completely in our hands, the youth of the Empire. The youth of the Empire must therefore meet at a round-table conference wherever the English language is spoken, irrespective of race, creed, or color, to discuss the problem and decide what is to be done about it.

The organization must take place immediately, starting in America and extending throughout the Empire.

(1) Its essence must be the unity of the heterogeneous elements of the Empire. (2) It should solve the colonial problems and lay a foundation for the future prosperity and peace of the Empire. (3) It should consolidate this organization all over the world by an interchange of broadcasts, tours, and common tasks and responsibilities. (4) It should keep in contact with the statesmen in England. (5) It should set up an Advisory Board with great democratic leaders like President Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Mahatma Ghandi, Herbert Macauley, and others. (6) It should be represented in Parliament. (7) It should be guided by colonial experts.

Thus in this war-time, we shall be carrying on the great reconstruction of our Empire. And in the spirit of common interest, and in the hope of future happiness for our beloved ones, we shall defy Hitler and laugh at his gestures. Creative and productive education, along with waging the war, must be inseparable. This change, therefore, should be put into effect immediately.

Chapter XVI.

RECAPITULATION

OUR survey shows that the colonies are realities and not artificialities in the scheme of human life. They are communities of men aspiring for the high ideals. With this understanding, the contact of one power with another, inasmuch as it helps to accelerate these ideals, is justifiable. But, under no circumstances can any nation undertake the duty of civilizing others without first having the assurance that she herself has the benefits of civilization.

The Axis Powers have not shown in the course of their existence mastery of their own affairs. They have lost the grandeur and common decency of life. To them life is meaningless. The intentions of such pirates in Africa is already a matter of certainty. Countries such as the Axis Powers cannot be custodians of the energetic, evolving peoples of Africa. Their interest in Africa is economic and also is an avenue to pay the odd scores with England. There can be no doubt that inroads by these people in Africa would be catastrophic to the peoples there.

How are England's intentions different from those of the Axis? Why should England be entitled to colonial possessions of which other nations have little or

nothing? Has England anything to offer to her "backward" people?

The Destiny of Africa Under the Axis and England. It is essential that the future of Africa be considered. It is natural that the lives of one hundred and fifty to four hundred million people, inhabiting an area as much as 11,660,000 square miles—an area three times the size of Europe, four times the size of America, or an area that could easily contain the whole human race—should be deliberated upon; if not today, it must be tomorrow. The uncertainty of the present has clothed the future with supreme interest. The future has become the asylum of the mind after a tedious and weary struggle with life. In dreams of the future one can still gather strength as from playing the harp—such as David played to awaken the fatigued heart of Saul—can drink and be refreshed; for in the future all will be well. Deny men or nations that future, then you have arrested their very souls and the core of their being.

America fought England to keep the track to the future open. England herself fought to see that the future be not obscured. The cataclysms of the world have been brought to assure what men call a bright future or what the nations call a way to the better life. Who can then raise his voice in protest that Africa too looks to the future? Yet Africa is not free to determine her own future, although I know no law, human or natural, by which she should be denied this freedom. Africa awoke from her quiet sleep and found herself under self-appointed custodians. Some have even filed an appeal to be future partners as custodians of Africa. The two contestants are the "John Bull" of the world, England, and "John Bull" of the Axis, Germany. England is already there. Germany wants to come in. Our task is to determine the future of Africa under the threat of these competing camps and also to find out

what the reaction of Africa would be to each of the contestants.

Under the Axis the destiny of Africa will be hopeless. Her soul will decay and her bones will become lifeless. I have not based my conclusion on sentiment. I have traced the history of the German people since we cited their appearance in the recorded history of mankind to this time, and I have found them without philosophy for progressive human life. I have examined German thought and action and found her devoid of any intention which could make the future of Africa bright. Hitler has made it clear that all he needs is a source of raw materials.

Under England, Africa's future will have "hope," even though England, from a practical point of view, has not lived up to her oath, which she herself pledged, that her task will be to serve humanity. I have further indicated that the future of England is inseparately bound up with the future of the Empire. If England shall live, we also shall live and can hope. Life with hope is not dead.

Our destiny under Britain will be determined by the outcome of (1) speculative hopes and (2) positive demands. Under England we can speculate on two outcomes: (1) on what England may be forced by the English people to do for the colonies, or, to be specific, to Africa; and (2), on what England may be forced to do for the colonies through international exigencies. We have hope, too, of what can be accomplished by positive demands by the colonies. All this time other people have been speaking and acting on behalf of the colonies. Is it not logical that the colonies will demand to speak for themselves and put up some positive demands?

Speculation No. 1 is based upon favorable reaction of the English people. What are the possibilities: (1) the reaction of the public towards the colonies, (2)

reaction of influential men of affairs and in the state of England, and (3) the reaction based on clamor for the universal application of the English Constitution.

In principle, although trusteeship has failed in practice, England has no equal. The British Constitution is the pride of every Englishman, and his pride is justified, for it marks the triumph of man over iniquitous acts of the state. While we continue to work and insist on putting into practice what has been achieved in ideas, we must not forget that these ideas, so rich in spiritual vitamins, are the noblest and purest thoughts of a people who through suffering, anguish, and pain have passed through the pastures of life, plucking those things which make an enduring nation. It is the spirit of the people that is significant. Idealism has its merits. Practice has its merits, too. One marks the goal, the other a path toward the goal. If one sets out on a race without knowing where to look for the goal, no matter how fast one runs, he must certainly collapse. Such is life without an ideal.

Can we not then think of the English as people who through weary and dreary years fought for their life and future? Will these people be indifferent to the aspirations of Africa if our fate is made entirely clear to them? Is it possible that they will tell Africa," "Your fate is sealed? If you plead, we shall not hear; if you demand, we shall not give, and if you seek, you shall not find"? No, this is not true of the English people! Their integrity, their moral probity has been given expression in times of anxiety. When they understood the horrors and ungodliness of slavery, did they not unflinchingly condemn it? Men of England have complete faith in public opinion if only there is a way of bringing public opinion to bear on a matter. Says Lord Oliver:

> "For although our public opinion is liberal and philanthropic, and, if informed and aroused, as

it was a hundred years ago in regard to the slave trade and slavery, may be relied upon to condemn and restrain oppression, and even to make sacrifices for what it feels to be right, its cognizance of the operations of African exploitation or processes of development lay generally far in the rear of the practical activities of their operative promoters, and receives very incomplete information about them through the press or libraries."

It is, therefore, clear that it is not the public, but the men that run the government that are indifferent. Then we must organize our independent means of reaching the public of England. That task belongs to us and the possibilities along this line give hope.

What about men of affairs in England? The people of England do not all think the same way. It is a country which still recognizes and still cherishes diversity as the very structure on which the English life is reared. It is in this way that she differs from the totalitarian countries, where people are bidden to act and think alike. In times of grave and frightful peril this policy has permitted many to break from their constituents and to differ. They stand for the cause they deem to be right; they condemn what they think is un-British. Yes, the English made their language rich with their thrilling vision. Their sonorous eloquence lay like roses viewed in the early hours of the morning. These are the men who have helped to make English history the treasure of the world. Wilberforce rose and spoke against slavery. During the Great Famine of India, the Right Honorable John Bright did not hesitate to condemn the people entrusted with the government of India. Could this be possible in a totalitarian country?

Says the Honorable Mr. Bright: "India is poor. Its taxation has almost reached its limits, it is so high that

you cannot turn the screw a bit more . . . and yet no Governor-General in India with his Council, no Indian Secretary in London with his burdensome council, not one of these personages who are connected with the Government of India steps forward resolutely with intelligence and force and courage to say these great calamities, so injurious to India, so perilous and humiliating to England shall, if possible, forever be put an end to." This same man condemned the Doctrine of Capsi which England had introduced in India to make her inheritors of the estates of the Indian princes, should any die without an heir. "I would also proclaim to the people of India," says Mr. Bright, "that we would hold sacred that right of adoption which has prevailed for centuries in the country."

Yes, within the heart of England have stood men of dynamic power and courage, men who could forego temporary honor to put forward what they considered to be right. Burke as a candidate for election told the electorate of Bristol that if he would lose the election by asserting that the American colonists have the right to self-determination he would gladly lose it. "I have held," said Burke, "and ever shall maintain to the best of my power, unimpaired and undiminished, the just, wise and necessary constitutionary superiority of Great Britain. This is necessary for America as well as for us. I never mean to depart from it. Whatever may be lost by it, I avow it. The forfeiture even of your favor, if by such a declaration I could forfeit it, though the first object of my ambition never will make me disguise my sentiments on this subject."

It is the same Burke who sympathetically said, "I never mean to put any colonist, or any human creature, in a situation not becoming a free man. To reconcile British superiority with American liberty shall be my great object, so far as my little faculties extend." There are still, therefore, some men who could speak

out in England, who could still raise their voices and say this was bad. Not in Germany, not in Italy, is there this possibility. Can Africa not look forward to men of such nature? Africa has not made her problems clear. When she does, the world will take note. England shall heed—for there are still warm hearts in England. We shall, with the voice of Milton, say, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." Along this line there is hope.

Chapter XVII.

THE INTERNATIONAL HORIZON

WHICHEVER side wins, the question of peace, if it is to mean anything, will be the deliberation of "the Great Powers." It is difficult to predict what aspect peace will take in case of a German victory. It is very unlikely that even the horrors of war will bring German people to work out and promote an enduring peace. I say this not out of bias, but by conviction based upon German history. They are people whose philosophy is based upon war, who live their life in study of war tactics, who welcome as a blessing the buzz of deadly weapons inimical to the safety of man. How can we think that such a people will revise the course of their history of more than fifteen hundred years in the twinkling of an eye for the sake of enduring peace? It is impossible. What will an English victory mean to international relationship? It will be the task of finding the basis for permanent and enduring peace. This will confront England and her allies when victory is achieved. Democratic peoples all over the world will demand that the devastating horrors of war never shall be witnessed again. The English ruling classes formerly too much interested in exploitation will give way, for they will have seen with their eyes what the horrors of war mean.

This desire for an enduring peace will cause the world to think of the colonies as they plan for permanent peace. Under this international view of the future of the colonies, the primary consideration will be permanent peace, and the colonies are only a means toward that end. It is necessary to consider all the possible methods of handling the colonies which will be considered and appraise each of them. The methods open are:

1. International pooling of the colonies.
2. Colonies under the Treaty of Versailles to remain unchanged.
3. Self-determination for all colonies.

1. The international pooling of the colonies would make it possible for all nations to participate and share equally in the markets and raw materials. According to the report contained in the *West African Pilot*, the Labor Party, the League of Nations Union, and the Federal Union are all in favor of the internationalization of the colonies. This idea of internationalization is very materialistic. These see the colonies only a source of raw material and cheap labor, they see no human angle. Such a proposition would be a disgrace to the entire Christian world and to Christianity itself. Bartering the colonies is the same thing as bartering God, because we are told that man is the replica of God on earth. This will not even bring an enduring peace, because it is evident that some nations will profit more than others from the pool, and the situation of "superior" and "inferior" will again be created. The disparity will cause friction and the inevitable result will be war. There are many angles which make this solution impossible. Stating the point of view of the opposition to internationalization, Lord Lugard, former Governor-General of Nigeria and British repre-

sentative on the League of Nations Mandate Commission, says:

> "Few, if any, men with actual experience would consider it practicable for a large group of men representing different nations, each probably imbued with the policy and methods of his own nation, to supervise, still less to administer, the affairs of all the overseas Colonies, which occupy the whole time of the large expert staff of different Colonial Ministries. There would also be other difficulties, such as the selection and the training of a cosmopolitan staff, language and currency, and the location and constitution of the Central Colonial Council."

Lord Stonehaven, the chairman of the Tanganyika Mining Company said that to hand over the natives to an international authority would be "the meanest thing possible." Also Mr. L. C. M. Amery and Mr. Winston Churchill, both former Colonial Secretaries, protested that British subjects and persons under the British protection could not be used as pawns in the game of European politics without bringing dishonor on Britain's name. Further, as the British navy defends the freedom of the seas for all nations, it would be inexpedient in the state of the present or post-war world to transfer control of the depots for British warships in the colonies, which might conceivably be secretly converted into bases for submarines and aircraft by an aggressor state. Therefore, England should not consider such a system. It would not ensure an enduring peace, either for the world or for the colonies.

2. The second possibility is to leave post-war colonial policy unrevised. It is evident that many will urge that an unrevised post-war policy will be a solution to an enduring peace. Some Rightists will shout,

"Down with another Versailles." The Leftists will say, "Oh no! people fought because they did not understand; now it will be clear to them that war is futile." The Leftists will advance the inadvisability of changing the colonial subjects from master to master. They will have to begin all over again. If they have studied French or English, they may now have to study German or Italian. The Rightist will ask, what have the nations accomplished since they were entrusted with the development of the colonies? They were likewise trading on human exchange and therefore the arguments of the Leftists do not hold. It is not part of my task to examine the merits and demerits of the contentions, but these four questions stand out clearly:

(1) If the colonies were to be divided among the powers, we should not know what powers should receive and what powers should be left out. This would be sowing the seed of discord. (2) It would be impossible to portion out the colonies with mathematical exactitude to the qualified powers. If this is admitted, who will be entitled to the lion's share? How can the complaint of some receiving sections of desert be answered by others receiving arable lands? It is simply a super-human task. This will precipitate more international friction. (3) If the colonies remain the exclusive right of those who at present control them, the situation of "have" nations and "have not" nations will still exist, and we must inevitably prepare for another war—the third world war. (4) The colonies will demand positive consideration after the war. They can be quelled by the temporary threat of bombs, but what of internal revolt, what of possible intrigues with other governments? Africa, it is evident, is not willing to tolerate the control of those sick powers of Europe: Belgium, Portugal, Spain. The powers which perhaps will continue to be tolerated in Africa are England and France. The retention of the colonies by the powers

which previously owned them has never been and never will be the basis for a permanent and enduring peace. It will create just the same situation which has caused the present war.

3. Suppose the colonies were given self-determination. It is necessary to define what self-determination means. It is capable of two interpretations: complete self-government as a sovereign power, or dominion status under the supervision of the former owners or under international mandate.

It is quite plain that the second interpretation will be another form of trusteeship. The trustee will somehow require concessions either for military or naval bases, will seek a favored-nation treaty, will demand preferential tariff, harbor considerations, tax favoritism and several other advantages. Politically and economically, a psychological situation among other nations will be created which will give birth again to international friction. Speaking of the self-governing dominions, Dr. Horn of New York University believes that although these countries are generally classed as British colonial possessions, they operate practically by sentimental and economic considerations. Even sentiment and economic reasons are sufficient to cause international friction. This second interpretation, then, will not ensure an enduring peace.

The first interpretation of giving full sovereign powers to the colonies receives the most support as a possibility making for permanent peace. There are principally three classes of people who are in favor of complete independence for the colonies: utilitarians, humanitarians, and independent observers.

The utilitarians view the colonies from the benefit derived. What do we actually get from the colonies? Bentham insisted that the colonies should be emancipated. His contention was that they were more of a burden than of an advantage. He said their use was

to provide highly paid positions for the aristocracy of England, and that English trade would benefit if the colonies were emancipated. James Mill said the colonies cause war and even at the time of war they are an additional expense. Joseph Hume condemned the colonial acquisition as unwarrantable. Said he: "Instead of being an addition to the strength of the country they increase its weakness." The utilitarian argument cannot be dismissed lightly. Economically, if we estimate what war costs a nation in money, property, et cetera, we could at once see that no simple colony or the combination of colonies could for generations produce a profit equal to the expenditure. What of the millions of human lives lost in war? It is estimated that a total of more than ten million soldiers, excluding civilian casualities, were killed in the last war. Again the colonies are a grave problem to the taxpayers of the mother country. The Honorable Mr. Bright, speaking on India, said: "I say that the Government put over 250,000,000 of people, which has levied taxes till it can levy no more, which spends all that it can levy, and which has borrowed 100,000,000 pounds more than all that it can levy—I say a Government like that has some fatal defect which at some not distant time must bring disaster and humiliation to the Government and to the people on whose behalf it rules." Why should the taxpayer of England or any other nation sacrifice comfort and other pleasures of life, not in order to further a humanitarian endeavor, but to be the pawn of statesmen who must defend their rank and birth by the honest sweat of the misled majority? Not only this, the investments in the colonies are not the type which bring interest, but invite distraction.

The capitalist is obliged to protect his investment. The statesman is obliged to guard his dignity. The propagandist is ready to play the tunes of the capitalist

and nobility, warning of the danger which they help to create. The poor wage earner, the earnest school boy, both rise at what they believe is "the call of the nation." They go forth to defend—what they know not. Their reward is bloodshed, anarchy, orphanage, mental psychosis, deformity, blindness, rape, divorce, and other evils too numerous to mention.

Fighting to protect the interest of the ruling class is not the only woe of the peoples of an imperialistic power. They have domestic woes besides. The exploitation of the labor of women and young children, the system of long hours and meager wages, both are caused by the great influx of ill-gotten wealth into the the country from the colonial areas. Truly, the utilitarians have advanced good reasons to show that colonial exploitation is neither good for the power exploiting, nor for the security of the entire world.

The humanitarians are those who insist that it is bad to dominate any branch of the human race. The Pacifist Research Bureau, in its book *A Study of the Empire*, says, "If we would help them [meaning the Colonies] they must first be free to choose which [if any] of our ways they wish to adopt, because they are psychologically antagonized even by our best intentions whilst we continue to stand in the relationship of masters to servants." There are other humanitarian authorities who have made a direct attack on trusteeship based on the assumption that the trustee must not vacate the trust until such time as the trustor is able to stand on his own feet. One possible view is that trusteeship is a dogmatic insistence that governing class has a monopoly of wisdom and can only be the judge of the time when the colonies will be able to assume control of their own government. I shall quote an extract from the Honorable Mr. Bright's speech, *Justifying British Trusteeship for India*, to show how the British statesmen looked on this question at that

time, "I believe that it is our duty," says Mr. Bright, "not only to govern India well for our own sakes and to satisfy our own conscience, but so to arrange its government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time—which may be distant, but may not be remote—when India will have to take up her own government and administer it in her own fashion." Mr. Bright spoke 82 years ago, on August 1, 1859, and still India is not "qualified."

The principles embodied in trusteeship are faulty. Nowhere is there an infallible guide. The laws of the universe have not been revealed to men to guide them unfalteringly through the labyrinths of life. Dr. Joad and Lord Meston agreed on the principle of trial and error before true experience could be gained. "Mistakes," says Lord Meston, "there must be, for mistakes are the truest experience gained." John Milton, in his *Areopagitica,* said: ". . . That which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary."

There are still others who have spoken on this matter whom I call independent observers. They are the men who have tried to read between the lines during the present conflict. Major Attlee in discussing Hitler's ambition said, "If we deny the right of Germany to dominate the world, we certainly could not assert our own right to dominate the world. We believe that, while Germany has a right to live, the Czechs, the Poles and other nations in Europe have equally the right to live and so too the peoples of the non-self-governing colonies." Continuing, he said, "If we object to imperialism in others, we have got to free ourselves of imperialism."

I think that of all the methods on which the future colonial policy could be based, the one which advocates giving the colonials complete independence is the best. It is safest to the world and recognizes the colonies not as objects of barter, but as human beings passing

through the gradations of attaining civilization. It is not sufficient to say, however, give the colonies independence and every trouble is ended. We must now deal with the practical phases of the subject. The practical problems to be confronted are: (1) The tribal problems of the colonies. (Within a colony there are so many tribes of different languages, cultures, and customs.) (2) The heavy capital investments in the mines, et cetera, by foreign governments and alien corporations. (3) The help needed by the colonies. (Should they get their help solely from England or from all parts of Europe? If from England alone, will that not invite jealousy of other powers? If from all parts of Europe, how is that possible?) (4) The question of national loans to stabilize government.

The examination and evaluation of these problems are necessary if we wish to avoid anything which will bring about competition and conflict. If we Africans ask England to make the loans, then we must remember that "he who pays the piper calls the tune." We must not forget that it would give her a sphere of influence which again invite colonization and imperialism. These are the things which must be avoided. The solution of eventual peace is to let the colonies alone. It is an ideal. How can it be pursued in practice? Toward this my analysis is directed.

I have examined some possible known methods which may invite difficulties in solving the problems of colonial adjustment so that there will be no international complications which will, if adopted after the war, again threaten world peace. The best, however, we can think of is to give self-government to all colonies. By trial and error they will succeed in evolving what is best for themselves. But even in self-determination for the colonies there are also many problems which must be faced, and it is admittedly a task. I am now going to sketch what seems to me a final solution. This

solution which I am offering is based on the assumption that England will win the war. I say this because the terms of peace under a German victory cannot be predicted with certainty. Whatever may temper her spirit to forget past humiliation, it is evident that England will not escape her anger and fury. It is not possible that any hope for an enduring peace will be the concern of a country whose whole philosophy of life is built on war. Permanent peace under Hitler is illusory. Hitler would give the world another Versailles and defend that Versailles not as England and France by speculation and hope, but by the force and insight of the Germany people. Another war would surely come but it would be long delayed — possibly a crusade war to liberate Europe from the dark ages might come from the United States.

Under England, however, the following answers may be deducted. (1) America under Roosevelt has constantly declared to the world that a world of peace and harmony must be the goal of mankind. Because Wilson failed, it does not mean Roosevelt will. England then is under direct influence of America. (2) From the current literature of England, it is evident that she is thirsting for enduring peace. (3) It is possible that England having triumphed again will, instead of inflicting severe punishment upon the enemy, befriend it to the extent of entirely humiliating the enemy by her own forgiving conduct and unexampled love. Under these considerations the vanquished foe will not only get liberal peace terms, but will be drawn to more thorough international co-operation. It is in the hope of this that I am giving what I hope to be the final solution for international peace.

A New Formula for World Peace — A World Service Bureau. I stand on the following: I do not believe that man can be regimented as an instrument for a certain end. I do not even believe that com-

munism or socialism will be the solution of all man's woe. All these in some way eliminate ambition.

I believe that man is a product of evolution—therefore energetic and ambitious. This ambition leads him to desire for material and spiritual advantages. What we call armaments, bombs, and machine guns are man's surplus energy and ambitions in material terms. Our problem then, is how to use this surplus energy or ambition for constructive instead of destructive purposes. There are two forms of ambition—ambition for self-assertion and ambition to serve others. Self-assertion leads to conflict—war; the other leads to humanitarianism—peace. These two have one thing in common and that is thirst for recognition. All that man wants is to achieve recognition. How can man be recognized without being destructive? This is the task.

The detestable thing about the first type of ambition — ambition for self-preservation — is that it creates armaments. Armament is the mother of anarchy and chaos, for it breeds wars. Warfare destroys all survival values. In the best circumstances, the victor does not achieve what he declares are his intentions for fighting. During the last war, the allies failed to make the world safe for democracy. Instead of that the world was safe for unemployment, socialism, and social misconduct. War puts a premium on lies, wickedness, and deceit. It regiments everything human and divine. Its horror in social and national life is better imagined than expressed. After the last war, what a specter of sorrow and anguish was left behind! The last war took away 23,000,000 lives, more than three times the population of New York City. It cost the United States alone $51,000,000,000 and the total cost is estimated at $338,846,000,000. There is no grimmer picture of war than that. The characteristic of this type of ambition is pride, conflict and fear.

Regarding the second form of ambition—ambition

to serve others—a question may be asked. Is there any opportunity for man to conserve his energy and use it in the form of service? The answer is yes. The backward areas of the human race need service—the chances to serve mankind are without a limit.

This is the principle, that it is more blessed to give than to receive. In terms of economics the former may be regarded as making for *acquisitive capitalism* and the other *philanthropic capitalism*. My method for establishing a World Service Bureau will be known as the *Formula for the Conservation and Use of the Surplus Energies and Ambitions of Nations*. This World Service Bureau will fulfill two functions: (1) to eliminate all the evils of the first type of ambition and (2) to build confidence. It is my contention that this Spiritual World's Fair is necessary in order to establish confidence and eliminate arrogance, complaint, and fear, which are the characteristics of the acquisitive ambition.

No one gives a thought to what arrogance can do. If we realize that the colonies are a debt to the mother countries rather than a premium, that they are retained only for vanity and exhibit, and then give thought to what this vanity has caused the world, then we can realize the evils of pride. This pride is clearly indicated in the address of French Foreign Minister M. Bonnet to the Moroccan Association. Says he: "A nation is on its decline as soon as it no longer considers as a sacred and inviolable trust the least important bit of earth over which its flag flies." What impression did this speech create in the minds of those powers without colonies? It developed the feeling of inferiority. This is one of the causes of fascism. The elimination of egoism in international relationships is a prerequisite to international collaboration.

The second is the elimination of complaint. Complaint is a prelude to conflict. This can be achieved by

spiritual as well as genuine demonstration that imperialism in whatever form it be conceived, whether imagined, embryonic, or matured, is incompatible with the law or doctrine of "give every man his due," which ought to be the standard. My contention is confirmed by a German newspaper, *Nachtausgable,* in its comment upon Mr. Chamberlain's complaint that Germany has not contributed to peace. This paper went on to say: "If they [the English] had wanted to do something for peace, they would have done a thing which has not yet happened even today: that is, put an end to all the regulations hindering the full economic equality of the rights of Germany, including the handing back of the colonies."

I too believe that if the world is to be saved for peace something unusual will have to be done—not in a conscripted way to benefit the Germans, but in a universal way for the enjoyment of all. England missed that opportunity. She was the only one qualified to do that in Europe. She has all that society acclaimed to be standard: wealth, prestige and power, so that anything which England advocated in the way of humanitarian service would have been responded to at once. If Germany or Italy had set out to urge such a doctrine people would look upon their plea as apologetic. Since they were in the class of "have-nots," their intentions, even if honest, would be suspected, since we have no instrument to differentiate honest and dishonest intentions. As in individuals, so in nations.

The person who has, always gets. I remember as a very small boy in nursery school, I always received presents. In fact, every one was eager to give me something. In a happy state of mind I would run to report to my father. I always felt hurt that he was not in the same state of mind as I, whenever I laid my gifts before him. He would look at me and smile, but never failed to say, "Ozuomba, remember that your

father's hand has never been tight." Which meant that I did not get these things out of my own "smartness." When my father died those who always smiled at me and said sweet things seemed to change. That is why I take the stand with that foresighted philosopher of our time, Dr. C. E. M. Joad of London University, who said: "My case is that war is not something that is inevitable, but is the result of certain man-made circumstances; that men can abolish them, as he abolished the circumstances in which the plague flourished." If England had called the Great Powers together before her supremacy was challenged, and said: "Let us now in brotherly feelings live," all complaints which led to this conflict could have been eliminated.

The third point is the elimination of fear. When one individual sees that another plans to destroy him, he himself prepares a necessary defense. Both of them live in fear and distrust. This will happen to the races in time to come. The war between races will be inevitable; where it will begin, I do not know. I have foreseen that in schools. The Afro-American in school keeps to himself, eats with his kind, dances with his kind. Even with the best intentions, the white boy cannot get the average black boy to associate with him without suspicion. The Afro-American is brought up with the conviction that the white man is out to destroy him, and he is preparing a defense.

Therefore, I say, with all the emphasis at my command, that pride, complaint, and fear must be superseded by confidence on the high altar of an international world's fair. Complaint will be disbanded by making the colonies not things to be divided as spoils, but things which must be served. This will lead to the formation of an International Colonial Service Bureau. The colonies will be independent but whatever advice or help they need will have to be made through the Colonial

Service Bureau. The country that serves best, let her become the greatest. The result will be: (1) Competition for humanitarian endeavor will take the place of armaments. (2) Disarmmament will eventually lead to a Federal Union of Europe. (3) The surplus energy resulting from disarmament, et cetera, will be used for service to the colonies and to European nations which need help.

This will call up the greatest competition ever known in human history. No country will constantly be satisfied to be assisted—it must be aroused to assist others. What progress this would be in getting nearer to Canaan! Other results would be: (1) Confidence will destroy diplomacy, propaganda, and duplicity. (2) The four freedoms of Roosevelt will have a foundation on which to thrive. (3) This confidence and international *esprit de corps* will make for mutual redistribution of the so-called living space—for no country will be concerned with anything but to assist.

Eminent authorities estimate land resources of the world at about 33,000,000,000 acres, out of which 13 billion to 17 billion are arable. The total inhabitants of the world are approximated as 1,800,000,000 so that about 9 acres of arable land are available for each man, woman and child. Redistribution by antagonism is impossible; it is only by co-operation and mutual friendliness that proper adjustment can be made. The process of civilization will again be restored, that is based on giving and taking.

Pseudo-nationalism, which is founded on the theory of self-sufficiency, will be forever abolished. We all know that no one nation is self-sufficient, but we have not done anything to make a permanent basis for such international co-operation. This Spiritual World's Fair of the Nations will differ from the League of Nations, which is only a monumental pride of the victorious Allies. The League was based on the theory of how

to get, but we are now thinking about how to give. There will be these main bodies in this spiritual temple: (1) The International Colonial Service Bureau, designed to giver service to the less developed; (2) The European Inter-Co-operative Service, designed to work with the European countries needing service in any form. (3) The World Supreme Service Council, designed to see the need of the entire world, including China, Japan, the United States of America, and South American countries. It will be the contacting link of the entire world.

There will be an annual convocation from all parts of the world to celebrate the birth and rehearse the work of each body. The nation and individual which has given the most service will receive the World Shield, thus having the need for recognition fulfilled. Education will then return to the idea of universal humanity.

The colonies, while enjoying spiritual as well as physical independence, will also enjoy the warmth of the world. The nations will rest from complications arising from immigration legislation, spy acts, most favored nation treaties, unilateral treaties, preferential tariffs, and other legislations against man which in nature have no foundation, and in practice are illusory.

If you like, call this Mbadiwe's formula, but I am confident that the world must, if not today, then tomorrow, recognize the dire need for international co-operation, a co-operation which man's natural instinct to rise will not impel, but will encourage to the end that it will be used for constructive service. It is the best way out for the colonies: it is the best way out for the world. What is here considered the international speculation of today may be the reality of tomorrow. Until then, let us wait and watch.

Chapter XVIII.

COLONIAL ASPIRATION

I HAVE dealt with the colonies only in a speculative way. I shall try to sketch what I call positive demands. By this I mean that the colonies must speak out. I know how the so-called colonials feel, because I am one; I know what they are thinking, because it is a problem which also faces me. Americans once thought the same way and the very fact that they thought of the destiny of their country increases the intrinsic worth of the Americans.

The time has come when the Africans can no longer look with complacency to the European powers as the key to Africa's health and security. The Europeans have not cured the ills of Africa, and naturally, the African must be compelled to find a more healthful remedy. With special reference to England, Africa shall demand, and demand positively, that England keep her oath and all that it implies, and if this is impossible, we shall deem it a betrayal of trust and shall rightly ask her to quit our soil.

What we mean by keeping the oath is that the doctrine of trusteeship really be put into practice. We have no other quarrel with England. We do not dispute her connection with us, we invite it, and will ever invite; but we insist that we be regarded as human

beings with rights which must be respected. We have in diverse ways shown our loyalty, our friendship with England, but it appears that the more we do this, the more we are regarded as beasts without hearts. We feel that after a period of over eighty years with us, England should have something concrete to say to the world: "This I have done." We stand on the following: England should translate her ideal into practice. We should be tried. The Nigerians and other parts of Africa are asking England to make her stand quite clear on the future and destiny of the African nations.

The editorial of the *West African Pilot*, entitled "It Is Our Turn, Sir," states:

> "Despite the fact that some people think that West Africa has not progressed enough to be promised an advanced political institution, we are still convinced that, all things being equal, Nigeria and West Africa are at a stage in their development when they should be made to feel that the reality of their wardship will always be taken into consideration by their trustees and that their period of tutelage will not be unnecessarily prolonged. . . . We need an enlargement of the franchise to cover our important towns; we need Africans on the Executive Council; we want to have more voice in our Government. We should not be left behind in the schemes of things, and we submit that it is our turn now."

If the British government is really acting in the interest of the peoples of Africa, is it in any way excessive, is it asking too much to ask that the Africans be thoroughly represented in the lawmaking organizations of their country, which they support by their own labor? In this editorial self-governing status was not asked, simply more representation of the taxpayers. Since there is nothing very vital which the trustees have

done for the Africans, I think it is a shame that at this time we shall be asking for mere representation. Under the present condition of things in Africa, there are no adequate schools, no compulsory education, no humanitarian philanthropists; it will take more than a thousand years before Africa can get adequate education under this paternalistic government. While speaking before friends of Africa in Chicago, I told them that what one individual could do in Africa in ten years by way of improvement given the necessary chance, it will take any form of paternalistic government another four hundred years to do. Let the outside world regard this as an exaggeration, but we who wear the shoes know where they pinch.

Again, what is the test of fitness? Who shall be the judge, and who shall file the appeal? These are the things which should have been clearly defined in the article of trusteeship, but since we were not parties to the contract nor ratifiers of the accord, my country shall not assume the responsibility and obligations. The Pacifist Research Bureau, in their book *A Study of Empire,* made it clear in the following terms: "The worst course of imperialism is its dogmatic insistence that the ruling race has a monopoly of wisdom and is therefore justified in forcing its standards upon its victims." We agree with this expression in its entirety. If that is not the attribute of our government, why should the country not be given a trial—such a trial which even a civil servant takes to demonstrate his ability for a particular job. India demands trial, Africa demands trial.

In a conference on "Peace and the Colonial Problem," the Indian delegate made this clear: "I would urge this conference," he said, "to put forward a scheme which would say that foreign national rule in any part of the globe should be removed immediately, and that those parts which have any doubt as to their

ability to govern themselves should at least have a right of appeal to a world tribunal."

Mr. Arnold Ward, speaking as a member of the International Committee of Africans for the Defense of the Ethiopian People, said, "We should like to ask Sir Arthur Salter if he has any proof whatsoever that these black people are not capable of governing themselves. If he says they are not capable of governing themselves in the interest of their own people, I should say he is quite wrong." We endorse Mr. Wood's statement, for it is only by trial and error that true experience can be gained.

Many people would like to know if there is any way out for us in case England refuses to consider our self-determination. I think this is the question which must engage the attention of every student of African affairs today. If England fails us, as she has done, we shall consider England a deadly enemy to our progress. We shall call the attention of President Roosevelt to the fact that all the rights of man which he holds uppermost in his mind are denied the Africans.

But our primary concern is to study our own problems. First, we must find out what instrument helps England check our progress. When our problems are analyzed, we shall then proceed to educate the country along these lines. To me the questions which every African youth of today must ask himself, and then his country, will be: (1) Why are these imperialists here —for economic satisfaction or prestige? (2) Why have they been successful — by keeping the people illiterate, by propaganda, by preventing freedom of information, of speech and movement, or by military and economic supremacy? (3) How shall we throw off these chains of slavery—by war, by anti-imperialistic machinery, or by education and resolve?

It is quite clear to the boy of six years in Africa that the Europeans are in Africa for their own economic

ends. No humanitarian endeavor could induce them to leave the warmth of their homes, their domestic peace, the pleasures of a barbaro-civilized country, only to sleep in the wilds of Africa where no familiar tune greets their ears days on end. The Europeans are out to seek gold at the expense of the African. It is not gold to be spent in Africa but in Europe. Nothing is more clear than this statement made by Leonard Barnes in *The Duty of the Empire*. "Highly industrialized nations, which are implicitly identified with 'civilization' have a right to draw materials from any part of the tropics which can be made to produce them; tropical races are under an obligation to place at the disposal of the highly industrialized nations both the national resources of their countries and some of the essential means of exploiting them. . . ."

Moreover, the colonies are acquired as a matter of national prestige, which is as important as the economic consideration. It has even led to what is known as the balance of power in European politics. The capitalistic economy has made colonies very valuable as bases for shipping, as links for communication, as harbors for the taking and discharging of cargoes, as strategic points for military and naval operations. The more colonies a country has, the more favorable a position it enjoys in the competition for world trade. For instance, in 1929, the British colonies and dominions supplied the following proportions of the total world production: rubber 55 per cent, cocoa 61 per cent, peanuts 53 per cent, rice 58 per cent and palm oil 73 per cent. All these help to give England an enormous prestige in international affairs.

What factors were then responsible for the success of these imperialists? Their greatest instrument is in keeping 90 percent of the people illiterate. The 10 per cent that have received education from the British did not receive an education for manhood, but received

an imperialistic education — an education which was not intended to attune the heart to its needs and environment, but an education which made him an automatic machine for adding and calculating the gains and losses of the exploiters. It is not the kind of education which revives the mind to the awakening of beauty and truth of life, but that which adds a heavy weight and checks the efflugence of the soul. It is an imitative instead of reflective education.

In 1935 approximately 83,000 pounds were spent in Kenya on the education of Africans and 49,000 pounds on Europeans. This is just 8 pence or 16 cents for each African and nearly three pounds or $14.50 for each European child. How can a country allow such a system? How can the missionaries who assume the burden of education in most of these colonies go on soliciting funds from their home missions—who in turn solicit from the people—to carry on an educational program in a country which produces nearly 50 per cent of the gold of the entire world? This is just like carrying coal to Newcastle. It is fair neither to the missionaries nor to the people who are paying for what the imperialists have robbed from the poor helpless natives. We no longer desire any charities which are unnecessary—giving charity to persons who are themselves producing the means whereby the charities are made possible is simply ridiculous. If the missionaries will take a positive stand with us, then we shall not only have confidence in the teachings of missionaries, but we shall learn to be missionaries as well. Dr. Dipola[1] of Nigeria was very bitter against missionaries when he said, "The missionaries who teach us honesty, morality and docility are themselves emissaries of

[1] The late Dr. Dipola, who died in New York City, in 1938, was a native of Nigeria, West Africa. He had his early training at home and proceeded to America for studies. He got his Master's degree and B.D. degree from the University of Chicago. He also got his doctorate in education from New York University.

hellishness. They seek loot and are bedfellows with the greatest oppressors of man and beast." This is the crucial time when the missionaries should stand by what they preach. If they say honesty is good, let them tell the government to be honest. If they say justice is wonderful, then let them insist that justice be done to us. For if the missionaries had not come preaching meekness to us, and the art of Christian love, it might have been impossible for a foreign government and capitalists to make so much headway in a proud and warlike country. When we accepted the Bible from the missionaries, the friends and brothers of the missionaries took all our lands and gold and oppressed us in a way never yet revealed in all human history. What did the missionaries do? What stand did they take? Although today my greatest and dearest friends are engaged in missionary work, nevertheless I must predict what will confront the missionaries in the colonial areas in the future. Nationalism is sure to dawn in those parts, and the missionaries will witness a very painful experience.

Another instrument which the imperialists have employed very effectively is propaganda. Through this, they have been able to turn the world's attention from the area where they commit brigandage and murder. They show the African in many shades and many colors, always in a degraded form. They make the emotional world laugh, a human joke for which they in turn will pay dearly. Nobody asks, "After sixty years under your rule haven't these people learned to wear clothes? Have clothes been offered to them and they refused?" The propagandists give out what news they want the people to know about Africa. And so those countries that dominate us give their ideas about us. To them we do not exist as a part of the great human race.

Freedom of speech is barred in these colonies. As

I watch the people of America air their views, in churches, universities, in public places, and remember what we encounter in Africa, tears come to my eyes. It is unthinkable that a great and respectable country like England should treat us as animals and beasts. Wallace Johnson, labor organizer of Sierra Leone, is now in prison for criticizing a British official. All talk in Parliament about the unrepresented colonials is just a matter of form—talk and no action, all intended for propaganda. I have never seen such strategists in all my life as the English government. No people tell more bitter things in the most pleasant way than this body, just as no nation is more brutal than the German people.

Another instrument which the Europeans have employed is their military and economic supremacy. It is evident that we did not cede our country to England. It was captured by military strength. My own town, Aro-Chuku, fought the English for one year before it succumbed. Many of our kings who loathed to see themselves under the flag of another country committed suicide. With their economic instrument the English have been able to suppress the minds of our people.

How shall we throw off these chains of slavery? We cannot do it by war. We are the greatest warriors on earth—in fact, warfare was the pastime of our kings—but our complete domination by foreign powers makes it impossible for us to import any war materials. Secondly, we have no trained people to undertake any military exploits in this modern age. The only course open to us is first to educate the entire masses of the people. The primary keynote in the new social order in Africa will be a march towards self-knowledge. We must first of all feel we are suffering, not as individuals, but as a consolidated group bound by the same cause and interests. We must unify ourselves first by a bond

of spiritual unity, and be ready as one people to say yes or no. We must, like Socrates, admit that speculations which have no immediate need are unprofitable and that the function of thought is to examine one's own thoughts. "I must first know myself," says Socrates in *Phædrus*. "To be curious about that which is not my concern, while I am still ignorant of my own self would be ridiculous." This applies exactly to the African youths of today. We must know ourselves. If we know ourselves through service, love, sacrifice and philanthropy, I can then say that imperialism will take care of itself. Since we are a race of hero-worshippers, we shall revive the gods and idols of our forefathers! We can look up to them and march at the bidding of our heroes. Thoroughly respectful of other peoples' culture, thoroughly imbued with respect and decency, we shall defend our own with sincerity of purpose and honesty of conviction.

It is in this spirit that I shall bid our men, women, boys, and girls prepare for a new order. It will be full of difficulties, it will be full of many known obstacles, but the honesty of our cause shall be a reviving spirit which will enable us to stand in spite of the tragic handicaps of life. I will not only state that there is danger, I will help to discover the danger and I shall help to ward it off. If my friends should forsake me because I have asked for justice for my country, then I shall ask them to exchange places with me and I shall do the befriending. I shall consider him no friend who shall not take part in our bitterness. If my English friends should understand this to mean that I am against England, I will challenge them to show in what ways we have been disloyal to the British cause. There are documents to show our contribution during the last war and, also during this present war, but, in spite of all this, we get more oppression. I love England

warmly, dearly too, but the attitude of the British government is shameful.

If the Americans dub me sentimental, I shall say, "Great pioneers in the field of wider scope of liberty and freedom, denounce yourself before you would me. For if we learn the fruits of freedom it is in these shores. Ah! the shores of smiles and plenty—where people move, talk and laugh, curse and receive curses, jive and are jived, love and are loved—the only spot in all the world apart from my country where I can say, with all thy limitations I love thee. This is a country I would fight for with all my heart, although I am not an American. Every soul is in love with this country. For, despite the sufferings of my people here, they are freer, happier, wealthier, than the peoples of the European autocracies. Students in America speak out on important matters, yet in my country boys in their own God-given land cannot lift up their hand to dissent. Realizing these things, my heart is pent-up with anguish and my eyes are wild with revenge. In our march towards positive demands, we shall echo the immortal words of Patrick Henry: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

This is the great hour of decision. We must know whether we are to live or die. For it will be far better for Africa to be desolate, yes, become a trackless desert, than for its people to live in perpetual fear, oppression and slavery.

Chapter XIX.

A NEW ENGLAND AND A NEW EMPIRE

THIS task was not undertaken merely as a critic of England and her Empire. My purpose has been to examine the intentions of the various competing powers in Africa. These various powers can be classified as totalitarians and democracies. For the major field of study I have taken Germany and Italy to represent the first group, and England to represent the second group.

I said at the beginning that Africa's problems are the problems common to human beings—the problems of food, shelter, and the pursuit of happiness. They differ in the machinery they designed for the attainment of these ends. Africa, through exploitation, became the meeting place of these nations.

What are the intentions of European powers in Africa? Africans are a branch of the human race and, therefore, must be regarded as a spiritual entity and not as an economic end.

The purpose of bringing these questions before the world is to show how a continent which has always been selfishly exploited and ignored as the birthplace of civilization, has caused the world more sorrow than is realized. It has always been the bone of contention in international politics. What, then, is all this scramble for? Is it for domination and exploitation, or for

humanitarian purposes? If for the former, has any nation the right to dominate and exploit the other? If the second, how far has it been realized in practice?

In my analysis, I contended that man is sacred and must be treated as an end, not as a means to an end. I concluded that the intention of the Axis is enslavement of the people, plunder and domination; that under these powers, the optimistic idealism of the African will be completely suppressed. Dealing with England, I indicated that her ideal is democratic but that as far as practice is concerned, her governmental structure in the colonial dependencies is totalitarian in form and design. It was at this stage I took over the task of examining the details of England's development and destiny. I am deeply concerned because I am a part of the British Empire and the destiny of imperial Britain will be the destiny of Africa.

I pointed out that the fate of the past empires may not be the fate of the present empire of Great Britain. Britain founded her empire on a more solid rock than any empire that preceded her. She clearly marked the aim and the aspiration. The goal was definite. Britain, unlike the past empires, aimed to bring a new dawn to the world and to spiritualize freedom and justice, so that people could worship after their own choice. I pointed out that the destiny of England is the destiny of man, because her ideals are in tune with the aspirations of man. I said that England could only be judged on the basis of how she kept the faith. I emphatically stated that if she fails in the realization of her ideals her fall as an empire would be inevitable.

Further, I found that in practice England has not lived up to her promise in the colonies. I said that there can never be true democracy in England while at the same time there is totalitarian rule in the colonies. Under this policy no sentiment invoked would prevent England from an ultimate collapse.

It must not be thought that England is expected to be the perfect commonwealth. She is subject to human limitations. She has all available material for life and in her the optimistic idealism of man is present and respected. The greatest gift which England has given mankind is the hope for a brighter world future. The Christian church has upheld that ideal. In the greater human life, we praise God and love Him not because He has made life sweet, or achievement easy, but because in our struggles we can still hope. God has not even given uniformity, in His creation. Some people are born rich, while some are born poor. Some are born blind, some are born lame, some are in the oppressed group and some are born into the favored group. Can we, then, expect England to be faultless? No, but we expect England to make every attempt to reach her goal, to learn from experience, and to endeavor to make all see that she has tried although she may have failed.

It is, therefore, my positive stand that if England is to survive, a new England and a new British Empire must be born. To be saved from collapse, England must be born anew. All the elements which comprise the British Empire must be melted and from that evolved a new imperial Britain massed into a whole, united in one doctrine of universal brotherhood. It must be a contract freely entered into by independent groups.

If England goes down we shall go down with her, and we shall in turn accuse her of having betrayed us. She left us defenseless. We are all ready to defend ourselves from any aggression, but England has kept us down in the fear that we may rise and be men. We were always prepared to fight and die for England, but those who govern her destiny could not see ahead.

During the last war we shed our blood for England.

Though impoverished, we labored and bled to support her war efforts. To the last man, my kinsmen rose, called upon the towns and rulers to support the empire. Thus my uncle, His Highness Igwegbe Odum, sounded a warning to his people that Britain was in danger and must be supported to the limit of their endurance. I was not born then. My father always spoke of how they aided in the "German War," as it is called in Africa. He used to talk about the appeal which the King of England issued to all the rulers of Nigeria. He had treasured the appeal and kept it well. I examined the document recently. It was a message from Lord Lugard, then the Governor-General of Nigeria, appealing for the support of the Red Cross. Lord Lugard in his message said, "Nigeria is an area larger than any other Crown colony or protectorate—nearly half as large again as East Africa [the next largest] with four times its population. Its revenue before the war was larger than any except the Federated Malay States—it behooves us to stand first among the Crown colonies in our contributions to the war. As regards our share in the war—borne by the public funds—we can, I think, claim to be second to none, taking into account the amount of the war debt which we have offered to bear, and the cost of the Cameron Campaign and other debts." We are fighting this war for freedom and liberty. You have heard of the way in which Germany has driven the people of Belgium, Roumania and Serbia into slavery. We daily read of these people dying of starvation by hundreds, of daily shootings for imagined offenses, of young girls torn from their parents to be servants to German officers. I could tell you of atrocities and horrors which cannot be described. Germany's ally, Turkey, has massacred an entire population in cold blood. Never was there a war in which such momentous issues were at stake."

Did Nigeria get the liberty and freedom for which

she fought? No. Was she freed from economic and political slavery? No. During the war, congratulations saluted Nigeria from many parts of the empire for what she had done, and she was promised a better condition after the war. There is no clearer testimony to the efforts of the Africans in the last war than what Captain W. D. Downes has to say in his book *With the Nigerians in German East Africa.*

He said: "The Empire owes more recognition than has up to date been given to the Negro soldier for all that he has had to endure and all the appalling hardships in East Africa and the Cameroons he has gone through for the sake of the Empire. Their deeds have not been performed in the limelight and the public has heard very little of their doings . . . but, my reader, they have fought and conquered, suffered and died for the British Empire. . . . I sincerely hope that all the Negro has done for the British race will not be forgotten, and that the welfare of the Africans will be one of Britain's first considerations after the war."

This is the testimony of a Britisher praising our deeds and loyalty to the British oligarchy and Crown. Were our deeds brought into the limelight as promised? No. We are still shown in the movies as naked savages.

Before this present war Africa warned England of the danger and asked her to have more trust in her colonies and train them to take part in the defense of the Empire. Our papers cited our past deeds and said that the entire British Colony was ready to take up our defense. The special article by Professor Nnandi Azikiwe, editor of the *West African Pilot*, captioned "Trust Us," follows:

> This is an appeal directed to those who have dominion over us, the British people, to trust us

and to help us to stand on our feet, if and when the great moment comes.

The history of the world is moving at such a rapidity that a crisis might develop at any moment, in which case it will be necessary for us to play our part.

For its beneficent Government, despite the factors of human frailties, there is no power on earth to shake the confidence of West Africans in Great Britain.

But West Africans are human beings and they realize that a friend in need is a friend indeed, and the West African friend always prefers to prove his friendship at a critical moment.

The condition of affairs, with respect to the martial training of the African under British rule, leaves much to be desired, in that the African is placed in an embarrassing position—of being a suspicious character.

Throughout the major cataclysms of history, the African soldier has always proved his mettle, and his gallantry and faithfulness have made him immortal in the military annals of mankind.

A kaleidoscopic survey of the role of the African in the world's military history should substantiate my point of view.

An African Admiral, by name Aahotep, after his brilliant military feat against the Hyskos of the Seventeenth Dynasty of Egypt, saved Egypt and crystallized the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, which is known as the Golden Age of the Pharaohs.

An African Soldier, General Nehesi, was the Military Commander of a successful reconnaissance and expedition to the Land of Punt, during the reign of Queen Hatshepsut, in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt.

An African Warrior, Pharaoh Piankhi, led his soldiers to win one of the decisive battles of the world, to crystallize the Ethiopian dominion of Egypt which was to last for fifty years.

An African Soldier-Emperor, Pharaoh Tirbaka, conquered Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal, in order to protect the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Israelites from the vandalism of the Babylo-Assyrian Empire, in the sixth century before Christ.

An African Soldier, Prince Memnon (who was also legendized) assisted Priamus, King of Troy, during the battle whose historicity has been proved by the German archaeologist, Schliemann of Mecklenburg, after extensive archaeological excavations and discoveries.

An African Warrior, General Eurybates, was the second-in-command, during some of the military campaigns of Alexander the Great when the glory that was Greece was at its *apogee*.

The military feat of Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, of Carthage, North Africa, during the Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage, needs no repetition.

According to J. A. Rogers, an authority on African History, Hannibal was a full-blooded Negro.

The Rock of Gibraltar was named after an African Soldier, Tarik-bin-Ziad.

The original name was Gebal-Tarik, i.e. The Mountain of Tarik.

Tarik captured the rock in 711 A.D., and later conquered Southern Spain, to pave the way for the Moorish dominion of the Iberian Peninsula for 700 years.

The soldier, whose name was thus immortalized was, originally, a black slave.

Sonni Alli and Askia the Great, were two Afri-

can soldiers, who crystallized the Songhay Empire, which attained its zenith when Europe was experiencing what is known in history as The Dark Ages.

General Ibrahim Hannivalov, an Abyssinian Negro, was Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army during the reign of Peter the Great, in the seventeenth century.

His son, Ossip, was also a Russian General, attached to the Engineering Corps.

During the French Revolution, General Alexandre Dumas and Chevalier de St. Georges, two Guadeloupe Negroes, held high military ranks in the French Army.

In fact, General Dumas was the superior officer of Napoleon, when the latter was a Corsican Corporal.

Napoleon had eleven West Indian Negro Generals when he was Emperor of France.

Need we recall the military exploits of Generals Jean Francois, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Jean Jacques Dessalines, Henri Christophe, the soldiers who fought Napoleon, defeated him and founded the independent State of Haiti?

Who dares to forget General Baptiste Lapointe, the only colored General who served in the British Army?

Or Captains John Perkins and John Nesbit, the only two colored officers gazetted in the British Navy?

The National Hero of Buenos Aires [Argentine Republic] is the soldier, Antonio Ruiz (*el Negro Falucho*) whose gallantry in the war of that country's independence, on February 3, 1810, has been immortalized by this Latin-American Republic in a Monument which stands in his honor today in a public square at Buenos Aires.

Field Marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte served under Napoleon and, in 1818, he ascended the throne of Sweden as Charles XIV, and is the founder of the present royal family of Sweden. He is alleged to be a person of African descent, by some authorities.

Of France's latest heroes, the following African soldiers are remarkable: General Alfred A. Dodds (a Senegalese), Captain S. H. Mortenol, who commanded the air defenses of Paris, during the World War, and both of them share with Marshal Foch and Haig the rank of Commander of the Legion of Honor of France, among others. Wilhelm Hohenzollern, the ex-Kaiser, had an African bodyguard in the person of Captain Henri Noel, an officer of the German Army. He took part in the Battle of Plevna where he was wounded in the head. This made him insane and consequently caused his death in 1931.

Let me not forget Cetewayo, who killed Prince Napoleon, the heir to the French throne, and massacred a large number of the British army sent against him in 1879; and let us not forget Dingaan, the South African Soldier, who taught the Boers of South Africa a lesson in military tactics, and let us remember Chaka and his Spartan African Warriors.

Need we forget Nana Prempeh of Ashanti, Benhanzin of Dahomey, Overami of Benin, Belo Akure and other well-known African soldiers?

Are these historical evidences of soldiery and martial ability on the part of the African not sufficient to prove to the British Government that our man-power could be canalized for use in the direction which should help the Empire in time of need, as the French and other Governments have done and are doing?

Trust the African, Great Britain.

He fought by your side during the World War, and you won the war to preserve Democracy.

He fought under General Cunlifee in the Cameroons and his bravery is an epic of tropical warfare.

He fought under General Dobell in East Africa, and his gallantry was an eye-opener.

He went to Mesopotamia and served under General Allenby, and he came out without blemish.

We Africans are not rats. We are not a pack of cowards. We are not a bunch of ingrates.

We know our friends, and Great Britain is one of them.

Great Britain cannot arm Europeans in West Africa and leave the Africans unarmed, in the best interests of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and of the Africans whose trustee she is.

Trust the African, and there will be no cause to regret, and no matter what the Dictators of today might say or do, the British African is ready to repeat his historic military exploits and to take part in deciding the fate of the world, as he had done in ancient, medieval, and modern history.

Trust us, because we are loyal and we love British Democracy, even unto death.

Surely, an Empire worth living for, is worth dying for, but we would rather die armed and in harness, than die unprotected and unarmed.

If England returned half the love which her colonies bestow on her, no power today on earth would have been able to successfully challenge her. The British government has betrayed the trust of the English people, and she is entitled to be examined at the bar of public opinion.

England can still save the Empire by initiating an

immediate program of colonial reform, and reassuring the world of her sincerity. In order to do that the following are the immediate essentials:

1. By giving the colonial peoples representative government
2. By creation of a supreme council of the Empire
3. By abolition of race prejudice
4. By affording equal opportunity for all who come within the Empire
5. By representation in (the) Parliament.

Every member of the Empire must be given an opportunity to demonstrate his highest capacities. There is no reason why England should not demonstrate the diversity of its make-up in all its offices and establishments. Why should white Britishers only be allowed to work in the consulates, embassies and libraries? All those who lay down their lives for the Empire must share in the fruits of the Empire. When these differences are eliminated England will come into a bond of spiritual affinity with its colonies.

If England looked to the Empire, instead of exclusively to England, then the English Parliament should be "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Nations." It must represent all the diverse elements of the Empire. This would make everyone take pride in the Empire. Now we regard it as the British Empire —for British welfare, honor, and prestige. England should be proud of us and we in turn should be proud of England. If these reforms are instituted, I am sure that England will still rule the waves. The black peoples of the world will rise with one mind and heart to contribute in every way possible as never before. Whatever is done, England must not forget that mobilizing the resources of the African people is a step to victory.

When these things are done, that proud language

of England will resound from clime to clime, from people of diverse races and creeds, participating wholeheartedly in the lot of the Empire. Then shall I say, "England, thy sons are again with thee, thy name shall resound from coast to coast, thou shalt be a rock in time of storm, and thine enemies shall bleed by the weapons they have prepared for thee."

Then shall I say, "Long live England and the New Empire!"

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