## **CONTENTS**

### Illustrations xvii

## PART I Reshaping Africa (1875–1961) 1

### CHAPTER ONE

## Methods of Rule (1875-1919) 5

- Making colonialism appear "traditional" (1875)
   Native Administration Law no. 26, Natal, December 17, 1875
- Africa for the African (1897) 8
   John Chilembwe and the African Christian Union Schedule, Nyasaland, January 14, 1897
- West African warfare (1905) 11
   C. Braithwaite Wallis, West African Warfare, 1905
- 4 Evidence of colonial atrocities in the Belgian Congo (1903-5) 13
  - A. Roger Casement's report on the Congo, December 11, 1903
    - B. Declaration of Emily Banks in H. Grattan Guinness, Congo Slavery, 1905
  - C. The case of Lokota in E. D. Morel, King Leopold's Rule in Africa, 1904
  - D. Van Hullebusch, Some Facts That Took Place in the Congo, 1944
- 5 Frederick Lugard instructs his officials on how to implement indirect rule (1913–18) 22 Frederick Lugard, Political Memoranda, 1919
- 6 The French practice direct rule to enforce submission (1908)
   26
   G. L. Angoulvant, governor of French West Africa, general instructions to civilian administrators, November 26, 1908
- A German school examination for African children (1909) 30
   A school examination administered to fifty-five pupils at Catholic and Protestant mission stations in German Togo in November 1909
- 8 The Natives Land Act, South Africa, 1913 (1916)
   31
   Resolution against the Natives Land Act 1913 and the report of the Natives Land [Beaumont] Commission, October 2, 1916
- The African National Congress in South Africa (1919)
   Constitution of the South African Native National Congress, 1919

W. E. B. Du Bois describes an Atlantic world bounded by racial exploitation (1915) 36
 W. E. B. Du Bois, The Negro, 1915

### CHAPTER TWO

## The Interwar Years: Supporting the Metropoles (1919-36) 41

- An appeal for the equal treatment of Africans and people of African descent (1919)
   41
   Resolutions of the Pan-African Congress, Paris, February 1919
- Harry Thuku explains why he formed a political movement for all East Africans
   (1921) 42
   Harry Thuku, Harry Thuku: An Autobiography, 1970
- Creating a national movement for all West Africans (1920)
   Petition of the National Congress of British West Africa, October 19, 1920
- 14 Forced labor in Portuguese Africa (1924)
   51
   Edward Alsworth Ross, Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa, 1925
- Organizing African workers (1928) 54
   Clements Kadalie and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa program for 1928
- 16 Charlotte Maxeke describes the impact of colonialism on women and the family (1930) 58
   Charlotte Maxeke, "Social Conditions among Bantu Women and Girls,"
   Fort Hare, 1930
- Education in the United States of America (1925–33)
   Nnamdi Azikiwe, My Odyssey: An Autobiography, 1970
- 18 Colonial rule equals taxes and forced labor (1934)
   63
   Geoffrey Gorer, Africa Dances: A Book about West African Negroes, 1935
- Colonial rule equals police harassment (1920s-30s)
   R. Mugo Gatheru, Child of Two Worlds, 1964
- 20 Colonial rule equals censorship (1936) 73 Nnamdi Azikiwe, My Odyssey: An Autobiography, 1970

### CHAPTER THREE

## World War II and Its Immediate Aftermath (1941-50) 75

- The impact of World War II (1941-45)
   Waruhiu Itote (General China), "Mau Mau" General, 1967
- The official mind of colonialism (1944) 82
   "Character," H. S. L. Winterbotham, E. Gardiner Smith, and F. Longland, The Belgian Congo, 1944
- 23 The dream of the warrior (1940s) 84
  R. Mugo Gatheru, Child of Two Worlds, 1964

CONTENTS XIII

- Freedom in our lifetime (1946)
   Anton Lembede outlines the policy of the African National Congress Youth League, May 1946
- 25 Women and men on strike (1947–48) 88 Sembene Ousmane, God's Bits of Wood, 1960
- 26 Only the dead are exempt from forced labor (1947) 96 Henrique Galvão, My Crusade for Portugal, 1961
- Colonial officials take note of African discontent (1948)
   Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances on the Gold Coast, 1948
- 28 Hendrik Verwoerd explains apartheid (1950) 101 Address of Hendrik Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, to the Native Representative Council, December 5, 1950

### CHAPTER FOUR

## No Easy Road to Decolonization (1953-61) 107

- 29 Nelson Mandela's "No Easy Walk to Freedom" (1953) 107 Presidential address by Nelson Mandela to the ANC (Transvaal branch), September 21, 1953
- 30 Jomo Kenyatta in court (1953) 115
  The principal examination of Jomo Kenyatta as a witness in the Kapenguria trial, begun on January 26, 1953
- 31 Mau Mau's daughter (1954) 118
  Wambui Otieno, Mau Mau's Daughter: A Life History, 1998
- 32 The Freedom Charter (1955) 122

  "Freedom Charter," adopted by the Congress of the People, June 26, 1955,
  South Africa
- A balance sheet of empire (1957) 125
   "Future constitutional development in the colonies": minute by Harold Macmillan to Lord Salisbury, January 28, 1957
- 34 Freedom! Freedom! Freedom! (1957) 128
  Speech delivered on the eve of Ghana's independence, March 6, 1957,
  Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, 1961
- Verwoerd reaffirms South Africa's commitment to white supremacy (1958)
   Hendrik Verwoerd, speech delivered at Blood River, December 16, 1958
- 36 The Cold War begins in earnest (1960) 134
  The Church Committee, Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders...
  November 20, 1975
- Patrice Lumumba writes his last letter to his wife (1961)
   Patrice Lumumba, Congo, My Country, 1961
- 38 The final hours of Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo, and Joseph Okito (1961) 141 Ludo de Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, 2001

xiv CONTENTS

# PART 11 The Emergence of Independent Africa (1961–2008) 145

### CHAPTER FIVE

## African Ideologies of Independence (1961-71) 149

- Frantz Fanon discusses the limits of African independence (1961)
   Frantz Fanon, Toward the African Revolution, 1964
- Nkrumah on pan-Africanism as an answer to neocolonialism (1961)
   Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, 1961
- Julius Nyerere argues for African democracy, self-reliance, and socialism (1967)
   A. Julius K. Nyerere, "The African and Democracy," 1961
   B. Julius K. Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration Teach-in," 1967
- 42 The African National Congress (ANC) adopts a policy of violence (1961) 167
  Pamphlet issued under the command of Umkonto we Sizwe, December 16, 1961
- 43 "The Civilized Man's Burden" (1963) 171
  António de Oliveira Salazar, "The Civilized Man's Burden," 1963
- 44 Eduardo Mondlane rejects Portuguese apologetics (1969) 174
  Eduardo Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique, 1969
- 45 Black consciousness (1971) 175 Steve Biko, "What are we talking about," Edendale, South Africa, 1971
- 46 Is neocolonialism rationalized imperialism? (1964) 179

  Amílcar Cabral, seminar held at the Frantz Fanon Centre in Treviglio, Milan, May 1964

### CHAPTER SIX

## Colonial Legacies of Authoritarianism (1960-79) 184

- 47 A man of the people (1960s) 184 Chinua Achebe, A Man of the People, 1966
- 48 Tearing things apart (1967) 187

  Proclamation of the Republic of Biafra, May 30, 1967
- 49 An emperor and his court (1970s) 192
   Haile Selassie's royal court described by Ryszard Kapúscínski, The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat, 1983
- 50 Who will start another fire? (1970s) 195

  Jack Mapanje, "Before Chilembwe Tree," 1981
- 51 The fate of political dissidents (1975) 196 Sam Mpasu, Political Prisoner 3/75, 1995
- 52 The rebellion begins, South Africa, June 1976 203 Mark Mathabane, *Kaffir Boy*, 1986
- Torture under apartheid (1977) 207
   Dan Montsisi, testimony given to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Africa, 1996

CONTENTS XV

- 54 A task which shook my whole being (1970s) 210 Ellen Kuzwayo, *Call Me Woman*, 1985
- 55 Another coup in Ghana (1979) 215

  Jerry Rawlings, radio broadcast, June 17, 1979

### CHAPTER SEVEN

## Colonial Legacies of Exploitation (1980-2008) 218

- 56 The problem with Africa (1980) 218

  The World Bank, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1981
- 57 Structural adjustment in Ghana (1983–89) 223
  - A. Republic of Ghana Economic Recovery Program 1984-1986, 1983
  - B. Republic of Ghana Economic Recovery Program 1984-1986, 1984
  - C. Republic of Ghana Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment, 1987
  - D. Albert Adu Boahen, The Ghanaian Sphinx, 1989
- 58 Thabo Mbeki on AIDS and poverty in Africa (2000) 229

  Speech by Thabo Mbeki at the Thirteenth International AIDS Conference, July 9, 2000
- Africa's debt crisis (2004) 236
   United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Economic Development in Africa, 2004

### CHAPTER EIGHT

## The Continuing Transition to Freedom (1990-2008) 241

- 60 The crisis of the state in Africa (1990) 241
  Yoweri Museveni, What Is Africa's Problem? 1992
- The elements of democracy in Africa (1992) 248
   Olusegun Obasanjo and Akin Mabogunje, Elements of Democracy, 1992
- 62 Negotiating democracy in South Africa (1993) 251

  Convention for a Democratic South Africa, "Declaration of Intent," 1993
- 63 Scrubbing the furious walls of Mikuyu prison (1990s) 253

  Jack Mapanje, The Chattering Wagtails of Mikuyu Prison, 1993
- 64 An intimate genocide (1994) 255 Fergal Keane, Season of Blood, 1995
- 65 Nelson Mandela and a new Africa (1994) 259
   Statement of the president of the African National Congress, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, at his inauguration as president of the Democratic Republic of South Africa, Union Buildings, May 10, 1994
- 66 Growing conflict in Africa (1980-2008) 262
  - A. Robert Gersony, "Summary of Mozambican Refugee Accounts of Principally Conflict-Related Experience in Mozambique," 1988
  - B. Jessica Alexander, "Children Associated with Fighting Forces in the Conflict in Sierra Leone," May 4, 2007

xvi CONTENTS

- C. Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 2007
- D. Sudan "In the Name of God," 1994
- E. A lake of oil beneath Africa, United States Geological Survey (USGS), 1997
- 67 Holding someone responsible (2007–8) 275

  The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) prosecutor Justice Hassan B.
  Jallow delivers closing submissions in Military 1 case, trial of Theoneste Bagosora et al.,
  June 1, 2007
- 68 U.S. policy planning for Africa (2004) 278

  National Intelligence Council (NIC), "External Relations and Africa," March 16, 2004
- Jacob Zuma addresses the Solidarity Union National Congress (2008)
   Jacob Zuma, address to the Solidarity Union National Congress closing dinner, Pretoria, March 6, 2008

Selected Bibliography 287
Web Sites 293
Index 297

## ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 A chain gang in German East Africa, 1906 6
- 2 Roger Casement 15
- 3 Collecting hands in the Belgian Congo, 1904 15
- 4 Rubber workers roped together for King Leopold, 1904 16
- 5 Female slaves in the Congo digging a trench by hand, 1908 17
- 6 The maimed in the Congo from Mark Twain's satire, King Leopold's Soliloquy. Lokota is top center 20
- 7 Revenues and expenditures in the French colony of Togo, 1938 65
- 8 A West African soldier being sworn in for service with the British Royal West African Frontier Force, 1942 76
- 9 Soldiers kissing the ground in front of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, 1941 83
- 10 Nnamdi Azikiwe leading a delegation to London to seek constitutional change, 1947 100
- 11 An apartheid passbook 102
- 12 Jomo Kenyatta, 1953 116
- 13 Harold Macmillan delivers his "Wind of Change" speech to the all-white South African parliament in Cape Town, February 3, 1960 126
- 14 South African police attack women protesting the state monopoly of beer brewing in African townships in Durban, South Africa, 1959 130
- 15 The aftermath of the South African police massacre of Africans protesting the apartheid passbook laws, 69 dead, Sharpeville, March 21, 1960 131
- 16 Belgian paratroopers race off a jet at the Leopoldville airport as they attempt to retake the Congo following its independence from Belgium, July 1960 137
- 17 Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo, and Joseph Okito under arrest at the Leopoldville airport, December 1960 142
- 18 A statue of King Leopold removed from its base, along with that of Henry Stanley, with plans under way to replace them with statues of Patrice Lumumba and fellow Congolese, Stanleyville, May 1961 150
- 19 President Nkrumah of Ghana meets with Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois at the opening of the World Peace Conference in Accra, Ghana, 1962 155
- 20 Prime Minister Julius Nyerere of Tanzania meeting with President John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1961 159
- 2.1 African women call for the release of Nelson Mandela from police custody and for the downfall of Hendrik Verwoerd, 1961 169
- 22 Nelson Mandela, 1961 169
- 23 Hendrik Verwoerd, prime minister of South Africa, after being stabbed to death in the South Africa Parliament, September 6, 1966 170
- 24 Steve Biko, leader of the black consciousness movement in South Africa 177