Colonialism, Nationalism, Neocolonialism

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Question: The Role of Violence in Achieving and Maintaining Independence

Part I: Is violence necessary to gain independence or is it possible to achieve these results solely through diplomacy and the use of the international institutions?

Part II: Are countries who negotiate their independence more likely to suffer neocolonialism than those who attain independence by violence?
Concepts & Definitions

Colonialism

- Relationship in which one country is subject to the authority of another.

- Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another. Usually involves the settlement of citizens from colonial power in the colony.
**Concepts & Definitions**

- **Imperialism**
  - Act of acquiring or holding colonies or dependencies
  - One country exercises power over another, whether through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanisms of control. Does not necessarily involve movement of people, but rather control of resources.
Map of Africa and Europe
Part 1

Is violence necessary to gain independence or is it possible to achieve these results solely through diplomacy and the use of the international institutions?
Argument

Violence appears to be a more successful means for attaining independence when the colonial power has invested more in the infrastructure of the colony.

- More of a settlement colony than an exploitation colony
- Strong economic profits – rich resources
- Investments have been made in institutions (roads, education, banks, etc.)
Argument

Violence appears to be less likely when the colony:

✦ is closer to being an exploitation colony than a settlement colony
✦ has weaker economic resources
✦ investments have been limited
Settlement colonies vs. Exploitation Colonies

Settlement Colonies:
- Permanent settlers, identify with colony
- Cultivated and took possession of the land
- Pushed indigenous people out

Exploitation Colonies
- More focused on economic, political, and strategic use of the colony, did not identify with colony
Cote d’Ivoire: Negotiated Independence

Population: 20,179,602

Area: 322,460 km²

Independence Date: Oct 31, 1960

Natural Resources: petroleum, natural gas, diamonds, manganese, iron ore, cobalt, bauxite, copper, gold, nickel, tantalum, silica sand, clay, cocoa beans, coffee, palm oil, hydropower
Cote d’Ivoire: Colonial History

- 1893, proclaimed a colony by France after 50 years of presence
- Used a system of direct, centralized administration, with natives trained and serving in government
- Infrastructure: built roads for incoming missionaries who built churches, primary schools and secondary academies
Cote d’Ivoire: Decolonization

- 1958 – France gave option of independence, but Cote d’Ivoire chose to remain a colony
- Under his rule the country “enjoyed spectacular economic growth” – becoming the most economically powerful francophone Sub-Saharan colony
Under Felix’s rule:

- One-party authoritative state
- Conservative pro-capitalist policies
- Maintained close ties with France
- Preferred injustice over disorder

- Two years after his death, ethnic and religious civil wars spawned and have been ongoing

Cote d’Ivoire: Decolonization
Algeria: Violent Independence

Population: 33,769,668

Area: 2,381,740 km²

Independence Date: July 3, 1962

Natural Resources: petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, uranium, lead, zinc
Algeria: Colonial History

- 1834- French colonize Algeria after 4 year occupation following a brutal conquest
- Approach to Colonization: Spread of civilization.
  - Citizenship was offered to Algerians who converted to Christianity and had attained a university education.
Established as an integral part of France in 1948, a status that lasted until 1958.

Settler colony. 15.2% of the total population in 1962 were European.

By 1840-50, authorities encouraged people to settle in rural areas by offering grants of land for free and a promise that improvements would be made.
Increased commercial interest to expansion led to French zone of occupation. They created large agricultural tracts, built factories and exploited cheap labor.

Even up to the War of Liberation, French authorities continued to pursue accelerated Algerian economic development in key areas such as agriculture and the newly discovered hydrocarbons.
Attempts at Nonviolent Resolution

The Etoile Nord-Africaine or ENA was an early Algerian nationalist organization founded in 1926. It had no armed wing and attempted to organize peacefully.

The Star banned in 1927 and operated underground until 1934, when its news paper reached a circulation of 43,500.
Attempts at Nonviolent Resolution (cont.)

Messali Hadj formed the Parti du Peuple Algerien – PPA in 1937. The group agitated for political reform.

PPA was banned in 1939 as well.
Beginning of Armed Resistance

- November 1, 1954, FLN *maquisards* — (guerrillas), launched attacks in various parts of Algeria against military and civilian targets, in what became known as the *Toussaint Rouge*.
- National Liberation Army: Military arm of the FLN which engaged in armed struggle against French authority.
Algerian casualties estimated at 700,000. Uncounted thousands of Muslim civilians lost their lives in French army ratissages, bombing raids, and vigilante reprisals. The war uprooted more than 2 million Algerians, who were forced to relocate in French camps or to flee to Morocco, Tunisia, and into the Algerian hinterland, where many thousands died of starvation, disease, and exposure. In addition large numbers of pro-French Muslims were murdered when the FLN settled accounts after independence.

Attained independence July 3, 1962
Question

Part II:

Are countries who negotiate their independence more likely to suffer neocolonialism at the hands of their colonizers than those who attain independence by violence?
Neocolonialism

- Process of rich, powerful, developed states using economic, political, and other informal means to exert pressure on the poor, less powerful, underdeveloped states

- “. . . the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. . . The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world.”
Cote d'Ivoire: Present Neocolonialism Examined

Challenges to Political Independence

- 1999-present – during civil conflict French military have been active on the ground

- Claim to be a peacekeeping force and that pulling out is not a viable option so long as 15,000 French people continue to reside in Cote d'Ivoire.

- Their purported purpose of maintaining peace conflicts with the violence they have inflicted on civilians
**Cote d’Ivoire: Present**

**Neocolonialism Examined**

**Challenges to Economic Independence**

- The CFA, Cote d’Ivore’s currency, was tied to the French franc, now the Euro
- Colonial economic relationships continued through the transition from colonialism to independence, or “cooperation”
- France has been able to give up responsibility for the costs of production while maintaining economic benefits
While the first two decades of independence saw impressive GDP growth rates, the 1980s and 1990s were less stable.

EU, WB, and IMF loans came with ties of policy reform. When policies were not in line with funder’s objectives, checks would be withheld.

Since the 1990s, Paris-based company investments in francophone West Africa have been replaced by other neocolonial powers: US, Japan, Germany and China.
Europeans account for less than 1% of the population in Algeria.

Settlers needed to choose between French and Algerian citizenship within 3 years of Independence.

Conceded Military bases (Mers el-Kebir for 15 years, installations in the Sahara for 5 years) in exchange for aid.
French Hydrocarbons interests are nationalized in February 1971.

Current French Investments in Algeria are quite limited: only about 500 million Euros.

Healthy competition with distribution of natural resources to export partners.
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Restating the Argument
Is Algeria More Independent than Côte d’Ivoire?

Côte d’Ivoire
- Lingering Military Presence
- Increase in French Settlers
- CFA Value Still Tied to Euro
- France Maintains Economic Benefits

Algeria
- No French Military Presence
- European Settler Population < 1%
- Currency not pegged
- Healthy Trade Distributions
Discussion:
Map of North West Africa
Map of Northern Africa and Southern Europe