

Cohn, Hans; Elizabeth, Port

**Article — Digitized Version**  
**From colonies to states**

Intereconomics

*Suggested Citation:* Cohn, Hans; Elizabeth, Port (1969) : From colonies to states, Intereconomics, ISSN 0020-5346, Verlag Weltarchiv, Hamburg, Vol. 04, Iss. 4, pp. 130-134, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02934810>

This Version is available at:  
<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/138169>

**Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:**

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

**Terms of use:**

*Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.*

*You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.*

*If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.*

# From Colonies to States

by Dr Hans Cohn, Port Elizabeth

---

The year 1968 was a remarkably quiet year for independent Africa. With the exception of the Nigerian civil war and some clashes at the Zambian-Rhodesian frontier there were hardly any major incidents and most of the African leaders seemed to spend their time on solving domestic problems. The traditional trouble spots, e.g. the Congo, are evidently on their way to economic recovery and stabilisation, and in the East the East African Community (EAC) has paved the way to economic cooperation. The "EAC" which has just completed its first year of existence, may soon include more African states such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Burundi and perhaps even Zambia.

Yet this calm is deceiving. In the first place there were upheavals in some of the former French territories which up to now were quiet and peaceful, such as Mali, Chad, Cameroun, Dahomey, the Central African Republic and Congo-Brazzaville. These upheavals had to do a lot with the enormous poverty of the population and are without any political background. Besides this the small French-speaking territories are definitely the most insignificant on the African Continent. Far more important is the fact that none of the problems facing the developing new Africa has yet been solved and that these problems must be solved, if independent Africa is to have a future.

## **Strong Tribalism a Serious Handicap**

The Nigerian civil war as well as the elections in Zambia have unveiled one of the grave African problems to the whole world, namely the strength of tribalism. This problem, which is a direct result of the colonial past of the present independent states, constitutes perhaps the most serious threat to future development. The Natives of former colonial Africa are used to be ruled by tribal chiefs each of them commanding the power of a little king. They do not consider themselves Zambians, Congolese, Nigerians, etc., but members of their tribes. The recent Zambian elections, for instance, were conducted exclusively on tribal lines. As a result of these elections Zambia is now divided between tribes which sup-

port the Government and those which support the Opposition, just the situation which President Kaunda has worked tirelessly to avoid. Voting almost as a solid block, the tribes from the south, the "Ila" and "Tonga", rejected President Kaunda's "United National Independence Party" and gave their support to Mr Harry Nkumbula's "African National Congress". In addition the powerful "Lozi" tribe from the Barotse Province in the west who previously supported the Government, voted this time overwhelmingly for the opposition.

President Kaunda is—of course—very embittered and tries at present to make things "tough for any opposition" thus moving more and more in the direction of totalitarianism. Already he is called publically "another African dictator" and his unpopularity is growing from day to day. Yet he was one of the first African leaders to see clearly the dangers of tribalism. He has continually warned against the dangers of tribal conflict and rivalry, drawing parallels of what has happened in Nigeria to what could happen in Zambia.

Being an old relic of the past, tribalism cannot be eradicated within a couple of years. Any African leader trying to achieve a lightning success in fighting tribalism is doomed to failure. First condition is time. The process of implanting love of the homeland into the hearts of people who never knew another homeland than the seat of their tribe, is not a matter of years, but of decades. Furthermore, the fight against poverty is strongly linked up with the fight against tribalism. The former tribesmen must be taught modern methods of agriculture thus developing slowly into proper farmers. They must see, that they have to thank everything they are and possess to the Central Government, they must recognise that tribalism means backwardness and support the Central Government progress.

## **The "Young Pioneers" of Malawi**

It was again Africa's sample-country Malawi which has made a start with a development like this. It is the "Young Pioneers" movement set up in

1963 as a youth wing of the ruling Malawi Congress Party. The first Young Pioneer bases were set up at Nasawa, near Zomba, and in Amalika, in the tea-producing district of Cholo, both in Southern Malawi. Israel supplied instructors and a national adviser. The bases were built by the Pioneer trainees themselves. Training lasts ten months. Girls as well as boys join. They are taught the theory and practice of agriculture, simple carpentry and building, animal husbandry and poultry farming first, and more formal subjects like English and arithmetic later. Sports and physical training form a large part of the course. The whole set-up equals the one of an Israeli kibutz. At some bases "Young Pioneers Clubs" have been formed to cooperate with local people, thus enabling the trainees to go out and demonstrate the new farming methods they have learnt.

This has been continued with the setting up of model villages—agricultural showpieces, where people from the surrounding countryside can learn the new methods. Since the movement began its activities, 3,000 "Pioneers" have been trained. A further 1,600 are being trained at present, including ten from Lesotho who will start a similar movement in their own country, and very soon other groups may arrive from Swaziland and Botswana.

### **The Road to Industrialisation**

As the economies of most of the former colonies are still basically agricultural, this rather revolutionary movement may prove of enormous importance for the whole of Africa. Essentially conservative rural farmers may modify their traditional and often wasteful farming methods and turn to modern ways of farming. This will bring

them closer to modern ways of living and thinking, and to their Central Governments.

But modern agricultural training—as important as it may be,—is only part of great change the former colonial Africans have to undergo before they can become citizens of their new states. There are enormous tasks ahead for the leaders of the African countries, tasks which require energy, tenacity and a good deal of patience. It is about training and encouraging Africans to develop skills in commerce and industry to take over the middle level and senior jobs now almost exclusively held by foreigners. From this stepping-stone it is only a comparatively short way to a figure hitherto unknown: the African industrial leader.

It cannot be denied that African industrialisation has made enormous headways in the last two decades, and that all over the continent new factories and retail-businesses are being established. But it is always foreign concerns who take the initiative, and African participation is confined to financial partnership with the industrial development corporations of the countries concerned. Otherwise the only benefits Africans derive from the industrialisation and commercialisation of their countries consist of regular work, stable income and a useful training. This state of affairs could be called a kind of "Neo-Colonialism", as the only difference between yesterday's and today's conditions is the financial participation of the state, while the status of the particular African is still the same as before.

### **President Kaunda's Ill-advised Measures**

President Kaunda has tried to change this by not renewing the trading licences of 850 foreigners and encouraging Zambian Natives to take over

*Continued on page 134*

## **ERNST RUSS**

Shipowner & Shipbroker  
Agencies & Insurance  
Established 1893

**Hamburg 36 · Alsterarkaden 27**

Phone: 36 12 71    Telex: 02 14 435  
Cables: REEDERRUSS

Worldwide trading including North Sea and Baltic with own tramp-vessels

Own liner services from Hamburg to Finland and West Norway and from Benelux-Ports to Sweden

Liner agents for Finland, US-Gulf and Canada / Great Lakes

Worldwide Chartering

Speciality: Tanker- and Reefer-Chartering

**Purchase and sale of ships**

these businesses. This is—of course—a rather doubtful way of solving the problem, as very few Zambians command the necessary experience to conduct businesses of any kind. The President got already once a rather sharp answer, when he blamed Zambian bankers for lending money exclusively to foreigners and refusing Zambian applicants. He was told that a bank was not a benevolent society and that they (the bankers) would have to consider their businesses in the first place. President Kaunda's ways of dealing with this rather delicate problem show clearly how it should not be handled. It would be absolutely useless to put persons without any managerial training into businesses which require skill and knowledge. In fact, the inevitable failures would discourage other Africans from turning to commerce and business, thus delaying an urgent development for a perhaps considerable length of time.

### **Very Efficient UNO and ILO Programmes**

The United Nations have tackled the great task of educating Africans in the most effective manner. Every year a growing number of technical experts of all nationalities are recruited by specialised agencies and sent to serve the peoples of the under-developed countries in the four corners of the world. This is part of the United Nations' Development Programme, for which \$200 mn have been put aside as budget for 1969.

The "International Labour Organisation" (ILO) has already done a good job in East Africa. In Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Ethiopia this useful organisation is helping the various governments—at their own request—to bridge the management gaps existing in those countries. This is not an easy task, as conditions in each of these countries are different, and the training centres must be adapted to the political, economic and social structure of the country concerned.

### **Varying Methods in Different Countries**

In Kenya, for example, the ILO had to put up a fairly orthodox management training centre in a suburb of Nairobi. About 80 p.c. of the students are from the private sector of the mainly foreign-owned and -run industry. The centre which was established in October 1966 helps solving the most urgent problem of the country, the "Kenyanisation" or "Africanisation" of the private sector of economy.

In Uganda the position differs from Kenya insofar, as helping the small businessman is the most important aim of the training centre in Kampala. This complies with the nature of Ugandan economy which offers more scope to the small entrepreneur. In the early days of the centre, emphasis

was put on training middle management, but now small enterprise development constitutes the backbone of the Kampala training programme. Here too, "Africanisation" is considered an all-important task, but many Ugandans think in terms of "africanising" Europeans and Indians, in place of expelling them. The Kampala centre comprises a number of businesses such as a carpentry shop, a fishing and marketing business on the shores of Lake Albert and a logging and timber business.

Tanzania is a different proposition altogether. Here, President Julius Nyerere's "Arusha doctrine" of self-reliance and his home-styled socialism rule the entire economy. Yet the ILO's activities fit very well into this system, as Western techniques and skills are badly needed. Emphasis is put on establishing a strong National Institute of Productivity in Dar-es-Salaam to be instrumental in the Government's economic planning and manpower recruiting.

Youngest of the four is the Addis Ababa project. This scheme is practically a mixture of the systems of Kenya and Uganda. It constitutes a combine of management training and small enterprise development in a familiar capitalistic setting. The Addis Ababa project is perhaps the most difficult one, as Ethiopian economy is rather backward and ILO faces the task of expanding the industrial and commercial sectors and at the same time "africanising" them.

### **Favourable Future Prospects**

It goes without saying that all these projects are still in the stage of infancy and that it is impossible to assess any achievements, before at least five years have passed. Even after this period of time has expired, it may be necessary to extend it for about one year or two. Yet they are definitely a hopeful commencement of a development which is bound to change colonial ways of thinking into a more citizen-like mentality. A development like this requires time and it would be absolutely wrong to declare the African states unable to rule themselves, because there were bloodshed and fighting in the years of the past. So far, this was the case wherever small territories had to give up their independence to form a new big state, and it even happened amongst highly developed nations.

It is also easily possible, that the common hatred against the "arch-enemy" South Africa has its psychological origin in the wish of the African rulers, to make Africans feel as Africans, that means to unite them in the negative. A common enemy has often replaced common ideals. This would—strangely enough—mean that independent Africa needs "Apartheid South Africa" not only for its economic development, but also for its development into states. "From colonies to states"—a long way, but it has to be gone!