

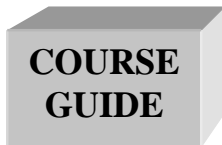


NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: INR 432

COURSE TITLE: Afro-Asian Relations



INR 432
Afro-Asian Relations

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National Open University of Nigeria

First Printed

ISBN:

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Printed by
For
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Welcome to **INR 432: Afro-Asian Relations**. INR 432 is a two unit course that has minimum duration of one semester. It is suitable for all students of International Relations. The course consists of nineteen units and a course guide. The course has been developed to explain in details the nature of relations between African and Asian countries. With the end of the cold war and prevalence of globalisation, Africa-Asia relations are on the increase. Beyond Africa's traditional trading partners, there are increasing economic and political relations between Africa and Asia that deserves attention.

The course guide tells you briefly what the course is about, what course materials you will be using and to work your way through these materials. It suggests some general guidelines for the amount of time you are likely to spend on each study unit of the course. It also gives you some guidance on your Tutor Marked Assignments (TMA). You are advised to attend the tutorial classes to discuss the problem with tutorial facilitators at the study centre.

2.0 COURSE AIMS

The aims of this course are to:

- (i) introduce you to the nature and character of Afro-Asian relations;
- (ii) explain the historical background of institutionalised relationship between countries of Asia and Africa;

- (iii) analyse the ensuing factors and interventions in the relations;
- (iv) identify the role of African countries; and
- (v) assess the impact of Asian relations on Africa.

3.0 COURSE OBJECTIVES

In order to properly analyse Afro-Asian relations, it is necessary to embrace the concept of development as a yardstick. This because identifying the positions of both continents in world affairs will assist in a long way in determining the significance of the relations and its impact. Thus, the overall objectives of this course include the following:

- Introduce the learner to the character of Afro-Asian relations;
- Explain the stipulations of the Bandung Conference and the evolving issues as regards relations in both continents;
- Identify the objectives of the Bandung Conference and its manifestation;
- Analyse development efforts and cooperation among countries; and
- Examine the impact on Africa.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete this course, you are advised to read and study the units, read recommended texts, online sources and other materials provided by NOUN. Each unit contains self assessment exercises and tutor marked assignments. You are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of the course,

there is a final examination.

COURSE MATERIALS

The major components of the course are:

- Course Guide;
- Study Units;
- Textbooks and references;
- Assignment File; and
- Presentation schedule.

STUDY UNITS

There are nineteen (19) study units, a study guide and five modules in this course, and they are as follow:

MODULE 1: Basis of Afro-Asian Relations

- Unit 1: The vision of Afro-Asianism
- Unit 2: Pan-Africanism
- Unit 3: Pan-Asianism
- Unit 4: Evolution of Afro-Asian Relations

MODULE 2: Fundamental Issues in Afro-Asian Relations

- Unit 1: Afro-Asian Relations and United Nations

- Unit 2: Pre-Bandung Afro-Asian Resolutions
- Unit 3: Objectives of Bandung Afro-Asian Conference
- Unit 4: Communique of the Bandung Conference

MODULE 3: Political Cooperation

- Unit 1: Post-Bandung Afro-Asian Affairs
- Unit 2: Afro-Asian Relations and African Integration
- Unit 3: Afro-India Political Relations
- Unit 4: Sino-African Political Relations

MODULE 4: Economic Relations

- Unit 1: Background to Economic Relations
- Unit 2: Japanese Relations with African Economy
- Unit 3: Afro-India Economic Relations
- Unit 4: Sino-African Trade Relations

MODULE 5: Socio-Cultural Relations

- Unit 1: Background to Socio-Cultural Relations
- Unit 2: China's Role in African Trade Unions
- Unit 3: Southeast Asia and Africa

The first module explains the basis of Afro-Asian relations. The second module provides analysis of the Bandung Conference of 1955. The third module gives you

an insight into the aspects of political cooperation. The fourth module deals with the nature of economic relations, while the fifth module espouses the socio-cultural influences of Asian countries on Africa.

Each unit has specific objectives that will help you in achieving the aims of the study, in addition to the use of recommended texts for further readings. At the end of each unit, there is a self assessment exercise. In case there are two or three, attempt all in your study and submit one for marked assignments.

TEXTBOOKS

Some books have been recommended in the course: you may consult them for further reading.

ASSESSMENT

There are two types of assessment in this course: the tutor marked assignments, and a written examination. In carrying out these assignments, you are expected to apply knowledge acquired during the course. The assignment must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the presentation schedule and the assignment file. The work that you submit to your tutor for assessment will make up to 30% of your total score.

9.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

There is a tutor marked assignment at the end of every unit. You are required to attempt all the assignments. You will be assessed on all of them but the best four performances will be considered for assessment. Each of the four selected TMA come from the areas covered in the course.

When you have completed each assignment send it together with a tutor marked assignment form to your tutor. Make sure that your tutor receives each assignment on or before the deadline. If for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extension will not be granted after the due date unless under exceptional circumstances.

10.0 FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for INR 432; Afro-Asian Relations will last for the duration of three hours. It will carry 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions which reflect the kind of self assessment exercises and the tutor marked problems you have previously encountered. All aspects of the course will be assessed. You may find it useful to review your self assessment exercises and tutor marked assignments before the examination.

11.0 COURSE MARKING SCHEME

The following table shows the Course Marking Scheme.

Assessment	Marks
Assignment 1-4	Four assignments, best three marks of the four counts as 30% of course marks.
Final examination	70% of overall course score
Total	100%

12.0 COURSE ORGANIZER

Unit	Title of Work	Weeks Activity	Assessment (End of Unit)
Module 1 Unit 1	Basis of Afro-Asian Relations The vision of Afro-Asianism	1	Assignment 1
2	Pan-Africanism	1	Assignment 2
3	Pan-Asianism	1	Assignment 3
4	Evolution of Afro-Asian Relations	1	Assignment 4
Module 2 Unit 1	Fundamental Issues in Afro-Asian Relations Afro-Asian Relations and United Nations	1	Assignment 1
2	Pre-Bandung Afro-Asian Relations	1	Assignment 2

3	Objectives of Bandung Afro-Asian Conference	1	Assignment 3
4	Communique of the Bandung Conference	1	Assignment 4
Module 3 Unit 1	Political Cooperation Post-Bandung Afro-Asian Affairs	1	Assignment 1
2	Afro-Asian Relations and African Integration	1	Assignment 2
3	Afro-Indian Political Relations	1	Assignment 3
4	Sino-African Political Relations	1	Assignment 4
Module 4 Unit 1	Economic Relations Background to Economic Relations	1	Assignment 1
2	Japanese Relations with African Economy	1	Assignment 2
3	Afro-India Economic Relations	1	Assignment 3
4	Sino-African Trade Relations	1	Assignment 4
Module 5 Unit 1	Socio-Cultural Relations Background to Socio-Cultural Relations	1	Assignment 1
2	China's Role in African Trade Unions	1	Assignment 2

3	Southeast Asia and Africa	1	Assignment 3
	Revision	1	
	Examination	1	
	Total	19	

13.0 HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, the study units replace the lecturer. The advantage is that you can read and work through the study materials at your pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to a lecturer. Just as a lecturer might give you class exercise. Your study units provide exercises for you to do at appropriate times. Each of the study units follows the same format. The first item is introduction to the subject matter of the unit and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next is a set of learning objectives. These objectives will let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. You should use these objectives to guide your study. When you have finished the unit, you should go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If you make a habit of doing this, you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. Self assessment Exercises are available throughout the units and answers are given at the end of objectives of the units, which prepare you for the assignments and the examination. You should do each Self-assessment exercises as you come to them in the study units. Work through these as you encounter them.

14.0 TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

There are 15 hours of Tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignment and keep a close watch on your progress. And on difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must send your tutor marked assignment well before the due date. They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone or e-mail if you need help. Contact your tutor if:

- (a) You do not understand any part of the assigned readings;
- (b) You have difficulty with the self assessment exercise; and
- (c) You have a question or a problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only way to have face to face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will gain a lot from participating actively.

15.0 SUMMARY

As a student of the International Relations Programme, you can apply the benefits gained from this course in understanding your immediate context. As a Nigerian,

issues in South-South relations should be of importance to you because Afro-Asian relations is part of developmental issues aimed at ensuring improvement in development index of developing countries. At a point, we could observe that the self interest of some Asian countries dominated issues in practical Afro-Asian relations, as they were determined to use Africa as a resource base for the development of their economies. Even though Africa was seen as a resource centre for internal economic development of some Asian economies, the content of the relations vis-à-vis the position of Africa is still preferable than those with European countries where there is glaring inequality. We wish you success in the course.

Course Code	INR 431
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MODULE I: BASIS OF AFRO-ASIAN RELATIONS

Unit 1 The vision of Afro-Asianism

Unit 2 Pan-Africanism

Unit 3 Pan-Asianism

Unit 4 Evolution of Afro-Asian Relations

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Objectives

Main Content

3.1 The vision of Afro-Asian Relations

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The basis of Afro-Asian relations was borne out of the need for cooperation among countries in the South. From history, countries of the North, that is, European countries had the agenda of continuously developing their economics at the expense of less developed countries. In other words, the relation between the North and the South has remained unequal from the fifteen century. This unequal relationship affected the rate of development in the economics of the South. This Unit formulates a discourse on the vision of Afro-Asian relations and what brought about the quest for solidarity through South-South cooperation. While South-South cooperation refers to cooperation among countries of the developing world; South-North relations refers to that between the south countries and the advanced industrialised countries of Europe, North America and Japan.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The first unit in this module attempts to engage you on a broad discourse on the vision of Afro-Asian relations. By the end of this Unit, the learner should be able to:

- i. explain the working of imperialism;
- ii. analyse the intent of European hegemony; and
- iii. discuss issues in underdevelopment.

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 The Vision of Afro-Asianism

African and Asian worlds had the same experiences in terms of relationship with the Europeans. Both continents were once under the control of Western European powers and not surprisingly, they were ravaged by imperialism for more than three hundred years. The European countries depended on raw materials and human resources from Africa and Asia to develop their own economies and societies. At different times, or even concurrently, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Netherlands majorly took time to exploit resources from both continents. The character of imperialism in both continents was not similar. For Africa, there were internal slavery; and Europeans resorted to slave trade. In Asia, external slave trade was not really prominent but the natural resources were exploited by Europeans. This was the trend until the twentieth century.

Nation-states in both continents were left underdeveloped and the colonial influences pervaded the society in such a way that the nations created by colonialism could hardly move out of the shells they were entrenched. In one way or the other, neocolonialism further encapsulated the idea of development generated by some spirited citizens of both continents. The survival of nations was far fetched because the politics and economy of the world became integrated. However, the integration which could be described as globalization is not necessarily the problem; the problem is that the underdeveloped world could hardly develop at the pace that the developed world is moving. What the developing world need in the twenty first century is to redefine its position and take the bull by the horns to make a positive turn around on the path to development.

The idea of development for Asia and Africa in the twentieth century was a long process which needed a series of reorientation. The first set of reorientation was that of consciousness, which could be captured in the idea of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Asianism. Both occurred separately, but before there were relations and cooperation, the two systems served as a way of preparing the minds of citizens towards the cooperation. Considering the fact that both continents were backward in terms of development, this aroused the need for good neighbourliness to advance a common cause. In spite of the fact that there were differing cultural and religious affiliations, the ideas of development by the leaders of both continents were common.

Thus, Afro-Asian relations emerged on the basis of development for both continents. The emergence of Afro-Asian relations was consolidated in the aftermath of World War II. It gradually led to the end of colonialism in most countries of Asia and Africa. Less than a decade after World War II, colonialism became unfashionable and the European countries declared most of their colonies independent. The hidden or continued form of colonialism was neocolonialism where the nations of both continents had to remain within the confines or dictates of the economic policies of the world powers concentrated in the West.

In the process of Afro-Asian relations to redefine its status and path to development, the Eastern powers came up with the idea of communism as a means of salvaging Afro-Asia from the control of the West. This plan further generated global conflicts as there were rivalries between those who should assist Africa and Asia from either the West or the East. This generated confusion for the visionary leaders in both continents, especially those that were not really attached to both powers. It became difficult to adopt a definitive path to development as some countries who had found solace in the communist methodology such as China and Japan wanted countries in the continents to follow suit. It was glaring that the West had really increased the rate of underdevelopment, while those of East had similar aims but it had much to do with the idea of development from within which in the long run could be positive for countries in both continents.

Following the exit of Britain and France after the World War II, there was a vacuum especially in Arab-Africa and Arab-Asia as to the control of the areas.

In the bid to outdo the West, the Soviet Union came up with a way of associating with these set of countries. On the other hand, United States could not afford to allow the Soviet Union easy access. The interests of the leading countries were as a result of the presence of oil in the Middle East (among Arabs). Hence, the bid to maximize returns from the oil in the Arab world created a type of conflict which hitherto necessitated Arab alignment under the umbrella of Afro-Asian relations to free itself from the seeming commercial colonialism.

In Africa, when compared with Asia, development was far behind as they were worse off under colonialism. The emphasis of the visionary leaders was based on political freedom which was believed to be the ultimate in the post-World War II era. Kwame Nkrumah's slogan of "seek ye the political kingdom and every other things shall be added", became the key objective of Pan Africanism. In the case of China and Japan, their strong attachment to communism enhanced development far above other countries in the continent. India through the influence of Mahatma Gandhi had definitive path to development. China and Japan as well as Indonesia and Egypt were countries that had the capabilities to be definitive in matters of development. The position of these countries enhanced the existence of Afro-Asian relations to the level of cooperation in socio-political, economic and cultural issues which shall be analysed in this course.

4.0 CONCLUSION

For a proper understanding of this discourse, it is important to be familiar

with the various definitions of colonialism and imperialism. Then, familiarise oneself with the map of Africa and Asia in order to really understand the physical and demographic compositions of the countries that make up both continents. Apart from that, there is the need to review documentaries on the culture, language and beliefs of some of these countries to enable you properly analyse the context of this unit.

It is convenient that Nigeria is a country in the African continent. This better positions you to assess the impact of colonialism.

5.0 SUMMARY

African and Asian countries face the problems and challenges of underdevelopment in almost similar ways. The thrust of this discourse is based on the experiences both continents had as a result of imperialism and colonialism. Both continents were subjugated in all spheres of development. This accounted for unequal relations between the colonisers and the colonised. By the twentieth century, the consolidation of European powers in Africa and Asia, with ideologies of capitalism and communism was another issue which Afro-Asianism had to address.

Each of the European powers required alignment and loyalty from countries of the subjugated world. Half of the century was ravaged with colonialism and afterwards, the shift was to foreign aid as a way of controlling the affairs of decolonised states. The solution to this development lay in the visions of leaders

from Africa and Asia, and in their ability to create a powerful political forum to counter colonialism and imperialism.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- (i) Explain development and underdevelopment in the context of Afro-Asian experiences with analytical examples.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Kolevzon E.R. (1972), *The Afro-Asian World: A Cultural Understanding*, US: Boston Allyn and Bacon Inc.

Rodney W. (1972), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London: Bogle L'Ourverture Publications.

UNIT 2 PAN-AFRICANISM

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- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Pan-Africanism could simply be stated as support for the African cause. It evolved as response to discrimination meted on African-Americans in American society before the twentieth century. At the initial stage, there were different perceptions as to what to really present as values in the course of advancing African interests in America. To some, civilization for Africa was meant to be the transfer of American values and inculcating them in the minds of Africans while others advocated for the advance of African values through the processes of evangelization. These were the views before the first Pan-African conference held

in London in 1900.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

For you to be acquainted with the broad basis of Afro-Asian relations, the knowledge of Pan-Africanism is pertinent to properly contextualize other issues in Afro-Asian Relations in subsequent units. By the end of the Unit, you should be able to:

- i. provide an explicit definition of Pan-Africanism;
- ii. identify events that aroused Pan-Africanism; and
- iii. discuss the responses of Africans to Pan-Africanist strategies.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 What is Pan-Africanism?

3.2 Pan-Africanism

3.3 Africa's Response to Pan-African Strategies

3.1 What is Pan-Africanism?

Pan-Africanism is a phenomenon of togetherness aimed towards the promotion and advancement of African interests. It was developed out of discrimination which was as a result of longstanding practice of subjugation in which the black man was regarded as meaningless and lacked a history worthy for future development. Pan-Africanism was out rightly set to reject all forms of discrimination and denial of the black or coloured people. It was based on this intent that Pan-Africanist activities arose from various quarters. Between 1900 and 1945, there were six Pan-African congresses aimed at tackling the question of

discrimination of the black race and at the same time advancing the self actualization of independence for Africa.

After the first Pan-African conference in 1900, the Pan-African Association emerged and it used publications to disseminate the idea of nationalism. The publications were meant to convey the Pro-African speeches made at the conference. Of paramount importance as at this period was the problem of racism in South Africa. William Du Bois specifically noted that: 'Let not the cloak of Christian missionary enterprise be allowed in the future, as so often in the past, to hide the ruthless economic downfall of less developed nations whose chief fault has been reliance on the plighted truth of the Christian church'. This statement was due to the divergent views on the ways of salvaging Africa as it was believed that the church could be a means to civilization.

The press was used as a means of defence and education to arouse African awareness about the regeneration of Africa. The subsequent conferences further simplified the concept of nationalism and the exposure of Africans to western education was an added advantage.

3.2 Pan Africanism

The idea of Pan Africanism emanated from Afro-American familiarization and identification with Africa. The idea was borne out of the discrimination meted

on Afro-Americans in American politics. This discrimination brought the idea of immigrating to the black man's land, which is Africa. It was believed that the emigrationist strategy would assist in the development of Africa since they were treated as strangers in America. Henry McNeal Turner was an activist who wanted to participate in politics in the late nineteenth century, but due to discrimination, he resorted to the church as an alternative platform to implement humanitarian politics. Africans in America were a frog in a snake's den; they hardly had a future that was visible then. It was on this basis that there came the clamour for Pan-Negro nationalism, though Turner perceived the idea of emigration to Africa as related to evangelization. That is, the church could be a source of civilizing Africa.

Turner's position was accepted and debated divergently. Some Afro-Americans believed that the idea of civilization for Africa was to transfer European values, while the likes of Turner believed that African values should be practiced with evangelization. In spite of the divergent views, the first Pan African congress was held in London in 1900. The conference was organized by the committee of the African Association formed by students in London to discuss the Native Races' Question. The conference comprised peoples from South Africa, West Africa and West Indies. The constitution of the conference aimed at encouraging feeling of unity, facilitate friendly intercourse among Africans and to promote and protect the interests of all peoples of African descent. This was implemented by the circulation of information on issues for training, to rights and privileges. The emphasis on rights and privileges appeared passionate to the

participants as Africa was regarded as the cradle of civilization in which the black man was the principal actor.

3.3 Africa's Response to Pan-African Strategies

As explained earlier, the African-Americans were involved in the act of writing to abolish discrimination and efforts towards recognition of the blacks. That was in the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, there were responses from the likes of Edward Blyden and other West Africans. It is pertinent to note that most West Africans had the opportunity of Western education and this reflected in the area of journalism. For instance, Dr. James Africanus Beale Horton of Sierra-Leone utilized anti-slavery literature in the writing of his *West African Countries and Peoples: A Vindication of African Race and Political Economy of British West Africa*.

The abolitionist literature on anti-slavery further influenced the thoughts of West Africans politically and psychologically. William James Davies of Sierra Leone changed his name to Orishatake Faduma as a way of familiarizing with the cultural heritage. D.B. Vincent of Nigeria changed to Mojola Agbebi and a Ghanaian, S.R.B. Solomon became Attoh Ahuma. All these were done as a way of psychological emancipation. The activities of W.E.B. Du Bois and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People drew attention of Africans to self determination and reconstruction and to the promotion of African Unity. Specifically, Blyden sponsored a Pan-West African idea to ensure political

integration. This was due to the fact that countries in the sub-region were colonized by Britain and France; hence there were English and French speaking peoples, which made unity quite difficult. The Pan-West African idea influenced historical writing as the Arabic sources were resorted to as a means of writing African history in its entirety.

Thus, it was the idea of Blyden that were carried over from the 1920s which the visionary leaders in Africa used as a framework in championing nationalism. The focus on West Africa as an example in the sub-region is not out of bias, but West Africa as at the early twentieth century was relatively stable enough to accommodate series emancipationists' strategies.

The 1919 Pan-African congress occurred at the end of the First World War and it advocated that in colonial Africa, there should be opportunities for Africans to participate in governance. The subsequent congresses before 1945 were not so spectacular in terms of declaration; the trend was that there should be participation of Africans. The reason was that a number of the African nationalists were still young and were in training. Their nationalistic tendencies came in the form of youth movements which later metamorphosed into political parties.

By 1945, most of the student nationalists were ripe to participate meaningfully in politics. The lives of Wallace Johnson from Sierra-Leone, Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya; Peter Abrahams from South Africa; H.O. Davies, S.L. Akintola from Nigeria; and Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana among others participated in the Manchester Pan-African Congress in 1945. It was from the

congress that the idea of Asianism dawned on the African leaders in the sense that as members of the third world, they could be partners in development. It was resolved that Asia and Africa should tackle the problem of colonialism to consolidate the idea of development without hindrance. The 1945 Pan-African Congress provided a basis for Afro-Asian relations on the part of Africa.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Pan-Africanism gave rise to nationalism in various parts of Africa. The opportunity offered by western education was an added advantage to the sensitization of peoples at the vanguard of nationalism and anti-colonialism as various means were used to agitate against discrimination amongst black peoples. Articles were written to emphasize the need to respect the rights of black and coloured peoples. The strength of Pan-Africanism moved on till 1945 which marked the end of the World War II. The aftermath of the war provided avenues for decolonization processes in Africa.

A cursory view at Pan-Africanism right from its inception showed that it had a mission statement which continuously signified the need to recognize the peoples of Africa wherever. As the events associated with colonialism unfolded, the vision of Pan-Africanism shifted to nationalism, which could be explained as advancing the cause for self government without interference. It was in the process of nationalism in most African states that the Afro-Asian solidarity sprang up.

5.0 SUMMARY

The essence of this unit was to expose you to the basis of Afro-Asian relations on the part of Africans. The discrimination against blacks in American society was the initial causes that evolved the idea of soliciting for blacks. In view of the fact that they had a different colour and were supposedly less civilized. This was the position taken by Europeans that regarded African culture as primitive and needless in the process of development. The experience of African-Americans was just an example; there were other instances which all added up to prompt the first Pan-African conference in 1900, which was subsequently followed by five others up until 1945.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Examine the factors that aided Pan- Africanism as a foundation of Afro-Asian relations.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Anene J. C. & Brown G. (1966), *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Coleman J.S (1963), *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Olusanya G.O. (1973), *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, Lagos: Evans Publishers.

UNIT 3 PAN- ASIANISM

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, we discussed Pan-Africanism as the basis of Afro-Asian relations. For this unit, we shall be discussing Pan-Asianism as a basis in Afro-Asian relations. The tone of Pan-Africanism is distinctly different from that of Pan-Asianism. Pan-Africanism evolved outside Africa, while Pan-Asianism evolved mostly within a sub-region in Asia. Pan-Africanism had a wide spread support because for about three hundred years, Africans had been taken as slaves to Europe and America.

Thus, there had been generations of Africans in Europe who wanted recognition and loathed discrimination in the society. To Asia, Japan was at the

centre of Pan-Asianism which emerged to avoid Western encroachment of East Asia.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to enable you to evaluate the scenarios that accounted for Afro-Asian relations from the Asian continent. At the end of the unit you should be able to:

- i. describe Japan's position in Pan-Asianism;
- ii. identify the motives in Pan-Asianism; and
- iii. analyse the events that weakened Pan-Asianism.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Pan-Asianism

Pan-Asianism came into existence as a result of Western encroachment of East Asia in the late nineteenth century. The challenges posed by Western Europeans aroused the need for the Asians to unite. The idea of Pan-Asianism was operated with Japan at the centre. Japan was urged to unite with China and Korea to combat the encroachment of Western Europeans who were bearers of imperialism. Japan was at the centre of Pan-Asianism because it had a virile traditional political system and was a good custodian of some Asian civilizations. Japan had an empire system in proper succession.

Western imperialism began with the British colonization of India. Thus, Japan became a regional front to break Western domination. Japanese efforts in

this regard started by the invasion of Manchuria. This was done with force and there was relative success. By this success, Japan established a sub-regional association referred to as Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere comprising the whole of South East Asia. Japanese effort towards Pan-Asianism was short-lived as a result of the World War II. Moreover, Japan's imperialism in Asia could not sustain the efforts towards Pan-Asianism. However, in spite of the imperialism, the traces of the Pan-Asianism pioneered by Japan was sustained and served as a basis for subsequent efforts in the later part of the twentieth century.

Japan being at the centre of Pan-Asianism hegemonised other regions in Asia. Its role towards avoiding Western domination made it an imperial overlord to the socio-political and economic environment in Asia. This role accounted for one of the reasons why Japan became a power in the continent. The idea of Pan-Asianism as practiced by Japan was quasi-colonial on other regions. It launched these efforts based on the fact that there are differing ethnic nationalities in the region with affiliations based on culture, race, religion and language. The differences in affiliation could be described as a hindrance to the dangers of Western encroachment before 1945. The advent of the Pacific War in 1941 gradually reduced Japanese hold in the continent.

Meiji Restoration and Pan-Asianism

Meiji restoration is referred to as *Meiji Ishin* in Japanese language. It contained a chain of events that transformed Japan's political and social structure.

It occurred in the 1860s with the formation of Choshu Alliance between Takamori (the leader of Satsuma domain) and Takayoshi (the leader of Choshu domain). The two leaders supported Emperor Komei (Meiji's father) by challenging the ruling Tokugawa Shogunate through restoring Emperor Komei to power. On the death of Komei, Emperor Meiji ascended the throne on January 30, 1867.

Meiji, though the name of the Emperor literally means 'enlightened rule'. The aim of the restoration was to combine traditional practices with foreign ones to achieve desired imperial goals. The traditional practices were to be improved and advanced. This restoration opened up Japan as it embarked on the bid to improve its economy to compete with countries in Europe. There was accelerated industrialization in Japan and a strong military base was developed.

The purpose of describing Meiji restoration in this unit is to expose you to the reasons why Japan was vigorously at the core of Pan-Asianism before the 1940s. Right from the 1860s, the brain behind the takeover from Tokugawa Shogunate wanted to restructure Japanese political economy in such a way that it would become one of the world's powers and compete with European countries and United States of America.

The Politics of Pan-Asianism

We have seen that Pan-Asianism emerged to combat competition and domination from the West. Japan tried to maintain the balance of power at the Pacific to ensure the security of China which was at the danger of Western

domination. It was believed that the Atlantic civilization which belonged to the West had the tendency to move towards the Pacific. The Pacific was a zone where European and Asian civilization meet and exchange. Thus, Japan's interest on this issue was to protect China and maintain peace. In the quest to maintain security, Japan occupied Korea, Taiwan, and Northeastern China to prevent Russia from access. However, China did not support Japanese moves and the latter was perceived as an aggressor nation who was attempting to satisfy its clamour for regional hegemony.

Japanese aggression during the Sino-Japanese War led to the consolidation of East Asian League and Greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere. The East Asian League evolved as a system to ensure that all countries in East Asia were subjected to Japanese leadership. This subjection implied that all nations must follow the pattern of governance laid down by Japan and it was referred to as the 'Showa Reform'.

The Showa reform also implied that the Emperor is god and Japan is the nation of god's descendant. This reform emerged from the Manchuria Union Conference Outline in March 1933. It was easy for Japan to come up with the Showa reform because it had a long virility in its empire succession system. This reform was a way of diverting interest from European civilization.

Secondly, the politics of Pan-Asianism as practiced by Japan was meant to compete with the United States and by the former's processes of aggression, it would absolutely change the direction of the world to Asia and the East. To a

certain extent, this practice yielded some result as the world economy could hardly exist without Asian economies in the age of globalization. Although, Japan may not succeed in political victory more so that it had to surrender during the World War II. It is important to note that the idea of the East Asian League was limited to a sub-continent. Part of the motives of Japan was to employ cultural communication and familiarization as means to extend their influence to other countries in Asia. These were the goals it aimed to achieve in the 1941 Pacific War.

Pan-Asianism and the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

The policy of extension of Pan-Asianism was rejuvenated by designing a new strategy in 1940. Thus, British, Dutch, French and Portuguese Asia would be incorporated in the new strategy to expel the colonialists. To achieve this, the Japanese government being at the centre of Pan-Asianism emerged with **Basic National Policy Outline** as foreign policy to other countries in Asia. The policy already recognized Japan, Manchuria and China as partners in achieving the policy outline and then to incorporate Indo-China and Indonesia, South East Asia and Southwestern pacific region.

The achievement of the Great East Asia co-prosperity sphere began with the Pacific War on December 8, 1941. The aim of the war was to ensure co-existence of these regions under the Japanese empire system. The position of Japan was radical and aggressive and could be described as shaped by self interest.

Much as it tried to redeem Asia from western hegemony, to become focused on Asian civilization, it had the agenda of competing to become a world power. In spite of the efforts in the Pacific War, Japanese efforts failed in the short term, but in the long run it created awareness for self-reliance. The aftermath of World War II led to mass decolonization in the world, and thus the Japanese legacies of Pan-Asianism began to take its roots in the 1950s. Japanese insistence on the subjugation of China to its leadership partly accounted for the competitive nature of China with Japan within the region. The competition between Japan and China led to the evolution of the new concepts of Pan-Asianism from the 1950s. Although China also had its own political agenda, but it played a diplomatic role to ensure the formation of Afro-Asian solidarity through the 1955 Bandung Conference. Chinese diplomacy at the Afro-Asian conference provided a platform for considerable economic cooperation between the two continents.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Japan's position and activities in Pan-Asianism succeeded in creating a general foreign policy for Asia. The Pacific War of 1941, if won, would have been a breakthrough for Japan to become a world power in all ramifications. Nonetheless, Japanese aggressiveness succeeded in protecting Asian civilization especially in the area of language and governance which were the secrets to avoiding imperialism.

For Japan to dictate the patterns of events in a section of the continent, it

became a way to attain some level of power beyond 1945. Since there was a kind of political failure from the Pacific War till the end of World War II, Japan's hold on Pan-Asianism dwindled and its foreign policy refocused on acquiring wealth from everywhere including Africa and Asia to achieve economic aims.

5.0 SUMMARY

The whole idea of Pan-Asianism evolved within Asia and it was controlled by Japan to avoid western encroachment into a region of the continent. The basic line of convergence between it and Pan-Africanism was avoidance of imperialism and colonialism. However, their operations were different.

China was part of the territories which Japanese protection covered and this generated some conflicts, as the former also wanted to amass wealth for the development of its economy. Thus, Japan's activities were a threat to China. In spite of the differences, Japan's activities provided some awareness which served as a basis in the working of the 1955 Bandung conference.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Japan was a key factor in the evolution of Pan-Asianism. Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4 EVOLUTION OF AFRO-ASIAN RELATIONS

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous units served as a preamble for Afro-Asian relations at each continental level. You have been exposed to the reasons why both continents agitated against foreign domination. This unit serves as a background to Afro-Asian conferences, because before the 1955 Bandung Conference held in Indonesia there were processes to facilitate the meeting of the two continents through negotiations and familiarization. There were series of international conferences in which some nations in Africa and Asia participated prior to 1955.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The learning objectives of this unit are to enable you comprehend further the basis of Afro-Asian relations. At the end of the unit, you are expected to:

- i. attempt a discussion on the role of education in the sensitization of Africans and
Asians;
- ii. discuss the effects of the international conferences; and
- iii. identify some of the leaders at the vanguard of Afro-Asian meeting.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Evolution of Afro-Asian Relations

The resistance to colonial domination marked the beginning of different forms of reactions. The reactions came in form of associations, congresses and rebellions to consolidate and arouse the consciousness of peoples against oppression. Among Asian countries, the Indian National Congress was held in 1885 to advance a national sentiment against colonialism. There was also the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 in China and the Japanese victory against Russia in 1905. All these were avenues to ensure co-operation in order to attain the sovereignty of these nation states.

Though there were nationalist movements at the level of each nation state, the nature of colonialism did not allow for intra and inter-continental nationalism at the initial stage. The differences in the ideologies and values of colonisers as

operated in each nation-state affected the exposure of such nation-states in terms of development, be it on the social, political or economic levels. In other words, the resistance against colonialism was internal and vertical, it was rarely horizontal. Each nationalist effort occurred based on the prevailing circumstance. By the end of World War I, the need for consolidated relations among nation states gradually emerged. In the search for liberalization from colonialism, different nation-states followed varied ideologies, for instance, there was the tendency for most Asian states to follow the communist idea. China for example, adopted communism for its revolution. The idea of communist followership in Asia was dependent on the extent of their relations with Western ideology. Western ideology was capitalist in nature and exploitative. China became determined and radically adopted communism.

The initial meeting point of Africa and Asia had an intellectual undertone. The studentship of some African and Asian citizens in London and Paris marked the relations on a common ground. The fact that both continents were faced with colonial oppression and domination facilitated the exchange of ideas. The common saying that “all roads lead to Paris and London” could be used to describe the basis of Afro-Asian relations. Since Britain and France were the major colonialists, the capitals were centres for convergence of peoples from their colonies to acquire education. Studying in Paris and London exposed African and Asian elites to some intellectual political thought of Europe. For instance, the teachings of Karl Marx especially the ideas on socialism oriented the students. The

orientations changed the perception of both groups as against the western idea of capitalism which was then in operation in their respective countries. In Paris, communism was the common ideology that influenced Asian, Africa and West Indian students who later became nationalists in their countries. Some of whom were Felix Houphouet Boigny, Ho Chin Minh among others. In London, the London School of Economics was the centre of intellectualism where the likes of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta studied.

The second factor in the evolution of Afro-Asian relations was the rise to power of the Bolsheviks after World War I. The Congress of Eastern Peoples was held at Baku in 1922 to expand the frontiers of struggle against imperialism. However, internal rancour between some Asian leaders and the soviet communist party strained the relationship, but there was still a common ground against colonialism and imperialism. The activities of communists and the left radicals provided a basis for Afro-Asian meeting in Europe.

3.2 International Solidarity for Afro-Asian Meeting

To consolidate the meeting of African and Asian countries in Europe, the International Conference for World Peace was held at Bierville, France in 1926. Asian delegates were encouraged to submit a common memorandum to prepare a basis for advancing the cause against imperialism. An immediate congress was held at Brussels in 1927. It was organized by the Association of Oppressed Peoples. The association was a strong adherent of communism. Despite the

association's adherence to communism, it had the support of non-communist radicals in Berlin as well as the Mexican government through funding. The association felt that the Brussels conference would provide a real opportunity to bring together Afro-Asian leaders. At the conference, thirty-seven member countries were in attendance including Asian and African leaders. Jawaharlal Nehru, Ho Chi Minh, Muhammad Hattas, Madame Sun Yat-sen and Leopold Senghor were some of the delegates at the conference. It was the first Afro-Asian conference under the coordination of Europeans.

The contact was an opportunity for the peoples to better understand the problems and difficulties confronting each other. The determination was achieved as the delegates further had a common cause to fight. The Asian delegates were more determined to hold more of such conferences to realize their desires. The conference strengthened the level of cooperation to achieve independence. Hence, it formed the basis of Afro-Asian relations.

3.3 Effects of the Brussels Conference

The orientation created by the Brussels conference affected the ideologies of Afro-Asian leaders. It affected the political thought of Jawaharlal Nehru of India, as he combined nationalist's tendencies with socialism. The component of Nehru's thought was that African and Asian countries should relate and familiarize with the then Soviet Union that supported the struggle against imperialism.

The conference subsequently informed the actions of Afro-Asia in the fight against imperialism. The Belgium, France and Holland occupation of German territory during the World War II, and the fall of Great Britain in the war further reasserted the positions of Afro-Asia for the sovereignty of their respective nation states. The idea of white superiority was debunked and the ideas of freedom and equality arose in the minds of Africans and Asian. For Asians, Japanese technological breakthrough was an added advantage to consolidate their nationalists' stand, while for Africans the return of ex-service men that participated in the war and the freedom gained by French Africans served to energize the struggle for independence. The delegates that attended the Brussels conference did not relent on the pursuit of mass campaigns against colonialism and imperialism.

The most famous personality that emerged from the Brussels conference was Jawaharlal Nehru of India. As discussed earlier, even before the conference, India at the level of a nation-state had already set in motion its anti-colonial policies. From India, the struggles were not meant for Indians alone but encompassed a concept of internationalism in which freedom was meant for all human races. Thus, the Indian nationalists took interest in the nationalist movements of other countries. For instance, they demanded that the Turkish nation regain its status as a free and independent nation in 1922 and in Africa, it supported Egypt in the fight against foreign occupation of its land.

The developments in India served as a model for other countries in Asia

and Africa. The activities were felt by other nation states. Subsequently, what happened in India, occurred in other nations. Been a British colony, it was a model for other African and Asian countries under British control to plan their independence, especially Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, South East Asia and Africa. By 1947, India gained its independence. Indian independence was a major factor in the nationalists' agitations of other countries in Asia and Africa, especially the British colonies.

4.0 CONCLUSION

It is important for you to note that the necessity for Afro-Asian solidarity had international support. Through mass campaigns and opportunity to study abroad, Africans and Asians had the advantage of experiencing the symbolic advantages of sovereignty and independence. These experiences further informed the need for the meeting of the two continents to really deliberate on matters pertaining to both.

The activities of Jawaharlal Nehru of India boosted the chances of Afro-Africanism as he was a strong adherent of freedom for nations. In conjunction with countries like Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, India strategised means of encouraging nations in both continents of the need to meet. Nehru as a strong proponent of socialism believed that for the cause to successful, then, there should be persuasion against alignment neither with the East nor the West. Instead of alignment, the basis of Afro-Asian meeting was placed on the principle of

neutrality, to persuade nations already aligned to participate without ideological interference.

5.0 SUMMARY

There were series of campaigns and verbal condemnation of domination in various parts of the world beyond Asia and Africa. The processes of domination took different forms each century. India was more concerned and it held a congress as far back as 1885 to deliberate on inequality meted on the oppressed people. These and other forms of congresses led to other international conferences, which helped in recognising the voice of the oppressed in the world.

Indian public expressions against colonialism were part of the factors that aided Indian independence in 1947. Subsequently, India was in a better position to consolidate the first Afro-Asian conference, which the details shall be discussed within the next module.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Examine the roles of Jawaharlal Nehru of India as a facilitator in Afro-Asian solidarity.

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**MODULE 2: FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES IN AFRO-ASIAN
RELATIONS-BANDUNG CONFERENCE**

Unit 1 Afro-Asian Relations and the United Nations

Unit 2 Pre-Bandung Afro-Asian Relations and Resolutions

Unit 3 Objectives of the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference

Unit 4 Communiqué of the Bandung Conference

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7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Prior to the 1955 Afro-Asian conference, the rapport of the organizing countries with the UN informed some of the resolutions made before the conference. Their membership of the UN and resolutions already made on basic

rights of people among other UN resolutions were to be adopted as a backbone that will enable deliberations on issues to be discussed. These deliberations were necessary for the coordination of issues. The differences in loyalty of nation states in both continents to their colonial masters were part of the issues to be considered to determine the diplomatic moves to persuade countries to attend the conference.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, the student should be able to:

- (i) discuss the effects of colonialism on the ideologies of prospective countries before the Bandung conference; and
- (ii) identify the position of Afro-Asian nations at the UN Security Council.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Panchsheel

The term *Panchsheel* was drawn from a Buddhist legacy comprising five norms of behaviour. It could be described as part of Asian civilization that emphasis *Love, Kindness, Equality, Sacrifice and Peace*. Right from the time when Japan was at the core of Pan-Asianism, promotion of Asian civilization was part of the values it emphasized. The Panchsheel could also be described as part of Asian civilization which served as the basis of accord between China and India in preparation for the Bandung conference. It is the five principles of peaceful co-existence that guided Afro-Asian relations. It was accepted by other participants at the Bandung because it contained elements of non-alignment that envisaged

equality in world order.

The principles assisted in inter-state and international relations as it was meant for social transformation. It engendered the principles of *Sovereignty* and *territorial integrity*, non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs. *Equality* and *mutual benefit* are one of the most important principles which mostly challenged imperialism. By these principles, that is, equality and mutual benefit, no country had the right to exploit the resources of other country unjustly without favourable agreements.

The panchsheel was prepared against the Bandung conference. However, during deliberations at the conference, there were additions and amendments to include issues related to human rights, racism and decolonization. After fifty years of the Bandung conference, the panchsheel transformed into *Asian African Strategic Partnership* (AASP). Under the AASP, the issue of decolonization and racism had little emphasis. The AASP concentrated on *Self determination*, it recognized the fact that there are diverse social systems, but each country should uphold self determination as a key to development. Mutual benefits were further reiterated through the encouragement of bilateral and multilateral relations.

The panchsheel and the idea of multilateral relations regarded global and continental organizations such as Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), World Trade Organization (WTO), and UN and so on as relevant only in the sense of Panchsheel framework.

Unit I: Afro-Asian Relations and the United Nations

What were the issues at stake? Why was there the need for inter-continental relations? How could the interests of people be described? Mamadou Dia of Senegal described the issues binding Africa and Asia:

It is the consciousness of solidarity in poverty, the weakness of state services, the presence of all the elements characteristics of the underdevelopment that provide the most solid foundation for the new proletariat, officially constituted as the 'Third world'... It is the consciousness of economic inequality that gives birth to proletarian national sentiment, aligning the nations of Africa and Asia on the same battlefield against the West.

The fact that African and Asian nations were subjugated by the West and are continents that have been used for various acts of imperial experiments played a significant role in the formation of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO). Furthermore, William Du Bois at the first Pan-African Congress in 1900 declared that the fundamental issue is the problem of colour in relation to the lighter and darker races of men in Asia and Africa. The ideologies cut across each other as there were similitude that arose out of the same colonial experience.

For instance, Britain and France were the major colonial overlords and they provided or exposed their colonies to varying forms of elitism. Therefore, it became possible for a Nigerian and an Indian to have a common perspective as

they were both colonized by Britain. This was the same experience for those colonized by the French.

As at the period of the Bandung conference few members in the African and Asian continent were members of the United Nations. One of the resolutions of the Afro-Asian conference was to appeal to the Security Council to support the admission of states qualified for membership in line with the Charter. The Afro-Asian meeting regarded Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Libya, Nepal, Jordan and Vietnam as qualified. Based on the composition of the Security Council, by the 1950s, the Afro-Asian was not properly represented. It was believed that by representation in the Security Council there would be an opportunity to effectively participate in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Afro-Asian resolution to promote peace and security by being a member of the Security Council of the UN was to discourage the use of weapons which could lead to the outbreak of war. It aroused the attention of all nations to the dangers there in. The conference upheld the view that there should be disarmament and the prohibition of the production experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Hence, the conference saw it as a duty to uphold such view as service to humanity to avoid destruction of peoples and societies. To curb nation states that involved in the aforementioned, the Afro-Asian conference called for effective international control to implement the prohibition and disarmament. Furthermore, the conference called for total disarmament for the maintenance of world peace. This position was maintained by

Afro-Asian conference considering the fact that both continents were prone or subjected to as sites for experimentation with implications for oppression and underdevelopment.

Afro-Asian Declaration on Global Peace and Co-operation

The conference laid much emphasis on the issue of security in both continents as issues germane to development. It upheld that the concept of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. It therefore urged its member states to cooperate with the United Nations to reduce armaments and experimentation of nuclear weapons. To entrench its declarations on the rights to self determination which involved sovereignty and independence, the Afro-Asian meeting regarded the issue of security as a path that has to be tackled effectively. Thus, it anchored its whole process on the concept of peace and cooperation in affiliation with the United Nations. The principles regarded moral acts such as tolerance, good neighbourliness, confidence and goodwill towards each other as a way to development. In this light, the following principles were declared at the Bandung conference on global peace and cooperation:

- a. Respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all nations;
- b. Respect for fundamental human rights for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
- c. Recognition of the equality of all races and equality of all nations-large or small;

- d. Respect for the right of all nations to defend itself alone or collectively in line with the charter of the UN;
- e. Abstention from intervention in the internal affairs of African and Asian nation states;
- f. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers and from exerting pressures on other countries;
- g. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;
- h. Settlement of international disputes through negotiation, conciliation and arbitration in conformity with the charter of the UN;
- i. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation; and
- j. Respect for justice and international obligations.

Putting into practice the above principles, the Bandung conference was of the conviction that friendly cooperation ensuing will assist in promoting and maintaining international peace and security.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Since this unit is the first to be discussed in this module, we are in the process of discussing the preamble issues to the 1955 Bandung conference held in Indonesia. From the efforts made by the coordinating countries, it is obvious that it was an arduous task to elicit cooperation to ensure attendance for the conference.

To be in a neutral position, the UN resolutions were adopted as a framework to avoid alliance with the East or the West. This non-alliance was an instrument used to avoid conflicting ideologies during the conference, because a number of the participant countries were either for the west or East. Only few countries were non-aligned.

5.0 SUMMARY

The reasons why the coordinating countries accepted the United Nations resolutions was aimed at ensuring a peaceful execution of the 1955 conference. Though, each coordinating country had its own foreign policy which might have influenced its decisions, the UN resolutions were a diplomatic attempt to find a middle way between those aligned to the East on the one hand, and others, aligned to the West on the other. To this extent, UN resolutions served as templates upon which to deliberate, and reduced unnecessary bickering among participating countries.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Analyze the reasons why the UN resolutions were adopted in the preparation for the Bandung conference.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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Unit 2: Background Objectives of the Bandung Conference

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

To ensure the attendance of various countries, different issues were taken into consideration. Israel was excluded from attendance due to the hostilities with the Arab States over Palestine. The exclusion of Israel was the only guarantee to ensure the participation of Arabs. The invitation of China was met with controversy as there was skepticism about the communist character. In spite of the objection, India insisted by persuading others to allow Chinese participation, giving the assurance there will not be communist influence. During the conference, each of the participating countries presented a case.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

There are issues emanating from each country at the conference. At the end of the unit, you should be able:

- i. analyse the reasons for the conference;
- ii. identify evolving issues; and
- iii. discuss the objectives of the conference.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

PRE-BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN RELATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

It is pertinent to note that Asia as a continent lacked coherence as much as Africa. The circumstance for incoherence in each continent differed from the other. The nature of relations had almost reached the peak of war in Korea in June 1953, Indochina in April 1954 and the Formosa straits in 1954. This situation enhanced the US policy of making the non-communist nations of the world friendly to each other through US military pacts. This would give it the opportunity to combat any threat from the communist nations.

By implication, the US formed all sorts of alliances. To India, the consequence of the alliance was foresighted and not useful for peace and unity in Asia and by extension Africa, because it would further deepen crises in both continents and would not solve the problems of racialism and colonialism. The

position of the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles on the US Policy was not only the concern of India's Nehru, in addition, there was the expansion of colonialism of Communist China in South-East Asia. The Chinese colonialism gained prominence after the Vietminh victory at Dienbienphu in 1954 and the creation of Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Thus, the best option to maintain a balance was to apply diplomacy by establishing good relations with Communist China, China being a strong force in the continent to avoid the impending split designed by US policy. The Bandung Conference was seen as the best way to achieve desired result, which was meant to pull China out of isolation.

India and China

The position of India was quite timely as China though appeared radical in its communist policies had the aspirations to be friendly with other Asian countries. Furthermore, China was interested in a medium that will enable it assure non-Communist Asia of non-interference. The position of China was evident during Chou En-Lai's (Chinese Premier) visit to India in June 1954. The visitation also led to Chinese recognition of the Panchsheel (which was meant for peaceful coexistence in Asia as mentioned before).

The Panchsheel was used as a principal watchword that enabled the Bandung resolutions signed by Chou En-Lai and Nehru. They adopted peace as a strategy to reduce the possibility of war. Thus, Chinese-Indian relations could be described as a way of cooling the tensions in Asia and creating an enabling rapport

before the Bandung conference.

Afro-Asian Arabs

The situation of Arabs in both continents was quite complex and there were also internal political problems that affected their initial view and final resolution to attend the Bandung conference. The Secretary General of the Arab League- Abdul Khaliq Hassuna expressed the willingness of Arab-Asian and Arab-African states to attend after the meeting of the Arab League Council on December 12, 1954. Prior to this meeting, the Egyptian Foreign Ministers had already informed the Indian Ambassador in Cairo that they were not willing to attend the Bandung conference. The reason advanced was that once Israel was invited to participate, they are not interested. Although Egypt was discouraged from taking such stand, Egypt and other (Arab) countries were reserved a final answer. They initially refused to prevent the invitation of Israel and wished to put forth as their agenda the issue of Palestine, North Africa, racial discrimination and arms and atomic energy control.

Nehru of India had to visit Cairo in February 1955 to appeal to the Egyptian leaders. Nehru's visit to appeal was not all successful as the principles of the Panchsheel were not all acceptable to Egypt. Nehru had to unwillingly accept Egypt's insistence that the Palestinian issue be discussed at the Bandung conference.

The position of Egypt within the Arab-Asian and Arab-African was a central force that had the ability to take decisions without the need for foreign

intervention. Similarly, India in the Asian region became quite uneasy for Nehru to convince Nasser against his stand. Gamal Nasser of Egypt until the beginning of the Bandung conference refused to sign the Panchsheel (five principles of peaceful co-existence) insisting that he knew little about it and that Egypt and other Arab states already had their principles of revolution which inspired faith in independence. The position of Egypt could also be attached to its colonial past over the centuries, considering the fact that it was invaded and colonized by different nationalities.

A point of convergence between Nasser of Egypt and Nehru of India was the *Principle of Neutrality* which implied non-alignment to Western powers or Soviet Communism. However, other Arab countries – Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Libya, Sudan and Thailand and Philippines disliked the principle of neutrality. They argued that it was not in line with the UN Charter.

From indications, it could be adduced that, the opposing countries to the principles of neutrality were pro-Western groups who were urged by the United States to attend the Bandung Conference. The pro-Western groups in Africa and Asia attended the conference to defend western position. The consolidation of pro-Western group in Afro-Asia could be described as a drawback on the efforts of India and Egypt to build up solidarity between both continents irrespective of Western or Eastern affiliation. Before the Bandung Conference, the pro-Western group in Afro-Asia (Libya, Thailand, Philippines, Turkey, Pakistan and Iraq) gathered for a pre-meeting in Jakarta on their way to Bandung to consolidate their

opposing stand based on the view that the Panchsheel was Communist driven. In spite of the activities of the Pro-Western group, Chou En-Lai the Premier of China tried to maintain a balance by supporting the concept of solidarity as intended by India.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Chinese hegemony over some countries in the Asian continent was part of the major issues that evolved at the conference. This hegemony could be attached to the mode of Pan-Asianism practiced before 1950s. In an attempt to protect some Asian States such as Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia and so on from western imperialism, Chinese control became dominant. Some Arab nations expressed concern over Chinese domination because it might spread to other nations in the continent coupled with Soviet colonialism.

If not for the position taken by India for ensuring that there was proper regulation, the whole idea of the conference would have been dominated by East-West rivalry. What most of the nations were attempting to avoid were other forms of imperialism. To Egypt, India and Indonesia, all they aimed to achieve was not rivalry; rather they wanted some sort of relations through cooperation that could enhance political and economic development.

5.0 SUMMARY

According to the then President of Indonesia – Ahmad Sokarno, the whole essence of Afro-Asianism was the attainment of mutual understanding which

could be achieved through cooperation as upheld by Nehru of India. As if the coordinating countries knew that the East-West rivalry might take over the issues to be discussed at the conference, the UN resolutions were therefore adopted as a framework to reduce the fears of ideological domination.

‘Peace’ was a word adopted as a concept to express Afro-Asian position on the war between United States and China. This was the more reason why Nehru insisted on Chinese participation to persuade them away from involvement in the use of atomic bomb. The fears of other nations in Asia were the hazardous repercussion which could have been the outcome. Nehru of India and others could be described as successful in coordinating the conference because they tried to correct some anomalies that may be more detrimental to development in both continents.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Why was the concept of ‘Peace’ adopted as a watchword in the First Afro-Asian conference in 1955?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Kahin G.M. (1955), *Asian-African Conference* London: Kennikat Press.

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Unit 3: Chinese Diplomacy at the Bandung Conference

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

From the last unit, Chinese colonialism was part of the evolving issues. It was believed that Chinese attendance will further strengthen its aims of dominating some countries in the Asian region. On the contrary, China adopted some diplomatic strategies to ensure acceptability in the affairs of Afro-Asian countries. Despite the fact that China's foreign policy was not in line with that of the West, it had to adopt the stand of India by familiarizing with the UN fundamental principles of human rights.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The focal point in this unit is to comprehend the basis of Chinese adherence to and familiarization with fundamental resolutions of the United Nations. At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- i. analyze the basis of Chinese position at the Bandung conference;
- ii. discuss the Panchsheel; and
- iii. understand the character of UN resolutions on human rights.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

CHINESE DIPLOMACY AT THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE

To the surprise of the delegations at the Bandung conference, China familiarized itself with the UN fundamental principles on human rights. Furthermore, there came the support from China to the Arabs on the Palestinian issue. It could be recalled that Egypt insisted that; if Arabs were to attend the conference, the Palestinian question had to be discussed. India was reluctant initially, but it urged that the Afro-Asian solidarity adopt a moderate stand while China advanced a more radical stand. China was of the view that there could be peace without the intervention of external forces. This view of China was in line with the stand of Arab delegates at the conference.

The Ceylonese Prime Minister – Sir John Koteawala, who was one of the organizers of the conference, came up with a call that all colonial powers within the Afro-Asian region should free the remaining colonies within a decade. Since Nehru of India was trying to take a moderate stand on all issues, he discouraged Ceylonese Prime Minister from making such call to avoid conflicts: From indications, the call made by Koteawala was referring to Chinese colonialism. In addendum, Muhammad Ali from Pakistan further buttressed the fact that; it was

not fair to condemn French colonialism and other forms of colonialism meted on the region externally without condemning the internal one. However, they maintained a moderate stand that China was not imperialistic; rather their views were a critique of soviet imperialism.

The Iranian experience further aggravated the question of soviet imperialism, considering the fact that it witnessed subjugation and subversion from the Stalinists' approach in the 1940s. There was the fear that countries might continue to appear within the Afro-Asian region with these tendencies. To avert the divisive attitudes of the delegates on the question of communist's imperialism; Nehru of India came up with a definition of colonialism within the jurisdiction of the conference. He regarded the countries of Eastern Europe as non-colonial within the conference's consideration. This was done to stop further debate and expression of grievances. A sub-committee was set up including – Burma, China, Ceylon, Lebanon, India, Philippines, Syria, Pakistan and Turkey to work on the definition of colonialism to educate the conference.

This was done to maintain a balance and at the same time to ensure that Chinese participation was sustained considering the fact that it was a central power to reckon within both regions, Asia in particular. Yet, it remained difficult to clear the mistrust that non-communists nation-states had against communist states. China came up with a diplomatic defense mechanism by advancing Nehru's five principles of co-existence to ensure that there was no division, while it holds a central position. To reduce the tension and disagreements, China attempted to

solve the conflicts between India and Western aligned states. He canvassed the principle of peace to bridge the gaps using the slogan-*living together in peace*. China however added that not all states could agree to all the peace resolutions, but there could be addition, subtraction and adaptation to satisfy the delegates.

In view of this, China came up with seven principles for the conference's consideration. The principles were meant to reduce tension and promote international cooperation. China added the five principles onto its seven principles, emphasizing the concepts of sovereignty and territorial integrity to reduce tension among its neighbours who feared communists' imperialism. China also set out to engage in peaceful border settlement to allay the fears of the neighbouring nation-states, especially Thailand and Philippines. China resorted not to use aggression or direct threats against them. Thus, China promised to welcome a visit from Thailand and Philippines Prime Minister to ascertain whether the border settlement would be implemented not on all the Chinese coastal regions.

To Cambodia and Laos, China emphasized the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of both nation-states. In addition, Chou-En-Lai-Chinese Prime Minister called for racial equality and non-discrimination to ensure equality of all nations. China stated these principles to ensure good relations with the communists and non-communists in Afro-Asia to avoid being isolated in the region in which it belonged.

The question of military pacts was also addressed by Chou-En-Lai. These included those of NATO and SEATO, which China was against because of the

high probability to cause war. And that it was detrimental to the concept of peace and cooperation. Finally, the tension between China and United States was doused as China came up with the idea of settling international disputes by peaceful means. According to China, this was done to avoid war. To the delegates, the tone of China's declarations assured their belief that communist China was conciliatory and prepared to avoid war with United States.

The task of defining colonialism which had earlier sufficed was revisited. The sub-committee still found it difficult to define colonialism. Chou-En-Lai refused to accept the definition that colonialism in all its forms be eradicated. If China agreed to such definition, it meant that it would be running down soviet colonialism. This position almost led to a distortion of all the efforts made on the form promoting peace in both continents. To solve the ensuing conflicts; China used a word **manifestation** to replace **forms**. That is; colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil which should be brought to an end. Hence Chou-En-Lai was able to maintain the reputation of being able to reason and this won China a great standing within Afro-Asia.

The imminent war between China and United States was avoided. The conference performed the educational role of instilling morals into China to attempt negotiation instead of force. This made China which was perceived as awkward in its policies, to be accepted to other member states

4.0 CONCLUSION

China added its own principles to the Panchsheel which emphasized five principles of peaceful co-existence. However, there were disagreements in respect of the activities of China and the real definition of colonialism. It was quite difficult to compromise on a definition. There is no doubt about the fact that China was tempted to colonise the surrounding countries in its region. This act could be ascribed to the idea of new Pan-Asianism that evolved after the fall of Japanese Pan-Asianism. Chinese attempt was similar to that of Japan, because of the bid to rise as a strong power in the region.

The diplomatic moderation attempted by China was to ensure that it was accepted among the Afro-Asian nations which could subsequently serve as a lead way to improve its economy. Specifically, China adopted this moderation to ensure that it had access to Africa.

5.0 SUMMARY

Part of the evolving issues at the conference was expanding Chinese colonialism and the need to address it. Most countries in Arabia and Asia openly condemned the act as it was against the UN resolutions and it would not help in solving the other problems, if it were to be tolerated within the Asian region. In an attempt to garner recognition and for purposeful future economic ambitions, China adopted a moderate stand at the Bandung Conference.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Assess Chinese diplomacy at the 1955 Bandung Conference.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4: COMMUNIQUE: RESOLUTIONS OF THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The events that occurred at the Bandung conference have been discussed in the last three units. The communiqué issued at the conference is the focus in this unit. A cursory look at the emerging issues at the conference showed that there were views of convergences and discrepancies. Chinese colonialism was a major issue that was well expressed, but in spite of the criticisms, there was a moderate cause that enabled resolutions at the conference.

The resolutions encompassed issues that required meaningful cooperation

between the continents. As you will observe in this unit the resolutions were more like guiding principles for sustainable cooperation in future.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you are expected to have a holistic view of the Bandung conference. You should be able to:

- i. identify areas of cooperation;
- ii. analyse the strategies to be used as instruments against colonialism; and
- iii. explain the position of Afro-Asian relations on conflict issues.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

COMMUNIQUE: RESOLUTION OF THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE

The problems of common interest were the issues deliberated at the conference held at Bandung, Indonesia from 18th to 24th April, 1955. Twenty four countries participated apart from the organizers – Ceylon, India, Burma and Indonesia. The Asian countries that were in attendance were Afghanistan, People's Republic of China, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Cambodia, Nepal, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, State of Vietnam and Yemen. For the African states, there were in attendance – Liberia, Libya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Sudan and Egypt.

The communiqué at the end of the conference was centred on the issues of cooperation to attain meaningful development. It recognized the need to promote economic development in both continents. The need for economic development was borne out of the desire for mutual interest and attainment of sovereignty. The economic cooperation was meant for development within the continents, but the

conference resolved on the fact that economic assistance outside the regions was recognizable and it was relevant for the development of the countries once it would not infringe on fundamental human rights and the sovereignty of the states.

Second, cultural promotion was resolved as another way to development in the continents. For the fact that Asia and Africa were the cradle of great civilizations was recognized as a point of integration. The series of invasions had affected past cultures and civilizations. Hence, the communiqué emphasised the need to renew old cultural contacts and reintegrate them into the modern societies that were created by colonialism. To foster Afro-Asian relations, there was determination for closer cooperation to promote culture.

It is pertinent to note that the influence of colonialism had deprived people of their fundamental human rights, especially those related to culture. For instance, countries that were colonized by France in Asia and Africa; such as Algeria, Morocco, Senegal, Cote de Ivoire and Tunisia were debarred from studying their languages and cultures. French culture was promoted in these colonies and the elite were made French citizens. The conference deliberated that this was affecting their cultural heritage and advancement.

The conference also declared its support for the UN charter on human rights. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights was recognized as relevant to the promotion of African and Asian continent. Racial segregation and discrimination was particularly held on by the conference to address the problems in places like South Africa. The problem of racism was recognized as a major

deterrence to development. The conference supported the principles of self determination as stated in the charter of the United Nations and it took cognizance of the UN resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self determination. The Afro-Asian Bandung conference associated with this declaration was to entrench the fundamental human rights of the citizens of both continents.

The reasons for Afro-Asian familiarization with the UN resolutions on human rights were mainly because of Africa. In most parts of Africa, there were instances of discrimination, denial and segregation which had affected the rate of development. Specifically, Bandung conference engendered its support for the victims of denial and discrimination who were of African, Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa. The Afro-Asian resolution was thus to address all forms of moral act and to guard against all forms of discrimination beyond South Africa.

The Bandung conference also declared that colonialism in all forms should be stamped out in all Afro-Asian states. To stop these, the UN resolution on fundamental human rights was used as an instrument to resist the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation and exploitation. To achieve decolonisation, the conference resolved to call on the concerned powers to grant independence. Considering the fact that India had earlier got its independence in 1947 the fight against colonialism became more strengthened. The nature of French colonialism in North African countries of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco was a matter of concern. The peoples of the aforementioned countries were denied the right to self determination. By the practice of French colonialism, citizens were usually not

allowed to value their culture and other perspectives to life; rather the totality of French culture was imposed on the peoples. There was also a sort of class differentiation among French Africans. There were the nobles and the masses. The nobles were French Africans that had the opportunity to study in France and they were elevated and given consideration in the society.

Apart from colonialism and the concern for French North Africa, the Palestinian question remained a point of concern. The problem between the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine which dates back to 1948 was deliberated upon as early as 1955 in the Bandung conference. The conference declared its support for the rights of the Arabs in Palestine, by demanding for the implementation of UN resolutions on Palestine to resolve the Palestinian question. The conference also urged the government of Netherlands to revisit the negotiations with Indonesia in the bid to stop colonialism. An agreement was earlier reached between Indonesia and Netherlands. The Bandung conference strongly supported Indonesia by calling on United Nations to assist in settling the dispute without compromising the stand of Indonesia. So did the Bandung conference treated other issues that had to do with denial.

The communiqué covered all aspects of human existence concerning commonality of interests among Africans and Asians which set in motion different forms of cooperation. Although changes over time might have redefined the nature of cooperation or concentrated in one sector of development, but the Bandung conference still remained a framework which set both continents on the same

pedestal of thought on the idea of development. Both groups actually consisted of peoples that had been subjugated in one way or the other through colonialism, imperialism and racism.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The assemblage of countries in both continents in 1955 could be described as timely when viewed from the global events that occurred. The word ‘co-existence’ was emphasised by Nehru of India as the key to sustain the areas identified for cooperation.

The nations declared that in ensuring working cooperation, the co-existence entailed the respect of national sovereignty and integrity of each other. This implied that there would not be interference in internal affairs and there shall be absolute refrain from acts of threat and aggression. Apart from the issue of securing sovereignty, it was agreed that racism practised in South Africa should be highlighted at the UN, to ensure equality for all.

5.0 SUMMARY

From the conclusion, four key resolutions emerged; sovereignty, security, equality and cooperation. Much of the deliberations dwelt on these issues. The hallmark of the conference was to ensure that development in both continents was meaningful. The fears expressed in terms of threat and aggression was understandable because of Chinese rivalry with US. The issue of sovereignty had to do with the expanding Chinese colonialism within the Asian region. The

problem of racism in South Africa was adopted as an integral part of the challenges which Afro-Asianism had to tackle. Through the speeches of Nehru, it was very obvious that there were other problems to be solved to ensure cooperation which constituted part of India's foreign policy. The position of India was similar to those of Egypt, Indonesia, and even China and Japan that wanted to develop their economies.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

In your own view, how can you explain the resolutions for cooperation at the Bandung conference?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Kahin G.M. (1955), *Asian-African Conference*, London: Kennikat Press.

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MODULE 3: POLITICAL COOPERATION

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

If you have carefully studied the last module, you will discover that there were emerging issues that needed further treatment in Afro-Asian affairs. Since it was agreed that there was the need for cooperation, it became imperative for agreements that would facilitate implementation. The UN principles were continuously courted as means of solving political challenges.

To further consolidate moves towards implementation, another conference was held at Cairo in Egypt. Hence, a question to bother your mind is what purpose was the Cairo Conference meant for and what did it eventually achieve?

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to juxtapose the Cairo and Bandung conferences. You are expected to be able to:

- i. identify the preponderant issues;
- ii. analyse the reasons for the Cairo conference; and
- iii. discuss the events and objectives.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 POLITICAL COOPERATION

Post-Bandung Afro-Asian Affairs

The problems of the subjection of the peoples of both continents to colonialism, exploitation and domination were issues of concern in political cooperation. In both continents, these problems occurred in one way or the other. These were part of the issues behind the Bandung conference. However, the Bandung conference could not lead to much alliance to practically solve the problems; rather the call for another major conference was seen as a way out to consolidate the moves towards political cooperation. The Cairo conference became imminent, although the thoughts of largely incorporating Africa in the political cooperation came from Asia.

The situation of Palestine was introduced to educate participants at Bandung on the need to forestall it. A mistake made by the meeting at Bandung

was the call for UN resolutions. Probably, it would have been fairer if both continents mapped out strategies that were internally driven to solve the Palestinian Question during that period before its escalation till contemporary times. Apart from the Palestinian Question, there were others such as the West Iranian problem (Netherlands and Indonesia), Peaceful Settlement of Disputes in Aden and Yemen.

3.2 Representation in the United Nations

The fact that the constitution of United Nations emphasised that membership should be universal was taken as an opportunity by Africa and Asia to use the Bandung conference to present a case to the Security Council to admit states that are qualified for membership based on the Charter. Countries such as Ceylon, Cambodia, Jordan, Japan, Nepal, Libya and Vietnam were qualified in 1955.

The basis for the call for representation was on the principles of geographical distribution. It was the belief of Afro-Asia that the involvement of the qualified countries would enhance effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. The emphasis of international peace and security was borne out of the imminent threat to human existence that could be caused by a global war. At that time, there was international tension on the destructive effects of the use of armaments – nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The concern was majorly due to the fact that Africa and Asia were vulnerable to being used as

continents for experimentation and the fact that both were groping with the problems of colonialism further created tension.

Furthermore, the representation in the UN was aimed as an avenue to preach peace and international prohibition of weapons. While they were attempting to ensure integration between and among countries in the continents, external relations with the UN was seen as a way of solving the problems of dependence. That is, until the qualified countries were well represented, it was then that the right to self determination could properly take its roots.

3.3 Cairo Conference

By the membership composition of the Bandung Conference held in April 1955, it was obvious that Africa's participation was not as overwhelming as that of Asia. Most of the representations were from North Africa. It involved mostly Arab-Africans. Considering the resolutions that the levels of cooperation should continue to be participatory, there came the need to involve other sub-regions in Africa. By December 1956, the Asian solidarity meeting deliberated on the possibilities of including other parts of Africa. It was decided that, to fully involve other Africans in Afro-Asian political cooperation a conference should be held in Africa. Egypt was marked to be persuaded and implored to hold the conference. This was due to its experience at the Bandung conference.

To implement this, some delegates from India, China, Soviet Union, Indonesia and Japan visited Egypt in February 1957. The delegates met the

Egyptian President to discuss the conference and its necessity, to consolidate the resolutions on political cooperation from the Bandung conference. The conference attracted global attention as it was mainly criticised as communist-driven and that it was not a follow-up of Bandung resolutions. However, internal views about the conference from Asia and Africa regarded it, as the conference of people seeking cooperation for peace, prosperity and welfare of humanity.

By the visit of Asian delegates, Egypt accepted to host the conference. The conference opened on 26th December 1957. The inaugural speech was delivered by Anwar Sadat of Egypt at the Cairo University Auditorium. The conference composed of countries that had gained liberty and those under colonialism but struggling fervently to attain freedom. By its composition, it was more of peoples' conference which was opened to all, including individuals concerned for the development of both continents. Some of the delegates were already outlawed by their countries but their personal quest for freedom accounted for their attendance at the conference. Examples included; Gidi Quadri (a Nigerian delegate), Hassan Warris (an exile from Kenya), Muhammed al-Harisi (from Oman), Shafik Rashidat from Jordan (a former cabinet minister who became a political exile in Cairo), extending to about 500. Among the countries that officially attended were Ghana, Sudan, Syria, Soviet Union, Communist China, North Vietnam, North Korea, Indonesia, Egypt and Mongolia.

An inherent problem which arose was the composition of the conference as it had official and unofficial representation; in spite of this, the organising

committee proceeded to allow the unofficial representation since it was a conference meant for everyone's well-being. Thus, the Cairo conference could be described as popular. This was corroborated in Anwar Sadat's opening speech that described the conference as for the people, and meant to promote the Bandung spirit on one hand, and to move a step further to concentrate on the challenges of colonialism and imperialism.

The participation of Soviet Union provided alternative source of aid for Afro-Asia. Russia came up with the offer of help without any strings attached through the International Economics Institute at the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. The offer stipulated that both continents need not change governments, join any bloc or change its internal or foreign policies, rather their concern was to ensure development. Similarly, Soviet Union expressed the need to assist and ensure mutual advantageous economic relations without interfering in the affairs of Africa and Asian countries. The position of the Soviet Union was presented by Sharat Rashidat at the political commission of the conference.

A point to note at the Cairo conference was, unlike the Bandung conference; the delegates defined peace subject to conditions. That is, for Africa and Asia to stand on the preservation of peace, imperialism in all its ramifications should be abolished. Imperialism was condemned as an evil that was contrary to the provisions of the UN Charter on fundamental human rights. It could be described as an impediment to attain the development of peace and international cooperation. On this basis, the reaction at the conference was that Asia and Africa

would be a party to the UN Charter on fundamental human rights, if imperialism in all its forms were eliminated. Thus, the bane of imperialism was tackled and it was condemned to terminate in Cameroon, Kenya, Uganda, Chad, Togo, Madagascar, Yemen, Indonesia, Korea, Vietnam, Palestine, Somalia, Algeria and so on. This was the political resolution. In relative terms, the political resolution was a prerequisite for economic independence. To consolidate the political resolutions it was agreed that there should be an organisation to be saddled with the responsibility of the following:

- To implement and put into practice the resolutions and recommendations of the conference;
- To promote and strengthen the common grounds in Afro-Asian political cooperation; and
- To act as a permanent link among countries in both continents.

This organisation became Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. Each country was to be represented.

Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement

This movement could be described as the first major attempt by both continents to uplift political cooperation. The movement was to accommodate a delegate from each country and its meeting convened annually. The permanent secretariat had Secretary General and ten secretaries since Cairo held the

conference, the first meeting of the movement was held at Cairo which also was the headquarters. The secretaries were drawn from Cameroon, China, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Syria, Sudan and USSR. This organisation attempted cogent steps to strengthen the resolutions on political cooperation as acclaimed at the Cairo conference.

The Afro-Asian movement was very active in formulating the conference resolutions. It tilted towards anti-Western ideologies to practically liberate African and Asian countries from the vestiges of colonialism and imperialism. The movement assisted in uniting groups in Africa and providing awareness to have a common African voice. Egypt being at the centre of Afro-Asian movement adopted an activist foreign policy towards the integration of the African continents. Thus, President Abdul Nasser's philosophy was revolutionary as it perceived the campaign against colonialism as the only way out for African independence. It is important to note that at this period there were three forms of alignments in Africa-the Cassablanca group, Monrovia group and the Brazzaville group. The influence of colonialism had much impact on these forms of alignment and it was a hindrance to ensuring integration.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The idea of the Cairo conference came up as a true reflection of the

resolution on equality as emphasised in Bandung conference. But, some of the problematic issues raised in Bandung persisted without clear cut solutions, though there were moves aimed towards implementation. The agitation for representation in the UN by independent nations in both continents did not really succeed.

The decision to hold the Cairo conference was meant to open up participation from other countries in Africa. In spite of this, awareness and sensitisation was mostly the success achieved, some of the problems persisted till contemporary times. The sensitisation assisted the countries under colonial rule to achieve independence.

5.0 SUMMARY

The strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity constituted the immediate post-Bandung affairs. However, there was the fear that the Cairo conference was communist-driven, but the situation in Africa at that time demanded some radical approach which the Bandung conference in alliance with UN principles could not solve. In other words, the Bandung approach was moderate, while that of Cairo was radical. You should not be surprised by the radical outlook of Cairo conference, because Africa suffered mostly from the problems of colonialism and discrimination. The problems made participants at Cairo to tacitly ignore the UN principles to come up with an Afro-Asian way of confronting the challenges. Subsequently, a number of Asian countries embarked on diplomatic political relations with mostly African countries.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Differentiate between the resolutions made at the Bandung and Cairo conferences.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2 AFRO-ASIAN RELATIONS AND AFRICAN INTEGRATION

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Before the emergence of Afro-Asian solidarity most of the agitations in Afro-Asianism had earlier been advanced in Pan-Africanism. On the part of Africa, Pan-Africanism had been in existence and it emphasised decolonisation and self-rule for development. Unlike Pan-Asianism, Pan-Africanism had no country at the centre controlling its activities; rather there were individuals from each African state at the vanguard of decolonisation; hence, the relationship between Afro-Asianism and African integration. This relationship could also be described as the responses of African states to Afro-Asianism in their processes of integration.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- i. discuss the Principle of Non-alignment in African integration process;
- ii. compare the ideals of Pan-Africanism and Afro-Asian resolutions; and
- iii. analyse Tanzania's foreign policy.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 African Integration

Initially, the Afro-Asian setup had Africans in the minority. Africans were represented minimally at the 1955 Bandung conference. Most of the African countries present were basically of the Arab race. The African-Arabs had two identities, and the cooperation which had been between it, and non-African Arabs accounted for their participation in the Afro-Asian conference in 1955. Moreover, most states in Africa had not got independence. The independence of African states came shortly before and after 1960.

Even before the need for independence, there had been a kind of cooperation in Africa when compared to Asia. Pan-Africanism was already a phenomenon and a watchword in nationalistic pursuits for each territory in Africa. However, in Asia, the fact that there were plural nationalisms among Indians,

Chinese, Japanese and so on accounted for the anxiety of the need for Asianism.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the exposure to Western education of the likes of Jomo Kenyatta and Nnamdi Azikiwe had led to Pan-African activities. Thus, there was African identity on common grounds. Pan-Africanism activities were parallel to Afro-Asian activities in the 1960s. Though it may be argued that the activities appeared parallel but they had philosophical influence on each other. For instance, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement held in 1957 was followed by the first Conference of Independent African States held in Accra in 1958.

Conference of Independent African States in 1958 actually appeared as a meeting of Pan-African personalities who had achieved their goals, but they could not but disregard the ideals of Afro-Asian much as they were parallel, in terms of solidarity the philosophies were more or less the same. The Afro-Asian ideals were recognised by the likes of Kwame Nkrumah as a way of ensuring solution to African problems, there was the fear that other parts of Africa except North Africa could not exist in isolation in the world. However, they (African leaders) failed to associate wholeheartedly; they posited that African problems could be tackled in the African way.

The All African Peoples Congress held in Accra reached a consensus that Mahatma Gandhi's tactics and strategy would be used because it was non-violent in nature. The sole aim was to unite and promote a common understanding in Africa. The efforts were relatively futile as the cold war conflicts affected Africa

as well as the Congo crisis. The issue of racism in South Africa also remained questionable, besides the association of African countries mainly into Casablanca and Monrovia groups. All these conflicts and ideological differences could not allow a United States of Africa to emerge. The stand of Nkrumah that Africa's problem could be solved in the African way did not really work out, it was dawned that Africa cannot be absolutely isolationist. In spite of these limitations, majority of African leaders preferred a policy of non-aligned policy in which they neither belonged to the Western bloc nor the Eastern bloc. By implication, it meant that African countries avoided issues that were not theirs.

The policy of non-alignment influenced the relationship between African countries and Afro-Asian movement. They considered themselves as part of Afro-Asian solidarity but they upheld the non-align policy. This stand was taken more so that the Afro-Asian solidarity was getting dearer to communism.

Tanzania's Approach in Afro-Asian Solidarity

The ideological differences in Africa which led to the Casablanca, Monrovia and Brazzaville groupings left out Tanzania. Tanzania did not affiliate with any of these groups. Its foreign policy within Africa was more militant and radical. The position of Tanzania started off with Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) formed in 1954. The strategy used by the party was to internally seek for support and assistance from the rural areas. They operated outside of world politics. Following Tanzanian independence in 1961, emphasis was devoted

to Africanisation in all ramifications. This implied that they adopted a foreign policy devoted to African issues encompassing the liberation of Africa.

Tanzania's foreign policy assisted in presenting the African case without fear. For the apartheid in South Africa, Julius Nyerere (President) and Oscar Kambona (Foreign Minister) associated with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. It was believed that their relations with the movement could assist in solving the problem of racism. Thus, Tanzania offered to host the assembly in 1963. This offer was assisted by the role which India had earlier played in presenting Tanzania's case for independence in the UN Trusteeship Council and which eventually succeeded. This success was part of the reasons which formed the basis for Tanzania's recognition of Gandhi's strategy and Nehru's policies. The Bandung Declarations were also recognized by Tanzania because it was associated with India's ideology. The relations explored by Tanzania enhanced support for the decolonization of non-independent territories in Africa. But, the involvement of Tanzania in the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement was short. It was so because Tanzania's principle of not aligning with the East nor the West could not hold if it continued with the movement. Tanzania continuously upheld the principle of non-alignment. Within Tanzania, this principle was practiced as it welcomed China, Canada, Israel, Western Germany and France at one time or the other in the 1970s to assist in development projects. Of these nations, China was mostly predominant.

China was predominant because of its internal policy on the principle of

self-reliance, which was in line with TANU's objectives. The Chinese policies of developing its economy through the rural masses informed Nyerere's **Arusha Declaration** which entailed developing local resources through local efforts to raise the standard of living of Tanzanians. This policy succeeded as local industries were modernized and exportation increased.

From the operations of Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, it became evident that it had communist undertone due to the influence of Soviet Union and Russia at the Cairo Conference. It was also anti-Western, though there were Western elements from the Arab nations right from the Bandung conference. These leanings of Afro-Asia Solidarity Movement discouraged the participation of Tanzania and other African countries. Moreover, the Sino-Indian conflict – that was mainly leadership tussle between China and India and the Sino-Soviet conflicts further demeaned the concept of Afro-Asian.

This strengthened Africa's position on non-alignment. African leaders though did not expressly request for aid to improve the economy, but they unanimously agreed that there was the need for self-government for African nations and subsequently, a United States for Africa. Given the conflicts in Asia and the politics of alignment with the East or West blocs, African nations tacitly withdrew from Afro-Asian activities and concentrated on African unity. The Organisation of African Unity came into existence in 1963 as an alternative to Afro-Asianism. By the declarations of the Bandung conference, the African withdrawal from Afro-Asianism was a natural phenomenon because the

declarations were part of what could fulfill Africa as a separate continent.

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the Cairo conference, it could be observed that communism had much influence on the deliberations at the conference. In fact, it was criticised to have been communist driven in the first instance, a further criticism was that it was too sudden after the Bandung conference, though the organizers argued that there was the need to encourage Africans to participate by holding the conference in Egypt (Africa). Whatever was the case, the drive towards communism indirectly informed the decisions of African states to uphold the principle of non-alignment.

5.0 SUMMARY

Ghana was one of the countries that attained independence before 1960. It was the belief of some of the visionary leaders in Africa at the vanguard of nationalism that African problems and challenges be confronted and solved in the African way. This position was meant to avert either the capitalist influence from Western Europe or communist influence from Eastern Europe. The principles of non-alignment as it was in Mahatma Gandhi's strategy were adopted as a framework of Afro-Asian declarations. Specifically, Tanzania became more radical in the practice of the principle of non-alignment to achieve domestic and foreign objectives.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Examine the Principle of Non-alignment in Africa in relation to Afro-Asian Solidarity.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 3 AFRO-INDIA POLITICAL RELATIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Apart from the declarations in Afro-Asian Bandung Conference, if any country was less interested in Africa, India was an exception. Having gained independence in 1947 through its own beliefs and aspirations, India perceived most nations in Africa as partners in development required to assist and be assisted in the existence of Bandung Conference in the first instance.

In addition, the last Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in 1945 was a source of enlightenment for African countries to relate with countries of the third world including Asia. Thus, the focus of this unit is to examine the Indo-African political cooperation.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- i. analyse the different forms of diplomatic relations;
- ii. discuss the reasons why India is enthusiastic about Africa; and
- iii. identify the social development that occurred in the political relations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Afro-India Political Relations

Two factors enhanced Afro-India socio-political relations. The influence of Pan-African Congress held in 1945 was an eye opener to the need for partnership with other countries in the third world. In Africa, part of the conclusions was to relate with Asia in order to enhance the attainment of self-government. For Asia, especially India, there was the interest to establish cooperation with Africa. India was at a vantage position as it attained its independence in 1947. This mutuality of purpose enhanced the level of political cooperation. The role of India in the holding of the Bandung conference and the extension of fellowship to Africa especially the north, set a pace that further transformed for the benefit of both.

The first sign of political cooperation was India's concern for the Arabs and the Palestinian cause. It condemned Israel's aggressive expansion on Arab land. It considered the insistence of Israeli's occupation of Arab land as threat to peace in the region. As if India had a foresight, the Arab-Israeli conflict lingers till contemporary times. The Arab countries of Africa found it comfortable to

associate with India based on its concern for their cause. This relation made it possible for the establishment of Arab League's office in New Delhi, India. The position of India in the support of Afro-Arab and Arab Asia infuriated Jews all over the world and it was considered that the Jews embarked on hostility with the government of India. This was also due to the fact that India was the only non-Arab country that granted diplomatic recognition to the Arab League. At a point, Israel attempted to seek India's recognition by visiting India to celebrate its independence, but it was not granted. The refusal of India to grant Israel diplomatic recognition was due to the Jewish occupation of Arab land and the closure of the Suez Canal in Egypt. India facilitated efforts towards the opening of the Suez Canal under the control of Egypt.

As advanced by Julius Nyerere of Tanzania that African problems be solved in African way, India supported the idea since the internal structure of each society differed. For instance, there were different cultures and religious affiliations. The position of India that African problems should be solved in the African way was as a result of disputes that ravaged the continent in the 1960s. The series of secession problems in Ethiopia, Zaire, Chad, Sudan and Nigeria were described by India as a threat to peace in the continent. Thus, India appealed that for those problems to be solved, peaceful negotiations was a way out without external interference. India supported the liberation movements in various parts of Africa. This was done through moral and material support.

The formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African

Union (AU) on May 25, 1963 was as a result of the series of Afro-Asian conferences which India had been one of the prime movers. This made African countries accord much recognition to India. At the formative stage of the OAU, a team led by the then Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, John Molecela paid a visit to Indira Gandhi (Indian Prime Minister) in March 1975 to discuss on the organisation's progress and to express gratitude on the role of Jawaharlal Nehru on the issue of apartheid in South Africa, as well as the inspirations of Mahatma Gandhi on the ways to achieving liberation. It was at the meeting that the OAU sought the technical assistance of Indian technocrats (e.g. doctors, engineers) to assist the Portuguese colonies in Africa prepare for independence. The assistance was sought to replace Portuguese technocrats that deserted Angola and Mozambique due to the fear that they might witness retaliation for their misdeeds.

It is important to note that the Principle of Non-alignment adopted by Africa assisted it in gaining support from India, since India was also a Non-aligned nation. This facilitated the relationship between the Non-aligned Movement and Africa through regular consultations at all levels. In fact, this relationship became important for developing countries to thrive in the United Nations. On the issue of racism, the Principle of Non-alignment assisted in tackling the problem of apartheid in South Africa. As Africa's population in the UN was significant, the Principle of Non-alignment also remained so and it was respected by India that belonged to a continent ravaged by different forms of alignment.

To consolidate the relations, India initiated the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for

International Understanding to be given to visionary leaders of Africa. The first African to receive the award was Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia on January 25, 1975. Subsequently, South African Nelson Mandela was awarded despite the fact that he was in jail due to his struggle for freedom. In addition, were Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. These awards were given for the roles of these leaders in the processes of liberation in Africa. On the part of India as noted by President Sanjeeva Reddy the award was a reiteration of India's unflinching support to the African people in their fight against apartheid, racialism and colonialism.

To further strengthen these relations, India established its commercial and consular relations with the independent countries of Africa. Indian consular offices existed in Malawi, Morocco, Mauritius, Madagascar, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Libya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Seychelles, Tunisia, Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe among others. In return, some of the African countries established diplomatic missions in India. This development became a foundation that facilitated economic cooperation. Through the 1980s, the level of cooperation between India and Africa was largely political. It was at this period that economic cooperation gradually took its turn.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Until the 1980s, Indian's political relations with Africa appeared largely

diplomatic in the area of giving philosophical support to the cause of decolonisation. India's foreign policy was characterised as such. A careful look at the relations showed that there was no real transfer of Indian governing systems into Africa, but the ideas of its visionary leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and the Buddhist legacy of the *Panchsheel* were well publicised as a philosophy for self-reliance of nations in the Third World. Much as India supported the view that Africans could solve their problems in their own way, the liberation struggles were not left alone. It supported the liberation movements in South Africa, Angola and so on with arms to assist in the fight for self rule.

5.0 SUMMARY

The bulk of political cooperation between India and Africa until the 1980s centred on support for the struggle for independence, nation-building and self-reliance. It supported Angola and Mozambique in the task of nation-building and self-reliance during the period when the Portuguese experts, namely, doctors, engineers, teachers and so on departed. To improve the socio-political relations, the 25th of May of every year was celebrated as African Day in New Delhi as a display of solidarity.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Attempt an explicit explanation of India's policy in the political

development of Africa.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4 SINO-AFRICAN POLITICAL RELATIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Of the countries in Asia, three are the most prominent in relations with Africa. These are Japan, India and China. In the last unit, we discussed African political relations with India. In this unit, we shall be attempting an explanation of Chinese relations with Africa. Initially, China had a wrong perception of Africa. They felt that the communist idea could work as a Chinese transfer of political culture to Africa, but this actually failed. In spite of the fact that it failed, they adopted a moderate method to enhance their legitimacy in Africa. This unit sets to discuss Chinese adjustments and adaptation in Africa.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this Unit, you should be able to:

- i. discuss Chinese foreign policy in Africa;
- ii. identify the reasons for Chinese adjustment in its relations with Africa; and
- iii. analyse the implementation of Chinese Policy in Africa.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Sino-African Political Relations

The change in Chinese domestic policy in 1957 also had impact on its foreign policy. Its foreign policy centred so much on confrontation with the United States. The position of China was enhanced by the breakthrough in Soviet technology. It was believed that the United States belonged to the Western Capitalist bloc that was inimical to development in the third world. To the Chinese, the idea of socialism was to be developed and reformed as a way to confront the imperialistic tendencies of the West. This was evident in Chou-En-Lai's statement at the fifth session of the First National Peoples Congress in 1958 where the existence of the Socialism was described to be the basis for supporting national independence movements and inspire all those striving to win and gain their independence.

It was on the basis of this foreign policy, that China expressed interest in the agitation of African peoples for independence. However, in spite of the strong revolutionary position held by China on the international situation in Africa, it had

to resort to a flexible approach whereby there were compromises. In other words, the colonial situation in each African nation determined the extent of its liberation from the imperialists. The first Chinese attempt towards Africa in the twentieth century was the establishment of an Embassy in Cairo (Egypt) in 1956. The purpose behind this was to enable China contact the various political leaders that had been sent on exile, due to agitations for self-government. It is important to note that Chinese policy in Africa was less radical, based on the Leninist approach; one step backward and two steps forward to achieve the desired goals. Thus, the activities of China in Africa were categorised based on the political status of each region or nation so as to determine its level of involvement and commitment. The first categories were the politically independent classified as pro-imperialists and advanced. The second categories were the advanced colonial areas such as Algeria, Kenya and Cameroon, and the third category were those that were clamouring for independence, an example was Nigeria.

Having realised these categories, the objectives of Chinese interest in Africa was to establish diplomatic relations, practice external trade and offer aid when necessary. By these objectives, China was flexible by not encouraging Africans to join neither the East nor the West, but they should remain neutral. The idea of neutralism as put forward by China was part of the reason Egypt and Tanzania stuck to the policy of Non-alignment as an alternative to combating Western domination.

Implementation of Chinese Foreign Policy in Africa

Having categorised Africa into three, the Chinese strategised the means of achieving the desired objectives. The objectives were:

- To obtain diplomatic recognition;
- To extend and expand trade relations;
- To enable cultural exchanges with Africa;
- To provide concrete support for revolutionary groups;
- To encourage the use of front organization as an alternative to communist parties; and
- To enable exchange of visits between African States and China.

Despite the categorisation of Africa based on the level of independence or liberation, China's relations to Africa were initially concentrated in North Africa (Afro-Arabs) and Middle East (Arab-Asia). Egypt was mostly the area of concentration for China. But the divergence in ideology relatively affected their relationship, due to the fact that China was associated with communism and Egypt believed much in Arab socialism. The establishment of the Chinese mission in Egypt enhanced contact with other African nations. To Egypt, the Chinese presence assisted during the Suez crisis of October 1956. China granted \$4.7 million aid to Egypt and sent volunteers to assist the Egyptian forces. But the differing ideologies of China and Egypt affected the disposition of Egypt towards China. To an extent, Egypt opposed communism by indicting Egyptian communists and vehemently attacked the Syrian communists. The position of

Egypt was supported by other African leaders such as Sekou Toure, Nyerere, Nkrumah, Modibo Keita among others. This implied that African leaders preferred a policy of non-alignment. In spite of Chinese aids to Egypt, the latter did not hesitate in taking a firm position against communism. It was at this juncture that China discovered the uncompromising stand of Africa. At the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference, China upheld a moderate stand on the fact that, there would not be force or unnecessary persuasion for communism, but its policy in Africa appeared contrary, as Egypt insisted on anti-communism and even described it as another form of imperialism.

Having learnt a lesson or two, China changed its strategy in relations with Africa. To ensure diplomatic recognition, China made use of visits by political and cultural delegations. On a neutral ground, it began by making statements to support the independence of Africans. At the attainment of Ghana's independence in 1957, China reminded Ghana of the need to safeguard sovereignty by resisting all forms of political and economic domination. This verbal support influenced Ghana's call for a conference of Independent African States in 1958.

Two factors aided this conference – the declarations of Bandung and the Chinese influence. On the part of China, the adoption of a liberal approach was meant to foster its trade relations with African States since it discovered that the imposition of communism could not work. Apart from Ghana, other African States such as Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia among others recognised Chinese political

support. Though there was less official recognition of China, the visits enhanced philosophical recognition. China did not hesitate in ensuring that it received more recognition by African States. In 1959, different groups of people from China visited Africa. These groups included the All China Youth Federation (A.C.Y.F), All China Federation of Trade Unions (A.C.F.T.U), The China Islamic Association, and Women's Federation of the Peoples Republic of China and so on. All these were done as an alternative to imposition of Chinese ideas and ensuring stability in Chinese economy, more so the embargo placed on it by the United States blocking trade relations.

4.0 CONCLUSION

China perceived Africa as a ground to practice communism. According to the declarations of the Bandung conference, it believed that colonialism from the West was a ravaging problem, but its own solution was to practice the communist ideology. By adopting a moderate stand, China became successful in at the least establishing some diplomatic rapport with countries that had fewer natural resources to entice imperialists. Especially, in countries that the leaders had ideals related to communists' philosophy of development, it was easy for China to relate with such countries.

5.0 SUMMARY

Chinese diplomacy in Africa occurred at intergovernmental level and there was people's diplomacy. Like India, the areas where liberation struggles were intense provided opportunity for China to advocate its policies. Since the communist idea did not work directly, China made use of proxy organisations and popular movements in the liberation struggles to disseminate the ideologies. The acceptance of China in African States differed from place to place. Chinese activity was widely accepted in Zambia, Mauritania, Congo Brazzaville, Mali, Tanzania and Guinea. Other countries in Africa also recognised China, but it was largely unofficial until the 1970s.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Analyse the implementation of Chinese foreign policy in Africa.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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MODULE 4: ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Unit 1 Background to Economic Relations

Unit 2 Japanese Relations with African Economy

Unit 3 Afro-India Economic Relations

Unit 4 Sino-African Trade Relations

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INTRODUCTION

Development can simply be defined as qualitative availability of necessities that could enhance human wellbeing. In this regard, accessibility to good health care, healthy environment, relevant education, participatory governance and so on, are components that make up development. Thus, in the light of the problems that confronted African and Asian countries in the first-half of the twentieth century, it was difficult to claim that development really occurred.

Given the fact that there were myriad of challenges that emanated from colonialism and imperialism, most people in both continents were oppressed and subjugated in such a way that real economic development could not thrive. It is the focus of this module and particularly, this unit to expose you to the reasons and aspirations underlying the economic relations among African and Asian countries.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- i. analyse the basis of economic relations between Africa and Asia;
- ii. identify factors impeding trade relations between both continents; and
- iii. discuss the objectives for economic collaboration.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Background of Economic Relations

Before the idea of Afro-Asianism, countries in both continents had been involved in bilateral agreements with countries outside both regions to enhance their economic well-being. These arrangements were of immense value to the development programmes of Afro-Asian countries. To Asian countries the Soviet model had created an arrangement that influenced the pattern of economic development. In African countries, the place of colonialism dictated the economic trends. However, the aim of the Bandung conference was to ensure mutual economic cooperation between and among countries of both continents since they all belonged to the Third World in which the problems of underdevelopment was very inherent. The basis of the cooperation also perceived countries like Japan and China as countries that would help others to achieve a desirable height.

Thus, in the light of this, the participant countries at Bandung declared technical assistance as a basic tool that could enhance development. The definition of technical assistance implied that the countries that had the

wherewithal should provide experts to train peoples in the continent on how to utilize the natural resources therein. To corroborate this, the establishment of training and research institutes was agreed upon as a necessity to facilitate the transfer of knowledge. However, the fact that these countries lacked the capital to accomplish such level of economic cooperation made external assistance in terms of financial aid a necessity that could not be avoided.

For external financial aid, they had to depend on the United Nations. The Bandung Declaration sought the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. In the case of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), there was the call for a greater part of its resources to go to Asia and Africa and there was also the call for the establishment of International Finance Corporation (IFC) to take charge of equity investment and to ensure joint venture investment and trade among Afro-Asia countries. The extent at which this could work was doubtful, because some elements at Bandung depended on the Eastern bloc and they were anti-Western. Ordinarily, they regarded aids from the West as not meant to be progressive for the real development.

It was agreed that trade pacts were necessary to protect and legalise the activities of countries willing to invest among Afro-Asia. This declaration aided Japanese investment in Africa. It was used by Japan in the 1970s to obtain legal rights to explore the mines. Furthermore, there was the agreement for collective action to stabilise the international prices of and demand for primary commodities

through bilateral and multilateral arrangements. The model to be adopted as such was the United Nations Ferment Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade. However, this arrangement appeared contradictory as most of the nations in Asia were associated with communism, while those of Africa depended on the patterns dictated by their colonial government.

Another point of concern was the need for diversification of exports to countries of Afro-Asia to ensure development. To enhance this, intraregional trade fairs were promoted and exchange of trade delegations was introduced to facilitate the flow of information and ideas with a view to promoting intraregional trade. Intraregional trade was emphasised to enhance the level of opportunity for landlocked countries that had little access to flow of information or lacked required resources. A practical step towards this was the focus on shipping lines and railways that could link countries in both continents.

The fundamentals of Bandung declaration on economic cooperation were holistic as it identified the need to have regional banks and insurance companies. But it was very obvious that this might not work because there were varying ideologies and ethnic affiliations. The declaration for regional banks was due to the availability of oil in the Arab nations. Regional companies could be formed and remittances gotten from profits and taxation.

The issue of nuclear energy was addressed based on the declarations for peace, but it was brought to the level of economic cooperation. The possibility of exploring the knowledge of the use of atomic energy was emphasised. Thus, there

was a call on Afro-Asia representation at the Executive authority at International Atomic Energy Agency. This was meant to enhance the knowledge level of Afro-Asia in the peaceful use of Atomic energy.

3.2 Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Cooperation (AFRASEC)

A conference of Afro-Asian Chambers of Commerce held in Cairo in December 1958 marked the beginning of efforts at ensuring that the Bandung declaration and that of the Cairo conference were well implemented. Initially, there were views that the economic arm of the solidarity was meant to be controlled by the communists because of their views at the Cairo conference that they were ready to offer financial aid without any strings attached. However, the Organisation adopted a policy of non-engagement by canvassing for the establishment of Afro-Asian Common Market. This idea came because the effects of European Common Market on Afro-Asia were not favourable. This agenda created confusion as the presence of Russia aggravated the participants. The conference composed businessmen from Asia and Africa who had strong leaning with the West. On the other hand, India complained that issues in Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement were too concentrated in Cairo. The opposition of India shifted the meeting of Afro-Asian Chambers of Commerce to India in 1961.

India was very concerned with its internal export promotion and it used its position of leadership in Asia to convey the meeting. But in spite of the position of India, the establishment of Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Cooperation

(AFRASEC) was successful with its permanent secretariat in Cairo. The focal point in the cooperation was the problem of European Common Market and its effects on Afro-Asia. Thus, it was resolved that there should be increase in economic collaboration among Chambers of Commerce of countries in Afro-Asia. In addition, was that the economic secretariat was equipped with facilities to research into the developmental problems of countries in the continent.

As much as there were structural and organisational-oriented strategies, the nature of relations among countries in Africa and Asia were not in a favourable balance for the development of Africa. Technical assistance is a major act that could bring the real cooperation desired. In the course of other units, economic relations with Japan, China and India shall be examined.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit is an introduction for this module. From the beginning, the 1955 Bandung conference was a broad basis that served as a framework for different levels of relations among African and Asian countries. It is preferred to use the word relations instead of cooperation in this module, the reasons for this will be realised at the end of the course. African countries mainly served as markets for budding Asian economies that aimed to compete with European economies.

5.0 SUMMARY

Afro-Asian Economic Cooperation (AFRASEC) was formed to serve as a guiding organ in Afro-Asian relations that would ensure real economic

development. At the beginning, the intents and purposes through which its objectives were designed were laudable. It served as a deviation from being encapsulated by European economic policies. However, the problem was its sustainability and equity on the part of development for African states.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Explain the basis of Afro-Asian Economic relations.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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Unit 2 Japanese Relations with African Economy

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Before the Bandung Conference, Japan had been interested in Africa. The interest was borne out of the expansionists' policies of Japan to develop its economy in order to compete with European economies. It was this competition that rarely made Africa accessible to Japan, not until the Europeans left the continent. In other words, the end of colonialism was an opportunity for Japan to exercise its economic ambition. Japan did not introduce a new pattern to Africa in its economic relations; it worked on the existing colonial structures to implement the economic policies. To Japan, the 1955 Bandung conference and its economic declarations was an added advantage. This and other issues shall be discussed in this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

There is no doubt that Japan is an industrialised country, by the end of this Unit, you should be able to:

- i. discuss Africa's position in Afro-Japan relations;
- ii. analyse the reasons underlying Japan's interest in Africa; and
- iii. identify limitations to Japanese trade in Africa.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Japanese Relations with African Economy

Initially, Africa was not the focus for Japan for the supply of industrial raw materials. Japanese trade in Africa began around 1920 with the development of cotton in East Africa and Egypt in North Africa. But due to competition for trade

with European countries, Japanese trade was rarely prominent. Hence, Japanese trade was possible on the basis of bilateral agreements between Japan and colonial governments in African countries before independence. During this period, Asian countries served as foreign private middlemen that transacted business under the regulations of Europeans.

By independence, there was the need to diversify trade relations as perceived by Africans. Most of the African states had a weak administrative structure; it was quite difficult to define the economic relations that could ensure real development. For Japan, it had an economy that was in dire need of raw materials. Japan depended so much on independent Africa. By 1970s, Japanese External Trade Organisation (JETRO) formed about 10 offices in various parts of the continent. This was done to facilitate the acquisition of raw materials. Initially the concentration was on minerals such as iron ore, copper, coal and uranium and other articles such as oil, cotton, wool and foodstuff. In exchange, manufactured goods such as electronics and automobiles were brought as consumer goods. Both Japan and Africa depended on each other. Despite the complementarity and dependency, some African countries had a better standing in the trade relations. For example, countries like; Uganda, Tanzania and Sudan increased their trade in terms of sales. That is, they were much involved in export to Japan. On the reverse, countries like Morocco, Ghana, Kenya, and Sierra Leone were on the importation side. That is they depended on Japanese exports. For Nigeria, it rarely benefited from sales when compared to other countries. In the

case of Nigeria, the amount incurred on the civil war and inability to develop crude oil trade accounted for the strained economic relations with Japan. On the whole, most African countries depended mostly on manufactured goods from Japan. Importation was constant.

The balance between Japan and Africa, therefore, was not complementary for the development of Africa. Much as the Japanese were desperately in need of African raw materials, the level of industrialisation was dwindling. For example, Japan's exports to Africa were about 205 million dollars only.

Japanese Investment

Initially, the Japanese were in Africa to create market for the purchase of raw materials, but due to colonial influence, they got little until independence was granted to African countries. **Trade** was the major factor that enhanced economic relations. **Investment** was another sector that Japan laid emphasis on in Africa. The investments aided Africa's exposure to commercial activities. Much of Japanese investment thrived after the exit of colonialism. That is, in the 1960s and 1970s, the reason was due to the fact that colonialism could not favour internally-driven economic policies that favoured countries like Japan. By the nature of Japanese economy, it is basically engrossed on manufacturing. This informed the idea of overseas investments in sourcing for raw materials to meet the demands of its industries. Africa became a market for sourcing raw materials; these dominated the structure of trade relations.

3.2 Japanese Agreements on Mineral Exploitations in Africa

Since most of the economic relations involved Japanese investment in African raw materials, the article of utmost importance was mineral resources. To facilitate the exploitation of mineral resources, bilateral and multilateral agreements were reached as a compromise to legalise exploration on the part of Japan. At this point, African governments had little or no option but to accept such agreements because it was a source of revenue that assisted in governance and economy. Particularly, the fact that most African countries were struggling to maintain political and economic balance after the end of colonialism. However, the nature of the Japanese investment was another form of colonialism-neocolonialism, because there was no technology transfer.

In conjunction with the French Atomic Energy Commission and the government of Niger, Japan made arrangements for an agreement to exploit uranium deposits in 1970. With Moroccan government, there was agreement to allow Japan explore the copper mines, as well as to explore the iron ore deposits in Mozambique and Guinea. Apart from the bilateral agreements, there was multilateral cooperation with research institutes to explore mineral resources in Africa. For instance, the Japanese Aluminum Resources Company partnered with an American firm to form a consortium in order to mine copper in Zaire.

In addition to sourcing for minerals, Japanese investment diversified into

plantation projects to develop crops that were of importance in their food processing factories. In Mauritania, Japan agreed to pay half a million pounds annually in the 1970s to monopolise the legal right to fish off the coast. Much as the nature of the economic relations appeared to be driven by Japan for the satisfaction of Japanese industrialisation, Africans benefited, as it created employment opportunities.

Limitation to Japanese Investments in Africa

There is no doubt that Japan followed the colonial pattern to pursue its economic policy in Africa, but it concentrated its economic activities in the developed countries in Africa. It only referred to the less developed ones if they had resources such as minerals to offer. Countries such as Egypt, Nigeria, Libya, Morocco, South Africa and Zaire were the targets of Japanese investment. Japanese bias for the developed African countries was meant to reduce the cost of operations. The availability of colonial infrastructures in the aforementioned countries was utilised by Japan as an opportunity to pursue its own industrialisation goals.

Secondly, the bid to qualify for competitiveness in the world market reduced the extent of Japanese investment in Africa. Since it only gained raw materials in Africa, Japan preferred to concentrate on South-East Asia because Africa is naturally far away from Japan and it absolutely lacked the real industrial infrastructure necessary for manufacturing. Despite this inadequacy in Africa,

Japan was not willing to develop the industrial infrastructures, all in the bid to reduce its cost of operation in Africa. Furthermore, Japan silently negotiated the deals to explore resources in Africa considering the continued traces and influence of colonial governments on some countries in Africa. To guarantee Japan's acceptance in the world market, it had to align with the former colonial governments in Africa as Consortia to enable its investments and at the same time reduce the cost of operation.

On the social aspect, unlike the Lebanese, the Japanese found it difficult to romance with foreign cultures. They hardly mixed with Africans, they are reserved and prefer to continue their lifestyles in foreign countries. From the nature of Africa, it was less possible for any investment willing country to operate in isolation. A secret to social interactions was the ability to learn language. The inability of the Japanese to learn foreign languages made them isolatory and it affected their investments in Africa. And in Africa, there are different ethnic groups with languages to be learnt for investors that are desperate to get the most desired. However, in spite of these limitations, it could be favourable for Africa if Japanese technology transfer could be intensified to assist development in Africa. As maintained by Agbi(1989), Japan could do better if it respected African nationalism. Not only that, the basis of Afro-Asian relations which was redefined in the 1955 Bandung conference could be achieved if Japan sees Africa beyond a mere market to achieve its own industrialisation.

The Tokyo Agenda for Africa

This is a 21st century programme to redefine the relationships binding African and Asian states. It is an agenda moved by Japan to renew partnership with Africa. The Tokyo Agenda was formulated at the second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II) which was held on October 1998. It came as a follow up of TICAD I held in 1993.

The TICAD II was quite thematic and timely for Africa. It came as Tokyo Agenda for Action: African Development towards the 21st Century. Japan was the principal brain behind the agenda but she had the support of 24 countries and international organisations. The agenda aimed at poverty reduction and the integration of Africa into the global economy. Before the 1990s, Japan was hardly in the mainstream of the Afro-Asian conferences when compared to China and India. As noted earlier, the pattern of Japanese trade relations with Africa was hardly on a large scale due to some barriers identified earlier. However, in contemporary times, there is a new scramble for Africa in which Asian industrialising countries are vigorously engaging Africa in relationships to sustain both economies, but Africa has not get the best so far.

The Tokyo Agenda came as a policy for South-South Cooperation and capacity building to enhance development in Africa. The concepts of ownership and partnership were emphasised in the Tokyo Agenda. This was done in recognition of the OAU call for economic and social development. In 1996, the OAU Cairo conference urged African states to take ownership and control of their

development process. The TICAD II action plan stipulated programmes for various sectors in development process. It goes thus:

- In health promotion especially primary health care, health information dissemination and so on. The agenda called for Africa development partners to provide required financial and technical assistance to implement population programmes and other issues;
- The agenda also called on African states to identify poverty reduction strategies with strong monitoring to achieve targeted goals;
- In economic and industrial development, there was the call for private sector initiatives to open the economy to enhance regional investment and integration; African development partners were urged to facilitate joint ventures and sub-contracting arrangements to achieve the aims, stressing the importance of South-South and Asian-Asian cooperation; and
- In agricultural development, the agenda called on African states to adopt reform measures to enhance sustainable agricultural practices. African development partners were urged to ensure food security by facilitating all the required networking processes.

The concern of the Tokyo Agenda covers a wide range for Africa's development and it aimed at achieving it through partnership and collaboration. The purpose for the establishment of Tokyo Agenda on the part of Japan is not quite clear. Before the 1990s, Japan's interest in Africa was usually based on economic considerations. Her interest was limited to African states that are

strategically endowed. For instance, the likes of Nigeria, Cote de Ivoire, Kenya, Senegal, Niger and Tanzania among others were considered important to Japan. However, the Tokyo Agenda appeared to be a new plan to refocus the Japanese-African relationships. The emphasis in the agenda was to increase the capability of African states to overcome the constraints of development.

Furthermore, the problem of cooperation and coordination with donor agencies was identified as a challenge. It was argued that much as Japan and others wanted to help, some African states lacked the absorptive capacity to make use of the aid and this poses a serious challenge on the attainment of the set goals. African states identified in this category are Benin, Botswana, Djibouti, Comoros, and Togo among others. Despite the challenges, the aims of TICAD are to ensure that the Asian development model takes shape in Africa as an alternative to the Western model. But a point of concern is the fact that, both Asian and Western development models are alien to Africa. Asian's own worked in Asia, Western type worked in West, therefore, why can't there be an African model for African development? This is a challenge that is worth pondering on because a cursory look at the Japan's interest through the TICAD bothers on attempts to renew relationships for a fresh scramble for Africa, this time by Asians. Japan had the ambition to multiply her returns from Africa's trade. Japan's trade with Africa in 2007 rose to 16.3 percent from 26.4 billion dollars in 2006. Yet, it is quite marginal in Japan's global trade accounting for only about 2 percent. The trade was mostly in favour of Japan, even though the TICAD programme is such that

Africa would get more assistance aid which is targeted to increase to 1.8 billion dollars by 2012.

Another example was the \$4 billion loans to improve Africa's infrastructure, based on the realisation that Africa is a promising market, and endowed with mineral resources. The Japanese private sectors also intend to increase its investment to 3.4 billion by 2012. The 4th Tokyo agenda adopted the Yokhama declaration towards these targets to ensure that the proposed objectives for Africa in 2012 are realised. Specifically, the TICAD IV introduced an initiative-One Village One Product (OVOP). This OVOP plan could be described as a development strategy to ensure that industrialisation is meaningful at the village level and thereby increasing capacities and subsequently reduce the rate of rural-urban migration. In the implementation of the TICAD programmes, there was collaboration with Afro-Asia Business Forum (AABF) which comprises African financial institutions, SME entrepreneurs, Bank of Industry in Nigeria among others.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Japanese purpose to relate with African economy was as good as that of the Europeans. Before the end of colonialism, Japan had been involved in trade agreements with colonial governments to take a share in the acquisition of raw materials. Their investments tilted towards acquisition of means and not transfer

of technology. With the colonial governments, they openly engaged in bilateral agreements, but on the other hand, they negotiated silent agreements with countries where traces of colonialism are operated as neocolonialism. The limitations Japan had in operating effectively in Africa could be ascribed to their roles in Pan-Africanism. If you can recall the discussion on Pan-Africanism in the first module, you will discover that; the promotion of Asian civilization was the ideal. This was done by confronting the West and establishing a hegemony in the East Asian sub-region before it failed in 1941. In the light of this, it was quiet uneasy for Japan to adapt to African ways specifically the language which is instrumental to successful commercial penetration. In the twenty first century, there are new forms of partnerships aimed at development for Africa. In the TICAD agenda, it is very obvious that there is a new scramble for Africa as Japan did not exclusively refocused her policies, it was in collaboration with others especially international agencies.

5.0 SUMMARY

The crux of Japanese economic relations with Africa was meant to develop Japanese economy. On the part of African states, the immediate problems created

by colonialism were an impediment to resist the kind of Japanese economic aims. To some African economies, especially the developed ones, as mentioned in the unit, the trade relations was an immediate alternative. This was a more aggravated alternative. This was more aggravated as most of the states lacked strong administrative structures. A step on the part of Japan to strengthen and consolidate its investments was the Japan External Trade Organisation (JETRO), in spite of this, the rigidity in the ideology embodied in Asian civilization as upheld by Japan was an impediment.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Examine the pattern of Japanese investments in Africa.
- ii. The Tokyo Agenda for Action is a new strategy to protect Japan's interest in Africa. Discuss.

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Unit 3 Afro-India Economic Relations

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, we were able to discuss Japanese relations with Africa. You have seen the aspirations underlying the relations and the issues that emerged. For this unit, we shall be discussing India's economic relations with Africa. If you will recall, it has been mentioned in the first unit in this module that it is better to use relations in place of cooperation because, the African economy was not equally developed, though there has been series of instability serving as impediment.

The case of India may appear slightly different; to some extent it had the foreign policy to really cooperate to ensure a favourable balance. The extent of

this shall be examined in this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the Unit, you should be able to:

- i. discuss the guiding principle in India's relations with Africa;
- ii. identify the specific areas of cooperation; and
- iii. analyse Africa's position in the economic relations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Afro-India Economic Relations

“We are not a rich country. Nor can we compete with the developed and affluent nations in giving help, but we would like to share our experience and our skills with those whom we call our friends”. This was Indira Gandhi's statement to mark off other levels of cooperation with Africa beyond political relations. However, to Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, this was a second coming of scramble for Africa as he strongly believed that development for Africa should be absolutely internally driven. To India, the economic cooperation it meant was that nations in the developing countries should perceive each other as partners in development. At the seventh Non-Aligned summit in New Delhi, the issue of economic development was the focal point of the summit and collective self-reliance was seen as means to achieving the desired goals. The slogan ‘real economic partners

of the poor are the other poor' served as the basis of partnering with India. This type of cooperation was regarded as suitable as it will reduce dependence on Europe. Hence, people with common background were regarded useful for Africa's economic development.

Green Revolution Initiative

A major hindrance to economic development in Africa in the 1970s was the low level of agricultural production. This was due to drought and acute famine was prominent in countries like Sudan, Ethiopia, Chad, Somalia, Mauritania and so on. The menace geared India to introduce its Green Revolution programme to Africa. The idea of the Green Revolution was centred on massive agricultural production. The possibility of implementing this initiative in Africa was the subject of the OAU summit which was held in Lagos on April 28, 1980. To achieve the type of economic development desired, the summit adopted a plan to create an **African Common Market** and had a vision for year 2000. The guidelines for the establishment of African Common Market was tagged **Lagos Plan of Action (LPA)**. The objectives aimed towards collective self reliance in Africa. The economic objectives of the LPA were as follows:

- Self-sufficiency in food production;
- Creation of efficient African communication links;
- Promotion of intra-Africa trade and; and
- Creation of an energy common market.

To strengthen this, India facilitated the grouping of countries in Asia and Africa into 77 (G77) under the United Nations conference on Trade and Development. However, the plan of action rarely worked in respect of economic development as agricultural production did not change significantly.

The LPA failed because most of the trade relations with countries of Asia hardly favoured Africa. The trade links implied that India exported its finished goods to Africa such as iron and steel, cotton chemicals and pharmaceuticals among others, though they were at cheaper rates. In return, the rate of India's imports were limited and it concentrated on precious stones such as diamonds and other minerals. These imports served as raw materials in the industrial production of India. Most of the imports were drawn from; Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Ethiopia, Botswana, Libya, Malawi, Kenya, Morocco, Mauritius, Mozambique, Zaire, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda. A careful appraisal of this list showed that Francophone Speaking countries were rarely present. The issue of French speaking Africa had its own features and the failure to relate appreciably contributed to its backwardness.

Africa's position in Afro-Indian Economic Relations

In spite of the guidelines that accompanied the issue of economic cooperation from India, the trade relations did not thrive as planned. Africa still depend on the West for most of its imports. Though, the pattern of trade with India was the same when compared to the West. Whether it was India or the West, raw

materials were exported from Africa and finished goods were dumped in Africa. This showed that Africa was not on the verge of development. That was the reason why Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in the late 1970s, described the issue of economic cooperation with India as not the best that could develop Africa. This is because Africa could not produce for itself. This is not to say that India did not attempt to transfer technical know how to Africa, but the internal problems in Africa could not ensure much success. The fact that Africa witnessed several forms of instability was a major hindrance that affected technical transfer.

To transfer technical know how to Africa with respect to India, there were and still are series of collaboration with African countries. At the initial stage, Indian technology was of the intermediate type and not as sophisticated as that of the West. It involved more labour and it was favourable to Africa because it was a source of employment. This economic cooperation involved joint ventures between India and Africa. The first joint venture was that of Ethiopia and India in the 1950s to train Ethiopians in the operation of textile mills. There was also technical cooperation in various fields. In the Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia, Indian experts facilitated the manufacture of bicycles and motor parts.

India-Africa Partnership in the Twenty-First Century

As earlier stated, India's economic cooperation with Africa was vast and because both had almost the same experience of suppression in the colonial period created a sense of sharing. The sense of sharing reflected in the series of

partnership programmes that has occurred via technology transfer and capacity building for human capital development. The partnerships were part of development measures planned by the Afro-Asian Economic Cooperation. The twenty first century Afro-Asian relations have called for renewed partnerships to refocus development in Africa. In South-Africa, India has collaborated with the South African Development Community (SADC) to link up with fourteen countries in the region. The purpose is to participate in the **Growth and Development Strategy** laid down by South Africa to enhance development specifically in industrialization. India and the South African Customs Union (SACU) have really been involved in negotiating Free Trade Agreement (FTA) to enhance trade relations.

Of specific relevance is India's role in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The NEPAD initiative started in 2001. A feature of collaboration in this regard was the infrastructural development of the Lagos-Algiers Trans Sahara pipeline which to Nigeria was part of the targets to make a Lagos a mega city. The Indian private sector has been instrumental in ensuring that the NEPAD initiative is realised in this direction. Furthermore, beyond the ITEC plan of the twentieth century, there is the Techno-Economic Approach for Africa-India Movement (TEAM-9). This is a renewed collaboration for cooperation in economy, science and technology between India and eight African Countries (TEAM-9). The initiative works in West Africa in collaboration with the Indian private sector and it is targeted towards the construction of roads,

railways and so on. This partnership is aimed at fostering sub-regional integration which ECOWAS has been targeting since inception.

Table 1: Indian Joint Ventures with Africa until the 1980s

Country	Number of projects	Area of Concentration
Botswana	1	Packaging material
Egypt	2	Blending and Packaging of tea and management of hotel
Kenya	11	Textiles, Pulp and papers, pharmaceuticals, auto parts, electric wire, insurance business
Liberia	1	Glass products
Mauritius	4	Garments, power driven pumps, hotels
Nigeria	21	Light goods, transmission line towers, diesel sets, drugs & pharmaceuticals, textiles, glass products, cement, soft drinks, consultancy
Senegal	1	Fertilizers and phosphoric acid
Seychelles	1	Sea resort hotel
Uganda	1	Jute goods
Zambia	1	Infant foods

From the chart above, it is quite obvious that Nigeria had a larger trade profile with India followed by Kenya. The position of Nigeria could be ascribed to

its vast population and land mass which made it investment friendly. The population has been a virile source of labour to provide manpower in intermediate goods production required in the industries. Much as Indians explored African raw materials, the collaboration was still an alternative that is preferable to achieving the desired goals. The problem with Africa is mostly associated with the quality of governance which affects the utilisation of the technology transfer agreements for domestic industrial activities.

5.0 SUMMARY

We have seen that India's foreign policy aided some levels of cooperation with Africa that appeared relatively favourable. India regarded itself as real economic partners that could enhance the desired development in Africa. Specifically, India was relevant through the Green Revolution initiative to boost food production in Africa. Furthermore, it played a role in the emergence of the famous Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), which was specifically targeted towards Africa's economic development and emphasis laid on human resource development. But as a learner in this course, you should ask yourself why in spite of the favourable and not so unfavourable Afro-Asian relations, African economy is still weak compared to Asian economies.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Analyse African trade relations with India; and
- ii. Examine the nature of India's economic cooperation with Africa.

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UNIT 4 SINO-AFRICAN TRADE RELATIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 1957, China having failed to disseminate its political ideology, adopted a way of carrying out trading activities in Africa. Its first appearance in a genuine trade activity was its attendance at the Casablanca Trade Fair in Morocco to at the least possibly establish some trade relations. The exhibition at the trade fair opened China up to Sudan and Morocco and even the whole of North Africa. Tea became an article of trade that thrived. The trade relations were aimed at seeking relevance in Africa. The nature of the trade relations shall be discussed in this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the Unit, you should be able to:

- i. identify the basis of Chinese trade in Africa; and
- ii. analyse the position of Africa in the trade relations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Sino-African Trade Relations

Chinese trade relations with Africa in the 1950s and 1960s were faced with difficulties that made it uneasy. Like Japan, distance was a hindrance; and on the diplomatic side, the US attitude against China being a communist country had impact on Chinese internal economy. In Africa, China could not compete with nations from the West initially, but it still forged ahead to maintain tenuous trade links. China held on to North Africa for trade relations because it was its first contact, and it had some communist sympathizers there. At the beginning, China began to display its products through trade fairs to arouse interest. This further enabled commercial contacts with Morocco and Sudan. Chinese *tea* and *silk* commodities were moved around nations in North Africa to establish commercial relations. With this, China's trade relations within Afro-Asia increased from 39.4% to 64%. It is important to note that, the prior existence of Bandung conference enhanced Chinese trade popularity within a short time in Africa.

By the end of 1957, this popularity led to official recognition from African countries. The prominence which Chinese tea gained was due to geographical

nature of North Africa which is cold and dry. The tea became an indispensable commodity needed in daily life. Sudan was the first country in Africa to sign a trade agreement with China. The context of the agreement was the exchange of goods and products for affordable price and goods quality. Since cotton was in abundance in Sudan, it entered another agreement for the export of cotton to China, in return for textiles, sugar and chemicals. The Sino-Sudan economic relations marked off the opportunity for China to gain trade acceptance in other African countries. Morocco-assembled lorries were exported to China among other goods. It is worthy of mention that Sino-Nigerian trade relations was also prominent. Nigeria was the third largest importer of Chinese goods. As at 1958, Nigeria bought £1.4m worth of goods from China and it increased to £1.9million in 1959.

However, Sino-Nigeria trade relations were unequal as Nigeria had nothing to export in return. This must have been due to the fact that Nigeria had much trade links with the British and there was instability in the political system, even though there were natural resources that could be explored Nigeria at that time was more interested in political independence. The Sino-Nigerian pattern of trade was also similar to Sino-French speaking Africa. The French Africans rarely exchanged, they were absolute consumers. This made it realistic for China to build external reserves which were useful in meeting the demands for industrial purchases in Western Europe. In other words, this kind of trade relations assisted China to buy industrial equipment from Western Europe for manufacturing in

China.

By the 1960s, Chinese foreign economic policy was largely aimed at increasing the volume of trade. It is important to note that China at this time had no plan to provide aid to Africa as such. Its activities were aimed towards improving its economy. However, China's inability to give foreign aid was due to instability at home. Soviet Union on the other hand, was giving aid to countries that were in support of communism. For instance, Sekou Toure of Guinea received communist aid. China never came out rightly to profess non-alignment, but it made sure that deals with Africa were on neutral basis in terms of ideology to foster its trade relations.

Thus, China did not adopt aid as an instrument of external relations. It only manipulated politics to achieve economic objectives. However, to entice nations that had communist leanings, China decided to offer aid for recognition. To Guinea, China offered 10,000 tons of rice to compete with Soviet Union. It is pertinent that the competitive nature of China, Japan and the Soviet Union was another form of imperialism which Africans could hardly avoid. Ignoring the question of ideology which had human development as an agenda, the crumbling economy of China and Japan's need to enhance its economy were the basic reasons for African trade relations. The advantage they had over Africa was the fact that the continent was yet to realize the damage caused by colonialism before they (China and Japan) came up with their foreign economic policies. In spite of the trade imbalance, it was still an alternative for Africa to determine its future

economic policy. Beyond the 1970s, the advantage Sino-African economic relations brought was that it enhanced technical assistance in the African manufacturing sector.

New Trends in Sino-African Trade Relations

To refocus a new agenda for Africa, China also adopted the Asian development model. She adopted the 'One-China Principle' which contained issues aimed at mutual benefit, reciprocity and common prosperity. The aims of China's interest are to ensure economic development and nation building through cooperation in various forms that could enhance prosperity. Trade as an important aspect of the relations as designed in China's African Policy goes thus:

- Expanding and balancing bilateral trade and optimizing trade structure to facilitate African commodities' access to Chinese markets and grant duty free treatment to some goods from least developed African countries; and
- Settling trade disputes through bilateral or multilateral friendly consultation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

These principles were meant to ensure that a conducive trading environment existed to facilitate Chinese activities in Africa. From the 1970s till contemporary times, the level of trade relations has always been on the increase.

China's Africa Trade figures 2004 to 2008

	Yearly total China's Africa trade volume (\$100 Million)	Increase percentage (Compared to the previous year)	China's Africa import volume (\$100 Million)	China's Africa export volume (\$100 Million)	Trade deficit (\$100 Million)
20 04	294.5	-	156.4	138.1	18.3
20 05	397.4	34.9%	210.6	186.8	23.9
20 06	553.3	39.2%	287.7	265.6	22.1
20 07	731.5	32.2%	362.8	368.7	-5.9
20 08	1,068.0	46.0%	560.0	508.0	52.0

Source: Chinese Ministry of Commerce retrieved on September 15, 2009 from <http://kaifangzhansb.mofcom.gov.cn>

Year	Import Volume (\$100 Million)	Export Volume (\$100 Million)	Trade Balance (\$100 Million)
200 4	156.4	138.1	-18.3
200 5	210.6	186.8	-23.8
200 6	287.7	265.6	-22.1
200 7	362.8	368.7	5.9
200 8	560.0	508.0	-52

Table 3: China-Africa's import and export, 2008

Imported Items	Volume (\$100 Million)	Percentage	Exported Items	Volume (\$100 Million)	Percentage
Crude oil	389.4	79.19%	Mechanical & Electrical Products	259.1	50.96%
Iron ore	22.8	4.64%	Steel Products	33.8	6.65%
Log	9.0	1.83%	Textiles	60.6	11.92%
Copper	8.8	1.79%	Clothing	29.4	5.78%
Jewelry	8.4	1.71%	Shoes	12.7	2.50%
diamond	8.1	1.65%			

Source: Chinese Ministry of Commerce retrieved on September 15, 2009 from <http://kaifangzhansb.mofcom.gov.cn>

4.0 CONCLUSION

There was growth in Chinese trade in Africa especially North Africa in 1956. Chinese green tea was very popular and it was the major commodity in addition to silk. The bulk of the trades were with non-socialist countries, and it was an avenue for China to tactically establish its political ideology. China had official trade agreements with twenty-one countries, while about sixty-eight countries had trade relations with her, mostly from the Afro-Asian region.

The period of boom in these trade relations was about the period when the Afro-Asian declarations for cooperation were made. In spite of the fact that China then was a core communist country, the bond of Afro-Asianism still assisted it in gaining some recognition. Considering the fact that it took a moderate stand as regards the Leninist approach at the Bandung Conference, the approach was

largely adopted at the conference to avoid neglect from countries in Africa and Asia. However, there was no knowledge transfer *per se*, except for Tanzania in China's trade relations with Africa. In the twenty first century, there are new forms of relationships that are more focused than the previous ones and they exist to ensure that Africa's development is enhanced.

5.0 SUMMARY

Initially, the Chinese mission in Africa was to win nations on the side of socialism. But, the moment it was discovered that it would not work from the experience of the Sino-Egyptian conflict, it made adjustments. The step towards adjustment was the establishment of trade missions to all relevant countries to ensure that its domestic economy was sustained in the challenges of the embargo it faced from USA. A common feature of Chinese relations with Africa therefore was the perennial threat of the United States and the need to also have friends in Africa.

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University Press.

MODULE 5: SOCIO-CULTURAL RELATIONS

Unit 1 Background to Socio-Cultural Cooperation

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The basis of socio-cultural cooperation in Afro-Asian relations is the utilisation of education and culture as a means of industrialisation and development. China and India particularly developed a civilizing mission to be presented to the world. This was manifest in their relations with African states. At the Bandung conference, specific objectives were resolved to be the watchword

in socio-cultural cooperation. The basic summary of the objectives is that there should be exchange of ideas and all pertaining to culture that could be useful for development. This is the focal point in this module and some examples are drawn from China and Indian relations with some African states.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the Unit, you should be able to:

- i. discuss the desired objectives of socio-cultural cooperation in Afro-Asian relations;
- ii. identify the manifestation of socio-cultural cooperation in Chinese relations with Tanzania; and
- iii. analyse the trend in the Afro-India Socio-cultural relations.

MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Background to Socio-cultural Cooperation

At the 1955 Bandung conference, it was conceived that one of the most powerful means of reviving the past civilizations in Asia and Africa was to enable partnership that involves learning of different cultural materials that could be useful in development. The idea of socio-cultural cooperation was emphasized as a result of the interrupted contacts between both continents that were caused by colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, the conference called for a renewal of the old contacts and to develop or modernize changes. The basis of socio-cultural cooperation was defined to be education and culture. If education and culture

were to be revived, then, the language of the people will be relevant in learning and in line with the natural resources of the environment.

The development of cultural contacts could be described as a means of advancing common interest between both continents. As at the 1950s, it was obvious that the levels of educational, scientific and technical relations were yet to be explored to ensure meaningful development. In this respect, the conference directed its socio-cultural cooperation towards;

- * the acquisition of knowledge of each other's country;
- * mutual cultural exchange; and
- * exchange of information.

Socio-Cultural cooperation could be declared as a way of promoting the idea of unity in civilization. The culture and natural resources available in both continents require research and sound knowledge to effectively utilize them.

Right from the onset, socio-cultural relations was paramount in facilitating economic and political relations. To Asian countries, the idea of constant visits to Africa was meant to ensure diplomatic recognition, considering the fact that the principles of non-alignment adopted by African countries may not work in their favour. This particular strategy was part of Chinese diplomacy to achieve recognition in Africa. The root of this strategy was due to the conflicts between Egypt and China. From the declarations made at Bandung, the need for socio-cultural cooperation was emphasised, but it was not adopted as a priority. The display of such cooperation depended on the issue at stake in relations.

The Sino-Egyptian conflict arose shortly after the Bandung conference, due to Chinese activities aimed at the spread of communism. Egypt perceived these activities as promoting imperialism, which should not be. Egypt severed relations with China despite the aid offered to Egypt as a result of the Suez crisis. Initially, the desire to spread communism could be described as the aim of China while establishing its Embassy at Cairo in 1956. The aim to spread communism by China was out rightly rejected by Egypt and the position taken by Egypt influenced other African and Arab states who were the most hit by colonialism and imperialism.

Seeing the opposition to its agenda, China strategically dropped the idea in Afro-Asia to advance its economic ambition. Since it lacked diplomatic recognition, socio-cultural relations were adopted by China in relating to Africa. Thus, meetings, seminars and cultural programmes constituted the purpose of relations. Different groups such as Chinese labour unions, youth groups, women organisations amongst others trooped into Africa to redeem Chinese image and laid the foundation for Chinese economic relations with Africa.

From different perspectives, the purpose of Pan-Asianism and Pan-Africanism was to redeem civilizations belonging to both at the continental level. The role of Japan in Pan-Asianism was to protect the Asian continent from the West which eventually failed politically in 1945. Asian civilization was the motive of Pan-Asianism. This meant that developmental activities should develop from within Asia to ensure sustainability and not Western driven. This informed

the idea of socio-cultural relations through the spread of knowledge and mutual exchange.

To Africa, the existence of Pan-Africanism was meant to decolonise the mind. By decolonising the mind, then there could be recognition of African civilizations as pre-requisite to independence. This was the position of African visionary leaders. For example, this idea was very obvious in the ideals of Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria. Thus, before the 1955 Bandung conference, Pan-Africanism and Pan-Asianism had already facilitated socio-cultural rejuvenation at the continental level before the quest for inter-continental cooperation emerged through Afro-Asian solidarity.

3.2 Chinese-Tanzanian Interactions

The basis of Tanzanian social relations with China could be categorized into three. First, Tanzania in the 1960s and 70s was a nation struggling against the forces of colonialism and imperialism. Second, Tanzania's foreign policy was tilted towards support for national liberation movements across Africa and thirdly, it aimed at developing a national economy for overall reconstruction. This position of Tanzania became suitable for China's foreign policy in Africa. Much of the historical ties between China and Tanzania could be dated back to eleventh and twelfth centuries when trade relations occurred with Arabs as the middlemen in Kilwa.

The social relations crystallised when Tanganyika (Tanzania) got independence in 1961 and Zanzibar in 1963. It was easy for China to seek friendship with these states because it was a period when most African states deliberately avoided official recognition of China because of its attachment to communism. With the formation of Tanzania in 1964 through the union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika, China moved to establish social relationship in the new Republic.

3.3 Sino-Tanzanian Friendship Treaty

Having realized that the only means to attain recognition in Africa was to adopt a moderate stand or possibly support the principles of non-alignment as maintained by most African States, Chinese activity in Africa was thus, in search of societies where there could be similarities in ideology. Following this trend, Tanzania became a good choice for China. Tanzania had proxy organizations that could be described as liberation movements. These movements provided an opportunity for China to display its political ideology.

The first step taken towards this direction was the formalization of arrangement to establish the Sino-Tanzanian Treaty of Friendship in 1965. The treaty came into being when Julius Nyerere was soliciting for the support of the national cause. He visited China and in return, Chou-En-lai visited Tanzania. Tanzania served as an important instrument in Chinese foreign policy. There were

other forms of interaction; the fact that Tanzania gave China official recognition opened it up to favourable aids and assistance to support its Arusha project on development among others.

In the liberation activities, China regarded Tanzania as an extension and it provided people to assist in popular campaigns. China used Tanzania as an experiment by rendering training assistance to the liberation movements in Africa beyond Tanzania.

To ensure real national development, the practices in communist China especially the agricultural revolution was borrowed as a model. The agricultural revolution was chosen because of the trends of development which was not really promising in African societies after the exit of colonialism. The adoption of Chinese model in Tanzania could be described as a step to find an alternative to the Western social system. It is important to note that at this juncture that, no system was actually or absolutely perfect but the long history of Western imperialism was scary enough to discourage the adoption of the Western social system. The 1955 Bandung conference was an impetus that created an Afro-Asian ideology and this enabled Tanzania re-direct its steps towards relations with Asia as an alternative.

3.4 New Trends in Sino-African Cultural Relations

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) emerged in the twenty

first century as renewal of cooperation through bilateral relations between China and African countries. The Beijing Summit under the FOCAC action plan agreed to revive all forms of cooperation. A roadmap was charted recently to serve as a guideline covering the period 2007 to 2009. The agreement was meant to enhance traditional friendship and mutual trust, promote exchange of views and close coordination on bilateral relations. They agreed to set up mechanism to enhance real political dialogue between foreign ministers under the FOCAC framework. Also the action plan called for disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This call has always been on the track since 1955. It was part of the resolutions made at the Bandung conference. The call at this crucial time was meant to ensure that Africa was free from all activities associated with nuclear weapons.

The issues that led to the transformation of OAU to AU also emerged at the Beijing summit. The agreement under the FOCAC framework was aimed at the non-traditional security issues which are natural disasters and other issues such as refugees, illegal migrations, transnational crimes, drug smuggling, and communicable diseases among others. The focus of the AU is geared towards these issues and China already expressed willingness to assist in tackling the challenges. Seemingly, the implementation of the FOCAC action plan is manifest in the establishment Confucius Institutes in African Universities. The centres are to provide students with a foundation for

learning and to create a long-term interest in the language culture and tradition of China. The Institute is meant to overcome several challenges that will promote Chinese language and culture for global understanding and underdevelopment. It also aims to popularize Chinese language, so that there will be avenues to participate meaningfully in the evolving global political economy, in which China is bound to play a significant role. In essence, the Confucius Institutes in Nigeria have been established at the Nnamdi Azikwe University, Awka and the University of Lagos. In other parts of Africa Confucius Institutes are established at Suez Canal University, Cairo University, University of Stellenbosch, University of Nairobi, Kigali Institute of Education, University of Zimbabwe and University of Liberia.

3.5 Afro-India Socio-cultural Relations

Ever before the 1955 Bandung conference, India had taken a position of interest in Africa. At its early stage of independence, India saw African culture and civilization as well as human resources as worth dealing with. The country instituted a scholarship scheme for African youths to study in India around the late 1940s. The areas of concentration at the initial stage were the Sciences, Technology and Defence. Specifically, Ghana after attaining its independence made use of the opportunity from India. In 1958, Kwame Nkrumah requested for this support. The Ghana initiative led to the establishment of Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC) to research into the natural resources

of co-developing countries and determine the various uses relevant.

The ITEC programme was mainly funded by India, but it was a form of bilateral agreement that made it possible to establish such in various countries of Africa. However, the ITEC programme had some forms of economic undertone as the outputs from research and knowledge dissemination were put into productive use. But the basis of the training programme is to unravel scientific possibilities.

3.6 Indo-Nigerian Example

In 1955, the Indian government started a scholarship scheme for African students. The gesture was welcomed as it was an alternative for Nigerians who could not cope with European requirements. Some Nigerians also studied through self-help. This has enhanced technological and scientific breakthrough. In the 1980s, the Special Commonwealth Africa Assistance Plan (SCAAP) gave India the opportunity to provide ten scholarships to Nigerians. Apart from this, students from Nigerian Universities were afforded the opportunity to conduct research on temporary basis. These relationships had much focus on science and technology, most especially in the area of telecommunication and other fields of technological development.

To further assist in educational development, Indians participated in teaching at the primary and secondary school levels. They specialized in Science, especially teaching in the northern part of Nigeria. Their teaching observations assisted in the inputs into the Nigerian National Policy on Education in the late

1970s.

Beyond educational development, the Nigerian-Indian Friendship Association (NIFA) was formed in 1978 at the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs, in Lagos. The association was formed to strengthen the existing forms of cooperation. The NIFA prompted the exchange of ideas on culture, sports and tourism. The NIFA operated on a social ground with the use of club activities to strengthen such relationship. Apart from NIFA, the Indian Women's Association (IWA), Indian Professional Forum (IPF) and All Indian Cultural Association (AICA) were formed by Indians to create a sense of solidarity and identity. These associations facilitated social relations with Nigerians as they assisted in disseminating general Indian knowledge through seminars and social gatherings. The socio-cultural relations led to the establishment of Indian language school in Lagos. However, the question of language transfer is not achievable, because most Nigerian indigenous languages are yet to adequately understand.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Chinese socio-cultural relationship with Tanzania could be described as real friendship. It was so because the ideological position they held was almost in opposition to the majority capitalist trend in the world. Both became invaluable to each other in order to achieve their desired goals. To China, it was a way of attaining power by proving the relevance of its cultural revolution. To Tanzania, it was a way of ensuring support for its radical approach and the policy of internally

driven development through national self reliance. It was more comfortable to relate with China because of the communist ideology. The next unit further explains in detail the kind of relations that occurred.

5.0 SUMMARY

The most obvious socio-cultural cooperation occurred between China and Tanzania, as well as India and Nigeria. The factors that informed the decision of China and India are similar, but they are characterized by some other circumstances. The basis on the part of China and India is to foster a South-South cooperation to prove relevance in world development. The idea of South-South Cooperation emerged since 1955 as part of the resolutions of the Bandung conference. It was aimed towards assisting countries that were less developed, especially in the process of industrialization. Thus, the implication was that; countries would assist each other based on their human and natural resources. Also, it was meant to ensure that the developed countries treat the less developed fairly to achieve sustainable economic development.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Compare the trends in China and India's Socio-cultural relations with Africa.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2: SOCIO-CULTURAL RELATIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Cultural Revolution in China could be explained as the pre-eminence of values, norms and materials in Chinese society. This implied that the Cultural Revolution entailed putting into relevance the aforementioned to assure development within China that is devoid of external influence. Cultural Revolution in Chinese society started off with the use of Chinese language as a means of communication and instruction. The values in the Chinese culture were disseminated for people's comprehension through the Chinese language. The curriculum was structured in such a way that Chinese language was relevant and the most needed subjects were taught in schools, practical tasks were much emphasized to facilitate the process of industrialization. All these, which constituted Chinese Cultural Revolution manifested in her relations in Africa and it also influenced some states. This shall be the focus of this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, apart from a basic understanding of what the Chinese Cultural Revolution entailed, you should be able to:

- i. explain the impact of the Cultural Revolution in Sino-African relations;
- ii. analyse the position of Tanzania in relation to non-alignment policy; and
- iii. discuss the Chinese experiment in Tanzania.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Chinese Cultural Revolution and African Relations

The Cultural Revolution in China was a strategy for industrial development, which China adopted as a path to world relevance. The emergence of the Chinese leader, Mao Tse-Tung marked the beginning of revolutionary policies that could improve Chinese position in its internal and external affairs. The approach adopted was to strategize its educational policies towards industrial development. The revolutionary attempt focused on agriculture in the Chinese rural areas. The Chinese curriculum system was reoriented in such a way that basic subjects were offered in schools and all other forms of instruction were structured towards agricultural and industrial practices. To actualize the goals, foreign language were absolutely discarded, and the Chinese language was used as a teaching language. Subsequently, small scale industries were set up in the rural areas to experiment the various uses which the output from the farm could be put into use.

This new path adopted by China in the 1960s was due to pressures from America, which is of the West. And even the East, that is, Soviet States in Europe, China at that time already had ideological problems with Russia. This accounted

for Chinese position to develop itself from within and with the available resources at its disposal. Thus, it turned on its population and land as assets in its revolution. The revolution was so referred as cultural because the principles in industrialization were based on Chinese culture and the local language was adopted as a language of instruction to ensure proper comprehension.

The Cultural Revolution in China affected China's general relations with the world. In Africa, it had to withdraw its Ambassadors in 1967 except that of Egypt, because Cairo was the first point of call in Africa. The Chinese Ambassador in Cairo was retained to oversee the implementation of foreign policies in Africa. There is the possibility that the withdrawal could be due to the cost of maintaining embassies in Africa vis-à-vis the fact that China relied on self-helps, that is, it had neither aid nor assistance from other countries. Chinese withdrawal of Ambassadors to most African countries did not have much implication because they rarely shared the same ideology. Most nations in Africa still practiced non-alignment. Tanzania remained the only country that shared the same ideology with China during the Cultural Revolution. Hence, China intensified its activities with Tanzania and Zanzibar.

China was determined to maintain strong ties with these countries. This was done as a means of experimentation for its policies. Various forms of aids and loans were given to Tanzania. To facilitate trade relations, an agreement was reached to establish a shipping company based on joint venture. In this regard, China lent Tanzania a sum of £750,000, half of the capital meant for the project. In

addition, Tanzanians were to be trained in the utilization of the project. To Tanzania, this was the most reliable source of loans at the time, because it evolved its own ideology of development which was also based on self-help, so Chinese gesture was the best because both neither wanted to be influenced to the East nor the West in all their policies and external relations.

3.2 The Textile Mill Experiment

During the Cultural Revolution, China extended its experiment of industrialization to Tanzania by providing technical assistance needed in the establishment of a textile mill in Tanzania. The foundation of the mill was laid on the 29th of July, 1966 by the President Julius Nyerere at the projected cost of £2.5million. In the mill became operational after two and a half years of construction. As it were in China, the approach to the provision of manpower was to train Tanzanians to work in the mill. Primary school leavers were chosen to work at the mill, though this was done to reduce the cost of operation and it was meant to show that the requirements for needed manpower was skilled workers and not so much of University graduates. Intensive and constant on-the-job training was given to the workers. This type of training was technically oriented.

The mill was named-The Friendship Textile Mill. It was an experiment used by China to show that it could succeed elsewhere with the philosophy of Cultural Revolution. The intent of China was to train Tanzanians to manage the mill without them. It was also to prove to the world that Africans and Asians were

not backward and uncivilized as perceived by Europeans, that they are capable of advancing technologically. China held this position because the Cultural Revolution to Europeans was meaningless. The textile mill also thrived with Tanzanian cooperation because the Kiswahili culture was promoted. The messages that could entice development efforts in Kiswahili language were printed on the textiles.

Tanzanians through the influence of Julius Nyerere had already evolved the principle of self help, which assisted in their foreign policy towards China. By 1969, the textile mill was producing uniforms for the defence sector and other notational uniforms.

The Chinese Experiment in Zanzibar

As earlier discussed, during the Cultural Revolution, only two countries in Africa were favourably disposed to relate with China. China held on to Tanzania and Zanzibar. Zanzibar youths were sent to train in China in the area of construction, communication and energy. China engaged in joint ventures with the country in all spheres, such as building factories to produce small farm implements, printing press, and leather and shoe factory among others. Agriculture was the main focus of China in Zanzibar, as mechanized farming was introduced. The Chinese agrarian system was put into practice.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The Chinese Cultural Revolution and African relations was limited. As

described in the Sino-African relations in the previous units, China was not given much diplomatic recognition by African states until the 1970s. This was because they loathed the idea of communism and there was aversion for neo-colonialism. Hence, it was only countries like Tanzania and Zanzibar that welcomed Chinese relations. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania believed that the path to progress was a radical approach which the communist ideology offered. The radicalism in Nyerere's approach to development made the Cultural Revolution which was also radical a relevant path adopted by Tanzania. Since all other states in Africa rejected familiarity with China, Tanzania became a sphere of influence used as an experiment to present to the world the motives of Cultural Revolution and what it stood for. The prototype of other concepts as developed in China was also developed in Tanzania and agriculture was held as a mainstay that could sustain the ideas in Chinese Cultural Revolution.

5.0 SUMMARY

The Cultural Revolution as a Chinese initiative was an alternative to development, it appeared radical but it was used as an experiment in Sino-African relations. The experiment was based on the establishment of a textile mill and other joint ventures that could facilitate industrialisation. In the experiment, the Chinese model of developing human resources was used as example to prove to the world the motive of the Cultural Revolution. However, the experiment may not be the best but it was a step towards alternative development which Tanzania

actually wanted because of external influences which were seen as detrimental to real development.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Examine the principles underlying Chinese relations with Tanzania.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Ogunsanwo, A. (1974), *China's Policy in Africa 1958-1971*, London: Cambridge University Press.

Unit 3: China's Role in African Trade Unions

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INTRODUCTION

China as a nation in the Asian continent was challenged by stiff opposition from Japan and India, and it had ideological problems with the then Soviet Union to the East and the US to the West. All these opposition influenced China's policy in Africa. It perceived African states as an ally that could be of help in achieving its goals, though; it also had the ambition of becoming one of the world powers. Due to the fact that African nations were not willing to accord diplomatic recognition to China, alternative means of establishing influence was sort. African trade unions and civil society groups became a medium used by China to advance

communists' approach in Africa. The working of this shall be the focus in this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the Unit, you should be able to:

- i. discuss Chinese influence in the operation of trade unions in Africa; and
- ii. analyse China's intervention in Africa Cairo conference.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 China's role in African Trade Unions

At the Cairo conference, China discovered that it was not quite easy to implement its foreign policy, bearing in mind the fact that most countries in Africa preferred to remain non-aligned rather than be attached to the East or West. In spite of this, China still preferred to front its communist ideology in Africa. Thus, the Marxist-Leninists strategy of 'one step backward and two steps forward' was adopted to spread the ideology. The strategy adopted was to use front organizations and associations. These organizations were arranged to embark on issues of **peace, disarmament, democratic freedoms and women's rights**. Once these organizations are able to assist Africa in tackling the aforementioned issues it would be a logical attempt to indirectly solve the problems of colonialism and imperialism through communist ideas. China adopted this system in Africa to ensure that communist organisations are planted in Africa and in essence, it was aimed at enhancing Chinese Policy in Africa. Thus, political parties, workers

union, civil liberty organizations in existence became avenues for championing Chinese policy in Africa.

Since the educated Africans as at the 1950s, had taken interest in self government, this became an opportunity for China to offer funds and aids to such groups to ensure that independence was attained. It was based on this motive that the second Afro-Asian conference took place in Cairo. If you can recall, as explained in earlier units, the Cairo conference attracted a lot of reactions from the West, insinuating that the communists have hijacked the conference. Indirectly or otherwise, the conference could actually be described as communist-driven because, it was a crucial point in African history when countries needed independence from colonial and imperial acts. Thus, the conference was coordinated secretly on the basis of China's intervention.

3.2 China's Intervention in Africa Cairo Conference

At the conference, it was agreed that there should be two permanent organs; a Solidarity Council and a Permanent Secretariat. The communists coordinated the activities of the secretariat. This was done to pave way for administration channeled to the visions and missions. The administration entailed donating funds to the national liberation movements in Africa and offers of scholarship for African students to study in the countries of the East. An example in 1958 was the support China gave to Algerian National Liberation Front. A sum of 500,000 Chinese yen was transferred to the secretariat to be passed to Algeria. Through

the secretariat it became a constant means to pass funds used in convening conferences that assisted in the communists' mission. An effort made was to incorporate the youth by sensitizing them. A step in this direction was the organization of Afro-Asian Youth Conference held in Cairo 1959. The funds from China were used and it was aimed at convincing African youth to study in the countries of the East. Subsequently, a Chinese Youth Delegation was sponsored to tour Togo, Madagascar, Uganda, Cote de ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Senegal and Congo. The purpose of the tour was to familiarize with African youth.

3.3 China and African Trade Unions

By the structure of jobs created by the colonial governments, the conditions of service were such that the remunerations were not commensurate with the work done. The exploitation of labour was a major factor that led to the formation of worker's movements' referred to as trade unions. These trade unions were much tied to the idea of Pan-Africanism. Initially, the trade unions were under the control of International Consideration of Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U) which was much affiliated to the West African Trade Unions under the control ICFTU could not articulate effectively the goals of Pan-Africanism because, the act of colonialism and imperialism originated from the West.

In the light of the predicament, Ghana was the first country to break away

to form the Ghana Trade Union Congress (TUC) in 1959. For an absolute detachment, Ghana assumed the responsibility of being at the vanguard of detachment of all African TUC. An attempt towards this direction was the inauguration of All African Trade Union Congress (A.A.T.U.F). This act had an undertone of Chinese intervention. The cooperation of African countries in forming the A.A.T.U.F could be linked to the activities of China in hosting the trade union of some countries in Africa-Madagascar. Algeria, Mauritius, Nigeria, French Equatorial Africa, United Arab Republic, Morocco and so on. Therefore, Ghana's break away from ICFTU was an opportunity for China and other African countries to consolidate the intended alliance.

All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) provided support in form of donations to countries in Africa especially in the crisis ridden areas. The AATUF-ACFTU alliance to China was a means of achieving the goals of impacting the communist ideology. As described earlier, China discovered at the Bandung conference that it was not feasible to hold a hardline position because India, Egypt and some other countries in Africa and Asia were not ready to align with the neither East nor West. Hence, China adopted a diplomacy which it found difficult to adhere to. China could not adopt the principle of non-alignment, on the reverse; it tacitly used anti-colonial and anti-imperial organizations in Africa to implement its policies.

4.0 CONCLUSION

China regarded its communist ideology as a salvation to the problems of colonialism and imperialism in Africa. According to the Bandung conference, China had the agenda to attack colonialism in the communist way, but the principal organizers such as India and Indonesia preferred a non-aligned policy so as to prevent any form of future domination. In the presence of participants at Bandung, China did not expressly present the wish to advance communism. The essence of Chinese relations with African trade unions is to advance its ideology which could also be attached to the Cultural Revolution in China. In order to achieve the aims, liberation movements, trade unions, woman groups among others were used as means of outreach to Africa. In other words, China used Africa as an experiment to prove to the world the importance of its cultural revolution.

5.0 SUMMARY

The essence of this unit is to show the interplay between China and Africa in the practice of the communist ideology. A critical study of the relationship showed that real development was the motive behind China's Cultural Revolution and its extension to Africa. Despite the fact that development was eth watchword, most states in Africa did not accord China diplomatic recognition and this made the sphere of influence limited to Tanzania and Zanzibar, where the experiment

took place.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Analyse the reasons why China took interest in African trade unions.

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Unit 4: Southeast Asia and Africa

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INTRODUCTION

Southeast Asia as a sub-group in the Asian continent consists of countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, and Indonesia and so on. These countries are the newly industrializing countries of the world in contemporary times. At the beginning of Afro-Asian solidarity, their voices were hardly heard because they were vulnerably regions in the Asian continent at that time. The fact that most countries of Asia adopted internal civilization as path to development facilitated their bid to industrialization. In recent times, the aforementioned country has been a centre of convergence of multinational companies to establish manufacturing industries in various sectors of production. These have been a

virile source of development in the countries as their internal state structures were coordinated in such a way that there was real development in the internal economy. The coordinated nature, of public-private sector relations in the countries and among them in the continent led to the establishment of Association of Southeast Asian Countries (ASEAN). This was done to present a common voice of the subgroup to the world. Their level of attainment has encouraged the need for unprecedented agitation for economic relations from African countries in contemporary times. Some of these shall be explained in this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

Southeast Asian relation with Africa is developing, so at the end of this Unit, you should be able to:

- i. identify the position of Southeast Asia at the initial stage of Afro-Asian Solidarity;
- ii. discuss the relations of Southeast Asia and South Africa; and
- iii. describe the rapport between Southeast Asia and Africa in the United Nations.

3.0 MAIN CONTINENT

3.1 Southeast Asia and Africa

In the past units, the main basis of Afro-Asian relations initially was to assist each other in solving the problems of oppression and subjection. There were moves for establishing Afro-Asian economic relations which had over the time

existed. The relations between India, Japan, China and Africa have been highlighted in previous units. However, there are countries in Asia that are emerging as new economies, which could also be described as favourable alternatives to economic relations with European countries. The aim of the new economy is to focus on the exportation of manufactured goods and services from South Africa.

The Growth and Development Strategy (GADS) was programmed to enhance South Africa's foreign economic policy and serve as a frame work guiding the kind of relations suitable for national development. It was meant to identify areas of the economy which are critical to job creation, the modernization and enhancement of the international competitiveness of the economy and the attainment of sustainable growth rates. Specifically, the GADS sort the cooperation of the industrializing countries in Asia to:

- i. provide infrastructure in rural and urban areas;
- ii. restructure state assets to attract foreign capital;
- iii. enhance growth of the hospitality industry; and
- iv. enhance improvement of the manufacturing industries.

The highlights of the GAD's among others were part of the issues which Thabo Mbeki (of South Africa) examined at the business conference between South Africa and Asian Tigers in 1996. This was meant to cement the relationship that had been existing between South Africa and specifically the South-East Asian countries of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore.

As at mid 1990s, trade with Singapore was already over one and half billion Rand, and Malaysia and Thailand of about 1 billion Rand. The commodities appeared awkward but they were taken seriously as a means of relations. Malaya imported food, beverages and tobacco and exported rubber and vegetable oils. Singapore's imports were mostly foodstuff and exported rubber and petroleum products. Most of these trading activities were done with South Africa. Apart from trade relations, Africa and Southeast Asia has an appreciable relationship in trading activities. Trading activities were with the white governments of South Africa. There were rarely diplomatic relations until recently. The relationship between South East Asia and Africa is gradual except for Indonesia. The interactions in the United Nations have been the most obvious form in which Southeast Asia and Africa relate to each other, though they still relate at the level of South-South cooperation.

Africa-Southeast Asia Relations in the United Nations

The interactions between Africa and Southeast Asia were constant in the UN. Cooperation came in the form of common understanding to maintain friendship within and without UN. It was this relationship that opened up the Afro-Asian cause in 1955. The relationship enhanced the constant re-election of Southeast Asian members to the UN Security Council. This enhanced the agitations for the independence as Africa and Southeast Asian issues bothering on subjection and oppression such as the Palestine questions, West Iran issue among

others. However, at a point in time, states in southeast Asia remained passive because they were also underdeveloped. It was only Indonesia that continued the anti-imperialist collaboration in Afro-Asian relations. It was anxious to pursue imperialism out of both continents.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The realm of South-South cooperation could be described as competitive. Countries in both continents are both striving to gain relevance amidst other countries within and outside the continent. Thus, Southeast Asia could be described as a core industrialising region seeking more relevance. Similarly, in African countries they are also grouping to stake out underdevelopment. The bulk of the relations are still in transformation as both are more or less competitive. But there is no doubt about the fact that Southeast Asia has attained an appreciable level of industrialization.

5.0 SUMMARY

Among the countries in Africa, South Africa seems to be enjoying the most in relations with Southeast, Asia. This is because it has in its foreign policy the urge to industrialise meaningfully, thus collaboration with Southeast Asia is seen as inevitable. It was based on this motive in recent times that the GADS was initiated to facilitate the desired goals.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Analyze Southeast Asian relations with South Africa.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Menhdin F. R., (1965), 'Southeast Asian Relations with Africa', *Asian Survey*,
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