The McGill Journal of African Studies

UHURU

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African Studies Students' Association (ASSA)
of McGill University

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Land Acknowledgement

McGill University is built on a land which has long served as a meeting place for many Indigenous peoples, such as the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations.

The Uhutu journal team would like to pay respect and recognize these nations as the traditional keepers of the land.

"The day will come when history will speak.
But it will not be the history which will be taught
in Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations…

Africa will write its own history and in both North and South
it will be a history of glory and dignity."

- Patrice Lumumba

Opening Statement

As the Chair of the African Studies Program at McGill University, it is my great honor to introduce readers to *Uhuru: The McGill Undergraduate Journal of African Studies*. *Uhuru*, now in its third volume, is one of the very first undergraduate journals of its kind. In the following pages readers will be treated to, and rewarded with, peer reviewed articles on a wide range of topics. These include rigorously researched and edited works on the relationship between neocolonialism and Wildlife conservation; the continued relevance of the legendary artist Jean-Michel Basquiat; the lesser known issue of identity and subculture in the Republic of the Congo; the linkage between foreign policy and political violence in East Africa and state collapse in Somalia; the colonial effects of the UN Security Council vis-à-vis Africa; the relationship between economic models - inherited from the West - and inter-ethnic violence; and the profound and enduring scholarly, political and cultural contributions of African intellectuals, filmmakers and artists (past and present) for our understanding of Pan-Africanism and Black cultural production.

The idea for the aptly named *Uhuru* (Freedom in Swahili) originated from the initiative, intellectual talent, and perseverance of the African Studies Students Association (ASSA) and the many students here at McGill that, over the years, have been steadfast in promoting rigorous academic research on topics related to Africa and the African diaspora. Indeed, *Uhuru* speaks poignantly to advancements in the scholarship on Africa in ways that would have defied expectations only a few years ago. A product of the tireless efforts of its editorial team, the Journal takes seriously issues associated with the historical (mis)representation of Africa, the importance of working towards decolonizing scholarship on the continent, the vital importance of including (and centering) research produced by student authors from Africa and those of African descent, and the encouragement of any and all contributions that address African topics from a critical analytical lens.

Readers of *Uhuru* will immediately recognize the Journal's overall sentiment of "sharing." That is, the ways in which cross-disciplinary work on Africa and the African diaspora contributes to our understanding of some of the most pressing issues not only in Africa but throughout the globe. Consequently, and taken together, the contributions to this volume not only center work on and about Africa in new, novel and critical ways; they foreground the avenues through which scholarship on Africa and the African diaspora paves the way for academics, students and the wider community alike to understand that efforts at combating anti-Black racism worldwide are crucially and foundationally determined by how we imagine, research and write about the continent of Africa.

Khalid Mustafa Medani
Chair, African Studies Program
McGill University

A Word from the ASSA

It is an incredible honour for the African Studies Student Association to present you with another edition of our academic journal: *Uhuru*. This edition is a true testament of the determination, resilience and strength demonstrated by both the editorial team and the McGill Student body during the creative process. The past year has presented the world with unprecedented challenges and we take pride in noting their capacity to strive against all adversity and join forces in producing a quality body of work.

As an organization, the McGill African Studies Student Association is proud to carry on the legacy of our predecessors in bringing forward valuable content on Africa and its diasporas. Uhuru is that more meaningful as it is produced in its entirety by none other than our fellow students.

Our deepest congratulations to the editorial team who, from their first day in office, demonstrated nothing but professionalism and dedication in the completion of their tasks.

We hope that through these different pages you may embark on a journey of innumerable discoveries. Enjoy your read!

Denise Mely,
African Studies Students' Association President

Letter from the Editors

Uhuru is an Afrocentric undergraduate journal that aims to provide knowledge on various occurrences, experiences, and personalities from the African continent and its wide-ranging diaspora. The theme of this publication is "Africanization and Decolonization".

Uhuru, freedom in Swahili, is meant to set free the stories, art, and academic texts produced by students who seek to share a veracious account of African realities. A more accurate representation and understanding of Africa remains to be achieved in academia. Hence, one of the main goals of this journal is to ensure the accurate depiction of the Motherland and of its people.

We are very proud of the submissions that fill the pages of this publication. The authors have touched upon a wide range of topics; each of them intriguing in their own right. Whether in the form of an academic paper or a piece of poetry, we hope that every reader will find intellectually stimulating information, differing perspectives, compelling insights, and finally, captivating take away points in every read.

Ruru Hogan
Editor-in-Chief

Harmata Aboubakar
Senior Editor

Naya Sophia Moser
Junior Editor

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The (Neo)colonial heart of Wildlife conservation in Southern Africa

written by Rachael Madore

The issue of wildlife conservation on the African continent has long been debated amongst local wildlife hunters, conservationists, and the international community. Relevant issues in the discourse include who deserves the right to hunt and where, whether conservationists have the right or duty to 'manage' nature and communities, and how best to manage wildlife conservation moving forward. This paper situates itself within the conservation debate, with a particular focus on the effects of Western-imposed conservation in southern Africa. While I agree that conservation has the power to generate income for local communities and actively manage wildlife away from eco-disaster, the neocolonial expression of conservation management in southern African countries moderates its ability to generate positive outcomes for local wildlife and communities. Specifically, this paper will argue that Western-led wildlife conservation in southern Africa, rooted in colonial conquest and propelled by the neocolonial conservation NGO, reproduces colonial inequalities. It does so by taking Indigenous land, excluding Indigenous peoples, and exploiting their resources for profit, with local wildlife poaching merely a mechanism of survival and resistance against these inequalities. Therefore, any solution to the wildlife conservation problem must acknowledge the (neo)colonial heart of African conservation to dismantle it and to propel locally led and local-serving approaches to sustainability.

Historical Background: Colonial Conservation

One cannot begin to debate conservation without understanding its deeply colonial history. Since its inception, conservation in southern Africa has been powered by the colonial engine of exclusion and exploitation. Prior to colonial conquest, African societies existed in harmony with nature, and hunting of wildlife was done in ways that sustained natural resources for future generations (Films Media Group, 2002a). Colonial conquest by European powers from the late 19th to early 20th century drastically redefined land boundaries and relationships with biodiversity. Settlers allocated the best agricultural land to themselves, while previous landowners became landless labourers or were forced into 'native reserves' (Parker & Rathbone, 2007). With the arrival of colonial administrations, Western ideologies began to permeate African societies, and for the most part with self-serving motives. Colonial administrations prevented ancient hunting practices, denouncing them as stealing or 'poaching', and Indigenous lands were cleansed for commercial hunting, agriculture, and cattle ranching (Films Media Group, 2002a). With the development of agriculture also came advancements in education, medical services, and population growth, which began to put serious pressure on the environment.

When early conservationists established natural parks to protect and restore vulnerable and endangered animal populations, it was done by colonial rulers who claimed tribal land that was previously set aside for rural people. Indigenous peoples were not only dispossessed of their lands, but they were forbidden to hunt on these grounds and excluded from the benefits of development (Films Media Group, 2002a).

The Conservation NGO as Neocolonial

This paper argues that the conservation NGO is the modern vehicle for neocolonialism in southern Africa and uses conservation as a mechanism for the exploitation of African communities. The term neocolonialism refers to "a form of global power in which transnational corporations and global and multilateral institutions combine to perpetuate colonial forms of exploitation of developing countries" (Halperin, 2020). Rather than through the methods of direct rule, capitalist powers (both nations and corporations) dominate subject nations through international capitalism (Halperin, 2020). I will analyze the conservation NGO sector's role in this discourse using Brockington & Scholfield's (2011) critical framework termed the 'conservationist mode of production'. The framework facilitates critical analysis of the ways in which the Western conservation NGO transforms sub-Saharan Africa's natural capital (i.e., forests, wildlife, protected landscapes) and conservation work into symbolic capital and money. The authors point to the neoliberal beginnings of the sector as the root of this problematic behaviour. With the drastic expansion of conservation NGOs' size and influence in the 1980s-90s neoliberal era, they deduce that the sector's ideas and policies are largely those of their neoliberal-minded donors. I acknowledge that Brockington & Scholfield (2011) are making a slight extrapolation here; however, I determine it to be a useful framework in my greater analysis of the neocolonial influence on conservation in southern Africa, hence I will employ their reasoning to make my argument.

To begin, it is critical to note that the conservation NGO sector is dominated by large Western-headquartered organizations, with half of all NGOs' headquarters located in Europe or North America, and the top 10 NGOs controlling over 80% of observed expenditure (Brockington & Scholfield, 2011). The sheer level of influence that Western actors have over conservation outcomes in Africa as compared to locals is a cause for concern. With little involvement of the local communities affected, the conservation NGO has bolstered its power as a knowledge- and value-producing institution in southern Africa. Shaping conservation as a Western duty requiring Western knowledge, the conservation NGO positions itself as the authority on the subject and is able to affect public and private decision making accordingly.

Since the early 1900s, NGOs have spearheaded the campaigning and image-creating activities of conservation, conservation science, and policy lobbying. Brockington & Scholfield (2011) assert that these NGOs use their social and political power to commodify African wildlife for financial gain through commodities, such as community wildlife committees, ethical ecotourism, and certified hunting arrangements. With a bias towards profit-generation, their allocation of funds to specific causes legitimates certain kinds of conservation work in places that lend themselves to materialization. By legitimating more commodifiable activities, NGOs can control how value from wildlife is produced in Africa, transforming not only social relationships, but the link between societies and nature (Brockington & Scholfield, 2011). Several examples below demonstrate the transformative effects of such

foreign power on southern African societies.

The ability of conservation NGOs to produce and diffuse authoritative knowledge on conservation to states and donors, together with their investment in close relationships with governments, enables them to inform state decisions which shape land use and economies (Brockington & Scholfield, 2011; Kamuti, 2018). Hodgetts et al. (2019) used a geopolitical lens to explain how "[conservation NGOs] engage in acts of territorialization as they enact spatial strategies to create, expand, and connect protected areas of various scales" (p. 254). In a strong illustration of the weight of these spatial strategies, the Wildlife Conservation Society's influence led the Gabonese President to convert 11% of the country's land into national parks (Brockington & Scholfield, 2011). This case demonstrates clearly how, because of the will of a Western NGO, a large area of Gabon land is now designated for the commodification of wildlife and the simultaneous exclusion of Indigenous peoples from the associated benefits.

In another example, conservation NGOs were given the duty of instating wildlife management areas on village land in Tanzania. The project paid off villagers, through safari companies, for the right to demarcate village land areas near protected areas for wildlife use/tourist lodging (Brockington & Scholfield, 2011). This decision, similarly informed by the Western conservation NGO, has dramatically altered the way communities and land use are organized. In a definitive display of neocolonial power rebalancing, the conservation NGO's creation of value in the ecotourism industry has taken land (and wealth) from local Tanzanians and effectively transferred it to Western tourists under the guise of conservation. Hence, it becomes clear that the Western NGO's capacity to influence the division and use of African land plays a key role in the greater neocolonial domination of African nations, with serious implications for Indigenous communities.

Kamuti's (2018) discussion of wildlife ranching in South Africa illuminates the neocolonial implications of legitimizing certain activities in certain places for the commodification of conservation. Since the 1960s, private wildlife ranching has grown throughout southern Africa (especially Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa) as governments have granted owners of land that is home to wildlife full legal control over animals on their property. The resulting lucrative industry is one in which hunters and ecotourists commodify wildlife by paying farmers to keep certain animals on game farms for their hunting or enjoyment (Kamuti, 2018). To contextualize this industry, 80% of all major conservation in South Africa are now in the private sector, and over 9,000 registered game ranches cover 20% of South Africa's land area (Films Media Group, 2002b). Hunters pay R7 billion a year to maintain the farms, populations, and reserves, and thus consider themselves conservationists. However, in an interview, a representative of the KwaZulu-Natal Hunters and Conservation Association (KZNHCA) revealed the important point that, "if there was no monetary link I do not think that hunting could have contributed to conservation" (as cited in Kamuti, 2018, p. 198).

A Films Media Group (2002b) documentary praises the use of the trophy hunting business model to convert game farmers into conservationists, mentioning that the

need to control animal populations exists anyway. While I can understand the argument of commodification as a means to a good end, I maintain that this position fails to critique the consequences for Indigenous peoples of a neocolonial model of conservation. A major consequence in South Africa is that the value attributed by the state and NGOs to commodified game reserves has emboldened white farmers to bolster their hold on the land, which they justify under the guise of 'conservation' (Kamuti, 2018). Fences constructed to protect game deliberately exclude Blacks, displace farm dwellers, and often deprive people of alternative means of livelihood. Of course, I do not discount the valid reasons for which these fences may be built. In iSimangaliso Wetland Park in northern KwaZulu-Natal for example, fences were used to reduce human-wildlife conflict, protect animals from escaping, ensure individual ownership, and prevent intruders (Kamuti, 2018). However, in my analysis I aim to highlight the neocolonial motivations and outcomes of the creation of enclosed game ranches within the larger context of the 'conservationist mode of production'. In South Africa, the conservation NGO's allocation of value to lucrative wildlife ranching as a conservation activity has exacerbated unequal power relations between white farmers and Black community members by once again perpetuating the exclusion of Indigenous Africans from the benefits of conservation (Kamuti, 2018).

The obvious rebuttal to my argument against designating conservation land might assert that setting land aside for wildlife conservation is a noble cause with necessary and positive outcomes for biodiversity. This would be the argument employed by adherents of Deep Ecology, an environmental school of thought which advocates a shift from anthropocentrism (placing value on humans) to biocentrism (placing value on all living things), as well as a focus on preserving and restoring pristine wilderness over all other environmental issues (Guha, 2017). However, in line with Guha's criticisms, I caution against the use of Deep Ecology rhetoric as it fails to acknowledge the very real human dimensions of environmental problems, including the power dynamics which moderate how environmental issues and actions affect stakeholders differently. Proven by the initial colonial allocation of conservation land in southern Africa, Western-designated conservation land effectively transfers resources from the poor to the rich, and thus may cause more harm than good. Of course, having exploited the world's resources, Americans have the privilege of advocating the co-existence of 'unspoilt nature' and 'civilization', and hence believe that their conservation parks model should be exported worldwide (Guha, 2017). However, the reality is most aptly expressed by Brockington & Scholfield (2011) who reveal, referring to Nature Unbound, "conservation, they said, does not so much save the world as remake and recreate it" (p. 556). As conservation parks accrue wealth to the Western elite and impoverish Indigenous populations, they reproduce colonial inequalities, a factor which cannot be separated from the conservation debate.

Poaching as Survival and Resistance

Central to the conservation debate is the problem of locally led wildlife poaching and the conflict resulting from the bolstering of militarized anti-poaching

forces. I argue that wildlife poaching is an outcome of the colonial system that was designed to exclude Indigenous Africans from development. To provide the historical context, as African nations fought a number of independence wars in the mid-20th century and the continent became largely militarized, so did the management of conservation lands (Films Media Group, 2002a). This has led to serious conflict between Africans wanting to reclaim conservation lands and state-led anti-poaching forces ruthlessly killing poachers with automatic weapons (Films Media Group, 2002a; Fynn & Kolawole, 2020). This conflict is now at the center of contemporary debate on conservation in southern Africa, with the international community widely denouncing poachers as criminals, and opposing scholars suggesting more nuance to the controversy.

First, it is important to understand that poaching is "the illegal shooting, trapping, or taking of game, fish, or plants from private property or from a place where such practices are specially reserved or forbidden" (Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 2020). While I agree with many authors in the literature who regard the poaching problem as an existential threat to biodiversity, I will pull largely from the analyses of Fynn & Kolawole (2020) and Rudolph & Riley (2017) in advocating a more critical analysis of both the definition of poaching and the historical factors that led to the problem. I assert that it is only with this critical interpretation of the poaching problem that we can develop sustainable and inclusive solutions.

To critique the single (Western) narrative of poachers as 'bad', it should be emphasized that the conflict surrounding poaching in southern Africa can largely be traced back to external influence. The very definition of poaching in the African context derives its meaning from colonialism. By imposing exclusive restrictions around who could hunt and where, colonial rulers transformed what was once 'traditional hunting' by the locals into illegal 'poaching'. Moreover, at the time of conquest, the seizure of Indigenous lands and exclusion of locals from hunting left Indigenous peoples impoverished and often lacking sources of food (Films Media Group, 2002a). It is only logical that wildlife poaching became necessary as a means to sustain people's livelihoods, and at the same time a means of resistance against the colonial rulers who stole their lands (Rudolph & Riley, 2017). Colonial influence further contributed to the upsurge in poaching by bringing Western hunting methods and weapons to Africa, which have eliminated the need for traps and made hunting both easy and commonplace (Films Media Group, 2002a).

Rudolph & Riley (2017) apply a conservation criminology lens to understand the individual motivations behind illegal wildlife harvesting. According to their analysis, personal motivations include the need to directly feed one's family or to earn money from the sale of wildlife. Indirect motivations include retaliating for or preventing negative human-wildlife interactions (i.e., crop damage, livestock depredation, competition with predators for game, or human safety threats), resisting against the government, or challenging certain agencies or policies which constrain traditional practices or rights (Rudolph & Riley, 2017). To dispel any myths of poachers' greed, I must emphasize that Africans who engage in poaching earn little money and risk their own death because they

feel they have nothing to lose (Films Media Group, 2002a). It is thus clear that poaching is not an activity borne of greed, but rather a mechanism of survival and resistance which has become necessary as a result of colonial oppression.

Fynn & Kolawole (2020) add that, despite the significant oppositional military force, local populations comply and even cooperate in the illegal wildlife trade because of the socio-economic benefit to the community from the sale of items like bush meat, ivory, and rhino horn. Through informal rural social networks, locals hide and encourage poachers and middlemen to benefit from the trade (Fynn & Kolawole, 2020). We can similarly view this large-scale collusion amongst local communities as a means of survival and resistance against colonial regulation. With this alternate understanding of how conservation and 'poaching' came to be, it becomes apparent the need to re-evaluate the overwhelming Western view that the poaching problem is the fault of poachers themselves.

It is also important to recognize that the representation of poachers as criminals to be eliminated is an ideology created by colonial powers during the time of colonial rule. There is inherent bias as well as hypocrisy in this representation; it is biased because the colonizers stood to gain from shaming and excluding Indigenous peoples from hunting, and it is hypocritical because settlers replaced ancient hunting practices with their own commercial hunting and cattle ranching (Films Media Group, 2002a). One can therefore conclude that the Western perspective on poaching is inherently biased, as it stems from an ideology designed to exploit the resources of the 'conquered'. The modern discourse around poaching is no exception, coming largely from the animal rights movement which both originate from, and serves the interests of, the Western elite. It would follow that it is unfair to assume the loudest (Western) voice in the poaching discourse is the only valid one, because the discourse itself has been shaped almost entirely by that Western voice.

Given that a key element in the poaching discourse is the violent conflict between military officers and poachers, it is also relevant to consider the factors that led to the militarization of the African continent. Eleazu's (1973) re-consideration of the army's role in African politics provides the basis for my argument that Western intervention played a key role in militarization, and that this should be factored into the poaching discourse. During the 1960s period of continent-wide decolonization, the US deemed the army (over civil bureaucracy) to be the most capable institution for driving African economic development from which the US could profit (Eleazu, 1973). In alignment with this neoliberal profit-maximizing strategy, the US trained a massive number of people to 'modernize' Africa. Training officers in Western countries, purchasing modern Western weapons, and recruiting illiterate people from different socio-economic backgrounds only to ethnically divide them were all strategies that enabled the West to disseminate neocolonial Commonwealth ideologies throughout Africa. At the same time, constant Western military intervention left African civilian political institutions with no opportunity to bolster their own problem-solving capabilities and counter the increasing dominance of the military. Moreover, the Western provision of military weapons for African nations' 'internal security' only

prompted change-seekers, like the guerilla, to find weapons from enemy countries, in an 'arms race' that militarized and destabilized many regions (Eleazu, 1973). Hence, the current violent conflict between military patrollers and poachers cannot be criticized without also criticizing the Western greed that created the militarization.

In making the above arguments, I will caution that I am not advocating the unregulated hunting of wildlife in southern Africa. While the prohibition of ancient hunting practices upon conquest was unjustifiable on all accounts, I acknowledge that current poaching levels and methods are not necessarily comparable to those of pre-colonial eras. With increasingly efficient technology and mounting pressure on the natural environment, allowing unregulated hunting today could be potentially catastrophic for wildlife and community livelihoods. The final section of this paper will explore local-serving solutions to the conservation dilemma. Here, my intention has been to provide the overlooked context of Western interference along with the critical lens needed to analyze poaching as a symptom of a greater (neo)colonial problem.

Solutions

I will herein briefly outline potential and existing solutions, informed by many scholars, which I determine to be local-led and local-serving. It is critical to note that any solutions to the conservation problem must begin with a working understanding of the colonial basis of conservation and its inequalities. My analysis until this point has revealed the colonial heart of conservation and proven that current conservation problems can largely be traced back to Western interference. As treating symptoms does not solve the root problem, increasing state-led anti-poaching forces will not solve the poaching problem, since poaching is deeply tied to the colonial history of the African continent (Fynn & Kolawole, 2020). If local poachers and their supporting networks are acting based on the need to survive and resist (neo)colonial oppression and are willing to risk their lives to feed their families, then clearly what needs to be addressed is the (neo)colonial power structure which has been constructed to exploit African nations while excluding locals from the benefits of development.

From a conservation criminology lens, Axelrod et al. (2017) compare two different governance frameworks to reduce conservation risks: strict enforcement and people-centered approaches. Noting that strict enforcement alienates stakeholders and can actually encourage undesirable behaviour, they argue for people-centered approaches such as providing alternative livelihood opportunities to locals so that poachers can change their behavior without risking financial devastation or food insecurity.

Through the same criminology lens, Rudolph & Riley (2017) highlight three public policy instruments which can be used to affect behaviour. For one, economic instruments can reduce poaching by providing payments or levying and exempting taxes and have been linked to reduced carnivore poaching when in the form of economic incentive and loss compensation programs. Secondly, communication can be used to raise awareness of conservation imperatives, persuade

locals to support conservation efforts, and transfer knowledge about conservation. Rudolph & Riley (2017) note that some countries resent the influence of NGOs lobbying for increased wildlife protection, which I gather is due to NGOs' neocolonial ignorance of conservation consequences for the locals. I mention this local opposition to caution that, depending on the motivations of the spokesperson, communication has the power to reinforce neocolonial conservation ideologies or conversely dismantle them. The third lever for behaviour change is regulation. The historical effects of colonial hunting regulations have proven that regulation has enormous power to change conservation outcomes. According to Rudolph & Riley (2017), people's evaluations of whether regulatory goals align with their personal goals (goal agreement) and allocate resources fairly (equity or distributive justice) will greatly affect their compliance with regulations. With governments increasingly using collaborative governance approaches that bring together the resources, expertise, and influence of multiple governments, agencies, and organizations, one can only hope that more inclusive regulations will follow.

To go a step further than using policy instruments to eliminate poaching behaviour, I will advocate approaches that reconcile colonial and neocolonial inequalities by returning stolen land to Indigenous communities. Fynn & Kolawole (2020) are proponents of this approach, further advocating giving local communities decision-making rights over wildlife management and allowing them to conserve and derive benefits from wildlife conservation. Under this proposed scheme, communities rather than governments choose tourism partners, forcing tourist companies to partner with and pay communities directly. This solution rightly addresses the colonial system that has been built to control and extract value from Indigenous lands. Moreover, by enabling communities to financially benefit from wildlife conservation, such a scheme incentivizes locals to ensure the sustainability of their own biodiversity. This transfer of wildlife ownership to local communities has proven successful in the Namibian conservancies, which have seen a significant reduction in rhino poaching since the shift (Fynn & Kolawole, 2020).

Another successful approach can be seen in Zimbabwe, which has implemented a communal areas management program for Indigenous resources (or a 'campfire project') across 60% of the country (Films Media Group, 2002b). The program granted rural communities with ownership of animals on their land and now allows them to harvest a sustainable yearly quota. Revenue earned from regulated tourist safari hunting is partially paid out to community members and partially used to improve community living conditions. By calling locals into conservation efforts rather than cutting them out, this model has led to the elimination of poaching, which is now seen by locals as stealing income from the community itself (Films Media Group, 2002b).

A final success story is the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) project in Damaraland in northwest Namibia (Films Media Group, 2002b). Through this program, local communities have been educated on the value of protecting wildlife and have even appointed ex-poachers to protect their animals, which has

controlled poaching in the once highly poached area. The IRDNC's victory is yet another demonstration of the importance of local inclusion in conservation for the ultimate sustainability of communities and wildlife in southern Africa.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have aimed to situate the southern African conservation debate within the context of colonialism in order to re-examine the dominant Western framing of the controversy. In particular, I have demonstrated that wildlife conservation in southern Africa is rooted in colonialism and enabled by the conservation NGO, which takes Indigenous land, excludes Indigenous peoples, and exploits their resources for profit in a mass operation of neocolonialism. I point to Western influence in order to reposition local wildlife poaching as a symptom of (neo)colonialism and a mechanism of survival and resistance against (neo)colonial oppression. The above arguments support my conclusion that any solution to the wildlife conservation problem must reconcile the (neo)colonial inequalities produced by African conservation with a bias towards local-led and local-serving approaches to sustainability.

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The Basquiat effect: The cultural impact of Jean-Michel Basquiat

written by Kai Trotz-Motayne

Various art forms have been used throughout history to represent humanity through visual storytelling, often reflecting social and political dynamics of the time. Artworks have been canonized for the ways in which they realistically illustrate periods in time, figuratively and literally. By looking at canonized artworks throughout history, there is a drastic change in the form of art from traditional painterly and sculptural practices to unconventional forms of art that often call for artists to go above and beyond their previous boundaries. Many credit this change to the avant-garde works of Marcel Duchamp, whose work changed perceptions of art, questioning its validity, coining the term '*The Duchamp Effect'* in reference to the historical reception of his work that transcended questions of quality, and called for viewers to acknowledge the conceptual importance of art (Hopkins and Jones, 2006). The legacy of Marcel Duchamp is not necessarily grounded in the aesthetics of his works, but instead the impact they had.

Like Marcel Duchamp, Jean-Michel Basquiat brought forth questions of quality and intent, calling upon viewers to reflect upon their place and space in society in relation to his artwork. Through the use of a graffiti-inspired style, Basquiat forced viewers to explore the importance of context when under-standing and validating art, by determining the legitimacy of his style in museums and galleries. Born to Afro-Puerto Rican and Haitian parents, Basquiat further brought a unique perspective to both the elusive and the often-exclusive art world (Basquiat, 2015). As a rather racially homogenous network, Basquiat was the first popularized artist to interrupt this through his work, by bringing black characters to the forefront through both images and words. Basquiat's unique identities brought him ultimate success that transcended the art world and, for the first time, brought contemporary art to the forefront of popular culture. To understand the importance of Basquiat, one must understand the world around him, and how his identity and experiences in New York City made him a twentieth century icon. Many artists have died young, but no artist has died so young and made as much of an impact as Jean-Michel Basquiat. Leaving behind thousands of paintings at the age of 27, Basquiat's iconography has been used to represent an entire generation of artists. Basquiat's life as a young, Afro-Caribbean New Yorker was reflected in his artwork through political and personalized works. However, Basquiat, unlike Duchamp, is not credited for his effects. The importance of Basquiat, like Duchamp, cannot be properly argued through the observation of his works for no matter whether the viewer finds his work objectively appealing or not, Basquiat has had an undeniably everlasting effect on the art world. Basquiat's work will forever hold conceptual importance through his ability to connect to viewers, transcending race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status.

Basquiat's work shares minimal similarities to canonized western artworks. Never trained to paint, and in fact even failing his one and only art course, Basquiat was a self-taught artist (Poullalié, 2017). Finding inspiration through *Gray's Anatomy*, given to him by his mother at age 7 (ibid.) observing other artworks, and by tagging subways and walls throughout New York City, Basquiat represented something new and different. In the beginning of his career, there is no doubt about whether Basquiat was a Graffiti artist; he wrote on walls, found pride and gratification in

'tagging', and self-identified as SAMO ©, his graffiti name (Kane, 2017). However, when entering the art world, Basquiat became quickly acquainted with empirical perspectives that did not categorize Graffiti as art. Graffiti, defined as writing or drawings that have been scribbled, scratched, or painted illicitly on a wall or other surface, often within public view, lives on the margins of art and vandalism (Gartus et al., 2015). Basquiat contextualized art, by bringing 'street art' to museums, and notable galleries. By bringing this style to the forefront, Basquiat exemplified to audiences that art cannot be defined without understanding its context; and through his graffiti-inspired style, called upon his viewers to reflect on the contexts in which art was created.

Basquiat legitimized graffiti-style art by bringing it to the forefront of gallery exhibitions and museums around the world. Although little changed of his style from SAMO © to Jean-Michel Basquiat, moving the placement of his art from the streets to museums contextualized it in ways that allowed for it to be recognised undeniably as art (ibid.). Throughout the late twentieth century, young men would write their name and street number on walls around the city, with the only incentive of being acknowledged and seeing yourself represented in a world where you were often ignored, often due to your age, economic, and/or racial status (Powers, 1996). Museums provide an environment for the undisturbed contemplation of art, and studies have proven that viewers analyzed art longer in museum contexts rather than street contexts (Gartus et al., 2015). The placement of art in a museum or an art gallery is a strong contextual cue for classifying an object as one that "warrants aesthetic processing" (ibid.). Graffiti was not absent from the view of many, particularly in the streets of New York, but before Basquiat nobody had truly considered these writings to be politically charged art, deserving of analysis, critique, and contemplation.

The context of the street is essential for artwork to be considered street art and/or graffiti. Although Basquiat's roots may be grounded in Graffiti Art, he was no longer a graffiti artist once he stopped painting on the streets. The constant connotation of Basquiat as a graffiti artist has racial undertones that belittle him as an artist (O'Brien, 2015). Indeed, this demoted him to a street artist, rather than acknowledging his ever-growing presence in museums and galleries across the world. In an interview by *Now's the time* (2015) Basquiat is quoted saying the following:

They're just racist, most of these people… They went and said my father was an accountant for a fast-food chain. And they talk about graffiti endlessly, which I don't really consider myself to be a graffiti artist, you know? So, they have this image of me: wild man running - you know, wild monkey man, whatever the fuck they think.

Prior to Basquiat's success, Black artists had been largely absent from western art history, and although their bodies and culture were represented in highly coveted pieces like Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Arignon* and Edward Manet's *Olympia*, black people themselves were never self-represented (Skelly, Feb. 08). The use of 'primitive' styles, such as his notable graffiti-like scribbles, was purposefully used by the artist to reclaim the historically dehumanizing inferences of black people as animalistic (Armand, 2000). Further fascinated by the representation of black people throughout history, beyond just art, Basquiat painted his

heroes, using their figures and words, often placing his signature crown on the canvas with them, reflecting empowerment to many viewers, specifically his black ones. Basquiat's representations of black people were self-reflections that actively granted them agency. Basquiat's artwork, however, went beyond mere representations of his racial identity by heavily politicizing his work through the use of words (Manatakis, 2017). In Basquiat's 1983 work *Hollywood Africans*, the audience is struck with a colourful canvas, littered with words in unidentifiable formations. In this piece Basquiat is directly attacking the media's historically wrongful representations of black people throughout history (Sherwin, 2017). With the words "Hollywood Africans - 1942" written at the top of the canvas in reference to the year Hattie McDaniel won an Oscar for playing the highly stereotypical and problematic 'Mammy' in *Gone with the Wind* (ibid.), written below the title a hand is seen with 'paw paw' written on it in reference to historical connotation of black people as beastly. Below this we then see "Gangsterism" in reference to Hollywood's constant depiction of black people as ghetto, uneducated, and criminal (Whitney Museum). Through the use of words, Basquiat is able to emphasise a political presence within his abstract paintings.

Basquiat further contextualised his racialized pieces through its heavily diasporic context. In the same artwork *Hollywood Africans*, written is "sugarcane" and "tobacco"; industries in the Caribbean and Latin America that were historically reliant on the labour of African slaves. Basquiat lived on the margins as a categorically black man with Caribbean and Latinx roots. Basquiat not only placed African American people at the forefront of his work, but he placed black people of all diasporas into his images as well. As a heavily westernized artist, it sometimes goes unnoticed that Basquiat's work was grounded in Latin American, Caribbean, and African contexts through his use of color, style, and the Spanish language (Saggese, 2014). The constant Nuyorican (New Yorker of Puerto Rican descent) references are themselves politically charged. Although Puerto Ricans, through colonization and the implementation of the 1917 Jones Act, are citizens of the United States, they have historically been denied equal access to the rights of citizenship (Herrera, 2017). Nuyorican artists, much like Basquiat are representative of a movement that sought to illuminate, "the struggle and labor of the Puerto Rican independence movement and the drug infestation of poverty-stricken neighborhoods, protesting against the pervasive police brutality against people of color and the severe lack of educational and healthcare programs to support low-income families" (ibid.). In identifying his diasporic art, Basquiat brings forth topics that often go unrecognized to the mainstream western viewer. Although he as an artist has a specific geographic placement in the United States, his art goes beyond borders, constantly recognizing the existence and effects of the transatlantic slave trade. Not only did he enter the are world as a racial and ethnic 'outsider', he also did not let his viewers forget. Basquiat's often aggressive, racialized images refused to allow his viewer to ignore their place and space in society, being the first to truly bring racial politics to the front line.

Although Basquiat once represented a unique and different artform, with his ominous presence both within and outside the art world, many younger generations now associate art synonymously with the works of Basquiat. Although many Neo-classical, Baroque, and Renaissance artists have been canonized for their undeniable artistic talent, Basquiat's work, for being so dissident, often has varying reactions. There is no clear artistic skill, and in most pieces the object is untraceable and at times even unrecognizable. Despite his flaws, Basquiat has been able to infiltrate popular culture to create a cult-like following that, through his legacy, demonstrates the commercial possibilities and materialistic aspects of the art world. Much of his cultural success in the popular commercialized industries can in many ways be credited towards the ways he appealed to younger generations. Prior to Basquiat there had not been an 'everyday' figure such as himself; a man who was relatable, who experienced angst, worry and anxiety, a man who connected to those who did not identify with the traditional art world. Basquiat's ability to transcend art and connect to those beyond the art world must be credited for the basis of his artistic success, as he is one of few artists able to instill power within the viewer.

Basquiat appealed to a large audience that throughout time has been overlooked; the youth. Basquiat, a young black man used his existential feelings within the art community and translated it into his work (Arthouse Films, 2010). Although not many can relate to the feelings of a 20-something year old, self-made billionaire, drug-addict; alienation, con-fusion, and loneliness are human emotions felt by everyone. Basquiat, who was encouraged by his father to embark on the traditional education-to-career path, ignored respectability and refused to condone assimilation (ibid.). Instead, Basquiat depicted an ideal state where categories and expectations were not apparent, and instead difference and divergence were heavily accepted. His representation grew to become symbolic of something larger than himself, and many around him could see his endless possibilities (Laing, 2017). Basquiat's iconography today is some of the most expensive, and only a few months ago Sotheby's sold his piece *Untitled* for $110.5 million to Yusaku Maezawa, a Japanese billionaire who happened to be only eighteen years old when the artist died at the height of his career (Pogrebin and Reyburn, 2017). The phenomenon that is Basquiat thrives because of Maezawa's generation; a generation that looked beyond their 'expectations', a generation that saw themselves reflected in Jean-Michel Basquiat.

The importance of art is often found in its unique nature; it is all one of a kind. It cannot be recreated and cannot be reproduced. Because of its rarity, art has historically represented a small group of elite, privileged people who could afford to enjoy it. Basquiat is representative of a shift within art away from this extremely exclusive, sub-cultural group to an inclusive and representative body. Basquiat, an unlikely icon has shown the world that anything is truly possible; and to many he represented hope. He brought forth and popularized a style that was often looked down upon, he proudly represented his racial and ethnic heritage, and he showed the possibility of art beyond its small community. Basquiat showed the art world its possibility, and in turn showed the outside world the importance of art.

When entering the western hemisphere, black people are often grouped together as one, and although it is important to recognize the diaspora, we must also recognize our differences. As a child, the media told me that as a black person I was expected to fit into a cookie-like cut out, and that by not being able to fit into these expectations I was not being a proper 'black person'. Basquiat repelled this cut-out and displayed the ways that black (male) identity, much like any other person, is multifaceted, unpredictable, and indefinite. Today, unarmed black men can be shot in front of their family (Philando Castille, 1970-2014); their death can be legitimized by saying that they sold cigarettes illegally (Eric Garner, 1970-2014) or because they wore dark clothes and a hoodie (Trayvon Martin, 1995-2012). Today, black men can only die an unfair death if they fit a picture-perfect cut out of the 'respectable black man'. Somehow, Basquiat was however able to overstep these unfair expectations. A clearly flawed and imperfect man, Basquiat was able to retain his initial reverence, representing the undeniable humanity that black people are too often denied. As an Afro-Caribbean woman, Basquiat represented to me so much more than his painting. His existence reiterated mine, and although I could look in the mirror and acknowledge my presence, I felt that Basquiat in many ways brought me into existence. As an Afro-Caribbean-Latino from a middle-class New York family, I saw myself reflected within him. I saw the expectations set upon his shoulders by both his parents and society, I saw the ways he felt tokenized within his racially homogeneous social group, and I saw his frustration and confusion with who he was as both a person and an artist. Basquiat refused to modify himself and he refused to stay quiet about his experiences; Beyond racial, ethnic, or socio-economic lines, Basquiat's frustration with the world and its ultimately debilitating boundaries can be understood, accepted, and empathized by anyone. Basquiat was representative of humanity, and he, as an artist, was able to do what nobody else could have done before.

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The Sapologie Subculture in the Republic of Congo: identitarian crisis or elegant resistance

written by Inès Maurin

Western pop culture has been paying tribute and unveiling to the rest of the world a unique subculture that arose many decades ago in colonial Congo-Brazzaville; the sapologie. My first vivid memory of sapeurs was from a viral French Afropop video-clip in 2016, "Sapés Comme Jamais" by Maître Gims. I was quite intrigued by those men's unique demeanors and their luxuriant and unusual outfits. But it was only a few months ago that I was able to clearly discover and get a more comprehensive grasp of who those impressive and extraordinary men were when a French Youtuber, Loris Giuliano, published an offbeat documentary on 'La Sapologie'. In his video, Loris interviewed one of the most renowned sapeurs in Paris, the Bachelor, who owns the most exclusive Sapeur store supplying every 'aventuriers' and 'mikilistes' who settled in 'Paname'. After discovering only a fraction of the sapeurs' subculture, I was already fascinated by their charisma as well as their astonishing sense of fashion which transgressed nearly every norm and code.

The Sapologie is a subculture stemming from a unique association of Congolese dandies called 'la SAPE' standing for the 'Société des Ambianceurs et des Personnes Elégantes'. Sapeurs are haute-couture fine connoisseurs who sport valuable, elegant, and decadent designer 'griffes' and 'gammes complètes'. They also have their own vocabulary that I have tried and will continue to use throughout this paper thanks to Makouezi's Dictionnaire de la SAPE (2013). Sapeurs spending thousands of Francs to acquire the latest griffes are a never-ending source of debates and concerns because of their apparent complete disconnection from other Congoleses' realities. The origins of the sapologie movement as well as the apparition of African dandies have been heavily contested for decades between Sapeur groups in Brazzaville and Kinshasa. Most scholars consider the practice to have been born in the Republic of Congo capital, Brazzaville, shortly after independence and more particularly in the Bacongo neighborhood largely populated by the Kongo ethnic, where the SAPE headquarters, made up of a few exclusive trendy clubs and cafés, were located (Bazanquisa, 1992; Gandoulou, 1989; Makouezi, 2013). However, the first mention of Congolese dandies traces back all the way to late 19th century with Stanley's tales depicting visual portraits of Congolese chiefs wearing Europeans used garments, such as "un bonnet phrygien en tricot multicolore et un caleçon de nuance criarde" or "vêtus d'une tunique rouge de soldat anglais, d'un chapeau de feutre brun, d'un caleçon à carreaux" (Stanley, 1885, pp.84-85). The early appearance of used European clothes in West Africa can be explained by the extensive trade with merchants from Carreau du Temple in Paris who discovered a new attractive prospect for their second-hand garments (Charpy, 2014). A few decades later, French masters decided to pay their houseboy with second-hand clothes imported from the metropole and incentivized them to dress up since it was a marker of prestige and refinement for the masters in the colonies (Estournel, 2018).

In addition to its contested origins, the term sape is polysemic with three surprisingly insightful and complementary interpretations. The most common sense of sape is the acronym SAPE mentioned previously, which stands for the sapeurs' group. In addition to it, in Parisian slang spoken in popular and working-class neighborhoods, 'saper' was a verb

referring to 'poor workers who dressed up, and it is now more broadly and commonly used as a synonym for dressing up (Charpy, 2014). Lastly, 'saper' is a military term meaning, according to Larousse dictionary: "détruire les bases d'une construction pour faire écrouler", which refers to the destruction of construction bases to make them collapse. It is quite thought-provoking that those three meanings are at play in the Sapologie subculture which highlights one of their key characteristics: playing with fashion and words to overcome the oppressor.

African dandies and sapeurs were considered as very problematic by both the colonisers and the colonized. At first, French people were mocking those Africans who did not know how to style Western clothing like in the comic Tintin au Congo by Hergé. However, they grew more pre-occupied with this movement that could overthrow the established colonial social order in which colonized bodies were made to work which is antipodal to the Sape philosophy. On the other hand, the Congolese society was disregarding the sapeurs who were perceived as following colonisers' tenets and collaborating with them (Thomas, 2007). Some will argue that sapeurs were the manifestation of the identitarian crisis within the Congolese society provoked by colonisation and destruction of one's culture (Bazanquisa, 1992). Faced with this ambiguity, this paper argues that the sapologie was a form of subtle and elegant resistance against colonial domination rather than a visible sign of internal crisis within the Congolese society. First, I will review different scholars' opinions arguing that the sapologie was an anomaly and a visible consequence of colonial rule and its oppressive policies. I will then discard this point of view by showcasing its limitations and numerous solid counter arguments proving that the sapologie was a form of peaceful and elegant resistance.

French colonisation of Congo started with the explorations of Pierre de Brazza, beginning in 1829, who travelled across the territory amassing treaties made with local chiefs. In 1880, Brazza signed one of the most important treaties with the local King Makoko which led to the colonial rule in 1882 creating the French Congo followed by the Afrique Equatoriale Française in 1910. French colonial administrations were characterized by their direct rule and their goal of assimilation (Parker & Rathbone, 2007). Assimilation is a term intertwining a plethora of concepts from administrative to cultural layers. Cultural assimilation has been defined by Lewis (1962) as the following:

If it is hoped to be able to inculcate them with our ideas and our customs, then one works zealously to make them into Frenchmen, they are educated, they are granted the right of suffrage, they are dressed in the European mode, our laws are substituted for their customs and native assimilation is pursued. But if one despairs of arriving at this result, [...] they are exterminated or pushed back (p.133).

European and especially French culture were deemed as being superior to the local culture, as suggested in some theories such as Rousseau' State of Nature or the Hobbesian hypothesis. A civilizing mission narrative intended to spread the French revolutionary enlightenment principles to Indigenous populations was established in the metropole to justify all the means and resources directed towards the colonies. According to the theory, colonized

subjects should be educated and assimilated into the French culture, and they should not be easily distinguished from any other citizens from the metropole. The goal of the assimilation policy was the total destruction of local cultures and practices. Following that perspective, African dandies were embracing the colonisers' culture which was visible through their appearance and adoption of European clothing. Another scholar added that: "the most educated and successful Congolese could reach the status of being 'évolué,' "a certificate indicating they were Africans who had 'evolved' far enough to adopt European attitudes and behaviour" (Wrong, 2001, p.52). This very particular status and its numerous advantages could be partly obtained by adopting European looks as African dandies were doing (Thomas, 2007). Current sapeurs are "at least the third generation of Congolese dandyism. Conscious of this heritage, some sapeurs define the sape as the result of a legacy and a proper education" resulting from the cultural native assimilation policies (Gondola, 1999, p.27). After independence in the People's Republic of Congo, the sapeurs were monitored and frowned upon since "the act of embracing French fashion constituted for the government authorities a gesture of assimilation" (Thomas, 2007, p.164).

Another critique of sapeurs had to do with their extreme spending on fashion and their acute attention on appearances, which leads them down a harmful spiral in society. French colonial rule in Congo intended to replace and annihilate Indigenous institutions, including those relating to social order and social status (Parker & Rathbone, 2007). The creation of an 'évolué' status created a new order, as explained previously, in which assimilated Congoleses benefited from privileged superior status with various benefits. Laugère (1989) sums up the situation quite accurately: "La Sape constitue une issue de secours, une formule pour conjurer l'exclusion sociale" (p.156). Martin (1994) added that sapeurs were incentivized to spend their wages on clothes by the established colonial value system as early as in the 1920s because "the social advantages of dressing well were so great" (p. 416). Let's rewind the history to better understand some important characteristics of the sapeurs. At the beginning of the SAPE, the members were mostly from the Bacongo sector of Brazzaville where all their institutions were located. This neighborhood was populated by a large majority of the Kongo ethny (Makouezi, 2013). The Kongo ethny has always been on the front scene of politics, followed by the Mbochi ethny who occupied the subordinate position while the Téké ethny had been completely excluded and marginalized for being considered responsible for colonisation due to the turning-point treaty between Makoko and Brazza enabling the creation and enforcement of a colonial government (Bazanquiza, 1992). Since colonisation, the Kongos have had a special relationship with France as they represented a certain form of elite which reinforced their existing supremacy in the Congolese socio-political scene. However, after independence, the Kongo's supremacy was overthrown, and their relatedness to France was perceived negatively and frowned upon after the Mbochi military coup in 1968 (Bazanquiza, 1992). At that time, the Kongos in Bacongo, who were now marginalized, created various social clubs including the Société des Ambianceurs et des Personnes Elégantes in an attempt to reposition themselves on the social ladder. Let's go

even further back into history, at the dawn of colonisation when French masters provided their houseboys with second-hand garments. Gondola (1999) argued the following:

Seduced by the snobby and refined elegance of coast men attire, houseboys were no longer satisfied with their masters' second-hand clothes and became unremitting consumers and fervent connoisseurs, spending extravagantly to acquire the latest fashions. (p.27)

Therefore, whether it was early African dandies or contemporary sapeurs, fashion and clothing were used in an ultimate attempt to be rehabilitated into a society that previously excluded and marginalized them. Bazanquisa (1992) sums it up perfectly, "à travers de la sape, les jeunes de Bacongo acquièrent le look des 'grand messieurs', de ceux qui ont réussi et retrouvent une considération sociale" (p.152).

Lastly, the sapologie movement revealed the deep impact of colonisation propaganda and the diffusion of multiple colonial imaginaries that led to a fascination and idealization for the coloniser and its culture in the colonised population (Knox, 2016; Steinkopf Frank, 2017). One of the colonial government strategies was to elevate the place of Paris and France in the mind of the colonized population to incite their desire to be associated with France and, ultimately, be willingly assimilated. This led to the creation of a colonial imaginary and fascination. Doho (2017) stated that "l'esprit des colonisés par le fait même des administrateurs coloniaux qui, par le jeu du racisme, ont su persuader les Noirs que l'Hexagone était un paradis" (p.199). However, these imaginary and idealization are concerning and problematic as they incentivize sapeurs to reproduce and imitate French norms, which "places France at the center" and turn sapeurs, at their expense, into "site[s] of neocolonial conquest" (Knox, 2016, p.82). Fascination and idealization for this constructed imaginary produced negative drifts in the sapeurs community. Indeed, they spend important amounts of their limited revenues to acquire the latest luxury griffes at the expense of basic needs like feeding themselves. In addition, this fascination has also perverse consequences on sapeurs' health and well-being who "use skin-whitening creams and other measures to fit a White beauty ideal" (Steinkopf Frank, 2017, p.4). While those drifts are concerning, another problematic tradition of sapeurs and the sapologie is the rite of passage allowing them to be recognized as a real Sapeur. This involves the immigration to Paris and becoming an aventurier (Estournel, 2018; Knox, 2016; Thomas, 2007). In the famous Mabanckou novel, Bleu-Blanc-Rouge (1998), the main prota-gonist Massala-Massala who moved to Paris to accomplish his journey and achieve the ultimate goal of being a real Parisien explained that "le vêtement est notre passeport. Notre religion. La France est le pays de la mode parce que c'est le seul endroit au monde ou l'habit fait encore le moine" (p.78). This quote truly highlights the very unique place of Paris in the mind of sapeurs who are willing to leave everything behind because of this persistent idealization of France. However, most aventuriers and milikistes who live in Paris have seen their dream completely fall to pieces as their reality is quite far from their expectations due to racism and marginalization of immigrants (Laugère, 1989). Therefore, it is primordial to "decolonize the imaginary" to prevent the perpetuation

of colonialism and neocolonialism constructs and their perverse consequences in the lives of Congolese sapeurs (Ben Jelloun, 1984).

The different points of view and arguments made above all defend the idea that the sapologie is a deviant practice produced by years of assimilation policies that created an idealization of France and that disturbed the social system and social order, making it deficient. Therefore, sapeurs spen-ding their entire revenue on their looks and devoting their life to it are an anomaly created by colonial rule and perpetuated by the persistent colonial imaginary. However, to put things into perspective, it is crucial to highlight that the cult of fashion as a social marker was not imported by French colonisers. This fashion culture was already Indigenous to the continent pre-colonial era which makes it inaccurate and false to attribute it solely to the colonial policies (Friedman, 1994; Thomas, 2007).

What if sapeurs were not the prime example of an assimilated population but the complete opposite? What if they were resisting colonial domination using subtle and creative peaceful means that spoke to the colonisers? Sapeurs are very proud and like to remind others of their affiliation with Matswa (Charpy, 2014). Matswa is an important figure in the struggle for Congolese independence. Matswa was a Congolese young man who served as a 'tirailleur africain' in the French army during Rif War. However, when he came back to Congo he was outraged about his downgrading and being treated as any other colonized people when he had put his life at risk for France (Charpy, 2014). Back in Paris, he met with numerous intellectuals and created in 1926 a pan-Africanist association called 'L'Amicale des Originaires de l'Afrique-Equatoriale Française' aimed to provide "secours mutuels, [...] prévoyance et [...] bienfaisance à vocation pan-Africaniste et progressiste" (Kubu Turé, 2007, p.9). The members and supporters of the Amicale were all determined and committed to dismantle the Code de l'Indigénat and the 'dictatorship' which were reducing the colonized population to an inferior rank subject to colonial oppression (Mantot, 2007). Matswa was a pioneer advocating for the emancipation of the 'African man' and his association was one of the first anti-colonialist groups in the Afrique-Equatoriale Française entirely based on humanitarian and egalitarian principles and relying on peaceful means (Mantot, 2007). Oral traditions passed on in sapeurs' families explain that Matswa was the founding father of the sapologie with his peaceful beliefs and his conviction that creating an African elite that is "well-educated, well-dressed, and benevolent could accelerate the evolution of Central Africa and thus gain independence from France with peaceful means" which he deemed to be more impactful than bloodshed violence (Vannocci Bonsi, 2019). Indeed, members of l'Amicale had to be well-dressed and elegant to attend meetings given Matswa's conviction on the direct correlation between elegance and independence (Charpy, 2014). Whether Matswa is de facto the father of sapologie or not, his philosophy regarding getting independence through peaceful means was quite groundbreaking and still found within the 10 commandments of Sapologie listed by Mouckacha, a contemporary sapeur: "#8 Tu ne seras pas violent, ni insolent" (Steinkopf Frank, 2017, p.185-186).

In the first part of this paper, we have analyzed the sapologie but we omitted the analysis of one crucial and game-changing aspect of their customs. Sapeurs are much more than African dandies wearing three-piece suits with bow ties, or as they call it 'gammes complètes'. They entirely reinvented fashion by breaking traditional norms (Charpy, 2014). Sapeurs have the ability and the charisma to wear approximately anything from uniforms, kilts to exuberant blazers and colorful suits. One famous sapeur and musician from Kinshasa, King Kesta Emeneya, summed it up: "The white man may have invented clothes, but we turned it into an art" (Sanders, 2006). Sapeurs did not adopt European clothes and fashion codes, they created something new out of it that is completely theirs while asserting their own identity. Knox (2016) explained this movement from a scholarly perspective:

The sapeurs deliberately subvert European fashion norms from within. Wearing his suit too large, for instance, becomes an act that reveals that the sapeur has not only mastered European fashion norms, but now creates his own rules. (p.45)

The intentions behind those extravagant, luxuriant, and unusual outfits could be either mockery of European norms or a very visible affirmation of self-determination which was not possible during the colonial era (Bhabha, 1984; Friedman, 1994; Gondola, 1999; Jorgensen, 2014). Both intentions reveal an ultimate form of resistance against the plethora of colonial norms imposed on the colonized population which prevented them from the ability of self-determination and identity building. Vannocci Bonsi (2019) highlighted the emancipatory aspect for the sapeurs who could take back control on their own identity:

La Sape is a response to a domination, an authoritarian power, which in some way invalidates the identity of the controlled subject. It is thus a way to transform and reorganize an atrocious and totalizing power – totalizing because it annihilates the dominant subject – such as the colonial rule and engaging in discourse with it, re-evaluating it, adapting it through the re-articulation of its deeper meaning. Colonialism tended to undermine both the memory and the cultural pride of the colonized people, but paradoxically in this case there is a total overturn. (para. 3)

While some scholars argue that sapologie is a mimicry of European norms, we should review the impact and underlying purposes of the act of mimicry itself. Bhabha (1984) highlighted that the pure rationale behind mimicry, whether it is intentional or not, is the "representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (p.126). Mimicry represents a threat to colonial rule as it is a kind of trompe l'oeil, highlighting the ineffectiveness of assimilation policies and reinforcing the ambivalence between rulers and the 'Others'. To bounce back of Bhabha's perspective of assimilation and colonial mimicry aiming to make 'the Other' similar but not too much, the sapeurs managed to seize the opportunity between assimilation and colonial mimicry and leverage it as a form of resistance with the creation and the assertion of a subversive identity.

Lastly, the sapologie's principles and customs were intended to reject the metropolitan colonial constructs and

imaginary of Africa as the 'land of poverty and under-development'. Misrepresentation of Africa is a recurrent contemporary plague that has been inherited from the colonial era. Colonisation was mainly explained by economic motives as Europeans needed access to Africa's extraordinary resource endowments as supply for their industrialization and the continent was also a new fruitful prospect for the trade of surplus industrialized goods given the increasingly saturated European market (Rimmer, 1978). However, governments had to come up with a greater explanation for colonisation to be broadly accepted and supported by their citizens. Since then, the African continent has been misrepresented as a homogeneous place of despair, violence, hunger and exotism that could only be saved by the West (Wainaina, 2019). Sapeurs are proving Western misconceptions wrong by mastering the art of fashion and inventing new norms. Through their savvy and in-depth knowledge and use of the French language they try to reject colonial constructs and propaganda that were imposed on them. Lyons argued that "their exuberant flamboyance serves as a lighting rod for the Congolese disenfranchised youth, guiding it away from Third World Status to a modern cosmopolitanism" (2014). From this perspective, the sapologie is an essential tool for decolonisation of Western mindsets and the creation of postcolonial identities empowering formerly colonized populations. With their outfits and their appearance, sapeurs are proving that the rest of the world is mistakenly labelling and mis-understanding Africa because of their colonized perspective and mindset. Adrien Ngudi, in an interview with Gondola (1999), stated that "Le mythe Afrique-misère, nous ne le voulons plus. Nous sommes en train de forger d'autres mythes. La Sape c'est une idéologie ; c'est contredire les forces de la misère" (p.1). Sapeurs are involved in a form of resistance against persistent and tenacious colonial constructs that still affect and impact the Republic of Congo and its population today by assimilating them with negative and reductive stereotypes. Sapeurs are trying to bridge the gap between the West and Congo through a medium that is familiar and common to both: fashion.

Conclusion

To conclude and open up the discussion to more contemporary debates, sapeurs of the 1960s in the post-independence Brazza-ville setting did not have the same concerns and problematics as contemporary sapeurs have. They were attempting to overcome the colonial legacies that were perpetuated by oppressive systems and provoked an identitarian crisis in society. However, the sapeurs with everything that their philosophy and traditions entail were proposing an alternative and another path to resist against those deeply rooted colonial legacies. Nevertheless, the sapologie is an evolving subculture which is now facing new types of pressions and criticisms. Paris is home to a large diaspora of Congolese sapeurs who are encountering new issues nonetheless strongly ancho-red in the colonial constructs. Sapeurs who left Brazzaville to pursue their initiation journey all the way up to Paris were confronted at their arrival with neo-colonial con-structs and imaginary, particularly regarding the French society's expectations on migrants' behaviours who should be "discreet and hard-working" (Charpy, 2014). Sapeurs are no longer resisting colonial oppression and domination, but rising

against one of its outgrowths: they are now rejecting the immigrant status and label imposed on them just like the colonized label was a few decades earlier.

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The line between bad and better is a border: an analysis of political violence, foreign policies, and

The line between bad and better is a border: an analysis of political violence, foreign policies, and economic prosperity in Kenya and Tanzania

Naya Sophia Moser

Introduction

Despite being neighbouring states and having several commonalities, Kenya

and Tanzania have followed different paths to become two vastly different states today. In pre-colonial times, both countries were under British rule until the early 1960s in which both countries became independent within five years of each other. Even though both countries shared many similarities, such as having populations ranging between 40 and 60 million inhabitants, relatively low GDPs per capital and similar temperate climates, they rode the path to statehood differently. Tanzania embraced Ujamaa, a Swahili word meaning 'familyhood' (Delehanty , 2020) which was used to describe leader Julius Nyerere's radical socialism that stripped the country of economic prosperity. On the other hand, Kenya followed a capitalist and international model, which created inequality and unrest within the state.

Thus, we can ask ourselves why these two nations differed in their evolution. This essay will explain how Kenya, who often followed a capitalist and internationally oriented approach, suffered more internal unrest but higher economic prosperity than Tanzania who explored socialism and strengthened its relations with African nations rather than Western ones at the expense of growth. This paper will demonstrate that the outcomes of Kenyan and Tanzanian statehoods are vastly different by examining the role of political leaders and cultural and tribal unity. Then, an analysis of the ways in which the countries' economic policies affected the people will be made. Finally, an exploration will be made about how the role of the international regime strongly influenced the chosen pattern of statehood.

How chosen languages increased the divide between Kenya and Tanzania

Language is closely related to political contexts in 20th century East Africa. Tanzania and Kenya, although neighbouring countries, adopted fairly different policies in regard to the regional language of Swahili. Tanzania took on a more socialist approach, while Kenya chose a more international and capitalistic method. Thus, when Tanzania chose Swahili, an African language, as their official and national language, it further unified the country because English, an overly complicated colonial language, and more dialects were no longer a norm. Kenya, however, chose English "as the ' gate of entry to a new world'" (Whiteley, 1956), which some considered a colonial vestige.

One of the reasons explaining why the implementation of Swahili in Kenya was quite ineffective was in part because "the number of tribal groups is larger; different language-groups are more evenly distributed" (ibid.). Another part that played an important role was the idea that English was used as a symbol of status and an opportunity for Kenyans to gain better skills and higher paying jobs. Whiteley's article on "The Changing Position of Swahili in East Africa" (1956) shows examples of Kenyans' views on English: "'If only I could speak English, I should get more pay'; ' If I were English-speaking, I should be able to live in a new house '; ' I plan to buy . . . when I finish my English exams.'". This phenomenon is uniquely Kenyan as Nyerere did not believe in the individual acquisition of wealth This makes the distinction of language between the two nations all the more obvious. We can now see that the English language was considered a capitalist asset in Kenya, which explains why the socialist Tanzanian president would choose to return to Swahili.

How ethnicity played into kenyan conflict and why it was excluded from the tanzanian narrative

It is important to understand the role of ethnic party bans, which researcher Anika Moroff describes as "the banning of ethnic and other identity-based parties [which] has become the norm in sub-Saharan Africa" (2010), in most regions other than the ones she exposes in her report. These played an important role in influencing party politics in East African states such as Tanzania and Kenya. Tanzania enacted one of these bans in 1992, while Kenya only enacted theirs in 2008. Ethnic party bans are considered important for equality because, without them, political parties become deeply entrenched in tribal and ethnic conflict (Branch and Cheeseman, 2009).

It is argued that ethnic conflict is not as prevalent in Tanzania. One of the reasons for this would be the legacy of post-colonial Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere. Indeed, Nyerere placed an importance on separating corruption from political contexts during his tenure as the country's leader. In Tanzania, "[no] tribal language could be used at these meetings and no appeal for votes could be made on grounds of race, tribe or religion" (Pratt, 1999). He "adopted an intensive nation-building policy, which included the promotion of Swahili as a national language and the use of TANU […], as an instrument of integration and assimilation" (ibid.). A 2010 report on the importance of these bans highlights that "[ethnicity] played a significant role in Kenyan politics, while in Tanzania this factor never gained such importance" (Moroff, 2010). This is due to Nyerere's continued emphasis on the separation of ethnicity and identity-based groups from his national politics. The author explains that this is the reason why large-scale ethnic violence was not prevalent in Tanzania either before or after the end of the colonial period, and this was inevitably helped by Nyerere's aggressive policies.

Kenya, however, suffered many spells of ethnic violence, especially along the borders of its capital, Nairobi, such as the 2002 Kariobangi attacks. Two rival vigilante gangs sparred, with the Mungiki retaliating for the death of their comrades at the hands of the Taliban. This conflict was a recurring crisis in Nairobi and citizens felt disempowered at the lack of action by their leaders. Anderson explains that "[although] there is no direct evidence or government or KANU backing for Mungiki, there has been considerable press speculation about the likely political 'sponsorship' of the movement" (2002). Kenyan politicians have an advantage when they control a militant group, rather than having that group be allied to an opponent. Anderson explains that these groups are often the result of "failed institutions", which are prevalent within the Kenyan system. In his book, Branch explains that "[key institutions showed no sign of having learned any lessons from the violence either" (2011). This was a common occurrence for Kenyans; to feel ignored by their leaders who often worked for their political gain, rather than for the good of their nation. For example, as gangs grow in size and influence, they become political weapons that MPs prefer to use to their advantage, rather than to obliterate for the sake of their citizens.

Thus, ethnic bans are seen here to be an advantage to culling these specific types of violent outbursts, as Tanzania, which enacted one earlier than Kenya, did not suffer the same plight.

Mohabe Nyirabu explains in his 2002 article, "The Multiparty Reform Process in Tanzania: The Dominance of the Ruling Party", that Tanzanian president separated ethnicity from his politics, even within his attempt at a democratic one-party state, and Kenya did not. This separation is one of the main reasons political violence and unrest was not as prevalent in Tanzania.

Differing economic policies: socialism and capitalism

Tanzania chose to follow a socialist approach post-independence as "Nyerere was distressed by and hostile towards the acquisitive individualism that exposure to the wealth of the developed world had generated" (Pratt, 1999). He also wanted to ensure "that Tanzania not surrender control of the direction of its economic development to international capitalist interests or international agencies dominated by the major industrialized states" (ibid.). Nyerere turned Tanzania "to the Left, concluding that self-reliance and socialism provided the only path forward for underdeveloped African countries." (Gordon, 1987). His policies did not align with what was discussed by Kenyan leaders at the time.

Then, it is important to focus on the economic conflicts that were taking place. A strong indicator of the difference between Tanzania and Kenya's approaches can be demonstrated by this quote from Pratt's 1999 article, "Many in Africa at the time, […], took the position that economic growth should be the primary task and that pursuing greater equity could be left to later generations, when African countries would have more left to redistribute. Nyerere never embraced this rationalization." (Pratt, 1999). Tanzania chose to follow a socialist approach post-independence as "Nyerere was distressed by and hostile towards the acquisitive individualism that exposure to the wealth of the developed world had generated" (ibid.). He also wanted to ensure "that Tanzania not surrender control of the direction of its economic development to international capitalist interests or international agencies dominated by the major industrialized states" (ibid.).

Kenya did not follow Nyerere's pattern and worked on acquiring wealth to create a stronger state in the future. Although their volume of wealth did not grow as fast as they had hoped, in the second decade after independence, they could rely on tourism and foreign investments, which Tanzania could not. Even game parks that straddled the border between the two nations were more often operated by Kenya tour companies than Tanzanian ones. Tanzanians also held a fundamental distrust of the formerly colonial policies still adopted by Kenya after its independence.

Kenya faced another problem that Tanzania never experienced: income inequality. This was a huge issue in Kenya. However, "[within] the African community in Tanzania, income differences were still not vast, if only because most were still very poor" (ibid.). Nyerere was working extremely hard to avoid letting the class divides take over his country. In Kenya, "[relatively] privileged groups may fear that improvements in conditions for relatively low-status groups will allow those groups more successfully to compete and threaten privileged groups at a later time" (Bienen, 1974). This clearly illustrates the capitalist mindset adopted by Kenyans, and their policies

which promoted self-sufficiency and every man for themselves.

Outward and inward foreign policies

Throughout this paper, the fundamental differences between Kenya and Tanzania's responses to different international issues were revealed. A pertinent example of this is how the two countries resolve conflict with their neighbours on the African continent. Kenya turned to the United States for help during their territorial conflict with Somalia in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Tanzania, however, resolved their conflict with Ugandan dictator, Idi Amin, using solely Tanzanian troops. This highlights fundamental differences between the foreign policy of both nations. Indeed, "Tanzania has maintained a policy of strict non-alignment, while Kenya has developed close strategic ties to the United States" (Gordon, 1987). This is explained by Nyerere's socialist views and his desire to create a stronger sense of African unity. Kenya, on the other hand, chose to enter the international market, which led to it developing diplomatic and intentional relations with Western powers.

In the late 1970s, Kenya and Somalia began a dispute about the north-eastern portion of Kenya, as it was largely populated by ethnic Somalis. The conflict was heavily influenced by international actors, as Somalia was undergoing extended military disputes within its borders. Kenya decided to enter into a military agreement with the United States and asked for weapons and supplies. As well, "Kenya decided to increase its ties to Washington in hopes of gaining American leverage against any Somali efforts to threaten Kenya more actively" (Gordon, 1987). Kenya's foreign policy is thus shown to be more outward oriented, and more willing to engage in cooperation from outside the African continent.

In a contrasting example, Tanzania responded to the crisis in Uganda with only its own army. In 1979, Tanzania decided to step in to help remove prominent dictator Idi Amin from power. Their original plan was to "play only a limited role in the overthrow of Amin". This did not happen. Amin was operating with the help of the Soviets and when they retreated, Libya stepped in to provide help to Uganda. Tanzania then decided to put 40,000 of its own troops into Uganda in order to successfully overthrow Idi Amin. Ultimately, Tanzania suffered from this decision as it could never properly extricate its troops without completely failing Uganda and it is why the "Tanzanians could not help but become the de facto authority in Uganda. A year after Amin's fall, over 15 000 Tanzanian troops remained in Uganda" (Gordon, 1987). They did not turn to outside powers for aid and attempted to resolve an African conflict with exclusively African actors. This is a pattern that aligns itself strongly with Tanzania's foreign policy.

This policy outlook contributes to the unrest within Kenya's internal structure. Kenya did not spend as much time as Tanzania working on creating a national unity in the postcolonial era. Their Kenyan identity was not as strongly consolidated, and they were generally more open to accepting inter-national interference within the African context. Tanzania, on the other hand, was extremely invested in the concept of an African identity and unifying the continent in a global context and did not hesitate to denounce regimes it found

oppressive, even those of their neighbours.

Conclusion

Throughout the events described in this paper, Kenya and Tanzania can be seen to be neighbours in geography but not in policy. First, an examination was made concerning the differing use of the Swahili language in both countries. Then, an analysis was made the of ethnicity and identity within political parties in the East African context, which shows why Kenya was more exposed to forms of political violence. Lastly, through an analysis of both countries economic and international policies, Tanzania and Kenya were shown to fundamentally differ in their methodologies. Ultimately, Kenya's outward approach failed to quell unrest within its internal structure and Tanzania's Ujamaa unified the country in its economic doom. Neither of the two states has a perfect approach in either curbing political violence, enacting foreign policy, or creating economic prosperity. However, they highlight what we already know: they are separated both physically and ideologically by a border.

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Pan-Africanism and the Contributions of Black Intellectuals: The legacies of George Padmore and Marcus Garvey

written by Bernice Mwaura

The period between the end of the 1800s up until the 1970's was a significant and tumultuous stage in charting the present and future of black people in the Americas and Africa. The 1863 Emancipation Proclamation set off a chain of events in North America that would see some progress and major setbacks in the struggle for racial equality. The movement toward emancipation of enslaved black populations was progress but this was followed by the tumultuous Reconstruction Period, Jim Crow laws as well as the 1884 Berlin Conference that placed the second-largest land mass on Earth in direct control of imperial powers. It should come as no surprise then that this period was marked by the rise of what historians Manning Marable and Anthony Bogues describe as the "black radical intellectual tradition (Bouges, 2016, 13)", represented by African Americans, Africans and individuals from the Caribbean who were concerned with envisioning a better future for black people all around the world. Two important figures from this history of black radical intellectual tradition will be thoroughly analyzed in the scope of this essay: George Padmore and Marcus Garvey. These intellectuals were ultimately both committed to the betterment of the black condition, however their approaches to this end, through Pan-Africanism, tended to differ. This essay aims to highlight elements of their legacies and differences in their ideologies that drove a wedge between them.

George Padmore is one of the most important figures in the history of Pan-Africanism and African emancipation and yet, as historian Bill Schwarz explains Padmore "barely registers in contemporary historical memory (Schwarz, 2019, 134)". It is difficult to explain why there was so little initially written about Padmore given his life-long contributions to Pan-Africanist thought but one of the first accounts that detailed events in his life was penned by his close compatriot CLR James. In the early 1960s James released an unpublished manuscript Notes on the Life of George Padmore detailing their childhood in Trinidad, Padmore's gradual development as a militant revolutionary (James, n. d., 6) and emergence as an ardent functionary of Communism. Padmore was born Malcolm Meredith Nurse in the early 1900s to a "well-regarded elementary teacher (Schwarz, 2019, 132)". He had a flair for writing that is witnessed in his teenage years spent as a reporter for the Trinidad Guardian and he eventually travelled to the United States in pursuit of higher education. It is in America that he developed a militant consciousness that would come to shape the rest of his life. He transferred between various universities; Fisk, New York University and Howard before ultimately dropping out of academic pursuits and becoming a fully fledged member of the American Communist Party. His early political activity considerably impressed the party who granted him "one-way tickets to Moscow (Schwarz, 2019, 132)" to serve as the head of the Negro Bureau at the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU).

In this elevated position Padmore was able to define himself as an "expert on the colonial and racial question (Schwarz, 2019, 134)". In 1931 he penned The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers arguing that Negroes around the world were exploited "as a class and as a nation" (Schwarz, 2019, 136) and that the source of this exploitation was in the "systems of" (Schwarz, 2019, 136) capitalism. He also took charge as editor of The Negro Worker, a publication that framed the plight of black labourers

across Africa, the Americas and the "Atlantic world (Schwarz, 2019, 135)". Another major achievement was his involvement in the organization of lectures and conferences for black delegates from all around the world. The first of these conferences was successfully held in Hamburg in 1930 but was most certainly an arduous venture to pull off. Both James and Schwarz detail his "clandestine missions (Schwarz, 2019, 135)" around the globe as he arranged passports, disguises, and routes for delegates from surveillance states like South Africa. These conferences formed integral networks of Pan-African intellectuals and radicals who had concerned themselves chiefly with the black condition and would develop the consciousness of future African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. From 1933 however, Padmore noted the Soviet Union's shifting foreign policy toward imperialism as it aligned itself with Western nations to take a stance against the incoming threat of Fascism. Padmore became disillusioned with this policy as Moscow wound back support for "anti-imperialist campaigns (Schwarz, 2019, 137)". He resigned from his position and moved to London from where he would continue organizing, pen Africa and World Peace in 1937, Pan-Africanism or Communism in 1956 before finally moving to Ghana to support Nkrumah as they worked toward their vision of a united "African constituency" (Tunteng, 1974, 42).

Meanwhile, Padmore's predecessor Marcus Garvey has been cited as the "most famous West Indian of all time" (Schwarz, 2019, 134). Garvey occupies a complicated position in Pan-Africanist history as his legacy has been marred by contradictions, inflammatory remarks and a steamship scandal that was the topic of heavy criticism from WEB Du Bois. At the same time, his contributions to the betterment of the black condition cannot be understated. Garvey was a trailblazer in the realm of black nationalism, a gifted orator and writer who managed to instill an incessant spirit of black pride in black people around the globe. Garvey's legacy would come to inspire the next wave of black intellectuals including James and Padmore who read his newspaper The Negro World in Trinidad during their adolescent years. Like Padmore, Garvey's travels outside of Jamaica, his country of birth, made him acutely aware of the subjugation and racial relegation of black people. Historian Wilson Jeremiah Moses frames the issue, wherever Garvey went "white people ruled and black people were subordinate" (Wilson, 2004, 236). He returned to Jamaica in 1914 and formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) with a goal of "uniting all the Negroes in the world into one great organization" (Rogers, 1955, 158). UNIA organized "large public meetings" (Wilson, 2004, 240) that attracted big crowds, but Garvey grew ambitious about spreading his message outside of the Caribbean and into the American mainstream. He also grew interested in building a trade school in Jamaica on par with the Tuskegee Institute headed by educator Booker T Washington. He solicited Washington's assistance and made plans to meet him, but Washington died in 1915 a few months before Garvey's arrival.

Garvey travelled to the United States and was met with a country deeply fractured by racial tensions, fallout from the First World War and difficult economic conditions. The year 1915 had also marked the resurgence of the Ku

Klux Klan whose cells were "rapidly spreading across the country" (Rogers, 1955, 154) and whose continued aim was the terrorising and lynching of black men. In the matter of a year Garvey catapulted himself as a "leader of an impressive organization" (Wilson, 2004, 243) as he tapped into the "anger and resentment" (Wilson, 2004, 234) that black Americans felt and their aversion to "prospects of racial integration" (Wilson, 2004, 234). He based the American chapter of UNIA in New York as more black Americans became aligned with his message. At its peak UNIA membership was between "30,000 and 80,000" (Wilson, 2004, 248) people. Garvey built his philosophy on Afrocentricity and a belief in a "glorious" (Wilson, 2004, 242) past of African civilizations. He utilized Biblical script to envision an alternate reality for major figures in Christianity; Jesus was repositioned as a black individual while demonic entities were "white" (Rogers, 1955, 158). To this end he also founded an "African Orthodox Church" (Rogers, 1955, 159) that campaigned against the idea of a "white God" (Rogers, 1955, 242). In keeping with instilling a sense of pride in black people Garvey took on a messianic persona, his passionate oration and grandiose regalia served to cast him as a "Black Moses" (Wilson, 2004, 250) in the eyes of contemporaries. Garvey's personality cult inspired a legion of African Americans to believe that he was destined to lead them out of the "house of bondage" (Wilson, 2004, 250) and into the promised land in Africa. This return to the continent was dubbed the Back-to-Africa movement that would be accomplished by building an extensive and powerful black nation in Africa.

To get this grand scheme rolling Garvey centered another aspect of his philosophy on "business enterprise" (Wilson, 2004, 247). UNIA was successful in raising "large amounts of capital" (Wilson, 2004, 247) from membership fees and donations. Much of this capital was also acquired from selling shares of his steamship company The Black Star Line which would eventually be utilized to transport African Americans to the continent during the "time of the great migration" (Rogers, 1955, 161). Unfortunately, this company was riddled with mismanagement and by this point Garvey had become a subversive in the eyes of American national security. Garvey had become increasingly irrational and refused to "face an unacceptable reality" (Wilson, 2004, 232) that his grandiose vision for a black nation would not come to fruition. He was arrested in 1922 under mail fraud charges, indicted in 1923 and subsequently deported from the USA in 1927 from where he returned to Jamaica. He spent his latter years attempting to expand the reach of UNIA outside of the Americas but eventually succumbed to a stroke and passed away in 1940.

Both Padmore and Garvey were important figures and made significant contributions to the Pan-Africanist movement. However, these men differed in their approaches to Pan-Africanism and thus this caused tensions between them. Publicly, run-ins between Padmore and Garvey always ended in clashing or debate. When Garvey moved to London following his deportation from America, Padmore and James made it a point to attend his meetings, "heckle him and generally expose him" (James, n. d., 31) as a fraud. James details the odd significance these occurrences were as he and Padmore positioned themselves as the "leaders of the struggle against

imperialism in London" (James, n. d., 31) by denouncing another supposed West Indian emancipation leader. It is evident that their differing positionality in regard to Capitalism and Communism, Afrocentrism and Imperialism was sure to put them at odds with each other.

Padmore and Garvey were diametrically opposed due to their respective stances on Capitalism and Communism. Padmore was a Marxist who believed in only one way to "eliminate all injustices: the overthrow of capitalism" (Tunteng, 1974, 33). He wrote extensively about the exploitation of black workers all around the world by "capitalist exploiters in order to extract super-profits" (Padmore, 1931, 78) in The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers. He spoke of prescient revolutionary movements that would revolt against "the common enemy – World Capitalism" (Padmore, 1931, 7). Garvey on the other hand was an intellectual who saw opportunity in Capitalism as a means to alleviate black people out of abject poverty. In fact, Historian Wilson Jeremiah argues that the major reason black Americans were so attracted to Garvey was "less for his showmanship than because of his commitment to black economic power" (Wilson, 2004, 251). Garvey appealed to commercial values and "attitudes of self-help" (Wilson, 2004, 248) that could potentially elevate the black economic future and place them in a position of power. His enterprise through the Black Star Line and smaller businesses throughout the country signalled to black Americans that they too had opportunity through capitalism to build and retain wealth in their own communities. In this regard Padmore was viciously critical of Garvey and warned his readers to evade the illusions of Garveyism arguing that it was a "reactionary expression in Negro bourgeois nationalism" (Padmore, 1931, 126). Even after Padmore repudiated his association to Communism he still avoided a Capitalist interpretation of his work choosing rather in Pan-Africanism or Communism to urge that Africans rely on their own systems of knowledge.

The other major difference between Padmore and Garvey was in their interpretation of Afrocentricity and is evidenced in the scope of their work. Afrocentric ideology can be described as calling for a "worldwide unity among All African peoples, whether in Europe, Africa, or the New World" (Wilson, 2004, 237) due to their common ancestral heritage. But Afrocentrism can take on differing interpretations, on one hand it appears as a foundational tenet in Pan-Africanism and at the same time it can appear as a counter/remedy to the European hegemony, or Eurocentrism, by seeking solutions in African systems of knowledge. If WEB Du Bois was the father of Pan Africanism, then Padmore was the "Father of African Emancipation" (Trewhela, 1988, 42). Padmore located the scope of his work on advocating for and championing the anti-imperialist struggle. His interpretation of Afrocentrism centered the African continent first above all things. Thus, he was in constant dialogue with the continent and worked to build networks with African anti-imperialist leaders such as Nkrumah, Kenyatta and Haile Selassie. He took on a prominent role in the organization the International African Friends of Abyssinia (IAFFA) after the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. He also eventually moved to West Africa and became a close advisor to Nkrumah as they deliberated a Pan-African vision for the continent. Garvey on the other hand inspired numerous African

intellectuals but the scope of his work focused on the diasporic African community. His vision of a black state in Africa, and self-proclamation as the President of Africa was not done with any consultation to actual Africans on the continent. His Afrocentrism focused on building a consciousness among diasporic Africans but did not accurately address Africa. In fact, Liberia was entirely suspicious of Garvey's self-positioning as the President of Africa as they feared Garvey planned to set up his black nation within the country. Nkrumah would also come to explain that "Garvey's ideology was concerned with black nationalism as opposed to African nationalism" (qtd in Tunteng, 37).

Finally, another key difference between Padmore and Garvey is witnessed in their attitudes toward imperialism. Throughout his books and articles, Padmore's inherent aversion to imperialism is clear. He cites it as a brutal and inhuman institution that needed to be uprooted in its entirety. He went on to "stretch the concept of fascism" (Schwarz, 2019, 139) to argue that colonialism was "transmuting into a mode of fascism" (Schwarz, 2019, 141). Garvey on the other hand has had contradictory moments in his attitude to imperialism. He criticized colonialism and imperialism in the essay Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World but would also come to associate himself with British imperialists in London as he exhibited gratitude for their 'civilizing mission' in Africa. Moreover, scholar Jérémie Dagnini details Garvey's hope that one day "the Black race would produce its own Hitler" (Dagnini, 2008, 202). These types of sentiments reveal an alignment that Garvey had to imperialism, perhaps not in its subjugation of black people but rather Garvey appears to have admired the global power imperialism had consolidated and wished for that to be emulated by his black nation.

These were the major ideological differences between Padmore and Garvey's approaches but ultimately both men must be lauded for the contributions they made to Pan-Africanism and the anti-imperialist struggle. Padmore, in later years would come to celebrate Garvey's life and accomplishments indicating that while these intellectuals had differed, they were united in their desire to see the improvement of the black experience across the world.

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A critique of the Film Timbuktu: The Paradox of extremism

written by Thalie Emond

This essay will discuss Abderrahmane Sissako's film Timbuktu (2014), which covers the stories of multiple inhabitants of a remote area located in Mali, which is occupied by radicalized jihadist soldiers. The paper will provide an explanation of the issues presented, a thorough analysis of the narrative, and several references to the insights of Mahmood Mamdani.

Above all, Timbuktu explores terrorism in relation to themes, such as rural life, kinship and human vulnerability on all sides. In spite of the constant atmosphere of terror cast upon small town residents and, to a lesser extent, farmers dwelling nearby in the Sahara Desert, most carry on with their daily routines while trying to find joy in the most mundane things. For example, children play with an invisible soccer ball as radicalized jihadists forbid the practice of Western sports. Individuals who disobey such a rule face up to 20 lashes. Moreover, the film displays family and camaraderie bonds through impactful visual storytelling and dialogues between characters. As such, scenes involving the Tuareg family portray the bliss and idyll of rural familial life while those with a jihadist veteran comforting an agitated recruit when filming a propaganda video. In a sense, these scenes humanize people who are often depersonalized and reduced to monoliths, which prevents Western audiences from under-standing them. From this perspective, the emotional reactions of personages reveal a vulnerable side that helps audiences relate to victims of terrorism: locals as much as soldiers. In short, the inhabitants seem the most stable, perseverant and close to their values as opposed to their occupiers and to what the mainstream media claims.

Then, the film highlights the absurdity of radical religious movements, which often contradict the actual principles maintained by the population in general. In fact, the village's imam reprimands jihadist soldiers for wearing shoes in a mosque and forcing marriage without parental consent. The contrast between the two views is important as it is one that most Westerners are not often exposed to. Furthermore, the jihadist group, which is composed of individuals from both the Islamic and Western world, imposed Sharia law on the occupied Malian zone. Hence, the population faces harsh punishments for actions as harmless as singing after the curfew to more serious ones like murder. For example, a woman was sentenced to 20 lashes for singing and two people were stoned for being in the same room while unmarried. Such scenes remind us how similar we are to people from other places and how much we take freedom for granted. Many scenes demonstrate the ways in which jihadist groups are inconsistent with the laws they uphold. This is because they forbid people from playing soccer, yet they argue about the FIFA World Cup. In sum, viewers of this film witness the tragedy of being deprived from basic liberties against one's own will as they relate to fictional individuals in warzones by virtue of sharing the same mundane activities.

Next, the film encompasses topics, such as the human creation of geopolitical systems, kinship bonds and pastoral life, and one of the arguments in Mahmood Mamdani's article *Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism* (2001), which suggests that laws form political identities distinct from cultural identities. First, the movie revolves around a region under siege by other individuals who imposed their

radical and violent vision of Islam on locals. Contrarily to what radical jihadists claim, God is not the creator of such a perfect geopolitical system; it is a man-made creation. Obviously, the system is flawed and so are humans. As Mamdani's states in his article: "[the Sharia law] may not change historically, [but] its application by humans on earth is susceptible to change" (2001, p. 6). Second, kinship bonds are an important feature that showcases the immemorial values of African cultures on family. For example, the Tuareg family acts as a support system to a fatherless boy; the fish merchant finds the strength to survive under the regime in her mother's words; and jihadist soldiers of different backgrounds or ethnicity bond over shared values and a common goal very sinister in nature. Also, the narrative presents cattle raising as a source of subsistence as well as an expensive commodity. For instance, the father of the Tuareg family must pay 40 cows to avoid his death sentence for killing a neighbouring fisherman. Fourth, with reference to Mamdani's article (2001), radical jihadist movements interpret the Sharia law in a way that creates false identities based on immeasurable and abstract concepts such as personal religiousness (p. 12). The fact that whether women wear a veil or not does not determine her religious conviction.

To conclude, Sissako's Timbuktu portrays the realities of ordinary Malian individuals struggling under the occupation of a radical jihadist group, which serve as representation of how immoral and absurd extremism is. The essay first describes the central themes of the film, which are rural life, kinship, and human vulnerability. After, it points out the contradictory nature of radical religious groups, such as the one in the movie who violates the laws that it imposes on others. The third paragraph links topics covered in class with aspects of the film, such as man-made geopolitical systems, social connections, and pastoral lifestyle, and it references Mamdani's perception on political identities emerging from legislation. All in all, Timbuktu helps viewers gain a deeper level of understanding of the emotional state of terrorism victims as well as the paradox of radical jihadist movements. The film's strengths lie in the diversity of languages used in dialogues and in the humanization of personages. It does not feed into Western preconceptions.

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Compassion

written by Redletters

Winter breaks forth,
Spring rains,
Summer's scorching heat set ablaze,
And autumn returns.

The seasons and years go by
As my heart hurts,
It breaks,
It aches.
Hear us.
In our pain.

Mend the broken,
Heal the depth of these wounds.
For I carry enough scars.
Pain has dug far too deep at the roots.

In suffering, I cry for the new day.
My Lord, you who died and who rose
In order,
For the pain to be wiped away!

But those who falsely wear His name –
Who profess godliness but whose heart betrays –
They who refuse to listen,
For their heart is closed to compassion.
ርሀራሄ - "Reherahé"

They can never stand nor
Do they understand the heart for
the Father of the hurting.
But the Lord is not silent.
He is at work, even in the waiting.
He declares:

"For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy,
Now I will arise," says the Lord;
"I will set him in the safety for which he yearns."
(Psalm 12:5)

As we march out of misery
As we yearn for the promise
We hold onto His every word.

"The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace."
(Exodus 14:14)

When Peace Becomes War: The Colonial Enterprise of the UN Security Council

written by Leïla Ahouman

Created in 1945, the United Nations (UN) was the world's first commitment to global governance, the idea that the planet is formed of a community of states that best tackles international problems through cooperation and concerted action. More than 60 years later, the UN changed into a complex system comprising 193 member states and 44,000 employees dispatched over dozens of sub-organizations with overlapping duties (United Nations Careers). The central function of the UN is promoting its three pillars, peace and security, development, and human rights across its six main organs through the rule of law (United Nations). Though these principles are deemed universal and theoretically guarantee the protection of all peoples of the world, a close examination of the operations of the Security Council, the organization's ultimate decisional body, reveals a much darker picture. In fact, the capitalism, colonialism, and racism embedded in the United Nations' unequal power structure inherently shape the global governance agenda in the favor of Western nations to the expense of African ones. In the age of globalization, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) first and foremost secures its longstanding hegemony through the management of peacekeeping missions. As the African continent is the most impacted by climate change, civil war, and poverty, peacekeeping operations contradict the UN's claims of international solidarity in legitimizing the imperial domination of European sovereignty, ignoring the undeniable role colonial powers play in creating the very life-threatening situations it pretends to solve and perpetuating dishonest framings of global issues that have devastative impacts for local populations on the ground.

Explaining the Security Council's commitment to Peacekeeping

Although the UN Charter does not overtly mention it, peacekeeping missions have become the United Nations' largest task (Howard & Dayal, 2017). While action regarding some international matters requires the votes of all UN member states in the General Assembly, this is not the case for peacekeeping mandates that are exclusively authorized and closed by the Security Council's colonial powers that form the "P-3": France, the United States and Great Britain (74). The P-3 may launch peacekeeping operations under Chapter VI or Chapter VII of the Charter that respectively outline diplomatic strategies and allow coercive measures to stop aggression, like sanctions and the use of force (74). However, scholars argue that starting with their burst in the 1990s, peacekeeping operations starkly differ from their traditional motivations (Gutner, 2017). More than ever before, they are now authorized under Chapter VII - despite no proof that force increases stability -, may go without the consent of all parties and do not prioritize successful exit (Gutner, 2017 & Howard & Dayal, 2017). In contrast, the representatives of the P-3 favor the military defeat of armed rebels to supposedly protect civilians over peace enforcement (Howard & Dayal, 2017).

The truth is that the UNSC's authorization of peacekeeping missions is the single most important vehicle of 21st-century Western colonialism in Africa. Not only has no country from the Global South ever pushed Chapter VII mandates allowing the use of force, but their authorization has influenced political developments in this region more than anywhere else on the planet (97). Of all past peacekeeping missions

authorized by the P-3, 23 were in Africa, compared to only 7 in the Middle East, 8 in Europe, 8 in the Americas (of which half, interestingly, were in Haiti where US paternalism is a publicly acknowledged fact) and 9 in Asia and the Pacific (Howard & Dayal, 2017 & United Nations Peacekeeping). Similarly, of the current 14 missions worldwide, half are in Africa (United Nations Peacekeeping). Those who explain the outstanding presence of UN peace efforts in Africa by the rise in civil and political instability of the 1990s fail to mention how this burst in social unrest is a direct reaction to UN policies.

Indeed, in forcing African governments to implement the 1980s and 1990s neoliberal Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, two UN-affiliated organizations, the UN directly propelled civil unrest in Africa as the population manifested its discontentment with the resulting retreat of the welfare state and repressive authoritarianism (Abrahamsen, 2000). First, because voting power in the World Bank and the IMF is proportional to the amount of capital invested, rich countries control and hence design policies that fit their financial interests (12). With the US holding the largest share of votes, the G7 accounts for 40% of the voting power, compared to barely 4% for the entire Sub-Saharan Africa (12). Not surprisingly, then, the SAPs emphasized the privatization and liberalization of export-based economies that facilitated foreign investment and justified massive resource extraction for the "economic growth" preached by the UN (9). It thus only makes sense that as the neoliberal SAPs dramatically worsened quality of life in Africa, propelling inflation, poverty, unemployment, and inequality, the UNSC's narrative of "good governance" and "democratization" transformed peacekeeping mandates into militarized responses to what the P-3 perceived as "security threats" (9). In other words, the Western-induced accelerated incorporation of Africa into the unequal global capitalist economy intrinsically fueled domestic turmoil that in turn supported the new valuation of the use of force in UN peace enforcement strategies.

Other than their dismissal of how Western capitalism spurs conflict in Africa, contemporary peacekeeping mandates are nevertheless problematic for multiple reasons, starting with their inadequate understanding of sovereignty.

The International Dominance of Westphalian Sovereignty: Mapping the Origins

Peacekeeping mandates take place within the wider ideological concept on which the United Nations is based: sovereignty, and more importantly the equality of all sovereign states under the law. Under this principle, all states agree to respect the "sovereignty" of other states in refraining to intervene in other states' internal affairs (Weiss, 2017). The state is the very building block of the United Nations, as according to the 1945 UN Charter, state leaders are solely responsible for implementing human rights within their borders in agreeing to enforce collective security, peaceful settlement of disputes, the non-use of force and non-intervention (Weiss, 2017 & Weil, 2020). This idea entails that through the UN, sovereignty can be violated when a state struggles to provide - or deliberately threatens - peace, security, human rights, and

development to its population, in which case the "international community" may intervene to promote peace arrangements. Human rights violations taking place in a given member state's jurisdiction hence represent the unique international exception that allows the UN to condone a breach of state sovereignty.

Today, the most extreme expression of this principle in international affairs is best illustrated by the United Nations' adoption of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) to support peacekeeping missions. The Responsibility to Protect was first articulated in the 2001 report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) funded by Canada for the UN (Trent & Schnurr, 2018). The report redefines sovereignty as no longer attached to the principle of non-intervention emphasized at the end of World War II and instead places human rights above state security (Getachew, 2019). In this sense, R2P prioritizes the idea that global governance actors must break a state's sovereignty if this given state fails to protect its citizens from gross violations (Trent & Schnurr, 2018). Since 2001, states are exclusively responsible for protecting people from "genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity" and if they fail to do so, the "responsibility to protect falls on the international community" (Getachew, 2019, p.225). With the 21st-century introduction of R2P, states not only *can* but *should* violate sovereignty to protect human rights conventions, a clear change from the 1945 UN Charter that did not advocate for foreign intervention with such insistence. Now, the international community considers sending UN soldiers in violent domestic conflict a moral duty more than a last-resort option.

This logic behind the justification of peacekeeping operations is first problematic for it assumes sovereignty is universal, rather than an immediate consequence of violent European colonization that established an obvious hierarchy in the modern state system. Since the territorial state is presently the most important legal-political entity on the planet, one looking at any world map tends to consider the modern division of the globe into "countries" natural when in truth, it is inseparable from processes of white capitalist accumulation. In fact, with the goal of ending religious wars, Europeans signed the 1648 treaty of Westphalia that allowed a ruler to determine the religion of the territorial entity he governed – meaning a single ruler controlled individual nation-states with clear territorial borders (162). As Europeans increasingly expanded their empires over the 18th and 19th centuries, sending their "civilized" surplus populations to the Americas and enslaving African "savages" while extracting natural resources, they used sovereignty to annex the new land they conquered (Persaud, 2001). Whereas European states were able to freely conduct their own domestic affairs as "sovereign" peoples, this same sovereignty subjugated colored populations to colonizers who managed them as "natives" living in the novel geographical units they exploited (114). The sovereignty, therefore, permitted the legal transformation of independent lands and peoples into colonized subjects of European territorial extensions, and hence can only be understood as the key enabler of the present Western-controlled, highly racialized capitalist economy. It is four hundred years of colonial rape, theft, murder and coercion against non-Europeans rather than utopian "universality" that allowed Westphalian

sovereignty to dominate the entire planet.

This forced imposition of sovereignty thereafter translated into African nations' inferior levels of international political power. Indeed, the sovereignty white colonizers envisioned for weak European states was very different from the sovereignty they enforced in Africa. Because of their subjective feelings of racial superiority, they designed externally imposed structures of cultural and economic marginalization on Africans that simultaneously fueled European states' access to African natural resources (Grovogui, 2001). For example, Belgium and Switzerland owe their survival to today's P-3, France, Great Britain, and the US, who decided to include the weakest European states into continental structures of power for political and economic imperial motives (37). During the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference, Western powers gave King Leopold II of Belgium the private ownership of the Congo Free state, knowing that the Congo was 8 times bigger than Belgium and that Belgium lacked the political and military means to individually exert its influence in Europe and Africa (39). Similarly, Switzerland was seriously weakened by French occupation and completely lacked the central authority enjoyed by other European nations until the Great Powers integrated the Swiss Confederacy into the European state system in 1848, which allowed the state's acquirement of the Italian-speaking Ticino and the French-speaking regions of Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva. This small, land-locked, and resource-poor country with no ethnic unity only has an influential role in the international economy because European colonizers - including King Leopold II - deposited the wealth generated by their African resource theft and dispossession into its "neutral" banks protected by secrecy laws (39). It is no coincidence so many official United Nations treaties and declarations are ratified in Geneva. Overall, the very existence and expansion of Belgium and Switzerland was permitted by colonizers who believed their white populations were superior to non-Europeans and thus gave these states first-class Westphalian sovereignty for their own goals of capitalist accumulation. This means that over the 19th century, racist white men increasingly judged previously irrelevant European states worthy of important influence in global politics, and from then on gave them power that vastly contrasted with their physical size and natural wealth. Conversely, in order to organize capitalist extraction, these same Europeans divided Africa's abundant land and riches in delineating borders that founded new, powerless states starting in the 19th century. In brief, the racist pillars of today's international state system perpetuate fundamentally unequal sovereignties that place predominantly white states at the top of the world order and relegate African states to commodity exporters under Western tutelage.

Racist colonial capitalism, therefore, turned European states into world powers able to impose their own sovereignty as "universal". For it takes for granted that all peoples of the world agreed to be governed into Westphalian nation-states and since it does not recognize that North American and European countries benefit from wealth and power accumulated through cruelly extractive regimes, the Security Council dangerously expresses the imperial hegemony that Western states developed during the plundering of the African continent. The largest impact of the present-day supremacy of European

sovereignty is the lingering unequal distribution of political power between the world's nations that allows exclusively Western state leaders to launch so-called peacekeeping missions on the African continent.

Warlordism or Rule of Law? White Impunity and the Protection of Powerful States

The political character of Europeans' colonial violence triggered a systemic inequality that explains the contradiction by which the Global North has the power to use peace arguments to defend the violation of human rights in the South while the reverse is impossible. Indeed, the veto power of the P-3 on the creation of peacekeeping missions stems from the colonial essence of the United Nations itself. Although this fact is not acknowledged anywhere on the organization's website, the United Nations is a political body invented by colonizers during processes of European accumulation through African exploitation. When World War I ended, imperial powers crafted the League of Nations to preserve European colonial domination while peacefully passing down the possessions of defeated Germany to Great Britain, France, and Belgium (Schuerch, 2017). Instituted in 1920, the League was headed by its "Executive Council" that placed all African colonies under stable control and classified states according to their perceived level of Eurocentric advancement through its "mandate system" (36). For the first time, Africans were internationally governed by a definite political-legal body that oversaw the smooth running of colonial activities across the continent. After World War II, the Allies – France, Great Britain, China, the United States, and the Soviet Union – became the permanent members of this decisional body that changed its name to "Security Council". Unequal center-periphery economic relationships between Europe and Africa were further entrenched in the post-war international Westphalian order as the United Nations Trusteeship Council "monitored the administration of colonial possessions" (37). Over the 1960s process of decolonization, Western metropoles simply labeled their sovereign colonies "independent" but did not end neither their imperial trade agreements with Africa nor their supremacy in the global state hierarchy (38). Thus, colonial violence against Africans for European capitalist development not only enabled the invention of the United Nations as a whole, but more importantly, also gave Western states absolute control over theoretically "sovereign" African nations. The strongest legacy of this colonialism is that the United States, France, and Great Britain, through the P-3, continue to exert political domination over Africans as they launch peacekeeping missions on their own terms, whereas African leaders lack the legitimate international power necessary to do the same.

The end result is a clear two-fold paradox that constantly reinforces and values whiteness as a site of power: the predominantly white countries sitting on the Security Council ignore domestic human rights violations against their populations on the one hand and erase their responsibility in fostering serious crimes against humanity abroad on the other. Indeed, the monopoly of the P-3 on what "legitimate" peacekeeping missions entail results in selective perceptions of security threats that protect Western governments from much-needed scrutiny (Howard & Dayal, 2017). In both cases, crimes

committed by whites go unnoticed, exposing the Security Council's racist devaluation of crimes against black and brown bodies.

In effect, the Security Council's complete authority on the UN management of peacekeeping operations results in the current international indifference regarding grave crimes committed by Western elites at home. Indeed, precisely because they have the exclusive power to decide when and where peacekeeping missions take place worldwide, the same white state leaders who champion human rights in Africa deliberately bring attention away from the violations their own governments commit. The Security Council has tellingly not authorized a single mission backed by the Responsibility to Protect in the West despite undeniable proof of massive state-sanctioned crime. For instance, the government of Canada, who ironically funded the report leading to the international endorsement of Responsibility to Protect, remains unpunished after committing a carefully designed genocide against Indigenous peoples, a crime supposed to trigger international action according to its own R2P report (Cecco, 2019 & Coletta, 2018). Doubts about the Security Council's intentional disregard of non-white lives is invalidated by the fact that even a UN expert's report denouncing "Third World conditions" in indigenous communities, including no access to drinkable water and heating systems, is apparently not sufficient to stop Canadian human rights violations (UN News, 2011). In the same way, the number of black felons alarmingly increased by 90% from 2006 to 2016 while Indigenous people account for 5% of the Canadian population and yet 27% of all prisoners, indicating that the Canadian state violates UN legal conventions against racism (Morgan, 2018 & Coletta, 2018). The Security Council simply chooses to ignore state-sanctioned violence ordered by Western state leaders like Canada's. Additionally, France is one of many European countries using police forces to kill, harass and brutalize innocent black people, with official investigators going as far as calling the police rape of a young boy an "accident" despite Human Rights Watch exposing French institutional racism (Elizalde, 2017 & France 24, 2020). Although race-based violence of this sort is not part of R2P's definition, it is still relevant to note that the UNSC never launches peacekeeping missions in the West or brings international attention to such ethnic-based crimes committed by the white majority against non-white minorities. Clearly, the people the UN wishes to prosecute are never white and always live outside the West, while white state leaders benefit from legal impunity its Security Council guarantees.

Second, the UNSC's explanation of conflict as the individual presidents' violation of humanitarian principles in the UN Charter overlooks the ever-present connections between the Western-dominated capitalist economy and African domestic affairs that incite state collapse in Africa. Falsely portraying colonial powers as innocent, it portrays African rulers as deficient negroes inherently opposed to peace and order. In truth, since so-called independence, Western nations destabilize nationalist governments unwilling to accommodate their capitalist interests and establish corrupt ones headed by trained military officers (Eleazu, 1973). The point is not that African political leaders are totally innocent, but rather that they are puppets within greater schemes of capitalist colonialism. Paradoxically, those who

defend their populations and defy foreign colonial hegemony in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter end up dead or exiled. For instance, French troops waged a counterinsurgency war in Cameroon (1957-70) to crush the pro-independence Union of Cameroonian Peoples (UPC) founded by Felix Moumié, Ruben Um Nyobé and Ernest Ouandié, killing approximately 300,000 (Death in Geneva: The poisoning of Félix Moumié, 2010). France crushed protesters in the highlands, burning villages, raping children, and women in front of their husbands and local chiefs (2010). French soldiers decapitated Um Nyobé and spread his body parts across the country, poisoned Moumié in Switzerland – a "neutral" country – and shot Ouandi (2010). The dictator, Ahmadou Ahidjo, became president while the colonial administrator, Maurice Delauney, charged of seeing through the entire genocide, finished his career as mayor of Cannes where he lived in his villa until natural death (2010). Furthermore, Britain, the U.S., France and Belgium planned the murder of democratically elected Patrice Lumumba who had just become the president of the resource-rich Democratic Congo Republic (Grovogui, 2002). As a substitute, they supported despotic French-trained military officer Mobutu Sese Seko who terrorized the Congolese for decades; the world's largest UN peace mission with legal use of force today, MONUSCO, is tellingly in the DRC (333). The Security Council also authorized a peacekeeping mission during the civil war in Sierra Leone despite the fact the conflict mostly served Western diamond accumulation; even more startling is that KLM, the Dutch airline company, flew into Freetown half-empty throughout much of the civil war to bring back the blood diamonds to Europe (335). Another example is when France sold weapons to dangerous rebels and protected genocide fugitives in Rwanda to ensure continued coffee export (Kamola, 2007). Those human rights violations are mere illustrations of the hundreds of other unspeakable abuses committed by Western states since African so-called independence. No tribunals were established to investigate the war crimes committed by any of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council or non-permanent member states of the Global North. What is clear is that in Africa, North America, and Europe, the P-3 discourages and even eliminates genuine peace and justice efforts that challenge the colonial impunity of white citizens and governments.

But perhaps more treacherous than anything else, the P-3 veto power on peacekeeping mandates also has a broader implication: to obscure their imperial interests, Western state elites publicize colonial framings of global issues that reproduce racist white saviorism and exacerbate the imperial violation of the sovereignty of countries of the South. Put differently, France, the United States and Great Britain target ignorant audiences who come to support their countries' abuses of UN peacekeeping forces because they believe mediatic lies about their "moral duty" to "protect" the "Third-World" poor. This trend was clearly exacerbated by the 2001 introduction of the Responsibility to Protect that shaped human rights violations in purely apolitical terms of urgency and decried given forms of violence without calling attention to the root causes of this violence (Cliffe & Mamdani, 2009). In fact, the R2P principle has not been used anywhere in the North and once again, only the Security Council can approve international action following the application of R2P (Getachew, 2019).

The Security Council ignored the criteria mentioned in the report that warned against abuses of R2P for illegitimate foreign intervention, allowing colonial powers to secure imperial interests in claiming to protect "vulnerable populations" in non-Western countries (Trent & Schnurr, 2018, p.114). For instance, the US and the UK used R2P in 2003 as a post-hoc justification for military intervention in Iraq after their original claims of "weapons of mass destruction" (114). The Security Council also authorized a mission in Sudan in 2005, appealing to the conscience of Westerners with R2P; NGOs and the International Criminal Court shamed President Al-Bashir for encouraging violence between "Arabs" and "Africans", not once mentioning that such racialization of identities originated from British colonization (Mamdani, 2009, p.85). Uneducated white Westerners fell for these lies and strongly supported Western military presence in Iraq and Sudan. The Security Council's hegemony over what qualifies as a "Responsibility to Protect" results in racist, ahistorical and apolitical framings of human rights abuses that distort their root causes and exaggerates the legal violations of the UN's principle of sovereignty.

It cannot be stressed enough that this discursive dominance transforms incomplete explanations of violence into real, traumatic experiences for people on the ground. For example, international peace and democracy efforts against sexual assault themselves degraded sexual violence in the DRC (Autesserre, 2012). The UNSC wrongly framed illegal exploitation of minerals rather than foreign corporations' legal extraction of precious metals as the primary cause for rape and proposed reconstructing state authority rather than economic development, community reconciliation and fighting corruption as the solution (204). Because of the exclusive focus on sexual assault and the development of state reconstruction programs, like the building of roads and investment in the army, MONUSCO actually multiplied sexual violence in facilitating the militias' movement between mines and made combatants realize the value of rape as an effective bargaining tool (205). Ironically, the so-called feminists who explained rape as the patriarchal violations of the female body in the West irresponsibly reduced it to an easily solved security threat in Africa (Meger, 2016). The consequences are deadly rape for the Congolese population, including the destruction of 4-year-old girls' rectums and vaginas (Dalton, 2018). Maybe the racist white savior "feminists" at the forefront of this fetishization of violence in the Congo should tell these children how sorry they are, how they did not mean it, how they did not *know* their ignorance coupled with their colonial power would exacerbate the atrocious violence they faced to unimaginable levels. It is too late. The same is true for the thousands of innocents who lost their livelihoods and loved ones following the UN-backed invasions of Somalia and Sudan, to name a few. The mortifying impacts of colonial Western discursive framing of conflicts in Africa cannot be reversed. The racist explanations of violence Africans face hence allow war crimes to continue as the denunciation of crime is always one-sided.

Exploring the Relevance and Effectiveness of Peacekeeping in the African Context

The international community spends so much time discussing the internal details

of peacekeeping missions that the relevance of these very mandates remains unchallenged and free of critical assessment in global governance. In reality, from their ideological underpinnings to their tangible local repercussions on so-called vulnerable populations, no evidence shows that UN peacekeeping mandates actually foster stability in contemporary Africa.

First, the theoretical foundations of UN peacekeeping are at best ineffective and at worse detrimental to the well-being of African nations. The purpose of peacekeeping is to enforce peace agreements that are believed to enhance long-term peace (Howard & Dayal, 2017). This idea of cooperation is founded on Eurocentric constructivist International Relations theory that reduces aggression to threats of war between states, stipulates that states must act as "all against one" to prevent further aggression in the international environment and asserts "democratic peace" enhances stability (Kupchan, 1995).

In truth, constructivist peace theory does not apply to Africa and has never been empirically proven anywhere outside Europe (Zvogbo & Loken, 2020). On the contrary, such a conception of political peace is entirely invalid for it sharply clashes with patterns of African state formation. Unlike in Europe where there are more people than land, Africa has always had more land than people (Herbst, 2014). Before colonization, this sheer abundance of land made it easier for dissatisfied subjects to simply escape rulers rather than fight them, meaning heads of state could not exert their power through territorial control. The peasants' easy exit caused African states to have very porous borders with leaders focusing on controlling the central capital, the exact opposite of European rulers who heavily securitized external borders due to land scarcity (95). Furthermore, there was little incentive to invest in small pieces of territory because African farmers almost completely depended on rain-fed agriculture (95). Therefore, because land control was generally not contested in precolonial Africa, rights of sovereignty were distinct from royal authority (94). Control over land did not equate control over people as it did in Europe. Since rulers of the people were not necessarily the same as the guardians of the land, the land could belong to one person and its occupants to another (97). This is why some African rulers signed coercive treaties that transformed their land into European protectorates; they thought their people pledged allegiance to European rulers while they remained in control of the land. Unfortunately, the brutality of European land occupation indicated otherwise. All these factors combined explain why wars were - and still are - mostly intra-state in Africa, as heads of state fought to gain control over people more than territory and rarely defended their borders with militaries. In parallel, the continued authorizations of UN peacekeeping forces for intra-state rather than inter-state wars in Africa violate UN Charter Article 2 that outlines non-intervention in matters within a state's domestic jurisdiction (Gutner, 2017). Indeed, since they operate within rather than outside the state, the wars' actors, like rebel groups and political parties, have never agreed to the principle of collective security that justifies UN peacekeeping mandates (Gutner, 2017). Unlike their rulers, they never consented to the Charter's interventionist policy regarding armed conflict. Overall, UN peace efforts are doomed to fail as they reinforce European notions of peace

incompatible with the African context and moreover attempt to end inter-state conflicts that do not even exist.

The constructivist democratic peace theory behind UN peacekeeping missions that supposedly ensures peace is moreover illogical for another reason: it does not include Western colonial and imperial wars (Henderson, 2008). Again, the United Nations shows its racist glorification of white lives as its understanding of political peace focuses on European cases affecting European citizens only. Apparently, wars that kill millions of innocent non-white people do not count. Furthermore, this Eurocentric democratic peace theory undermines peace in Africa because by assuming wars' inter-state nature, it first solidifies rather than challenges colonial borders that spurred ethnic rivalries and second allows neopatrimonial leaders to personify state power as their internal strategies for control go unnoticed (33).

In parallel, peacekeeping missions reformulate racist narratives that legitimize colonial forms of governance and imply Africans must imitate Western political processes to progress. In fact, global governance actors claim peacekeeping promotes viable transitions to democracy in helping African governments develop multi-party politics, transparent elections and accountability checks (Abrahamsen, 2000). This argument automatically devalues pre-colonial political systems that better respond to the aspirations and needs of the poor, praising the liberal democracies prevalent in the North instead (13). Such ignorant rejections of local cultures have disastrous effects. For instance, the Somalian interpretation of Islam led to pragmatic and not literal readings of the Quran that ultimately overcame clan identity and made religious extremism unlikely (Vervhoeven, 2009). Islamic Courts were hence established in the 1990s, restoring security and order in over half of Somalia. A communal alliance developed between businessmen who financed the Courts and clan leaders who used traditional authority to disarm militias, effectively bringing justice to the population and reducing warlords' influence (415). The US demonization of the Courts as "neo-Taliban" propelled the militarized UNITAF and UNOSOM II peacekeeping missions, reviving war as insurgents resisted this unwanted intervention and rallied around anti-Western sentiment (420). The UN's repudiation of Islamic governance and approval of Western "freedom" cost the lives of thousands of civilians to no avail. Moreover, it is important to remember that the "modern" civil institutions like the army, police forces, civil services, legislative assemblies, educational systems, political parties, and formal constitutions Western countries now judge vital to democratic statehood were ironically used by their own state leaders to abuse African populations during colonization (Eleazu, 1973 & Weldesellasie, 2017). Indeed, the same legal principles that protected European citizens simultaneously imposed harsh social control and eliminated political resistance in Africa; for instance, jails and court prosecutions did not exist prior to colonization (253). Peacekeeping missions consequently fortify violent European state apparatus that worsens conflict and defend cruel remnants of colonial administration.

In addition, thinking that sending seemingly good-intentioned human beings - who usually do not speak the mother tongues of the affected populations they must protect - in the middle of civil wars inevitably brings peace is as naïve as it is inaccurate. Even

at their most practical level, peacekeeping missions fail to reach their initial goals because they overlook that UN principles of "democracy" are implemented by soldiers who pursue personal desires and nothing else. Being a UN peacekeeper is a job, and not a divine call for justice as international actors often paint it to be. People who decide to become peacekeepers are individuals wishing to be paid, meaning they are not immune to crime and perversion. Hundreds of reports around the world prove the grave sexual misconduct of UN peacekeepers, including soldiers, civilians, private contractors, aid workers and others associated with peace operations (Westendorf, 2020). Peacekeepers from France, Chad and the Equatorial Guinea rape and sexually exploit children and women especially vulnerable in war situations, with no consequence; abuses have been reported all over the world in countries like the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Haiti, Liberia, and Mali (2020). Other reports show that soldiers frustrated by delayed payrolls raped local prostitutes, while French peacekeepers forced girls in displaced refugee camps to have intercourse with dogs (Morenne, 2017). Even within its own forces, the UNSC refuses to take seriously the violence committed against the racialized, just like it ignores violations against non-whites in Western countries. The reaction of Paula Donovan, co-director of AIDS Free World, when white judges dropped charges against French peacekeepers clearly illustrates the UN colonial disregard of black bodies that protects rapists: "This is a travesty. If African soldiers had sexually abused little boys in Paris, the investigation would not be closed until every perpetrator was behind bars" (2017). Obviously, had African black men raped blue-eyed blonde boys anywhere on the planet, the international media and community would automatically condemn the rapists until legal action would ensure their punishment. The United Nations does not protect black children this way because its racialized nature reduces them to negroes deserving to be recipients of the most outrageous forms of violence. When the world's biggest international organization committed to justice and equality condones and refuses to establish measures to end sexual crimes against innocent women, men, and children, it should hold no credibility in the international arena, especially since such crimes are ignored on the basis of race. Thus, on top of fostering inappropriate conceptions of peace and destructive depictions of human rights violations, peacekeeping missions encourage the scandalous protection of criminals on the ground.

Whose Peacekeeping?

The United Nations discusses inter-state sovereign relations as if they held the same amount of influence in the modern state system, a colonial lie that hides the wide power disparity between African and European nations and that further secures death-making institutions at both global and local levels. In 2021, states are not equal and therefore cannot exercise their right to intervene in other states' affairs on a fair playing field. In reality, the UN Security Council's sanction of Westphalian sovereignty legitimizes a system of global governance that is systematically hypocritical and opposed to social equality or change in proposing oversimplistic military interventions for complex issues embedded in the racial and colonial foundations of today's international economy and politics.

State leaders must agree upon redistributive methods of justice working to end African states' weak sovereignty that renders their economies peripheral and accessible to North American and European colonial regulators. It is only in doing so that hopes of better futures ensuring more economically, socially, and politically equitable realities for all can be nurtured. In the same way that it legitimized counterinsurgency wars against African opponents less than a hundred years ago, the UNSC's conventional explanations of peace efforts, war and poverty maintain dichotomies that work against efforts to address deeper causes of global inequality and violence. Ignoring the exclusive domination of Western discourse and its role in the legitimization of unfair transfers of wealth and power transforms technically peaceful operations into dangerous military interventions. As predominantly white nations enriched by capitalist colonialism decide which human rights violations deserve peacekeeping missions and which ones do not, public inaction regarding major illegal abuses of non-white populations both in the West and in Africa threatens pressing needs to establish peaceful arrangements for good.

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Foreign Policy in Somalia resulting in a ‘failed state’. Head Quarter of Piracy

written by Juliette Parenty

"The pirates are very good at what they do. They're very well-armed. Tactically, they are very good" (Carlson, 2009). This declaration was made by the Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Navy Admiral Mike Mullen, following the most spectacular hijacking led by Somali pirates. On November 15, 2008, the most important piracy attack took place 833 kilometers off the coast of Kenya. The target was the Saudi-owned 300-meter supertanker *Sirius Star*, carrying over $100 million USD worth of crude oil (Otterman, & McDonald, 2008). This historical event highlighted the incredible capacity of a newly developed pseudo-business in the Gulf of Aden, the business of piracy. According to the article 101 'Definition of Piracy' of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, piracy is defined as "any illegal act of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft". In fact, the first pirate attacks took place only 30 years ago and were carried out by a group called the "Somali National Movement" (Maouche, 2011, 18), initially one of the first organized guerilla groups to opposed the regime of the Somali dictator, Siad Barre, in the '80s. In fact, before piracy became the "second generator of money" in Somalia (Baniela, & Ríos, 2012), the country's source of revenue mainly depended on the intervention of the Russian and American superpowers who used to bribe Siad Barre with the importation of military and financial aid. At that time, Somalia was just another 'pawn' in the middle of the rivalry between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States (US). Nevertheless, if we went further back in time, the Cold War was not the only historical period that led to the failure of the Somali State. In fact, the centralized structures imposed by the Western colonials, from 1884 to 1960, had for effect to destabilize the traditional Somali system. The country was initially considered as a 'Segmentary Society' with a strong level of political self-regulation and the absence of intervention from the central government authority which led to the presence of 4 major pastoral-nomadic clans representing 75 percent of the population, while 20 percent were divided into two other clans and the 5 percent remaining were scattered in coastal communities. However, in 1884, the United Kingdom was the first to establish property in the northern part of Somalia, which later became Somaliland. In 1887, other divisions of the country took place between France and Italy, which respectively led to today's State of Djibouti and State of Puntland (Maouche, 2011). In addition, the region of Ogaden was given to Ethiopia in 1897, which led, 80 years later, to a dreadful war that will be explained subsequently. Therefore, when entering the Cold War, the stability of the Somali State was already strongly disturbed by global forces.

Nonetheless, this paper will only focus on how Somalia was affected by the Cold War and the 'humanitarian' interventions that followed during the terrible famine of 1992. It will enable me to answer the following question: How did the Cold War initiate the failure of the Somali State and progressively led to the development of piracy? Concerning the term 'failed state', there was no internationally agreed-upon definition, however, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross, a 'failed state' can be characterized as an "implosion of the structure of power and authority, the disintegration and

destruction of States, the internal collapse of law and order, and the absence of bodies capable of representing the State at the international level" (Thurer, 1995).

In the research paper, I would like to argue that Somalia's successive alliance with first the USSR, and then the US, led Somalia to become a 'failed state', which subsequently led to the current issue of piracy. I will first explain how the two main rivals of the Cold War contributed to the failure of the Somali State by supporting the regime of Barre. I will then follow on the failure of the US International Aid Response by arguing that their operations were only driven by their own interest which resulted in worsening the economic situation of Somalia. Finally, I will end by explaining how the lack of a stable government and successful economic structure led to the development of a pseudo-business around Piracy.

Firstly, during the conflict of the Cold war, Africa became the competitive 'playground' of the two main rivals, the Soviet Union and the United States, for whom each country represented a 'prize' to win. In fact, following the decolonization process of African countries, becoming former European colonies, during the period of 1950s to the early 1960s, the Soviet Union saw an opportunity to expand its power against Western dominance. As the Western Bloc already had a strong influence on the Northern part of the African continent, the Eastern Bloc, on its side, focused on Somalia and the strategic advantage it would provide to the USSR's fight against the US. In order to attract Somalia on its side of the Bloc, the Soviet Union offered the country with military hardware which could be used "to protect the Somali population in Kenya and Ethiopia" (Mohamed, 2009, 8) due to a strong affiliation between Somali clans and Ethiopian diaspora, and to the presence of "Somali rebel-lion in Kenya" (Woodwell, 2007, 106) during the mid-'60s. Hence, the Soviet Union's offer of military aid led to the creation of the Russian military aid of 1963. In the meantime, since the country gained independence on July 1, 1960, the country had not been able to maintain a stable government as it had to deal with a number of social and economic issues. This led to a major political crisis as the legislative elections of 1969 failed to implement a stable government leading to the development of a "major political crisis" (Maouche, 2011, 12). This crisis was intensified by the assassination of the President of the Somali Republic, Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, on October 15, 1969. A few days later, this event was followed by a military coup d'état held on October 21 by the military officer of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and resulted in appointing Mohamed Siad Barre as the third president of Somali. Siad Barre overthrew the Somali Republic and established a dictatorship by suppressing the parliament and creating a unique party, the Supreme Revolutionary Council. (Mohamed, 2019). Through his military regime in which Barre promised to create a unified Somalia and combat the presence of corruption, the Soviet Union saw an opportunity to strengthen its ties with Somalia by offering its military support. Therefore, in July 1974, a military-based Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was established between Somalia and the USSR. The Soviet provided Barre's government with a significant amount of military weapons, including "MoG-21 jet fighters, T-54 tanks, and SAM-2 missile defense system" (Mohamed, 2019, 9).

In return for this military-aid, the Soviet Union was able to establish its military presence at the port of Berbera, providing the growing superpower's naval and air forces with a strategic position to counter the presence of the US, its main rival. Moreover, to ensure its own military interest, in addition to directing the institutional innovation of the Somali secret police organization called the National Security Service, the USSR also supervised the training by giving Soviet diplomats and advisers "easy access to senior members of the regime, and to valuable information" (Brind, 1984, 83). A win-win situation between the USSR and the Somali was observable as Barre's government took advantage of the substantial amount of Russian military inflow to pursue its campaign against eastern Ethiopia to liberate the ethnic-Somali Ogaden region. In fact, Barre's war against Ogaden led the USSR to stop supplying ammunition to Somalia, to instead back up Ethiopia who was considered as a more strategic ally for the Eastern Bloc. As a result, the Somalia-Soviet treaty was abrogated on November 13, 1977, which led to the withdrawal of all Soviet military facilities. Following this 'break-up' Somali forces were expelled from Ogaden on March 9, 1978, as Ethiopia received the help of the Eastern Bloc.

With no longer support from the Soviet Union, the population of Somalia, oppressed by Barre's military dictatorship could have hoped for the dissolution of its regime. In fact, the Ogaden war had for effect to ruin Somalia and, and with the participation of the USSR, to make the country dependent on foreign aid. Adding to Barre's politic that relied on 'detribalization' and on 'using rivalry between the major clans to secure and consolidate his power' (Wengraf, 2018), these events led to intensified divisions between clans and subclans, and, eventually, to the anchoring of an unstable state. Actually, starting in the '80s, the Somali National Movement (SNM), composed mainly of members of the Isaak clan in northwestern Somalia, developed in opposition to the current regime and the multiple atrocities committed in central Somalia (Mohamed, 2009). Nevertheless, Siad Barre managed to overthrow the rebellious movement and maintain its control over Somalia as another superpower took over on supplying the dictator regime with weapons.

In fact, following the withdrawal of the Soviet Union in its alliance with Somalia, the US saw an opportunity to attract a new 'member' into the Western Bloc by being Somalia's new supplier of military aid. In July 1977, Washington supplied Somalia with defensive weapons against Ethiopia, however, when Barre had already invaded two-thirds of the Ogaden region, the US having no interest in helping Barre expand its power, pressured Somalia to withdraw its troops, in March 1978, by suspending the sending of military supply (Wengraf, 2018). Despite this event, the US resumed its aid toward Barre's government and, therefore, participated in strengthening the latter's one poor "human rights records and corrupted government" (Mohamed, 2009, 11). In return, the former US President Jimmy Carter and Siad Barre signed an agreement, in 1980, giving access to Berbera's port facilities, for the second time, to the American Navy (Laitin, 1982). In exchange for supporting a corrupted government, US interests were fulfilled as the Americans had more control over the Arabian oil fields on which their national security in

terms of “wartime needs and civilian economy” relied heavily (Torres, 2009, 117).

However, slowly, Somalia’s reliance on foreign aid put a barrier to the country’s own development. In addition to the initial military aid, in 1981, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) were introduced in ‘developing’ countries, including Somalia, by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The goals of these programs were to “increase the economic growth of the recipient countries, restore currency convertibility, and renew debt servicing” (Jibril, 2017). In return for providing the loans, the IMF was able to have an input on policy reforms which, in the case of Somalia, ended not stimulating the recipient state’s economy at all. In fact, the implementation of new neoliberal measures resulted in the decrease of government spending on social services in education, health, law, and security as well as the cutting of wage subsidies (Wengraf, 2018). As it was underlined in Adebayo Adedeji’s paper, “Structural adjustment policies in Africa”, the implementation of these programs failed as they did not “acknowledge the fundamental features of the African economies” (Adedeji, 1999, 522) and were not adapted to resolving “deficient basic and social infrastructures” as well as the “undeveloped human resources” (Adedeji, 1999, 522). On the contrary, the SAPs had for effect to reinforce the existing “weak institutional capabilities, lack of [economic] competitiveness and excessive dependence on external factors inputs” (Adedeji, 1999, 522) leading to an increase in poverty as Somalia experienced negative growth in real per capita GDP of 1.98 between 1975 and 1985 while during the 15 previous years, the growth was standing at -0.48 (Adedeji, 1999). Moreover, the SAPs were paired with food aid programs which resulted in destabilizing Somalia’s agricultural industry. In fact, it prevented the country from growing and diversifying its output since ‘food aid’ was sold at prices below the market-price creating a disadvantage for Somali domestic food producers (Farzin, 1991). Moreover, the counterpart funds from food aid’s revenue which represented 10% of the government budget and were supposed to promote the growth of the food production by financing rural infrastructure projects and creating new employment, were instead mostly invested in the military sector (Farzin, 1991).

In addition to the failure of the SAPs, the Somali political situation worsened as armed conflicts increased until it reached a peak of 50,000 thresholds between 1988 and 1989 (World Peace Foundation, 2015). During this period, most of the violence resulted from the conflict between the opposition armed movement SNM, mentioned previously, and Barre’s regime which got stronger thanks to the foreign financial aid. The conflict arose as the SNM became aware of the government’s incentive to “liquidate” (WPF, 2015) the Isaak clan. Many attacks were launched by the SNM targeting both the towns of Hargeisa and Burao as the government’s Somali National Army continued to launch targeted reprisals against the Isaak community in May and August 1988. These attacks caused the death of more than 50,000 people and the displacement of no less than 400,000 people from the Northwestern area of Somalia (WPF, 2015). In the meantime, with the disintegration of the USSR marking the end of the Cold War in 1991, the American hyperpower lost interest in maintaining its alliance with

Somalia. Accordingly, Barre stopped benefiting from the US military aid which strongly weakened Barre's regime as he lost control of more than three-quarters of the country until he withdrew in January 1991. Barre's departure enabled many clans to take control over their respective areas of the country as the majority of the population used to be excluded from political and economic decision-making.

However, Somalia's state came out of this governance and alliance with foreign countries, more disintegrated than ever. In 1991, there were eleven political armed factions (Weengraf, 2018) such as the United Somali Congress, the Somali Patriotic Movement, and the Somali Salvation Democratic Front, highlighting the strong division among the Somalis. However, the emergence of several conflicts between clans fighting overpower added to severe drought, increased the scarcity of the country's resources, leading to the major famine that hit the country in 1992. Thus, following November 1992, the UN Security Council authorized a US-led coalition of troops, the United Task Force, and launched the United Nations Operation in Somalia I to provide "humanitarian relief" (Wengraf, 2018, 1) in Somalia. Thus, under the cover of humanitarianism to combat the famine, American military interventions were imposed on the territory of Somalia. On December 4, 1992, US President George Bush ordered 28,000 troops (Craig, 2016) into Somalia under Operation Restore Hope which he justified by arguing that Somalia needed US military protection to ensure the distribution of food. In fact, from the $1.5 billion USD of the United Nations funding, only 10 percent were allocated to humanitarian work as the rest was used for the expansion and reinforcement of the military troops (Wengraf, 2018). However, foreign politicians' true motive was to pursue their neoliberal economic agenda as, by perpetuating Somalia's dependence on the US, they were able to build "a network of compliant regimes" (Wengraf, 2018, 1). In fact, the foreign policymakers were the main beneficiaries of the indicted international law on Somalia and not the local civilians as it was supposed to be.

Consequently, the military intervention of the US and the presence of the 30,000 peacemakers were not well received by the country. In fact, to manifest their disagreement with this foreign presence on their territory, the chairman of the United Somali Congress, Mohamed Farah Aideed, led an attack against the United Nation troops, causing him to be identified by the United Task Force as the world's first 'Wanted Man.' As a response, the US, as the leading force of the UN deployment, led several assaults, including on October 3, 1993, with the Operation Gothic Serpent. In fact, the American troops launched a terrible raid in the capital of Somalia, Mogadishu, during which, two US Black Hawk helicopters were shot down. This battle resulted in the death of 18 American soldiers as well as hundreds of Somalis (Last, 2017). Following this event, in March 1994, the American president, Bill Clinton, withdrew the US troops from Somalia, and by 1995, the last peacekeepers had left the country. The failure of the International aid interventions highlighted the incapacity of the international bodies to rebuild a central state, which was mainly due to the fact that the interventions were driven by their own geopolitical interests. In fact, the main US military operations, including Operation Restore Hope, had as a main objective, not

to eradicate famine, but to rebuild the US military credibility after their defeat of the Vietnam war on 30 April 1975. Indeed, this war killing no less than 58,000 Americans and more than 3 million Vietnamese, resulted in "undermining the country's faith in its most respected institution, the military" (Burns, & Novick, 2017). Unfortunately, Somalia was another failure as the country was left in a worse state than before this 15-years long intervention. Moreover, the US' actions were very controversial as their military operations were supposed to "rescue the people and the state from anarchy and chaos" (Brown, 2006, 4) while, during the Cold War, the US was the first in line to support former Somalia's dictator by providing him with military aid.

At this time of history, we could already consider Somalia as a 'failed state' since, in 1991, Somalia did not have a stable government nor a functional economy. The country was fragmented into multiple independent states with the declaration of independence of the northern part of Somalia, creating Somaliland, and later on, the rebellion in the east part resulting in the creation of the Puntland State. The main driver that pushed Somalis to take part in the criminal activity of piracy was the lack of economic opportunities as Somalia ended up impoverished and wrecked by the multiple civil conflicts and the failure of international interventions. These events had also led to the displacement of many Somalis, 260,000 were registered in Kenya alone, which represented a wide opportunity for pirates' recruitment (Kellerman, 2011). As piracy was not considered the same in every region of Somalia, this paper mainly focused on the region of Puntland, as, since the region was not recognized as a state and did not have to obey the international law, piracy was very rapidly considered as a business on its own. In fact, for many pirates, piracy was above all a means of survival which, in the end, led to the 'acceptance' of this activity among certain communities. In fact, an habitant of Garowe, the administrative capital of Puntland, declared that "piracy in many ways was socially acceptable" (Hunter, 2008). For each community, piracy relied on rules defined by the different clans, as they determined the building and internal organization of the pirate groups. Members of the subclans recruited the pirates who were, generally, 20 to 35 years old men hoping to live the "high life" (Hunter, 2008). By belonging to a clan, the pirates benefited from the clan's protection which was, indeed, the case in Putland where clans protected the pirates from being arrested and persecuted by the government (Maouche, 2011). In exchange, the government of Puntland would receive funds from the pirates' activity, which were estimated to be 30 percent of the clan leaders' ransom money (Beloff, 2013). This collaboration went even further as the government also provided information on potential targets to facilitate the pirates' operations and gave them the right to keep the boat close to the shore during negotiations (Maouche, 2011). Moreover, the government was not the only stakeholder of this industry as the financing of the pirates' activities required venture capitalists. For that matter, pirates were supported by local businessmen who generally received "30 percent of the total ransom money" (Beloff, 2013, 49). The 'financial sponsors' enabled the pirates to acquire the supplies necessary to hijack a vessel, which could reach up to $21,000 USD.

In order to be the most efficient, pirates were divided into two major groups:

sea-based and land-based. Attack teams were the ones leading the operations on the sea and were mainly composed of fishermen due to their strong knowledge of the sea. As they were the first in line, the attackers generally received bonuses, in-creasing their profit. Onshore, the "brains of the operation" (Maouche, 2011, 20) were in charge of managing the weapons, the logistics, and the bribes. They were mainly international Somalis with strong financial and communication skills. Teams were also composed of former soldiers bringing their military expertise. Nevertheless, although the operational costs were approximately equal to $300,000 USD, the ransoms gained from hijacking a vessel varied from $500,000 USD up to $9 million USD, enabling the actors to rapidly make a profit. In fact, individual pirates' profits were estimated at $10,000 to $15,000 USD (Percy, & Shortland, 2013, 545). Ransoms did not only benefit the pirates themselves but also their families to whom money was given in case of death. The amount of money acquired by the pirates created a gap between pirates' income and non-pirates' leaving the latter ones with no choice but to adopt the practice of piracy, as local wages remained low while the increase of consumption from more 'wealthy' pirates led to higher prices. This situation underlined the instability of the national economic structure and the exclusion of the country from the world's trade, as, since the '90s, the country was defined as a recipient of financial aid only. By developing the 'piracy industry', Somalis created their own economic structure involving both the civilians and the authority as seen in the case of Puntland that, with the absence of law and national security, became a weak and corrupted state.

Conclusion

To conclude, the failure of the Somali State was the consequence of both Siad Barre's governance and the intervention of foreign politics. Indeed, although Somalia was traditionally a country divided into multiple clans, the regime of Barre trying to unify the country by fighting against certain clans, added to the intervention of the US aid to rebuild the 'broken' state, resulted in intensifying the tensions between the clans. The situation made it very hard, almost impossible for the country to regain its harmony. If we looked back at the definition of the 'failed state' from the International Committee of the Red Cross, Somalia did endure an "implosion of the authority" as there was no central government as well as the "disintegration of the state" into the different clans. Plus, as it was observed, Somalia ended this way under Barre's authority which was strongly supported by both the USSR and the US, so these two global powers could achieve their geopolitical agenda. Moreover, the dependence on foreign aid established mostly by the US prevented Somalia from developing its own economic system and, consequently, led to the development of piracy. In most regions of Somalia, the criminal activity was quickly accepted by the population, sometimes out of spite as there were no other employment opportunities. In fact, the business of piracy did not require many resources, necessitated only the knowledge of the sea and weapons, which were already acquired by the fishermen and through the many civil conflicts, and made a substantial amount of money. Finally, Somalia's current 'failed state' was still a huge obstacle for fighting against piracy as the absence of national law made it impossible to penalize the pirates for their illegal activity.

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Comparing the Capitalist and Socialist Models and Levels of Ethnopolitical Violence in Kenya

written by Lucia Winter

Preconditions in Kenya and Tanzania

At the superficial level, Kenya and Tanzania's linear history and cultural development is strikingly similar. Both countries became independent from the United Kingdom in the early 1960s. The ethnic distributions of the two countries, as well as their populations, are almost exactly the same, with a high concentration of Bantu-speaking peoples. Due to their close proximity, the climate is the same as well as much of the geography. Thus, both countries peoples depended mostly on subsistence farming before colonization. After independence from the UK in the early 1960s, both countries' governments favored a one-party government, promoting the idea that one-party politics inhibit corruption and legislative stagnation associated with polarized politics which has left in its wake a legacy of de facto authoritarianism. However, when compared to Tanzania, since the 1960s, Kenya has experienced more frequent instances of ethnic violence, aggression, and terrorist threats. This is explained in large part by Kenya's long history of politicians fomenting ethnic tension to get ahead and often to serve themselves economically. In both cases, a shift to multi-party politics in the early 1990s have left much of the old authoritarian system in place, despite both countries' efforts to promote a more electorally democratic model. However, while Tanzania's political and economic instability as a result of the shift did not exacerbate ethnic tensions, the shift to pluralism in Kenya catalyzed widespread social and political unrest which caused citizens to question the effectiveness of Kenya's government. At the same time, while Tanzania's economy has stagnated in recent decades due to flaws in socialist structural readjustment, Tanzanian emphasis on nationhood and political transparency created a lasting sense of state legitimacy among Tanzanian citizens. This sense of legitimacy has led to a relatively more peaceful coexistence among ethnopolitical groups in Tanzania than in Kenya.

Kenya's Early Movers, Conflict Over Land and Capital, and the Road to Political Corruption

Kenya's move to a capitalist economy reflected the sentiments of the period, wherein Western countries were eager and optimistic to see Western liberal models applied in Africa (Heatherington, 1993). Kenyans themselves believed that the institutions introduced by colonialism would allow Kenya to gain an edge on other African countries, and the government actively promoted the idea that Kenya would be a "friend to the West (wa Githingi & Holmquist, 2008, 344)." However, this optimism quickly turned to pessimism, after the ascension of Daniel arap Moi in 1978.

Kenya's 1963 Constitution was modeled after the United Kingdom's, with a parliamentary bicameral system. After independence, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party elected Jomo Kenyatta as Prime Minister, who led the government from 1964 to 1978. In 1969, Kenyatta advocated for the reform of the *Mojimbo* System (meaning 'shared power') which was inspired by the United Kingdom. Kenyatta's new 1969 constitution created a unitary system: a unicameral legislature with a president instead of a prime minister. These changes concentrated considerable power in the presidency and allowed Kenyatta to become a somewhat benevolent authoritarian. At the time this decision

was justified by the idea that a unitary system would allow for greater efficiency in government by parrying party polarization (wa Githingi & Holmquist, 2008, 354). To some extent, this was true As David Throup writes, "this period of 1967 to 1978 was characterized by a burgeoning civil society, an effective judiciary, freedom of the press, increased consciousness of trade unions and greater freedoms for the general population (Throup, 1993)." This was largely due to Kenyatta's favoring of the Kikuyu tribe and its allies (about twenty-two percent of the population) (Barkan, 2004), whom he represented and who benefitted from his largesse. Kenyatta re-distributed land that was given back to the Kenyan government by European countries after independence to the Kikuyu and ally tribes. These well-off constituents were able to accumulate considerable private capital and re-invest in civil society. Additionally, foreign direct investment steadily increased during the 1970s, and overall, GDP grew approximately 6% each year during Keyatta's presidency (Mwega, 2008). Despite economic progress and wealthy Kikuyu's investment in civil society, Kenyatta's obvious favoring of certain tribes entrenched politicians' practice of manipulating ethnonational ties in order to get ahead in government. This had the insidious effect of creating the conditions for ethnic violence during Daniel arap Moi's presidency and into the twenty-first century.

Kenyatta hand-picked Daniel arap Moi to become president in 1978. Moi represented the Kalenjin tribe, and more broadly, all those tribes that had been relatively disadvantaged by Kenyatta's presidency. Increasingly, these groups called for more capital, and gradually Moi redistributed land away from the Kikuyu and to these tribes and groups (Mwega, 2008, 5). These policies were initially regarded as favorable by the majority of the population (of course, at the expense of the Kikuyu), however they also exacerbated ethnic tensions. Jeni Klugman, a development economist, writes of Kenya, "land is the most manifest dimension of unequal access to resources (KNCHR, 2009)." Growth significantly declined during this period both due to Moi's policies and a series of exogenous shocks like droughts and heavy rains throughout the 80s and 90s. After a failed coup attempt in 1982, Moi fired civil servants and replaced them with members of his own tribe and those 'loyal' to him (Jennings, 2002). The result was an increase in poverty from forty-eight to fifty-six percent of the population (Barkan, 8) and corruption became rife within the government which led to numerous Human Rights violations. A patron-client relationship developed, and the system polarized competition over resources which were increasingly becoming privatized as a result of Moi's ethnically motivated policies. Moi transferred control of forty of eighty-five state-owned enterprises to Kalenjin people during the 1980s (Kniss, 2010). As a result, elections became compromised along the lines of ethnic and regional ties, and these elections became a common driver for conflict and violence.

Kenya's Hyper-Competitive Elections

The already considerable legacy of horizontal inequality between ethnic groups left by Kenyatta became even more stark during Moi's twenty-four-year reign and after, with ultra-competitive elections in which politicians were often explicit in their attempts to monopolize on ethnic

tensions to get elected. Before the 1992 Presidential Elections, Moi pledged to transition Kenya's government to a pluralistic, multi-party system. However, considerable ethnic violence broke out. Government officials, religious leaders, members of the electorate, and even members of Moi's own party found that Moi "fomented the clashes as a way of proving that multi-party politics would not work," and thus proving that the country needed him as an authoritarian leader (Perlez, 1992). It was later found as accusers suspected: that the elections had been rigged, and Moi's KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union Party) stayed in power. The Waki Report (The Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence) analyzing Kenya's elections found that, "Kenya's long history of the deliberate use of violence by politicians… plus the decision not to punish perpetrators… has led to a culture of impunity and a constant escalation of violence… which is now largely outside of the control of the State and its security agencies (TJRC, 2008)."

The fraudulent elections of 1992 and 1997 angered tribes who had been disadvantaged by Moi's rule and engendered a devolution of state control over coercion as protests became violent. Moi's use of instrumentalism thus became the center of ethnic violence in the early 2000s and onward, as the public effectively lost trust in centralized government and instead turned to vigilantism to protect themselves.

Kenya's Present: Devolution over the Monopoly on the Use of Force, Vigilantism and State Weakness

During the 1990s, in which violence ebbed and flowed and centered around the elections of 1992 and 1997, a new radical Kikuyu group called the Mungiki formed in opposition to President Moi and his policies which oppressed the Kikuyu. The groups called for the end of Moi's presidency, pre-colonial tribal traditionalism, Christianity, and the cultural and political unity of the Kikuyu peoples. As Grace Wamue writes the group was a "moralistic critique of the failings of the modern state in Kenya, (Wamue, 2001, 453)" as evidenced by the Kenyan government's failure to justly serve its citizens. The most poignant aspect of the Mungiki movement, however, was its transition from simply excluding other tribes to intimidation and terrorism. The group radicalized and quickly consolidated power in parts of Nairobi and rural areas in the early 2000s and declared that it would partner with the Taliban after having converted to Islam. In a series of violent incidents in Nairobi, the Mugiki stripped women naked in the streets, and fought with other gangs over the control of *matatu* (busing routes) (Anderson, 2002, 538). The group began "self-policing" by setting up restricted, bordered, areas. In 2001, the Mungiki bribed or threatened police officers and their families, and by the end of the summer, the group had already converted six thousand government police officers and fifteen-hundred CID officers (Anderson, 2002, 538). Press speculation indicated that Mungiki was being aided by members of the Kikuyu KANU party (Kenya African Nationalist Union) through political sponsorship, demonstrating the extent to which instrumentalism became entrenched in party politics and thus contributed to the emergence ethnic violence.

The Mungiki's self-policing engendered a call for vigilantism by other tribes and other tribes began to copy efforts made by the Mungiki. The Kenya Police Department dissolved due to tribe bribery, causing the government to lose its control over policing. Statistics compiled by the Kenyan 'Safer Cities Programme' indicate that during this period there was "high incidence of crime, the vulnerability of specific groups, and the targeting of certain locations," as vigilante groups began asking for bribes in exchange for protecting homes and small businesses (Stavrou & ITDG-EA, 2001, 4-5). Additionally, reports of violence against women and girls exponentially increased after the advent of self-policing (Odhiambo, 2018). However, citizens see vigilante groups to be the lesser of two evils: either oppression by the government or 'community policing.' Public perception demonized the government as citizens began to believe that the state could no longer be a "guarantor of social order" and that vigilantism filled this niche in society (Nina, 2000, 18).

Kenya's move towards vigilantism as a legitimate coercive force has thus exacerbated already-prominent indicators of state weakness, evident in the lack of cross-cutting regional and ethnic ties and trust in the state. As of 2013, Kenya was seventeenth on The Fund for Peace's *Failed State Index* (Fund for Peace, 2018). Since the 2007 elections, both the Kibaki and Kenyatta (son) governments have tried to curb vigilantism through the reform of civil service and security forces, tackling corruption, and insisting on constitutional reform. However, the 2018 Human Rights Watch Report still posits that the "lack of accountability for serious human rights violations, perpetrated largely by security forces, remains a major concern in 2018 (Roth, 2019)" and thus shows that higher-profile restructuring of governmental and social practices are necessary to bring lasting peace to the region.

Tanzania's African Socialism

In 1967, after the integration of Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form Tanzania as we know it today, President Julius Nyerere and his socialist government pursued a sweeping transition from the institutions of capitalist colonialism to socialism. This he did after a five-year period of economic and foreign policy failure at the hands of Western capitalism after the country's independence in 1961. From then on, he reportedly became 'disinterested' with Western models of development, especially as he saw his neighbor to the north Kenya becoming increasingly reliant on these models (Nyerere, 1975, 139). Indeed, Nyerere had not ever intended to par for the course of capitalism. He had coined the term African Socialism, or *ujamaa* (meaning familyhood, community, socialism), in the 1950s to emphasize mixing of broad Western and Asian notions of socialism with the "communitarianism" of African culture and an emphasis on egalitarianism to create a distinctly African socialist movement (Nyerere, 1975, 139). In the same way as Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, Nyerere established himself as a de jure benevolent authoritarian with a unitary, one-party democracy which established power heavily in the executive. Nyerere wielded this power to expediently transition Tanzania to his African Socialist regime. In doing so, he also made himself and the TANU party (Tanzania African Nationalist Union) the ideological touchstone for African communitarianism.

Nyerere first focused on the transition from Western capitalism to socialism in the economy, which he saw was "*sine qua non* for the accomplishment of other directives (Nyerere, 1975, 140)," manifesting a Marxist version of the Washington Consensus. He endeavored to ensure that the country did not grow overly dependent on Western capitalist structures like foreign direct investment. Because the United Kingdom and other Western countries had invested heavily in Kenya rather than Tanzania, this was a relatively easy task. Nyerere's reluctance to allow foreign investment began as a hope to parry path dependency which he saw developing in 1961-1966, but it then became a call to a distinctly Tanzanian nationalism. He called this a process of "self-reliance (World Development, 2018)." In closely following Soviet and Chinese models, Nyerere's focus turned to rapid and meaningful industrialization. He also set aside banking and housing, insurance, and agriculture for government control (World Development, 2018).

Second and more importantly, the Constitution of 1965 stated that "no tribal language could be used at meetings and no appeal for votes could be made on grounds of race, tribe or religion (Nyerere, 1975, 143)." The electoral and campaign systems were thus designed to prohibit the use of instrumentalism in politics. Despite Tanzania's one-party system, politicians were able to represent diverse group interests across tribal borders. It was also made possible that politicians were held accountable by their constituencies. The prohibition of discriminatory language in politics and campaigning allowed for greater campaign transparency as well, and Tanzania's elections almost always included a peaceful transition of power.

Nyerere's Ideological Legacy

Even beyond his policymaking, Nyerere highlighted in his speeches that socialism was not radical, that he was not 'converted' by any foreign power. Most importantly, he emphasized the communitarianism and neighborliness of socialism, stating in 1975,

"One of the most socialistic achievements of our society was the sense of security it gave to its members, and the universal hospitality on which they could rely…we must re-educate ourselves; to regain our former attitude of mind. In our traditional African society, we were individuals within a community. We took care of the community, and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor wished to exploit our fellow men (Nyerere, 1977)."

Nyerere's policy reflected his ideology in that he endeavored to empower people across ethnic ties rather than individual groups. Major successes of Nyerere's reforms were seen in TANU's investment in youth education. TANU began a widespread rural education initiative in the 1970s, and young Tanzanians (both male and female and across tribal borders) were encouraged to go to school nine months out of the year. Schooling fostered socialism in the curriculum, imparting TANU's values into children as well as theoretical and vocational skills. This effort created a mass of young people who were dedicated to socialism and helping to build a more equitable civil society (Nyerere, 1977, 148). Additionally, TANU led an aggressive initiative to move desolate rural citizens into village holdings indiscriminate of ethnic ties and incentivized them to farm collectively. This both allowed different tribes to coexist relatively peacefully,

but also allowed the government to take hold of private rural holdings and transition them to state-controlled agriculturalization (Nyerere, 1977, 148). These reforms had lasting effects on the relationships between diverse Tanzanian groups and have led to a relatively peaceful coexistence between tribes even as flaws were exposed in Nyerere and TANU's models.

Lasting Legacies and the Transition to Multi-Party Government

African Socialism in practice has been proven to be flawed economically. Despite Nyerere's hopes, Tanzania's economy has grown more reliant on foreign capital and technology for its own building of import substitution industrialization. Corruption has risen because state bureaucrats have become the de facto bourgeoisie and a patron-client relationship began to grow between coffee farmers (Tanzania's most lucrative raw commodity) and state bureaucrats, leading to complaints of human rights violations. Indeed, bureaucrats themselves became a kind of privileged, stratified class (Costello, 1994, 1514). It was because of this that Nyerere's 1975 "villagization" plan which planned to empower rural poor by moving manufacturing to the countryside (evocative of Chairman Mao's Great Leap Forward) was a spectacular failure. Bureaucrats sabotaged plans or were lethargic in enacting policy in a bid to keep power (Bjerk, 2010). Additionally, the economics of African Socialism have proved fundamentally flawed. No sufficient manufacturing was developed, and the country's economy remains closely reliant on raw commodities like coffee. It is for this reason that critics of the statist model question the effectiveness of Nyerere's African Socialism.

It is difficult to determine whether or not Tanzania is a weak state. In the fifty years after Nyerere and the transition to multi-party government, the same party (the Chama Cha Mapinduzi) has stayed in power the longest. Tanzania is sixtieth on the Fund for Peace's Fragile State Index due to low economic performance, poverty, and economic inequality, albeit with a strong sense of governmental cohesion (Fund for Peace, 2018). However, the legacy of Nyerere's principles permeated deep into civil society, creating a relatively pacifist relationship among ethnic groups and a strong sense of legitimacy in the population as a whole. In 1986, a British Oxfam consultant wrote, "Tanzania seems to engender a socialist enthusiasm in all who work there (Jennings, 2002)." Since Nyerere, no one ethnic group or tribe has predominated the others, largely due to the fact that ethnic ties weakened, thus eliminating much opportunity for tension.

Therefore, despite their intertwined histories, the political and cultural landscapes of Kenya and Tanzania are substantially different. While the hyper-competitive capitalist model allowed for Kenya to gain considerable economic prowess on the world stage, this wealth was not distributed horizontally between tribes. As Grace Wamue writes, the Kenyan population "strongly resented exploitation and the accumulation of massive wealth by a small proportion of Kenyans, especially in the top political ranks (Wamue, 2001, 453)," leading to both class and ethnic tension. These tensions have not been meaningfully ameliorated in recent years even as the current Kenyatta government tries to induce reform.

Meanwhile in Tanzania, poverty continues to plague the population as a result of flawed socialist policy, however the country remains relatively peaceful in comparison to Kenya. Indeed, the country has made meaningful progress in recent years in a bid for social reform. This has been done largely in the form of policy against domestic violence, child exploitation, and gender inequality (UN Women, 2018). The development of Tanzania and Kenya respectively demonstrate the centrality of political and economic ideology to shaping a country's interrelatedness, cultural sphere, and civil society. Therefore, the stark differences in the two countries thus highlight the hidden effects of method of governance on the overall strength of the state both politically and socially.

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