

Negative Impacts Confronted by Africans from Independence Struggle to the Present Day: A Case Study of African Elites and Freedom Fighters

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DOI: [10.36348/sjhss.2021.v06i12.001](https://doi.org/10.36348/sjhss.2021.v06i12.001)

| Received: 24.10.2021 | Accepted: 30.11.2021 | Published: 06.12.2021

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Abstract

This Article deals with the issue of independence struggle in Africa. Our goal is to show how African freedom-fighters struggled against the colonial system in Africa for independence reasons. Despite the independence they got, they are always confronting the negative impacts of that struggle, not only in political fields but also in economic and social ones. So, from 1960 to the present day, African nationalists are confronting arrestations, imprisonments, accusations, tortures, murders, coups d'états, and so on. Through socio historical approach, we have noticed that the colonial system is always gaining ground in Africa through some strategies.

Keywords: African-elite, Freedom-fighters, Negative-impacts, Independence-struggle, Coup d'état.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Since the struggle for the liberation in the last century, African-elites and African freedom-fighters have been exposed to many dangers. Even today they are always facing up many difficulties. From here and there, those difficulties have negatively influenced the whole continent in several fields.

The struggle for independence including difficulties confronted by African-elites and African freedom-fighters from decades until now, have given birth to many movement in Africa, and have conducted African people to see things in another direction. According to Thandika Mkandawire, Although African freedom fighters and “intellectuals played a significant and even decisive role through reflection and action, theory and practice” (Mkandawire, 2005: 78) during the liberal-struggle, but they have encountered and continue to confront several impacts which even cost life of many of them all over Africa with an existing colonial system that we call “The System of Liquidation of African Leaders and Intellectuals.”

All these issues in Africa are due to the colonial system adopted from the era of colonization in Africa, which consisted of killing, imprisoning, torturing, assassinating, arresting, accusing and sentencing to death the African-intellectuals from time to time or from generation to generation, especially

those who could dream full and effective socio-economic and political liberation of Africa. Nowadays, it is not rare to notice that this colonial system is still shaping in African societies and is creating a lot of fear to the rise of the current generation of African-elites and the continent is losing a great number of leaders and intellectuals because of this colonial system. According to Kwame Nkrumah, “...wars, conflicts and aggressions in Africa can only be resolved with the African union” For him, “world peace today needs Africa’s total independence, needs Africa’s unity (Nkrumah, 1963: 203).

In this respect, our work will be based on the study of those issues confronted by African elites from the era of independence until now. Therefore, our topic reads as follows: *Negative Impacts confronted by Africans from Independence Struggle to the Present Day: A Case Study of African-elites and Freedom-fighters*. Then, our central question is: How to refuse colonial oppression in Africa? Our objectives is not to judge our colonial history, but to find out the negative impacts confronted by Africans-elites and African freedom-fighters from independence struggle to the present day, and how can African people avoid the colonial oppression.

Concerning the revue of literature, we have to confess that there are several works on the Negative

impacts confronted by Africans from independence struggle to the present day. Many people have already worked on these negative impacts. The available academic works are most them related to the study of Social Sciences. We can quote some of them: the study of Somé Valère, entitled *Thomas Sankara, l'espoir Assassiné*. Burkina-Faso: l'Harmattan, 1990. The work of Biney Ama, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwamé Nkrumah*. Ney York: Palgrave, 2011.

Indeed, we shall start our study by writing on African-elites and African Freedom-fighters. Next, we are going to scrutinize the Negative Impacts confronted by African-elites and African Freedom-fighters from the Independence Struggle to the Present Day. Finally, we shall examine how to refuse colonial oppression in Africa?

As far as methodology is concerned, we have used historical approach not only at an exclusive way in the sense of the word (the relating of past events). But we have enriched our research with a socio-anthropological vision, tending to fully understand the living of the people and the African political events.

2. African-elites and African Freedom-fighters

Who are African-elites? And who are African freedom-fighters? According to the sources consulted, African-elites are all individuals who received education from the white missionary schools in Africa and later on studied abroad from the European and American universities. According to a description given by Djiby Diaw in his Master thesis, African-elites and African freedom-fighters are all:

The persons and the groups that, besides the power they possess or their influences contribute to the actions of community, either by the decisions they take, or by the ideas, ideologies, sentiments or the emotions which they express or symbolize. (Diaw, 2006: 21)

In the context of this paper, African-elites can be referred as all the first generation of African intellectuals, leaders, revolutionaries, Pan-African politicians, African nationalists, Christian revolutionaries, especially African Prophets who died because of African matters. In other words, the African-elites that we are talking here is the group of persons or individuals who played a significant and decisive role during the struggle for independence and this group of individuals is considered as African freedom-fighters. That's for example, the case of Kwame Nkrumah (a radical nationalist and the father of Panaficanism in Africa), Dr. Benjamin Nanmdi Azikiwe (the pilot of Nigerian independence), Jomo Kenyatta (the father of Kenyan independence), Emery Patrice Lumumba (the motto of the independence of Zaïre), Julius Nyerere (the father of Ujamaa socialist), Nelson Mandela (the fighter of white and black races and apartheid), Antonio Agostinho Neto (The first president of Angola, the

leader of MPLA, a popular movement for the liberation of Angola), Léopold Sédar Senghor (the father of negritude), Simon Kimpangu (a great African Prophet), Simao Toko (one of the African Prophets, the hero of Angola's independence), to name but a few.

3. Negative Impacts confronted by African-elites and African Freedom-fighters from Independence Struggle to the Present Day

For many years the people of Africa have been subjected to cruel and unjust treatment by their former colonial masters that has left an indelible impact on their lives (Bankie and Mchombu, 2008: 15).

Today it is generally agreed that in every movement there are always positive and negative impacts. As regards negative impacts, one has ground to believe that the first generation of African-elite encountered many difficulties during the battle for liberation.

Although they played decisive roles through reflexion and action and from theory to practice, but weakness was weakness for them. It is because the Europeans instituted for Black people a system of preparation when they came to civilize them.

This system of preparation aimed at helping them to detect all the Africans who could dream on the liberation and emancipation of Africa and Africans. This fact is better expressed by the former Belgian king, Léopold II in his address to the priests and white pastors who were going to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.) as missionaries in these lines: *Instituer pour eux un système de confection qui fera de vous des bons détecteurs pour dénoncer tout noire à une prise de conscience pour la revendication de l'Indépendance Nationale. (Extrait du Journal Camerounais l'Afrique-Nature N°0005, Octobre 1994)*

Institute for them a tailoring system which will make you good detectors for denouncing all Blacks to an awareness for the claim of national independence. (Extracted from the Cameroon Journal L'Afrique-Nature N°0005 October 1994)

It is clear to understand that Europeans were denouncing all Black people who could revolt against them and have an awareness about their domination and exploitation because they prepared a system for Blacks and that system is the one that we described above as "The System of Liquidation of African-leaders and intellectuals" which consisted of arresting, imprisoning, assassinating, killing, and sentencing Africans to death for maintaining their interests in Africa.

From this reality, we can say that arrestations and imprisonments were among the difficulties faced by the first generation of African elites or leaders who

thought to develop national and continental awareness for the liberation of Africa. To buttress this point, Kwame Nkrumah who was the father of pan-Africanism in Africa, a great African-elite, the voice for African-Unity, a visionary of the African future, dreamt on the independence of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and the liberation of the entire continent, encountered arrestations and imprisonments several times with his movements of Positive Action and independence guidance.

First, he was arrested and imprisoned several times during the British repression in Ghana on the general strikes of February and January 1950. In about 1951, he was released and did not give up his will of freeing Africa and bringing unity among African leaders, intellectuals, nationalists and revolutionaries.

So, he kept on doing his movements of independent. As a result, he was again arrested and imprisoned as well in 1954 and the same year he was released too and then decided to negotiate with the British people for the independence of Ghana. Although he faced all these drawbacks, but he did not give up his fate and objective because he was very purposeful. That's why, the British lost no time to grant his country the self-government in 1956 and later on to recognize Nkrumah's Ghana independence on March 1957.

In reality, according to Nkrumah himself, the independence of Ghana was meaningless because he wanted to fulfill his main objective of the entire liberation of Africa. Although he granted Ghana a political independence, but he kept on revolutionizing, leading Africa's liberation, forming other nationalists and parties in Ghana, financing other countries in order to help them to achieve their freedom struggle. According to Ebenezer: "he quickened the pace of liberation in Africa and inflamed revolution in many parts that never knew it" (Kanu, 2013: 112), but this time he was neither arrested nor imprisoned.

In the same, way, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya was also accused by the British people as the one who organized the Mau-Mau Rebellion in 1952, (1951-1956). As a result, he was arrested and put in jail. That was the same with Harry Thuku of Kenya who was arrested and imprisoned likewise after denouncing racial legislation and forced labour in Kenya.

Another African-elite who was also arrested and imprisoned, was Nelson Mandela of South-Africa; arrested in 1963 after revolutionizing for freedom, imprisoned the same year, and released in 1990. So, when counting his years of imprisonment, one can guess that Mandela did 27 years in prison and today he is counted among the first Africans who spent a lot of years in prison for freedom and the liberation of Africa. As he said himself in an open letter to the African

people in South-Africa that he felt morally obliged to do what he did because of our freedom:

I have chosen this course which is more difficult and which entails more risk and hardship than sitting in jail. I have had to separate myself from my dear wife and children, from my mother and sisters to live as an outlaw in my own land. I have had to close my business, to abandon my profession, and live in poverty, as many of my people are doing ... I shall fight the government side by side with you inch by inch, and mile by mile, until victory is won...for my own part I have made my choice ... Only through hardship, sacrifice and militant action can freedom be won. The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days. (Roos, 2018)

In reality, Nelson Mandela's years in prison cannot put in doubt the impacts confronted by African-elite for the liberation of Africa. So, Mandela chose prison for freedom and the emancipation of Africa; and this kind of sacrifice was not easy, but he did it, even if there was more risks and hardship. According to him, the fate for liberation was more important than everything because he dedicated himself even to live in poverty just because of Africa's liberation.

Furthermore, arrestations and imprisonments of African-elites and freedom-fighters were so prevalent during the awakening time and during the liberal-struggle because a number of African-elites and innocent Black people were arrested and imprisoned from time to time. To support these argumentations, Joachim Chissano of Mozambique was arrested, and the President Robert Mugabe (one of the spearheads of Zimbabwe's independence) was also arrested and imprisoned in 1964 because of the liberation of Africa and of his country in particular. Another one was Fela Kuti (a Nigerian Artist) arrested several times in 1984 because of Africa's freedom.

So, many more African leaders and intellectuals who wanted to free themselves from the European domination and exploitation were arrested and imprisoned, as well as those who thought to liberate their Black fellows from the ill-treatments of the white people, faced likewise arrestations and imprisonments.

By the same token, a great number of African spiritual men, especially African great Prophets also confronted arrestations and imprisonments during the struggle for independence. That is for instance, the case of Prophet Simon Kimpangu, whose name meant "*Celui qui révèle les choses cachées*", was imprisoned, condemned and tortured by the Belgian dynasty in 1921 because in his teaching message "*le grand Prophète Kimbangu, annonçait souvent la libération prochaine de l'Afrique et du (Kongo) de la domination colonial d'abord et de la domination occidentale en général par la suite*" (Nawej, 2009: 60). In matters of reality,

Kimbangu as a great prophet knew that he will be arrested and tortured by the colonialists. In his famous address of Saturday, September 10th 1921 before his arrestation, Kimbangu said this to the African people:

Mes frères, l'Esprit est venu me révéler que le temps de me livrer aux autorités est arrivé. Tenez bien ceci : Avec mon arrestation, commencera une période terrible d'indicibles persécutions pour moi-même et pour un très grand nombre de personnes. Il faudra tenir ferme, car l'Esprit de Nzambi (Yahvé) Tout-Puissant ne nous abandonnera jamais. Il n'a jamais abonné quiconque se confie en lui. Les autorités gouvernementales (coloniales) vont imposer à ma personne physique un très long silence, mais elles ne parviendront jamais à détruire l'œuvre que j'ai accomplie, car elle vient de Nzambi (Yahvé) le père. Certes, ma personne physique sera soumise à l'humiliation et à la souffrance, mais ma personne spirituelle se mettra au combat contre les injustices semées par les peuples du monde des Ténèbres qui sont venus nous coloniser, car j'ai été envoyé pour libérer les peuples du Kongo et la race Noire mondiale. (Nawej, 2009: 61)

It is clear to understand that the colonialist system of arresting and imprisoning our elites and freedom fighters aimed at imposing a total silence to Africans against their injustices. Another one was Prophet Simao Toko a native of Angola who was also tortured, arrested, and imprisoned in 1950 by the Belgians in the Kongo-Belge after rebelling against the colonial teaching in his country. According to Kayemb Uriel Nawej, “dès son plus jeune âge il se rebelle face à l'enseignement colonial, et réclame qu'on restaure l'histoire noire de l'Angola” (Nawej, 2009 : 69). Nawej warns that Simao Toko spent 12 years of his life in nine different prisons because of our freedom.

A part from that, we can also mention a great number of African intellectuals and writers who thought to develop an awakening of minds through a way of literature, encountered also brutal arrestations and imprisonments. That is for instance, the case of Ahmadou Kourouma, the author of the book entitled “*Le Soleil des indépendances*”, Bernard Daddié (arrested and imprisoned from 1949 to 1950 after saying that it is not time to laugh, but it is time to open eyes), Antonio Agostinho Neto, one of the Angolan writers of the generation of 1950 who denounced the colonial oppression and the misery of Blacks, was in reality, imprisoned several times in 1950 and also confronted arrestations and imprisonments after denouncing European supremacy.

In brief, it is obvious to say that arrestations and imprisonments were among the first inconveniences confronted by the first generation of African-intellectuals and freedom-fighters and it is not wrong to say that even today if you try to rise up and claim Africa's issues, you will be arrested and imprisoned and

even killed or tortured by the West. That is the reason why, the current generation of Africa's leaders, revolutionaries, intellectuals and freedom-fighters are a bit afraid to rise up and claim African matters.

Moreover, assassination and death were also among the significant impacts confronted by the first generation of African-elites and leaders because the Europeans did not desire to see the awakening of Africans. According to “*La Charte de l'Impérialisme ou la Charte de la Servitude*”:

La règle d'or des Européens est la liquidation physique des leaders et dirigeants nationalistes du tiers monde. (Article 26)

The golden rule of Europeans is the physical liquidation of the nationalist leaders and leaders of the third world. (Article 26)

It is nevertheless clear as water to understand to colonize the Africans and through this system a lot of Africans lost their lives. To that the whites were killing the African leaders and nationalists because they did not want to see Black-revolts against their ill-treatments. So, they prepared this system of liquidation since they came support this point, during the Mau-Mau Rebellion (1951-1956) in Kenya for instance, the British repression struck all the Kikuyu without distinction.

So, in the course of three years of the battle for independence, over 30,000 African men, women and children were imprisoned in the British concentration camps, and many of them lost their homes, and their lands. Also, refuge was considerable at that time. As a result, the British decimated over 13,000 Africans who were very purposeful for the liberal-struggle in Kenya.

This reality is mostly known in history as the “Lari-Massacre”. During this massacre, according to David Anderson: “all the victims were ... local chiefs, ex-chiefs, headmen, and councilors” (Anderson, 2005: 164). our question here is to know why the British targeted only at local-chiefs, ex-chiefs and headmen in Kenya. The answer is simple, it is because they knew that local-chiefs in Kenya represented the power of the Kenyans in the sense that their words had more power in leading the Kenyan masses to the struggle.

That is the reason why, they adopted that system of liquidation in order to liquidate not only local African leaders, but also African-intellectuals and freedom-fighters who could have the power of words in front of the African masses during the battle for independence across the world. Then, that system was also developed across Africa by colonial masters.

To support this reality, lots of African-elites and leaders faced assassination and murder during the

battle for independence just because of that system. Among African-elites and freedom-fighters who confronted assassination with that system we can quote: Emery Patrice LUMUMBA, assassinated in 1961 because of Africa and Africans' liberation. According to the sources consulted, "with the assassination of Emery P. Lumumba in January 1961, Nkrumah viewed the Americans and Belgians as complicit in the murder of his ideological colleague" (Biney, 2011: 152).

Also, Prince Louis RWAGASORE (the hero of Burundi's independence) was murdered in 1962 because of Africa's liberation; Sylvanus OLYMPIO of Togo assassinated in 1963 just because of Africa's liberation, John Anguigi IRONSI of Nigeria assassinated in 1966 because of Africa's issues; Ali SHERMARKE of Somalia killed on October 15th 1967 just because of claiming Africa's issues. That was the same with Amilcar Lopes Cabral (agronomist, intellectual, theoretician, revolutionary, political organizer, and a diplomat from Guinea-Bissau) who, was "assassinated in Conakry (Guinea) by Portuguese agents on January 20, 1973" (Martin, 2012: 77).

Another one was Thomas SANKARA of Burkina-faso, assassinated in 1987 because of the truth he said about African conditions; Mohamed BOUDIAF the former president of Algeria, assassinated on June, 29, 1992; to name but a few. Even though, many Africans encountered assassinations all the times, but they did not care about death because freedom was the most important thing for them. To buttress these argumentations, Emery Patrice Lumumba was not wrong when he declared that:

Whether dead, alive, free or in prison by the order of the colonialists, it is not my person that matters ... sometimes with this volunteer compassion, sometimes with joy and pleasure. But my faith will remain steadfast ... until the day there will be no more colonizers and their mercenaries in our country. (https://thegatvolblogger.wordpress.com)

Without any commentary, in this passage we can understand how the first generation of African-elites had faith and were ready to lose or sacrifice their lives for Africa's freedom because according to them, it was neither prison nor really death that they were afraid, but they had a great vision of African liberation, they decided to lose their lives because of our freedom. We assume that the African first generation of freedom-fighters left a living message, and that message is that they were going to die for our freedom, and the next generation should defend the African independence, as well as carrying it forward as said by Thomas SANKARA: "we are here to dare, we are here to take the risks", it will certainly cost our lives but you are there to continue the fight.

So, we people of Africa, we mean the current or the present generations of Africa do not understand anything about this living message. It is because we do not have any idea about the impacts confronted by our great elites to free our nations, but we are only proud to celebrate most of the time, our strategic independences anniversaries.

Another form of assassination or murder has been also developed across Africa since the battle for independence until today. That is, the Europeans or other new powers including the Americans pass by an African in order to kill or murder another Africans. This system is commonly called in Africa by "Coup d'Etat". And we hear it only across Africa, but in European and American countries it never exists.

The truth is that Coup d'Etat is also a "System of Liquidation of African Leaders and Intellectuals". So, Coup d'Etat is one of the significant impacts confronted by Africans, especially African leaders, intellectuals and freedom-fighters in the course of the year 1960 and during the following decades.

Here are some proofs: Sylvanus Olympio, the first president of the Republic of the Togo from 1958 to 1963, was assassinated on January, 13, 1963 in front of the American Embassy of Lomé-City during the Coup d'Etat of 1963 formed by Gnassingbé Eyadema. Kwame Nkrumah who was a great African-elite, the former President of Ghana from 1960 to 1966, a real panafricanist, and a voice for the unification of Africa, encountered "assassination attempts on his life in 1962 and 1964" and a Coup d'Etat in 1966 (Biney, 2011: 82). So, he was overthrown by a section of the Ghanaian army led by late General Emmanuel Kotoko during the Coup d'Etat of 1966. Another one was François Tombalbaye, the Chadian independence father, also known as the first president of the Republic of Chad, murdered in obscure circumstances during the Coup d'Etat of 1975. Thomas Sankara, also assassinated by a Coup d'Etat, organized by one of his main guards namely Blaise Compaoré and some elements of the presidential security in 1987.

According to Thomas Sankara himself, "*le ciel qui me donna une âme passionnée pour la liberté (...), m'appelle, peut-être, à tracer de mon sang la route qui doit conduire mon pays au bonheur*" (Somé, 1990 : 48). Ahmed Abdallah Aberemane (the head of State of Comoros several times), dies of a burst of military pistol in the presence of the mercenary Bob Denard. Saïd Mohamed Djohar took the head of a provisional government.

Later on, Ali Soillih became the head of State of the Comoros on January 3, 1976. On May 13, 1978, the French mercenary Bob Denard formed a Putsch and overthrew him. Soillih was assassinated by the Coup

d'Etat of the new regime, two weeks after the putsch. Likewise, William Richard Tolbert, the former president of the Republic of Liberia from 1971 to 1980, died from a Coup d'Etat.

Indeed, in the morning of April 12, 1980, a group of soldiers went to the president Tolbert's residence to demand the payment of their salaries. At their head staff Sergeant Samuel Doe, finding the house unguarded and the president still in bed, they decided to slaughter Tolbert, who was immediately stabbed in front of his wife in his room and at the door. Thus, Sergeant Doe became the 21st president of the Republic of Liberia. Samuel Doe was the Liberian Soldier who financed the assassination of the president Tolbert so as to take his presidential chair. He also will be assassinated on September 9, in abominable conditions of a Coup d'Etat formed by his companions.

Another terrible Coup d'Etat was that of Juvenal Habyarimana the former president of Rwanda, and Cyprien Ntaryamira the former president of Burundi just for two Months, from 5 February to 6 April, 1994). It was on April 6, 1994, at night, that both presidents were killed on board from Tanzania, where they had participated in a summit devoted to the Burundian and Rwandan crises.

Ibrahim Baré Maïnassara, a Nigerian soldier who led his country from 1996 to 1999, was also assassinated on April 9, 1999 by some elements of his presidential guard. In brief, assassinations and death were among prevalent impacts faced up by the first generation of African leaders and intellectuals.

Here the question is why an African can accept to murder or assassinate his brothers of Africa for the Europeans and Americans interests in Africa? For sure, this is not the kind of African people that we want, because how can you accept the fact that Europeans and Americans pass by Africans in order to murder or assassinate African-leaders and intellectuals for their own interests across Africa.

In our view, we must be vigilant about the European and American Coup d'Etat in Africa, because Coup d'Etat is devastating our people and it is through it that we do not develop at all. And what we need in Africa, according to Kwame Nkrumah, is "...a new type of citizen, a dedicated, modest, honest, informed man. A man who submerges self in service to the nation and mankind. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity" (Nkrumah, 1967: 2) if not, Coup d'Etat will remain a practice for the Europeans and Americans for liquidating African-leaders, intellectuals, and African freedom-fighters for their own interests in Africa for generation to generation.

In this perspective, "Nkrumah contextualized Coup d'Etat in Africa as the disturbing emergence" of African countries (Biney, 2011: 156). We believe that the African new generation is getting up, because those who believe as we believe today are numerous than yesterday. So, killing a pan-Africanist today, is to open the African door to Africans' enemies.

Apart from that, the court of law was also one of the negative impacts faced up by the first generation of African-elites and freedom-fighters during the struggle for liberation. African freedom-fighters were indeed, sentenced to death because of our freedom and liberation. For example, we may quote the case of a young militant soldier from South-Africa, known under the name of Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu who, was sentenced to death by European-judges because of the emancipation, the liberation as well as African freedom. The following claim is a declaration made by Solomon Kalushi to European-judges:

All we want is freedom, that's all we want ... freedom ... freedom for children to learn, freedom for men to work, for mothers to love, for a nation to grow that's all we want, equality ... for everyone ... I am just one of many ... a foot soldier ... there will be many, many more to follow so ... there is no court of law, no police force, no army that will stop the tide of revolution from turning. There is no punishment you can lay out this court or your government can pass that could kill the will of people, because we will fight!!! We will continue to fight!! Until all our people are free. And maybe we can even free you (white people) from yourselves. So, you can hate us, degrade us, torture us, and kill us, but we will fight ... and we will be free ... one day we will be free. (Summer, 1979)

To react, one of the white judges affirmed: "you are hereby sentenced to death ... you will be taken to Pretoria maximum prison ... you shall be hanged with your neck until you die." So, the fate of a young militant soldier of Unkhonto Wesizwe, a member of the African National Congress (ANC) and an oppressed South-African child was ready to lose his life for freedom. In his last hour, he claimed: "my blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people I love them and they must continue the fight."

In reality, this is what we do not understand today. Apart from him, we can also quote Nelson Mandela and several spears of the nations in South-Africa who, were tried for treason and sabotage at the South African Supreme Court in 1963. At the outset of the trial, Mandela delivered a speech of about 176 minute, known as "*The Statement from the Dock*" or "*I am prepared to die*" excerpted here: "we decide to answer violence with violence" because "the complaint of Africans, however, is not only that they are poor and the whites are rich, but that the laws which are made by

the whites are designed to preserve this situation” (Roos, 2018).

Here, it is clear to understand that African freedom-fighters confronted Europeans’ injustice several times, because they did not want any revolt against them in Africa. That is the reason why, they sentenced to death a great number of African leaders and freedom-fighters who could revolt against them so that they may continue with the exploitation of the Black people. In short, the low court of was one of the remarkable negative impacts confronted by African elites.

Today, it is almost the same film, because the colonial system based on of African-elites, liquidation is always taking place in African societies. Because of the same colonial system, a great majority of African nationalists, and freedom-fighters are facing murders, assassinations, arrestations, imprisonments and some terrible coups d’Etats all over the continent.

As Africans, it is not astonished to hear that what occurred to the first generation of African-elites and freedom-fighters is always taking place in Africa. As illustration, the case of Colonel Mouammar Kaddafi by 2011, does not make any doubt that the colonial system is always gaining ground in our continent.

Then, the arrestation and imprisonment of Laurent Gbagbo always in 2011 by Europeans is another striking example to justify the shape of this colonial system in Africa. Likewise, the recent Coup d’état of the President Indris Debby Itno (Chad) in 2021 by his own son under the command of France is a tangible example to prove how Europeans are killing and assassinating our people today.

According to the information at our disposal, nowadays, Europeans work with one of African countries in order to destroy another country in Africa, or they work with some Africans or some heads of States in Africa in order to chase away other African nationalist in power.

They do this because they want our leaders and intellectuals to keep quiet against their injustices. Through this new colonial system based on the liquidation of our people, they have a historical mission and goal for our continent. That is to divide, dominate, rob, rule or control our continent in all domains, economically as well as politically.

They also want us to remain under their total control. So, we must cleanse ourselves from the negative effect of white-supremacy, because their supremacy system is based on division, discrimination, condemnation, killing, imprisonment, and all forms of injustices in Africa, and to African people.

This is what is delaying our development at this era of the 21st century. So, we must open our eyes in front of our colonial masters, because they need us in order to kill, assassinate, arrest and condemn our people for their own interests which consist of using our lands. According to Ahmed Sékou Touré, *“l’impérialisme...dépond de la nature d’un régime caractérisé par l’oppression, la domination, l’exploitation de l’homme par son semblable”* (Touré, 1967 : 283).

4- How to resist against colonial oppression in Africa?

If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form a political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen pulling various wires, to make us cut each other’s throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa. (Nkrumah, 1967: 9)

The only way to protect our people against colonial oppression is to come together as one Africa and one people. We know that if we come together it will be necessary and “there must come an end to all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man, of nation by nation; there must come an end to war” (Nkrumah, 1963: 203), conflicts, coup d’états, imprisonments, and other issues that we notice across Africa today, because the African union is a protection and defense for Africans against any colonial system.

Now the matter is that: how long shall they continue to kill our nationalists and freedom-fighters when we are assisting them? We should wake up and fight for unity. It is a shame for us to stay quiet until today, because we have been warned for many times ago that our protection lies on unity but we cannot even resist against white ill-treatment.

For sure, we must stand up in order to claim our Africanness by denouncing their diabolic system. Enough is enough! African people are suffering from immemorial times, and a long time ago, Europeans people are playing some dangerous games in Africa from decades. The only solution is to move together towards the United States of Africa, we know that their success is based on our failure.

So, who can change things? African people; children of Africa, African Nationalists; Pan-Africanists, Nobody else will come and say that he is going to solve the problem of our people. We are those who can change the situation that our brothers are confronting from generation to generation.

When we understand that we have to change things, it is at that moment that we can begin to bring the difference and bring change that Africa needs, and

that change can only come if Africans are united at all levels. We also think that, if we can be united, we can overcome those who are controlling us directly or indirectly.

According to Kwame Nkrumah, we must “work jointly to achieve the complete liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa” (Nkrumah, 1963: 142) in order to protect our people. Nkrumah emphasized that “our objective is African union now. There is no time to waste. We must unite now or perish” (Nkrumah, 1973: 233).

It is obvious to guess that if we do not achieve the African union, the imperialists will continue to assassinate, to condemn, to put in jail, and killing us for saving their own interests in Africa. According to the information at our disposal, the achievement of African union will be the only force and guide which will help us to protect ourselves from the European and American murders and coup d’Etat in Africa.

So, it is very important to all Africans to work for the achievement of the African unity promoted by Nkrumah, because according to the President Ahmed Sékou Touré, “elle peut faire de toute chose une somme” (Touré, 1967: 103). In other words, the fact that African people do not work together, the fact of being divided, we give the opportunity to the Europeans and American people to kill us as they want. They rob our raw material, they condemn us, they arrest us, and they kill our Nationalists.

However, if we can be united, by creating the United States of Africa that African elites, and the diaspora of Africa want, and we say no to colonial oppression, we shall create a new Africa that all African want.

5. CONCLUSION

This research paper has attempted to scrutinize the negative impacts confronted by African-elites and freedom-fighters from the independence struggle to the present day. Through the historical approach, the paper agrees that the African-elites and freedom-fighters played a significant role during the struggle for the independence of African states, and they confronted arrestations, imprisonments, assassinations, accusations, tortures, and many coup d’états.

They also confronted different injustices from law courts, and were sentenced to death all the times through an existing colonial system which was working only on the behalf of the colonial masters. That colonial system aimed at denouncing all African-elites and freedom-fighters who could dream on the socio-economic and the political liberation of African states.

Until now, that colonial system is always gaining ground in African countries, devastating

African societies from time to time, and is also creating fear to the new generation of African-elites and freedom-fighters who want to rise up in order to claim Africa for Africans. Through this system, our colonial masters want to continue to impose their system of domination in Africa.

Now, our plea for the problem of Africa is that, we must work for the achievement of the vision promoted by Kwamé Nkrumah. The problem of Africa today is to have a federal states of Africa at this era of the 21st century. The United States of America are powerful today, because of their ideology of unity from the 18th century.

China, after the era of Mao Zedong, they put into the place the communist party in China in order to have a powerful country, it was an ideology that they had. Today, we speak of China. So, “Africa Must Unite.”

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