

**BRITAIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEFTIST IDEOLOGY AND
ORGANISATIONS IN WEST AFRICA: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE, 1945-1965**

by

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I declare that

**BRITAIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEFTIST IDEOLOGY AND
ORGANISATIONS IN WEST AFRICA: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE, 1945-**

1965 is my work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....

SIGNATURE

(Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani)

.....

DATE

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SUMMARY

Although organised Marxist organisations did not emerge in Nigeria until the mid-1940s, leftist ideology had been prevalent among nationalist and labour leaders since the late 1920s. Both official documents and oral histories indicate deep-rooted support for leftism in Nigeria and anxiety among British colonial officials that this support threatened the Colonial Office's own timetable for gradual decolonisation. This study analyses the development of leftist ideology and attempts to establish a nationwide leftist organisation in colonial and post-independent Nigeria.

The role of the Zikist movement is retold in light of new evidence, while other leftist organisations are salvaged from the footnotes of Nigeria nationalist history. More importantly, the adaptability of Marxist-Leninist ideology to colonial reality by the different leftist groups in Nigeria is emphasized. The reaction of Anglo-American officials in Lagos and the metropolis towards the Communist Party of Great Britain and other leftist organisations' sponsorship of Marxist groups in Nigeria are discussed. Lastly, the continuity between the departing colonial power and the Balewa administration is addressed to juxtapose the linkage

between the two governments. The study thus provides a lucid explanation for the failure of leftist ideology and organisations in Nigeria during the twentieth century.

In this eight-chapter thesis I consistently argue, based on official documents from England, Nigeria, and the United States, that the role of Marxists and Soviet Cold War interests in colonial territories are relevant to nationalism and decolonisation in Nigeria; that the issue is not to determine or measure whether or not Anglo-American policies are direct response to Soviet interests; that there are political, economic, and diplomatic policies carried out as part of the transfer of power process; and that the success of these is partly a result of collaboration with local subaltern leaders and official resolve to institutionalise imperial preferences before independence on October 1, 1960.

KEY TERMS

Britain, Nigeria, decolonisation, ideology, leftist, nationalism, politics and government, Cold War, colonialism, post World War II, Anglo-American relations, Anglo-French relations, transfer of power, West Africa, 1945-1965. Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani (1965-).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AG - Action Group
- AMCONGEN - American Consul General
- AMCONSUL - American Consulate
- ANTUF - All-Nigerian Trade Union Federation
- BC - British Consul
- BDEEP - British Documents on the end of Empire
- Brit. Empr. - British Empire
- CO - Colonial Office
- COMCOL - Commissioner of the Colony
- CPGB - Communist Party of Great Britain
- CPN - Communist Party of Nigeria
- CSO - Chief Secretary's Office
- DEFE - Defence Department (British)
- DOS - Department of State (USA)
- FGY - Federation of German Youth
- HSU - Henderson State University
- HTL - Harry Truman Library
- HAUC - House Un-American Committee
- ICFTU - International Confederation of Trade Unions
- ICS - Institute of Commonwealth Studies
- IJAHS - International Journal of African Historical
Studies
- ILO - International Labour Organisation

IUS - International Union of Students

JAH - Journal of African History

JHSN - Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria

JMAS - Journal of Modern African Studies

MRM - Moral Re-armament Movement

MSA - Mutual Security Agreement

NA - Native Authority

NAE - National Archive Enugu

NAI - National Archive Ibadan

NARA - National Archives and Record Administration

NCNC - National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon
(later National Council of Nigerian Citizens)

NCTUN - National Council of Trade Unions, Nigeria

NEPU - Northern Element Peoples Union

NLC - Nigeria Labour Congress

NMLHA - National Museum of Labour History Archive

NNSP - Nigerian National Socialist Party

NPC - Northern Peoples Congress

NPV - Nigerian Peoples Voice

NSUDIV - Nsukka Division (Nigerian Archive)

NUS - Nigerian Union of Students

NWU - National Women's Union

NYC - Nigerian Youth Congress

NYM - Nigerian Youth Movement

OAG - Officer Administering the Government
(Nigeria)

OEA - Overseas Employers' Association

PCI - Peoples Committee for Independence

PSF - President's Secretary File (Harry S. Truman
Library)

PREM - Prime Minister's Papers

PRD - Public Relations Department

PRO - Public Record Office

RIIA - Royal Institute of International Affairs

RHL - Rhodes House Library

SWAFP - Socialist Workers and Farmers Party
(Nigeria)

TUC - Trade Union Congress

UK - United Kingdom

UMBA - United Middle Belt Alliance

UNISA - University of South Africa

UPC - Union des Populations du Camerounais
(Cameroon)

UWPP - United Working Peoples Party

USA - United States of America

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

WASN - West African National Secretariat

WIDF - Women's International Democratic Federation
(Prague)

WFDY - World Federation of Democratic Youth

WFTU - World Federation of Trade Unions

WO - War Office (Britain)

WP - Working Party

WPCIPC - Working Party for the Colonial Information
Policy Committee

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