Contradictory Organization of African Unity Standards *vis-a-vis* *Apartheid* Education in Liberia and Southern Africa

Junisa K. PHEBEAN [iD]

Lecturer, University of The Gambia, School of Arts and Sciences, Department of Development Studies, Faraba Campus, The Gambia. West Africa. pjunisa@utg.edu.gm.

Article Info	ABSTRACT
	Through qualitative study, the article addresses the implication of the educational policies in Liberia, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa during the colonial period in Africa. The study shows that the trio, besides their policies, had racial problems defining the interrelationship among various groups of people within the three countries. The dependency theory of development explains the reason why the countries pursued segregated education systems. Despite half-hearted attempted measures to address the problems caused by the discriminatory policies, the political will to implement the policies was lacking in all the countries. During the period under review, the Organization of African Unity was reputed to have waged an unrelenting war against the *Apartheid* colonial authorities in South Africa as well as Southern Rhodesia while neglecting the same discriminatory (*Apartheid*-like) practices in Liberia, a member country that was treated with kit and glove as a revered member state. The findings of the research show that the Organization African Unity was duplicitous in addressing the problem of discrimination during the colonial period in Africa. In conclusion, it shows that in which ever form discrimination was enforced or condoned, it impeded the development of Indigenous African societies in the three countries addressed in the write-up.

Çelişkili OAU Liberya ve Güney Afrika'da Apartheid Eğitimine İlişkin Standartlar

Makale Bilgileri	ÖZ
	Makale, Afrika'daki sömürge döneminde Liberya, Güney Rodezya ve Güney Afrika'daki eğitim politikalarının etkilerini nitel bir çalışma aracılığıyla ele almaktadır. Çalışma, üç ülkenin politikalarının yanı sıra, bu ülkelerdeki çeşitli insan grupları arasındaki ilişkileri tanımlayan ırksal sorunları olduğunu göstermektedir. Bağımlılık kalkınma teorisi, ülkelerin neden ayrıştırılmış eğitim sistemleri uyguladıklarını açıklamaktadır. Ayrımcı politikaların yol açtığı sorunları ele almak için yarım yamalak girişimlerde bulunulmasına rağmen, tüm ülkelerde politikaları uygulayacak siyasi irade eksikti. İncelenen dönem boyunca Afrika Birliği Örgütü, Güney Afrika ve Güney Rodezya'daki Apartheid sömürge otoritelerine karşı amansız bir savaş yürütürken, saygı duyulan bir üye ülke olarak el üstünde tutulan Liberya'daki aynı ayrımcı (Apartheid benzeri) uygulamaları görmezden gelmekle tanınmıştır. Araştırmanın bulguları, Afrika Birliği Örgütü'nün Afrika'daki sömürge döneminde ayrımcılık sorununu ele alma konusunda ikiyüzlü davrandığını göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, ayrımcılığın hangi biçimde uygulanırsa uygulansın ya da göz yumulursa yumulsun, yazıda ele alınan üç ülkede Yerli Afrika toplumlarının gelişimini engellediğini göstermektedir.

INTRODUCTION

The American Colonization Society (ACS) established the Liberia Colony in 1822 for manumitted Black slaves longing for escape from a social order where stringent color based discrimination made racial integration improbable. Racism and its concomitant segregation were conventional in America to the extent that White supremacy was synonymous with superiority and civilization while Blackness denotes enslavement (Dillon, 1980, p. 16). Hence, relocation to Africa was inexorable for their freedom and self-esteem, a decision that made Liberia to be synonymous with freedom and dignity. This motivated "The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here" as a national motto (Mbaku, 2010, p. 55). Distinct brands of Black nationalism metamorphosed in post *antebellum* America, leading to the desire to establish a self-governing state with capabilities of sustainable survival.

The elites among the settlers nursed goals of a vision that would prepare a model Black African state for future generations of settlers through which they would actualize their determination to attain self-governing status. Consequently, on July 26, 1847 the ACS granted the settlers independence (Dillon, 1980, p. 20). The former slaves acquired sovereignty with the attendant rights, powers, and functions of a government (Sawyer, 1992, p. 301). However, they were imperceptibly imbibed with racial arrogance which articulated a novel vision of Black unity in historical and racial terms in a settlement that ought to epitomize a serene ancestral homeland with romantic imaginings where they, without encumbrances, would celebrate their vibrancy of culture and heritage. Notwithstanding their objectives, the oratory of equality in the land of freedom eventually relapsed into 'blatant reality of unimaginable contradiction. 'The settler's resolve perpetuated rather than transform the oppression they were accustomed to in America. Distinctions of class, color, and education that were legacies of their American experience became exacerbated (Tyler-McGraw, 200, p. 152).

Article 13 of the 1847 Independence Constitution conferred only persons of color citizenship. while Article 12 of the Miscellaneous Provisions granted only citizens the right to hold real estate. Furthermore, Article 14 of the Miscellaneous Provisions invalidated the ownership of land purchased from the Aboriginal people for personal use. These and more constitutional clauses impeded racial cohesion (1847 Constitution of the Republic of Liberia).[1] [2]

These encumbrances occasioned the settlers established a dichotomized society of inequity characterized by a four-tier category of citizenship: the White skinned Americo-Liberians[3] (Mulatos) with full citizenship; dark skinned constituted the second class followed by the recaptives Africans (Levitt, 2005, p. 91). [4] The fourth were the casteless indigenes, devoid of citizenship. The constitutionally entrenched inequity assailed the society with etiquettes occasioning racial/cultural stratifications.

American Black elites of the era assimilated into White culture remained denigrated as inferior while the freed slaves became the elites enhancing social dichotomy among indigenous Africans. The settlers judged it their obligation to advance the race based on the middle-class beliefs of superiority and wealth, an African indication echoed in the submission of African elites with tenets and traditions of the colonizers (Genesys, 2012, p. 1797).

Subsequently, the colony contended with a predicament between the settlers and the Indigenous communities. Relationships deteriorated over the former's intransigence to acknowledge the authority of the Indigenous kings who acquiesced to accommodate them (Omasanjuwa & Phebean, 2020, p. 3.). To surmount the impasse and other contentious issues, the ACS fashioned strategies for assimilation and absorption to the elite class. This was a discussion among advocates of an outreach line of attack and those of integration (Sawyer, 1992, p. 185). Ultimately, measures were crafted to regulate relationship with the indigenous communities. These were an Apprenticeship System, creation of new settler enclaves, promotion of education to accelerate assimilation, and indirect administration of the

---

[1] Constitution of The Republic of Liberia 1847.

[2] There was a contingent of settler dispatched to Liberia annually from 1821 till the turn of the century. By 1842, 4,571 settlers were already in the colony. Only 2.388 people lived in the colony going by the figures of the 1843 census.

[3] The adopted name of the freed slaves

[4] The recaptives were liberated on the high seas en-route to slavery after it was abolished in 1807. (Finkelman, 2007)

Indigenes (Sawyer, 1992, p. 185). The concurrent implementation of these measures posed daunting challenges.

Unfolding events in Liberia replicated the state of affairs in Southern Rhodesia and *Apartheid* South Africa of the period. European explorers of the time kindled interest in Southern Rhodesia as conversations emphasised the fabled bounteous mineral deposits in Mashonaland and Matabeleland from where gold had been mined by Africans, information held as evidence of the legendary wealth of Africa. This was buttressed by the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in 1886. In 1884, a British expeditionary force annexed Bechuanaland, a territory enthralled with gossips of mineral treasure. Eventually, it got the attention of the British High Commissioner in the Cape, Sir Sidney Shippard, that the region is a warehouse of alluvial gold deposits hence he floated the idea of annexing adjacent Matabeleland and Mashonaland, territories ruled by Chief Lobenguela. As Deputy Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Shippard establish cordial relationship with the Chief with whom agents of the British adventurer, Cecil Rhodes, were negotiating concessions. Rhodes eventually secured from Lobengula the Rudd Concession which gave his British South African Company (BSAC) exclusive mineral rights covering the whole of Southern Rhodesia. Lobengula later repudiated the enterprise due to misrepresentations of the content and extent. Although the concession granted no right of settlement or administration, the BSAC nevertheless invaded Mashonaland and set up a European settlement at Salisbury in 1890. The settlers had an eye on Matabeleland which was still under the control of Lobengula. A fracas ensued in 1893 followed by another in Bechuanaland border, leading to the Matabele War of 1893 that killed Lobengula. Consequently, concessionary rule encompassed the entire territory. In 1896, the Matabele rebellion against the settlers was suppressed with heavy casualties. However, the settlers had designs for territorial conquest with the hope that the gold output from the conquered territory would rationalize a massive outlay in governance and expansion. However, the ambition ended in fiasco as the expectations placed in gold-mining proved delusional.

The BSAC subsequently grappled with desperate pecuniary complications forcing it to settle for expansion for agricultural activities that improved income and estate values. This resolution was detrimental to the Black inhabitants who were forcibly disposed of land. Additionally, their massive low-priced labour was channelled to White farms. The labour policy was a tool to validate and maintain racial division, "a division which largely dictates the range of jobs open to a man, the education his children will receive, that wages he is paid, where he can live, how he may behave to his fellows and to members of another race, and what civil and political freedoms he may be permitted to enjoy." (International Commission of Jurists, 1976, p. 1-2)

Events in *Apartheid* South Africa mirror in Liberia and Southern Rhodesia situations. The first European settlement was founded by the officials of the Dutch East India Company in Table Bay area in 1652 to supply ships with essentials and later developed as Dutch farmers arrived. Around 1770s, the settlers had contact and eventual fracas with the indigenous people. For a century, sporadic settler/indigene warfare raged with the emergence of centralised Zulu kingdom. From the 1830s, Disruptions which facilitated the northward expansion of the original Dutch descendants (Boer Voortrekkers) persisted.

European sphere of influence expanded with the discovery of diamonds in the 1860s in the Kimberly region coupled with the discovery of gold-fields in Witwatersrand that enticed fortune seeking immigrants in droves. In 1910, a White Union of South Africa was created. Radical Black organizations like the African National Congress (ANC) (1912), the Communist Party (CP) (1951), and the Pan African Congress (PAC) (1959) emerged. The Natives Land Act (1913) allocating 13% of South Africa's land to the Blacks was enacted. Africans were fractionalized into artificial ethnic nations. Discriminatory legislations regulating jobs, racial disenfranchisement, segregated education facilities, etc. were enacted. In 1948, the National Party (NP) won a general election and legalized racism. In 1961 Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd declared South Africa a republic after conducting a whites-only referendum. Interracial sex, racial classification, residential segregation laws were rigidly enforced. Population relocation affected forcibly relocated 3.5 million Blacks. The Pass Law (1952) was punitively enforced amidst Black insurgency. At Sharpeville in 1960, security forces massacred sixty-nine PAC demonstrators, leading to the deceleration of a state of siege and incarceration without trial. Radical Black organizations were proscribed with their leaders either imprisoned or exiled. Armed

struggle ensued. In June 1976, seven hundred stone-throwing children protesting apartheid education were murdered by security forces. However, sustained opposition crumbled the *Apartheid* establishment precipitating reforms in the 1980s. In 1986 the Pass Law was abolished. In February 1990, President F. de Klerk unbanned proscribed organizations and released political prisoners (Government Communication and Information System GCIS, Undated).

1. OBJECTIVE

Afrocentric activists of the era practiced reverse discrimination for condoning racism in Liberia while disapproving of identical practices in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Liberian events mirrored in White attitude towards Black people throughout Africa, southern USA, Australia, and Asia. The same practices were customary among the high caste Indians towards the 'untouchables', akin to the attitude displayed by the Japanese towards all Asians. Racism comes in all colors (Peter,1994, p. 42).

The inauguration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was, *inter alia,* intended to tackle racism hence African leaders used the union outstandingly against colonialism and *Apartheid*. They kept up a liberation committee through which it expended unprecedented financial and moral exertions to prop liberation efforts while concurrently engaged in diplomatic drives in sustenance of their exertions. However, the OAU glossed over identical situations in Liberia.

Two classes of colonies exist, those of exploitation and those of settlement (Liesbeth, 2015). The former refers to when invaders return home after exploiting resources while the later entails conquering indigenous populations and establishing permanent settlements. This article commenced by introducing how segregation was notched into Liberia, Southern Rhodesia, and *Apartheid* South Africa, colonies of settlement. It addresses the prevalent education conditions in Liberia through adopting the dependency theory of development to rationalize the demeanor of the freed slaves. Furthermore, the failure of an Apprenticeship System, as government loath making western education available to the indigenes, received attention. Then an unsuccessful unification effort initiated to address the inequity followed. Against the backdrop of the state of education, the implementation of similar policies in Southern Africa was examined and the conclusion affirmed the hypocrisy of OAU in prosecuting resistance efforts in the *Apartheid* enclaves. The inequitable education policies/practices in Liberia *vis-a-vis* those of *Apartheid* South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, with emphasis on their striking similarities received attention. In essence it examined the educational practices to unveil the contradiction which the OAU espoused in confronting *Apartheid*.

2. EDUCATION IN LIBERIA

The Dependency Theory of development espouses that underdevelopment is the consequence of the assimilation of developing economies into the capitalist world system championed by the West; a state of affairs in which a country depends on another for sustenance and development (Randall & Theobald, 1998, p. 120).

To be 'civilised', indigenous Liberians were expected through an Apprenticeship scheme, to undergo a qualification internship for absorption into the elite class. A scheme whose implementation reinforces the dependency theory. The exertion in promoting education as an instrument of assimilation necessitated the adoption and implementation of policies, rooted in the theory, vis-à-vis relationship with the Indigenous population. These efforts involved measures aimed at assimilation through the Apprenticeship System, a novel line of attack concocted by the ACS administration offhandedly around 1825 with the hosting of about sixty Indigenous youths by settler families (Sawyer, 1992, p. 816). It entailed equipping the youths with the knowledge of rudimentary agriculture, refined mannerisms, and imbibing the creed and rubrics of Christianity. An 1838 Act promulgated by the ACS regulated the relationship between the adolescence apprentices and their host families. In view of the unanticipated influx of recaptives, the legislative council upgraded the Apprenticeship Act to also cater for the adult segment of the population (Sawyer, 1992, p. 185).

The apprenticed children and recaptives were expected to undergo tutelage till the boys among them attained 21years of age and 18 with regard to the girls. The acceptance of the youths by the foster families required the endorsement of their birth parents and the surrogate court. In pursuance of the educational component of the Act, apprentices received training in the art of trading, reading, writing, and arithmetic. With a US government fund, foster families received allowances in addition to the

domestic labor provided by the apprentices. At the end of their internship, each was earmarked to receive a discharge sum of twelve dollars from the host family to enable them set up themselves on their return to society. However, owing to reciprocal suspicions and the absence of reciprocity in the relationships, parents were averse to releasing their wards and children for the exercise. (Sawyer, 1992, p. 186).

At the expense of developing educational institutions, the ACS made its mark in setting up trade infrastructure (Sawyer,1992, p. 187). The internes virtually became glorified servants whose labor was at the whims and caprices of their foster families. This abridged the importance of the education sector as it was abandoned to the missionaries who established few schools that opened intermittently. Thence, the apprenticeship degenerated into a barter trade of labor for the board and lodging of the apprentices due to the paucity of schools. It became a provision of labor on farmlands, home chores, and purchasing agents for settler merchants who were engaged in trade with the interior native population. Apprentices however imbibed the habit of speaking the English Language, western apparel, adopted Christian names, and acquired settlers 'etiquettes (Sawyer, 1992, p. 188).

Rather than preparing the recaptives for assimilation, the program was nigh on debased to the level of slavery. To the extent that recaptives labor under the scheme produced the agricultural prosperity of the mid-1800s (Sawyer, 1992, p. 187). Recaptives became agents, producing food and volunteers in paramilitaries and subsequently gained assimilation thereby acquiring citizenship, entitlement to land, enfranchisement, and right to hold public offices (Sawyer, 1992, p. 188).

Although, government pursued the scheme and the establishment of schools *Pari passu,* in contradiction, paid lip service to the latter in view of education's value as a *sine qua non* for an enlightened life (Sawyer, 1992, p. 190). Granted that the authorities were of the opinion that education and moral training were indispensable conduits to civilization, the responsibility to establish schools was somewhat relinquished to the missionaries hence, educational institutions that fast-tracked civilisation and acculturation were mission controlled. However, similar to most colonial African societies, missionaries opened schools not from altruistic instincts but to entice Africans to a mission station and get converted to Christianity (Carlo, 1997, p. 117). The Presbyterian owned Alexander Academy and the Methodist Monrovia Seminary were practically the only leading educational institutions. In 1827, Lott Carey established a mission among the Vai ethnic group while another settler opened one in the Condo federation in 1835 but was closed due to insistent local strife. Also prominent among the educational institutions were those run by the protestant Episcopal Church. (Sawyer, 1992, p. 190).

In 1843, only 190 of the 543 children enrolled in Liberian settlement schools were indigenes (Akpan, 1968). However, government expended efforts to open schools for both the indigenes and settlers in the1860s. Nevertheless, before 1870 most of them were moribund due to fund paucity (Akpan, 1968). The Episcopal Prelate Garreston Gibson and Dr Edward Blyden, with the support of Chief Momolu of Bopolu at Totoquellie established a school in the 1870s. However, with the death of the chief in 1871, invaders ravaged Totoquellie and took the teacher hostage leading to its closure. In most of the nineteenth century, the development of schools was haphazard. Education commissioners were appointed in the 1880s to oversee the forty-three government run schools. It was during this period that Liberia College admitted its first batch of Indigenous students in 1881 when Dr Edward Blyden was principal. (Sawyer, 1992, p. 90).

Besides incessant communal conflicts, government lukewarm attitude hampered the establishment of schools. Another factor was the lack of adequate formal education background of the settlers, whose number increased exponentially, of unlettered destitute recaptives in need of considerable community-based acculturation effort that gulp scarce resources. (Sherman, 1989 cited in Sawyer, 1992, p. 190) Through evangelism, the Episcopals from 1830 to 1860 educated local preachers and teachers (Akpan, 1968; Martin, 1969). In 1887, Samuel W. Seton (c 1830-1908) a Grebo became the first literate Indigenous African parliamentarian. To curtail the spread of Islam among the Vai people, in the 1870s the Episcopal Mission spread its educational tentacles to their county (Sawyer, 1992, p. 191). This capacitated the Vais and the Grebos to champion the challenge of the settler hegemony. Countless Kru intellectuals received British education in Europe, Anglophone West Africa, and the USA. What Africans of that era sought from education was not forthright however, armed with western education, the indigenes got locked in confrontations with the settlers for recognition and acceptance, a struggle that started waning in the 1930s (Sawyer, 1992, p. 191; Summers, (1997, p. 118).

Missionary work progressively waned into a contention between the government and the evangelists (mostly Whites) for being accused of fanning the embers of disunity leading to negative behavior among some key individuals amid the indigenes. In the 1870s, the Episcopal church was indicted of inciting rebellion among the Gebros. Towards the latter part of the century, politicians clamored for sunderance of relationship between missions and the foreign boards of religious bodies as the color sensitive settlers swiftly reacted to the apparent underhand motives of the missionaries. Consequently, in 1880, a well-read politician Richard Wright Johnson advocated secularism while Rev. M. Kellog was deported for being negro-phobic (Observer 1881 cited in Sawyer, 1992, p. 192).

Bar enlisting in the military, the only avenue to progress for the indigenes was via apprenticeship to settler families. They could acquire education that would avail them dignity only by relocating to the capital city. To qualify for admission to schools, children became glorified slaves. Laconically, the only way to acquire education was through patronage (Background to Liberia Conflict: p. 61). Rural dwellers were barred from administrative processes partly for being unlettered (Tuwea, 2019, p. 3). Additionally, Sawyer (1992) stated that the average monthly income of 74 per cent of Liberians was below $50 while education was nigh on the settler's exclusive prerogative. Public policies inflamed animosity against the settlers, resulting in astute resistance movements.

Antedating the coming of Firestone rubber industry,[5] efforts to open schools in the interior remained sporadic. Premier vocational program were commenced on the initiative of Phelps Stokes Foundation.[6] More than a decade later, the escalating demand for iron ore on the world market necessitated a technical and vocational institutions being established by mining concessions. The mining boom galvanized the government to embark on a systematic program of educational expansion (Sawyer, 1992, p. 193).

The era coincided with the promulgation of a unification policy by President W.V.S. Tubman in 1944,[7] a strategy designed to integrate the indigenes into the mainstream of the settler controlled society, a period of nationalist agitation for an end to colonial domination in African, a prosperous age fueled by an ever-increasing demand for iron ore. The policy was intended to dismantle the impediments that alienated the indigenes (Akpan, 1973, p. 235). Tubman initiatives marked an epoch in dousing the age-long socio-economic predicaments. (Sawyer, 1992. P. 207). Predating this time, only assimilated recaptives were full citizens, save the Mulatos. However, resentments harbored by the settlers confronted the administration that enforced only a miniscule component of the policy (Townsend, 1959).

Disintegrating barriers to education facilitated the provincials' participation in societal affairs. In 1944, only 200 schools with 2,000 students existed (Best,1974, cited in Parkins, 2019, p. 54). By the early 1960s, more than half the post-primary teachers were in public schools (Nelson, 1984: 127). However, before 1968, the number of schools was 1,053 with a student population of 130,871. With less than 600 teachers in 1944, in 1968 it was 3,880. In 1972, 156,083 students were in 1,155 educational institutions. In 1980 about 58 percent of students below the secondary grades were enrolled in public schools, while learners in mission schools almost equaled those in private schools (parkins, 2019, p. 15). Public schools were predominant at the primary level while the secondary level were mission controlled. Also the mission-managed senior secondary schools almost equaled public schools, though the number of students in the latter exceeded those in the mission schools (Dillon, 1980, p. 28). In 1963 roughly 70,000 pupils were in the kindergarten and elementary grades; by 1980 the number tripled while secondary school pupils between 1963 and 1980s increased eightfold, an era the indigenes appreciated the utility of education (Dillon, 1980, p. 28).

Tubman's desire was sustained by his successor William Tolbert,[8] however weighty deficiencies bothering on the quality of schools, instructors, supplies etc., persisted (Nelson, 1984, p. 127). At the proper time, as more indigenes progressed educationally, and having gone through the superficially incised assimilation process in the system, the eminence of education remained challenged while the

---

[5] In 1926, Firestone company reached a pact with the Government of Liberia.

[6] The *Phelps Stokes Foundation* a charitable organization founded in 1911 by the will of New York philanthropist Caroline Phelps Stokes.

[7] President William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman (1985 - 1971). Nineteenth president (January 3, 1944 – July 23, 1971).

[8] William Tolbert. Twentieth President of Liberia. (13 May 1913 – 12 April 1980 Assassinated in office)

indigenes comprehended the existing socio-political dichotomy rocking the society, and how education fomented the disparities. This unquestionably precipitated a military coup on April 12, 1980.

During the decade preceding the military takeover, Tolbert inspired Liberia University to improve standards. His exertions involved the absorption of the indigenes holding post-graduate degrees as lecturers. Hence, a considerable change in the lot of the student body, most of insignificant social standings, confronted the established order and precipitated the emergence of resistance movements (Nelson, 1984, p. 134).

Propped by the iron ore exports bonanza, Tubman's unification policy improved the political and administrative structures of the interior and whetted official interest in an unprecedented expansion of education facilities. Hitherto, the development of education was the obligation of missionaries. Primary schools and at least four high schools were opened in the 1950s. In 1952, the doddering Liberia College attained university status thereby becoming a focal training ground for indigenes. The 'multilateral schools 'that was introduced in the 1960s amassed provincial adolescents leading to unprecedented intercultural interactions, most of whom attended the University of Liberia. Also, the hinterland gained municipal status following an enacted 1963 law as educational attainment advanced the rural cause. Taking cognizance of the more than a century and a half old communal animosity, the unification policy arrived too late as it addressed a miniscule fraction of the tip of the iceberg of acrimony.

The education system antedating the unification era catered for those who perceived western learning as a privilege, unfit for others. The socialization process connoted much: the catchphrase Americo-Liberian signified dominance, right to education and socio-economic as well as political power. In contrast, the indigenes, commonly perceived as illiterates, were reprobates (Thomas, 2005). The settlers believed that the success of their progeny hinge on formal education (Dillion, 1980: 16-23). Prior to WW II, Americo-Liberian children were educated either in Anglophone West Africa, Europe, or the United States, although the College of West Africa, and a Methodist school in Monrovia were exceptions. Not all the Americo-Liberians, could sponsor their children abroad due to color bar restrictions practiced by the Mulatos against those of darker skin. The presidency of Joseph Jenkins Roberts, Liberia's first Americo-Liberian president, nurtured a color-based discrimination (Webster & Boahen, 1970). The ruling oligarchy was self-ostracized for the reason that more Mulatos died of the harsh tropical climate than the African Negros, hence the former were be entitled to choice public appointments (Dillon, 1980, p. 24).

During his post-presidency period Roberts assumed the Presidency of Liberia College where he admitted only Mulato students, a move that aggravated the educational inequalities. Socially, the Masonic secret order was an élite Mulatto fraternity whose members manipulated the law in quelling oppositions to their interests (Webster & Boahen, 1970: 6). The Mulatos controlled the economy, choice public offices, wielded political power, besides being businesspeople. They were the custodians of Liberia.

Till the first half of the twentieth century, the education of the indigenes festered as the settler government loathed footing the bill appropriately. The reality of the policy was tightfistedness to safeguard the settler's interests while containing the flow of funds toward the Indigenous population (Nelson, 1984, p. 128). The practice perpetuated illiteracy before the advent of the Tubman presidency as the mission schools were grossly inadequate. However, the Compulsory Education Act of 1912 which made education free and compulsory for children between pre-kindergarten and 16 years failed due to unrests in an interior that was dearth of learning facilities.

The educational endeavors of the settlers, from the onset till after WW II, was egocentric (Nelson, 1985, p. 128). Moreover, the opening in 1929 of the Booker Washington Institute and a teacher training college were combined efforts of foreign benevolent organizations. Prior to the War, three-fourths of the educational infrastructure were acquired through the initiatives of private and mission schools that provided whatever education Indigenous Africans acquired.

Socio-economic advancements elsewhere in Africa inspired government's contribution to the education of the natives, during the iron ore export bonanza (Nelson, 1985, p. 128). This led to the reformation of the school structure in 1961, a reorganization that was persevered till the 1980 overthrow. Pre-primary education was designed for children between the age bracket of four and five years; while those between six and twelve had six years of basic education. A three-year curriculum was designed for junior and senior high school education. Education was an attempt at finding the middle ground and

a shot at a superficially peaceful conciliation of the latent conflict. Africans clamor for education was to attain a decent and dignifying status, attempts at the prospect to bond the older and younger generations seeking to ensure their continued existence. But these challenges to safeguard shared continued existence could also pit generations against each other over the brand of acceptable criteria a negotiated settlement (Summers, 1997, p. 134-135). Partly, to ensure communal survival, generational gap obstructed the old and the young from mapping out strategies on how to achieve a negotiated settlement. Such was the situation when a group of military officers on April 12, 1980 violently usurped power.

2. EDUCATION IN *APARTHEID* SOUTH AFRICA.

The education policy in South Africa was in accord with an antagonistic political system on the basis of people belonging of a specific racial group[9] which entailed the marginalization of majorities. The governance model attracted infamy as it was a White-European minority that repressed the Aboriginal Black majority, a feature that mirrored in what obtained in Liberia.

Native education was regimented to tally with the state policy that Africans should not expect to live under equal rights with the Whites. The school system must not deceive the Bantu by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not permitted to graze. (Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974, p. 62). The Bantu Education Act[10] streamlined government control over African schools and correspond African education with the course of action it sanctioned. This ensured that Africans were trained to prepare them for menial jobs and make them responsible for their own education. (South Africa History online: Bantu Education; Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974: 62). In 1955 African education was classed under Bantu Education for being overseen by the Bantu Affairs Department with limited control by the Bantustan[11]' governments. 'The Education Ministry was solely responsible for budgetary allocations, examinations and, the curricula. African education in European areas remained fully under the ministry's domain. Government controlled the finances and coordinated examinations in manipulating African education. In 1972 there were 5,093 and 5,855 schools in White and African areas respectively (Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974, p. 62).

The Transkai government objected to the Bantu Education Act by editing the syllabus and replaced the government approved African languages as a medium of instruction with English and Afrikaans. Kwa Zulu government adopted an alternative Education Act, which made English mandatory to Zulu in schools (Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974, p. 62).[12] Africans funded their education through taxation, and other means which included school fees, annual subsidy by the South African Government, while urban family-heads contributed towards erecting schools. However, as school fees were beyond the reach of most parents, few children gained admission. Schooling was compulsory for European children but optional for Black people.

Enduring fund paucity made places, materials, and structures for Black people derisory. Widespread poverty exacerbated school dropout rate, lack of teachers besides, the remoteness of school locations contributed to the inefficiency of the morning and afternoon school sessions. Unlike the Europeans, Black secondary-school students, foot the education and supplies bills notwithstanding the gross income inequality. Consequently, student organizations, newspapers, and businesspeople often embark on altruistic entreaties to ease the burden. The student-teacher ratio for Blacks was approximately 60:1 and 20:1 for European while all African schools operated a double-shift system. (Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974, p. 64). 1.39 per cent of African teachers were degree holders while 2.35 Per cent were below diploma level. 31.45 per cent were trained higher primary teachers with lower qualifications and 0.21 per cent had technical background. 19.13 per cent had lesser qualifications. By

---

[9] https://www.rcm.org.uk/supporting/race-matters/   Royal College of Midwives. Accessed on March 1, 2024.

[10] https://www.google.com/search?q=bantu+education+act+1953+pdf&oq=Bnatu+Education+Act+1953+pdf&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUqCQgBEAAYDRiABDIGCAAQRRg5MgkIARAAGA0YgAQyCAgCEAAYFhgeMggIAxAAGBYYHjIKCAQQABiGAxiKBTIKCAUQABiGAxiKBTIKCAYQABiGAxiKBTIKCAcQABiGAxiKBTIKCAgQABiGAxiKBdIBCTI0NjQxajBqNKgCALACAA&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 Bantu Education Act, 1953. Assessed on March 1, 2024.

[11] A secluded quasi-independent area for different indigenous African people during Apartheid era euphemistically referred to as Homelands.

[12] Transkei, Ciskei, Venda, and Bophuthatswana: nominally independent republics within South Africa. They ceased to exist in 1994 at the end of *Apartheid*.

1970 the comparative percentages remained unchanged (Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974, p. 64). The highest salary for an African teacher was below the lowest grade for a European teacher of the same academic standing. Colored teachers got 72 per cent of their White counterpart's salaries and African teachers 52 per cent-about half. (Cape Times, 29 September 1972 cited in Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974, p. 64).

While places were unendingly in short supply, school fees escalation skyrocketed dropout rate, in addition to youths seeking employment to complement family income among Black people. Seventy per cent of Black children could not go beyond elementary levels, while 95 per cent hardly complete primary school. Save in Transkei and Kwa Zulu, instruction in Black schools was in African languages. Consequently, children found it extremely difficult to comprehend lessons in subjects like mathematics, chemistry, physics, etc. In 1971, 863 Black students were enrolled at three African universities [13] and 1,707 Indian students were at the University of Durban-Westville while European students was 56,982. (Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974, p. 62-67). The University Education Act (1959)[14] catered for the setting up of university colleges for Black People, colored and Indian students. Black people were prohibited from enrolling at other universities save, with government approval, Cape Town and Witwatersrand, contingent upon being academically integrated but socially segregated.

4. EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Education in Southern Rhodesia was a compound of discrimination and professional assiduousness which White Rhodesians believed was exemplary in Africa. It would have been justifiable had it concerned strictly African primary school education. However African and European departments of education existed concurrently thereby contrasting the opinion with the segregated secondary schools. Africans were trained to become causal workers while Europeans designed a system that caste themselves as élites. By subterfuge, the segregation of non-Europeans by the 1930 Land Apportionment Act ghettoized the education hence Black children need permission to be enrolled in European neighborhood schools.[15] (Catholic Institute for International Relations, and International Commission of Jurists, 1976, p. 12 &19).

In 1940 Africans accessed high school education because the 1930 Education Act made education mandatory for Europeans only. Seventy-five percent of public expenditure on African schools was on primary education which was terminal for most Africans. Only an insignificant number proceeded to high schools while majority advance to vocational schools, unlike the White children. (Reginald, 1975, p. 43).

Policies were primed for the White minority by ensuring that Africans were disenfranchised thereby making *Apartheid* the limelight feature of the educational system. Other races were barred from White school compounds, throughout all events. In 1975, a region of R$30 million was expended on educating the children of six million Africans while R$25.74 million was spent on the children of 307 thousand Whites and other races. Mandatory tuition fees for Black students triggered massive dropouts due to the abysmal income levels of parents, a policy that was inapplicable to White children. Hence, fees marked the contrast between White and Black students.[16] (International Commission of Jurists, 1976, p. 19-20).

In April 1966, sequel to a reduction in government subvention, African communities bore responsibility for children's education (African Development Fund Act (1949), as amended cited in International Commission of Jurists). In addition, a bar of 2 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP) was set aside for African education. Besides, government assistance hinged on taxes on African produce. None applied to Europeans. An impediment to Black students'education was the Highfield Community School incedent. In 1967, schools requested permission to prolong the period spent in

---

[13] Universities of The North, Fort Hare, and Zululand
14 https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/extension-university-education-act-act-no-45-1959 Extension of University Education Act, Act No 45 of 1959. South Africa History online. Accesses on March 1, 2024.
[15] "The educational exploits of Africans depended on aptitude and able supervision in an area which never raised the 'bogey 'of skilled or decidedly well-read Africans, and which was never seen as clashing with government interests. Ironically it makes the Rhodesian majority more 'educated 'than were Africans in the former colonial territories of east and central Africa prior to their independence" (Reginald, 1975, p. 44).
[16] Determined by Education Act of 1969.

school, at the expense of parents. The education authorities that had no African in a decision-making position objected. (International Commission of Jurists, 1976, p. 22).

Prior to 1969, Christian missions established facilities for Africans, but a policy directive barred charitable organizations from effecting any proposal for future expansion to extend the levels of educational attainment. Almost 85 per cent of the Black children lacked prospects in their church provided primary education while in 1970 the government reduced the grant for African teacher's salaries in mission schools by 5 per cent. Meanwhile the Apprenticeship Act (1959) obliged an African to possess the Junior Certificate (10 years 'education) as a requirement for internship; restrictions that excluded a record Black youths from proceeding beyond primary school. Meanwhile White primary school enrolment rate was 118 per 1,000 of population as against 51.5 pupils per 1,000 of Black population. European enrolment stood at 90.3 per 1,000 while African high school enrolment was 2.5 pupils per 1,000 of population. Failure rate among Backs towards the end of primary and high schools was incessant unlike the White counterparts (Mlambo, 1971, p. 12 cited in International Commission of Jurists, 1976, p. 21-23).

The problem emanated from a government Catch-22 situation in which economic circumstances prescribed the inevitability for African development while political considerations clogged the progress. Intransigence to improve Black education to fast-track the production of trained workforce for economic development in the Black settlements is attributed to doubts over African advancement. Provision of essential infrastructure in African settlements would promote national investment to the discontentment of the Whites. Also, the much needed injection of European factors of production into African settings intersected the incipient notion of *Apartheid* incised in the community development arrangement and in the Land Tenure Act.[17]

Ostensibly, The University of Rhodesia was detached from the *Apartheid* setup. Both staff, students, and their residences were multi-racial, with academic freedom guaranteed within the confine of the law. In 1972, there were 400 Blacks, 510 Europeans and 78 other races while in 1975, of the total full-time students (1,895), 625 were Africans, 86 and 30 were Asians and others respectively while Europeans constituted 1,127. Notwithstanding the remarkable progress, the fraction of fulltime Black students remained unchanged at around 41 per cent. However, many White Rhodesians (1,908 in 1972) were enrolled in South African White only universities. Conservatively, 50 per cent of competent White high school graduates received university education at public expense. Meanwhile, the most thoughtful predicament was the unemployment of African university graduates (Catholic Institute for International Relations, and International Commission of Jurists, 1976, p. 23-24; Reginald, 1975, p. 51).

Discrimination became conspicuous as European education was virtually a public responsibility; contrasting that of Blacks. Churches and African councils played dominant roles. In 1967, mission schools catered for 90 per cent of African children. The rural areas were inundated with poverty while the councils were virtually ignorant of educational matters but heavily dependent on the White minority government for subsidy. It became problematic for the councils to first establish schools before approaching the White minority government for assistance, as stipulated by law. Such was inapplicable to the Whites. (Reginald, 1975, p. 44).

Consequently, end results of government policies plagued Black education whose obligation was abandoned to the rural Black communities harboring Black children. A direct consequence of the skewed policies showed that in 1964 only 60 per cent of Black children between 7 and 16 years were in schools, while in 1962, 47 per cent of Black males and 59 per cent of Black females, over 16 years were illiterates. In 1967, 88.8 per cent of the Whites received more than ten years of education, unlike the Blacks which was only 0.48 per cent partly due to ill-funding. (Reginald, 1975, p. 45-46). A policy contained information on giving Africans a methodical preparation in domestic chores or farming, an approach whose output was premeditated to equip Africans with job prospects which Whites are disposed to offer. An adopted 1966 plan which pegged spending on Black education at 2 per cent of the GNP adversely impacted the mission schools by ensuring that African education was wittingly rudimentary to inhibit prospects for higher education. (Reginald, 1975, p. 46).

---

[16] Mujere, Joseph; Mseba, Admira (2019). "The politics of African Freehold Land Ownership in Earl Colonial Zimbabwe1890-1930." *African Economic History*. 47 (1):32-35.

In 1974, based on those that passed out of elementary schools, a policy was intended for an extended secondary education for Africans to assist 50 per cent of school leavers to proceed beyond high school. Besides, 12.5 per cent of the elementary-school graduates were opportune to pursue high school education for four further years, an insignificant number could proceed for another two years and possibly to university.

Technical education containment policy was effected either during school training or during indenture as apprentices. The policy restrained Blacks from becoming tradesmen, notwithstanding persistent shortages in the industries. Consequently, in response to a workforce deficiency in the industrial sector in 1973, government embarked on a massive recruitment drive for one million immigrants. The Apprenticeship Act (1959) that legalized African apprenticeship became moribund due to the resentment of the White controlled unions to engage Black artisans. Predating the Lancaster House Talks (1979), racial prejudice against indentured apprentices remained unabated. As the minimum number of years required for indentured apprentices was a legally required ten years of education, most Blacks remained unqualified. In 1968 a skilled workforce development establishment meant to address shortfalls in apprentices ended in fiasco as skilled White unionists sanctioned immigration while obstructing both training/apprenticeship opportunities for non-Europeans. Luveve College in Bulawayo was built in 1961 to provide a two-year vocational education for Africans. Notwithstanding the encouraging outcomes of the endeavor it was shut three years later because it was felt that de-racialization of apprenticeship training rendered it useless, despite incontrovertible evidences contravening the assertion, besides the pressing demand for artisans. Another instance was a rescinded provisional arrangement to employ Africans into the public service (Reginald, 1975, p 46-49; Catholic Institute for International Relations, and International Commission of Jurists, 1976, p. 23). Trade union movement as recognized by law was, for all intents and purposes, racially masked as practiced (Europeans) and unskilled (non-Europeans) to the advantage of the former.

5. ANALYSIS

The necessity for a unified Africa led to the emergence of assorted alignments among which the Casablanca Group and Monrovia Group. The former favoured a politically united Africa while the latter favoured a loose union based on gradual economic integration. Consequently, on May 25, 1963, thirty-two independent African countries formed a compromise institution, the OAU, with the objective of 'promoting the unity and solidarity of African states; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States; rid the continent of colonization and *Apartheid*; promote international cooperation within the United Nations framework; and harmonize members' political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, welfare, scientific, technical and defence policies. Despite the differences obstructing the attainment of these goals, the continent was finally decolonised in 1994 with the collapse of *Apartheid*.

While combatting *Apartheid*, the OAU ignored the Liberia situation. Ironically, in 1959, at the UN General Assembly, based on a report to enforce mandate sanctions on the Union of South Africa, invited legally qualified members to institute legal proceedings against *Apartheid* South Africa at the International Court of Justice. Incomprehensibly, the mandate fell on Liberia and Ethiopia, the states legally qualified to file the action being the only African member countries of the defunct League of Nations. In 1960, a joint action was instituted against South Africa over its illegal administration of Namibia (Weissbrodt et al., 1986, p. 490). The rational buoying Liberia's involvement is debatable, taking cognizance of her A*partheid*-styled administration. Besides, the OAU during its Second Ordinary Session (1965) acknowledged the progress made by the two member states in prosecuting the matter before the International Court.[18]

Besides, the plethora of OAU Declarations, Resolutions and Decisions since its inception, none addressed the Liberian *Apartheid*-styled administration.[19] The *Apartheid* regimes enforced race-based

---

[18] https://aiil-iadi.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/AU_Book3_OAU-Final_ONLINE-compressed.pdf Accessed on March, 3, 2024. Pp. 68.

[19] https://aiil-iadi.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/AU_Book3_OAU-Final_ONLINE-compressed.pdf Accessed on March, 3, 2024.

segregation while engaging traditional institutions to retard African nationalism. In the process resource allocation to education was discriminatory to perpetuate White hegemony. This guaranteed the growth and competitiveness of settler enterprises through discrimination and suppression that impeded the development of the targeted race through labor control (Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, 1974, p. 62). The same applied to Liberia.

Notwithstanding skin color, Americo-Liberians engendered a system whose *modus operandi* dovetailed the intentions of *Apartheid*. Colonizing powers symptomatically control and transmute subjugated people for selfish ends. In most climes, colonialism is color flavored to the advantage of the colonialists. In lieu of color, the Liberia brand is ethnic. Through manipulations, the numerically insignificant Americo-Liberians sustained *Apartheid*-styled control over the aboriginal majority (Santana, 2012, p. 33). With state policies they denied the indigenes education, with far reaching consequences. Rhodesia disenfranchised Africans through stringent educational standards while plethora of laws restrained them from resisting *Apartheid*. (Stekette, 1978, p. 4). Akin to Black Southern Africans, pre-1980 Indigenous Liberian education terminated at elementary school level. The Lancaster House Agreement Talks ushered in independence to Southern Rhodesia in 1980[20] the year Liberia slide into a civil war, comparable to the armed struggles in *Apartheid* Southern Africa. Indigenous Liberians now clamor for a war crime tribunal to reprimand the Americo-Liberians who perpetrated the war necessitated by inadequate representation for the tax paid to a government that loath their being educated; a regime that restricted education to perpetuate oppression (Kollie, 2020).

CONCLUSION

The article affirmed the duplicity of the OAU while confronting *Apartheid* in two milieus, where accessibility to education was constitutionally constrained. Southern Africa governance engendered condemnation for being a European induced subjugation of a Black majority on African soil. However, the OAU treated the case of Liberia as an in-house affair, while its education policy corresponded with the aims of *Apartheid*. Aboriginal Southern Africans were groomed to be manual laborers while guaranteeing the settlers racial hegemony intended to secure and sustain their standard of civilization. Southern African *Apartheid* policy was explicitly official after 1948 however, the Liberian situation was comparatively clandestine. Remarkably, one of the two groups that reached a compromise to form the OAU is the Monrovia Group,[21] formed in May, 1961 in Monrovia, Liberia. At the First Summit Conference of Independent African State 1963 meeting in Ethiopia, none of the twenty items bothering on Decolonization, *Apartheid*, and Racial Discrimination listed on Item Agenda II, alluded to Liberia. [22] The same applies to all the extraordinary sessions. In the *Apartheid* and Liberia enclaves, segregation benefited the minorities educationally to the detriment of the majority. Secondary education was relinquished to philanthropists who ran squalid schools. Qualification for the indigenes to gain education opportunities entailed patronage and groveling. The Apprentice System failed for becoming palliatives for the oppressed. Its foremost objective which was to prepare the recaptives for assimilation into the settler society was debased to servitude. While missionaries resisted intractable odds, evangelism, which was inextricably linked to education, came under attacks amid soured relationship between the settlers and the oppressed. Ironically, the three climes attempted buoying primary education but developed cold feet as the disadvantaged bridged the gaping education gap. They all maintained four-tier citizenship while at loggerheads with their indigenous communities. The apprenticeship system, education budgetary allocation, intensions, and *modus operandi* were indistinguishable.

The dependency theory (Sunkel, 1969, p. 23) which epitomized the philosophy of separate development aptly deciphered the underlying motives of *Apartheid* education. Although dependency emphasizes the lopsided interactions among nations, this article demonstrates that it also applies to small groups where some have overriding influence over others. It exemplified that it encompasses far-

---

[20]   https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ZW_791221_LancasterHouseAgreement.pdf
Southern Rhodesia constitutional conference: Lancaster house, London 1979. Accesses on March 1, 2014
[21] The group comprises of Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo, Tunisia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malagasy, Mauritania, Senegal, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), and Niger,
[22] https://aiil-iadi.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/AU_Book3_OAU-Final_ONLINE-compressed.pdf PP.3-5
Accessed on May 3, 2024.

reaching ties among classes within countries sharing common interests. Fundamentally, settler education enabled next to no dropouts for the colonizers before leaving high school while being trained for further studies or being primed for the industries.

The firmly rooted dependency theory partly accounts for the developmental problems in the three climes, decades after attaining independence, because the indigenes were incorporated into controlled economies, similar to the integration of the third world economies into the advanced world economic system. The superior group, being in charge, exploited policies, manipulated methods and resources to shape the outcome of the persistent domination (Liebenow, 1969). Christianity was put to use in affirming supremacy by ensuring the submission of the indigenous population, most of whom were mission educated due to lack of government interest in establishing adequately funded schools hence, the church was crucial.

Analogous to the Whites in *Apartheid* Southern Africa, Liberian settlers were the originators, possessors, and the nobility of the colony, trustees of Liberia, immigrants with extraneous views of the African continent (Liebenow,1969: 156-157). A people who paid superior affection to race than culture. (Santana, 2012, p. 28). The *modus operandi* of executing the education policies in the *Apartheid* enclave was indistinguishable from those of pre-1980 Liberia hence, Liberia and the *Apartheid* establishments deserved equal condemnation. However, while the African colonial liberation initiatives were resolutely pursued, Liberia was treated with kit and gloves. In conclusion, *Apartheid*, in whichever form it was enforced or condoned, impeded the educational development of indigenous Africans.

REFERENCE

Akpan, M.B. (1968). The African Policy of the Liberian Settlers, 1841-1932. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Ibadan, Nigeria].

Anti-Apartheid Movement, (1974). Racism and Apartheid in southern Africa South Africa and Namibia A book of data based on material prepared by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, UNESCO, Paris.

Background on Liberia and conflict, (Undated). Chapter 4, P.61 chapter_4-background_on_liberia_and_the_conflict.pdf (theadvocatesforhumanrights.org) Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Best, K. Y. (1974). Cultural Policy in Liberia. The UNESCO Press. Printed by Imprimerie Des Presses Universitaires d France, Vendome: Paris, France. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000009047 Accessed on March 1, 2024

Catholic Institute for International Relations, and International Commission of Jurists, (1976). Racial Discrimination and Repression in Southern Rhodesia, Geneva. https://www.icj.org/wp-content/uploads/1976/01/Southern-Rhodesia-Racial-discrimination-and-repression-report-1976-eng.pdf Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Clarke, R. T. (2009). Decentralization Policy and Citizen Participation in Government: The Case of Liberia. [Doctoral dissertation, Walden University]. https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/dissertations/6542 Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Constitution of The Republic of Liberia 1847. https://citizenshiprightsafrica.org/constitution-of-liberia-1847/ Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Dillon, E. C. (1980). The Role of Education in the Rise and Fall of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, West Africa. [Doctoral dissertation, Georgia State University] https://doi.org/10.57709/1060061 Accessed on March 1,2024.

Ferraro, V. (1996). Dependency Theory: An Introduction, http://marriottschool.byu.edu/emp/WPW/pdf/class/Class_6-The_Dependency_Perspective.pdf Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Finkelman, P. (2007). The abolition of the slave trade 'Albany Law School. http://abolition.nypl.org/print/us_constitution/ Accessed on March1, 2024.

Government Communication and Information System GCIS. History of South Africa

 https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/pocketguide/2003/history.pdf Accesses on March 2, 2024.

Harold, D.N. (1984). Liberia: A country Handbook Headquarters, Department of the Army. https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA159331.pdf Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Liebenow, J. G. (1969). Liberia: The Evolution of Privilege. Cornell University Press Ithaca, NY.

Jeremy, I. L. (2005). The Evolution of Deadly Conflict in Liberia: From Paternalism to State Collapse. Carolina Academic Press, Durham.

Kollie, E. M. (2020). History of Lutheranism in Liberia: The Current State of Lutheran Churches In Liberia as a Result of Their History and Development. Master of Art Theology Thesis. https://scholar.csl.edu/ma_th/119 Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Liesbeth v de G. (2015). Introduction: Theories And Practices Of Internal Colonization The Cultivation of Lands and People in the Age of Modern Territoriality. Uopen Journals, 3 (2).

Martin, J. J. (1969), How to Build a Nation: Liberian Ideas about National Integration in the Later Nineteenth Century. Liberian Studies Journal (2), 15-20.

Mbaku, J. M. (2010). Constitutionalism and Governance in Liberia: Where is the Liberty that Brought African Americans to the West African Coast in 1820? Liberian Studies Journal Number 1.

Mlambo, E. (1972). Rhodesia: The Struggle for a Birth right, C. Hurst & Co., London.

Nelson, D. H. (1985). Liberia: A Country Study. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Omasanjuwa, A. & Phebean, J. (2020) Acrimony in Colonial Liberia. Journal of Universal History Studies 3(1), 1-38. https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/1138892 Accesses on March 16, 2024.

Parkins, D. (2019). Colonialism, Post colonialism, and the Drive for Social Justice: A Historical Analysis of Identity Based Conflicts in the First Republic of Liberia. Capstone Collection. 3156. https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/capstones/3156 Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Peter, A. (1994). Alan Paton: A Biography. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Reginald, A. (1975). Racism and Apartheid in southern Africa: Rhodesia A Book of Data. The UNESCO Press, Paris.

Santana, G. (2012). A case of double consciousness Americo-Liberians and indigenous Liberian relations 1840-1930.[Honors dissertation, University of Central Florida] https://stars.library.ucf.edu/honorstheses1990-2015/1797 Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Stekette, R. W. (1978). The Rhodesian Crisis: The Struggle for Majority Rule 1965-1978 [Master's Theses, Western Michigan University] https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses/3846 Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Sawyer, A. (1992). The Emergence of Autocracy in Liberia Tragedy and Challenge. Institute for Contemporary Studies San Francisco, California.

Stu, W. and Jonathan, S. (Undated). Constitutional History, Chapter 2.

 https://constitutionallawofsouthafrica.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Chap02.pdf Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Summers, C. (1997). Demanding Schools: The Umchingwe Project and African Men's Struggles for Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1928-1934. African Studies Review 40.

Sunkel, O. (1969). National Development Policy and External Dependence in Latin America, The Journal of Development Studies, 6 (1).

Randall, V. and Theobald, R. (1998). Dependency Theory and the Study of Politics. A Critical Introduction to Third World Politics. Second Edition, Duke University Press.

Thomas C.W. (2005). Adventures and Observations on the West Coast of Africa and Its Islands. Michigan: University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.

Townsend, E.R. (1959). President Tubman of Liberia Speaks. London: Consolidated Publications.

Tuwea, R. C. (2019). Decentralization Policy and Citizen Participation in Government: The Case of Liberia. Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies. 6542. https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/dissertations/6542/   Accessed on March 5, 2024

Tyler-McGraw, M. (2007). An African Republic: Black & White Virginians in the Making of Liberia: The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill

Webster, J.B. and Boahen, A.A., (1970). The growth of African civilization: The revolutionary years of West Africa since 1800, Longman, London.

Wegmann, A.N. (2010). Christian community and the development of an Americo-Liberian identity, 1824-1878. [Master's dissertation, Louisiana State University]. https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool_theses/525 Accessed on March 1, 2024.

Williams, A.(2005). The Liberian Saga: One Nation, Two Cultures. https://www.theperspective.org/saga.html Accessed on March 1, 2024.