

# HISTORY 1

## NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND NEW STATES

### Topic: The Development of African Nationalism

#### Lesson 1: The Italo-Ethiopian Crisis 1935 - 1941

##### Learning Outcomes

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- i) describe the background of the Italo -Ethiopian crisis of 1935 -1941.
- ii) discuss the causes of the Italo- Ethiopian crisis of 1935-1941.

##### Materials you will need:

- pens
- pencils
- papers/ notebooks
- Internet
- textbooks

##### Instructions

- i) This is a self-study lesson.
- ii) Follow the instructions carefully.
- iii) Attempt all tasks given (in your notebook).
- iv) You can make reference / research from text books or other books or internet.
- v) If possible, consult an adult at home while doing an activity.
- vi) You will present this work to your teacher when school resumes.

##### Introduction

The Italo-Ethiopian crisis was a [war of aggression](#) which was fought between [Italy](#) under Benito Mussolini and [Ethiopia](#) under Emperor Haile Selassie from October 1935 to February 1937.

In 1930, Italy built a fort at the WalWal oasis that was clearly inside Ethiopian territory, and it was a direct violation of a 1928 treaty of [friendship and arbitration](#) which declared a twenty (20) year friendship between the two nations. Relations between the two nations remained peaceful for years after the fort was built. However, that ended in late 1934. On November 22, 1934 the Ethiopians arrived at the fort with a force of about 1,000 men. The troops demanded that the Italians turn the fort over to them. The Italians refused, and tensions escalated until a battle broke out between the two forces.

Both countries blamed one another, and both sides of the conflict demanded apologies. Ethiopia asked the League of Nations to step in and help; however, the League of Nations decided not to punish either country. In 1936, Ethiopia was defeated and occupied by Italy until 1941.



*Emperor Haile Selassie* *Benito Mussolini*

### Causes of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis

You have now understood what the Italo-Ethiopian crisis was. You will now read the text below to understand the causes of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis.

**The desire by Italy to revenge** over the Adowa defeat by Ethiopia in 1896 caused the crisis. Italy made an attack on Ethiopia in 1896, but Ethiopia under a strong leader Menelik II badly defeated and humiliated the Italians at the famous battle of Adowa. This defeat kept haunting the Italians and vowed to revenge on Ethiopia in order to put right their history.

**The revival of Italian imperialism** caused the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. Italy had been a great power in the great Roman Empire that included East Africa. This empire had broken loose and the Italians didn't feel mighty enough, therefore when Mussolini rose to power, he wanted to revive the Italian imperialism and revive Italian glory.

**The desire to control ports of Massawa and Assab** led to the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. These ports connected Ethiopia to the Red Sea and Italy wanted them for trade and security reasons in the horn of Africa.

**The development of organic theory and the fascist ideology** caused the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. The theory emphasises the principle of survival for the fittest and encouraged expansion of stronger nations at the expense of weak nations. It also maintains that nations which don't expand eventually will wither and die. **Fascism on the other hand strongly opposed liberalism, communism and democracy.** Therefore, Mussolini with such beliefs attacked Ethiopia in an endeavour to exalt and regenerate Italy.

**The divisions within Ethiopia** influenced the Italian attack. Ethiopia was seen by Italy as being divided, and the political conditions in Ethiopia were seen as very bad and believed that it would be difficult for Ethiopians to resist if they were attacked. In 1933 Mussolini sent a spy De bono who reported that there was a strong Amhara sentiment and that the races were disloyal to the emperor. This encouraged Mussolini to invade Ethiopia.

**The Italian desire for more colonies** led to the Italo-Ethiopia crisis. Italy joined the scramble and partition of Africa late and therefore acquired little and only desert and semi-desert colonies of Libya, Eritrea and Somali land. These didn't satisfy Italy's territorial appetite. Therefore, Italy attacked Ethiopia in search for more colonial territories.

**The strategic location of Ethiopia** between Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somali land caused the Italo- Ethiopian crisis. By 1935, Italy wished to construct a railway line linking Eritrea to Somalia but Ethiopia being in the middle was a stumbling block. Therefore, the only option left for Italy was to attack Ethiopia and affect her development programs. Italy wanted to create a united Italian East African Empire (UIEAE) after construction of railway line from Eritrea to Somalia.

**The economic depression of 1929–32** caused the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. By 1929, Italy was faced by inflation, unemployment, and scarcity of essential goods. Therefore, Italy resorted to attacking Ethiopia in order to take advantage of her resources such as pineapples, as well as her platinum fertile highlands that would even accommodate the excess population at home.

**The Versailles peace treaty of 1919** caused the Italian aggression of Ethiopia. After World War I, there was a conference in Versailles in which the great powers of the time; that is Britain and France were rewarded with Germany colonies in Africa, Italy was not rewarded. This didn't please the Italians and therefore aggressed Ethiopia, the oasis of African sovereignty in order to reward herself.

**The Stresa conspiracy of 1935** resulted into the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. In April 1935, the British Prime Minister MacDonald and the French Prime Minister Flandin met Benito Mussolini at Stresa and agreed to corporate with Italy for the sake of Europeans peace and stability. This encouraged Italy to invade Ethiopia believing that she would not face opposition from Britain and France.

**The Hoare-Laval pact of December 1935** accelerated the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. The British foreign secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and the French foreign minister Pierre Laval met and agreed to partition Ethiopia. The north was given to Italy and the south left to Ethiopia. Therefore, the pact demonstrated support for Italian interests in Ethiopia. This encouraged Mussolini to attack and occupy Ethiopia.

**The Italian fears** that Ethiopia was planning to expel her from Eritrea and Somali land caused the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. This fear developed when Ethiopia started to organise and arm its troops in an up to date European manner. It was also believed that Ethiopia was to expel Italy from Eritrea and Somali land which were the only gains of Italy in the horn of Africa during the colonial drama.

**The desire to demonstrate military strength** caused the Italo-Ethiopia crisis. When Mussolini rose to power in 1922, he reorganised the Italian army, recruited massively, re-equipped the army and boosted its morale. Therefore, Mussolini wanted to test the real military might of the Italian by demonstrating on Ethiopia.

**The personality of Benito Mussolini led to the crisis.** He was a war monger who believed in force, violence and expansion of Italy by any aggressive means. He didn't believe in dialogue, his fascist ideology made him believe that he had to achieve through aggression.

**The desire to destroy Ethiopia's independence led to the crisis.** Ethiopia was seen by Africans as the oasis of African sovereignty because it had preserved its independence for over 2,000 years. Such, an old independence caused jealousy among the Italians and therefore attacked Ethiopia in order to bring the oldest independence to an end.

**The weakness of the League of Nations** (L.O.N) resulted into the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. In 1931, the Japanese army attacked China which was a member of the league and annexed its province of Manchuria. In 1933 Japan invaded the Chinese province of Jehol and nothing was done to stop Japan. This encouraged Mussolini to attack Ethiopia believing that the League of Nations would remain silent as usual.

**The Wal-Wal incident of 1934** caused the Italo- Ethiopian crisis. The Italian forces at wal-wal just inside Ethiopian border with Somali land were attacked and about 30 Italian colonial troops were killed, their garrison was destroyed and a lot of property vandalised. The Italians demanded for a humble apology from the Ethiopian government, salutation of the Italian flag and some fines which the emperor refused to offer. This badly angered Mussolini to the point of attacking Ethiopia in 1935.

### Activity

1. Discuss the extent to which the Wal-Wal incident led to the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis.
2. Was it right for Italy to attack Ethiopia in 1935? Support your view?

### Summary

To a larger extent, the European countries such as Britain and France paved way for the outbreak of the war and later occupation of Ethiopia by Italy. The crisis showed Italian imperialist claims, and contributed to international tensions between the fascist states and the Western democratic states. It also served as a rallying point, especially after World War II, for developing African nationalist movements.

### Follow Up Activity

Make research on:

1. The effects of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis of 1935 –1941 on Ethiopia.
2. The contribution of this crisis on the growth of African nationalism.

## Topic: The Development of African Nationalism

### Lesson 2: The Causes of the Ethiopian Revolution Of 1974

#### Learning Outcomes

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- i) give a brief background of the Coup in Ethiopia in 1974.
- ii) explain the failures of Emperor Haile Selassie between 1930 –1974.
- iii) account for the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974.

#### Materials you will need:

- pens
- pencils
- papers/ notebooks
- Internet
- textbooks

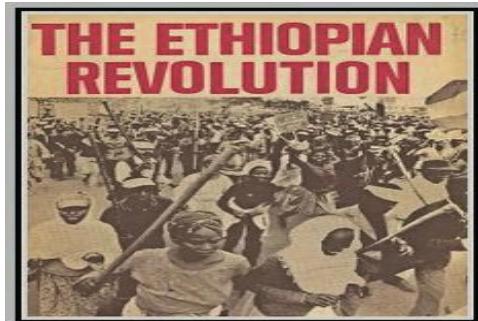
#### Instructions

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- ii) Follow the instructions carefully.
- iii) Attempt all tasks given (in your notebook).
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- v) If possible, consult an adult at home while doing an activity.
- vi) You will present this work to your teacher when school resumes.

#### Introduction

In early 1974, Ethiopia entered a period of political, economic, and social change, frequently accompanied by violence. Confrontation between traditional ideas of development and modern ideas of development arose and changed the nature of the Ethiopian state.

The revolution began with a mutiny of the Territorial Army's Fourth Brigade at Negele in the southern province of Sidamo on January 12, 1974 and it came to a climax on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1974 when Emperor Haile Selassie was disposed by the DERGUE (Parliament) led by Aman Anden and gave power to Haile Mengistu Mariam who ruled until 1991 when he was also overthrown by Meles Zanawi.



## Causes of the 1974 coup de tat in Ethiopia

You have now known of the 1974 coup de tat in Ethiopia, you will read the text below to find out its causes.

Selassie was blamed for the general backwardness in the country. The country remained feudal with the land owned by a few land lords and the Church. The roads and the railway network remained poor and there were no visible developments outside Addis Ababa and Asmara. The economy was largely agricultural with very limited attempts to industrialisation. It thus influenced the coup plotters to overthrow Emperor Haile Selassie.

Ethiopia's involvement in a long-term costly war with Somalia over the Ogaden province caused the revolution. Ethiopia did not have strong claims over the Ogaden province but made state soldiers to die in the senseless border conflict which made the emperor unpopular thus a revolution.

Ethiopia's war with Eritrea from 1961 caused Selassie to be overthrown. The top army officers got fed up of the endless fighting. They preferred a political solution rather than a military approach to end the Ethiopia- Eritrea conflict. Selassie remained adamant and this forced the DERGUE (parliament) to overthrow him.

Selassie had failed to genuinely modernise the army institute and lacked a lot of basics of life. The men in uniform lived under poor conditions, poor housing and consequently lost in defending his government for example 1936 loss in war (Italian invasion of Ethiopia).

Famine and hunger in 1972. The Ethiopian economy was hit by famine especially in the regions of Wela, Towe, Sola and Gendun, and by 1974, over 200,000 lives had been lost. The situation was ignored and no relief supplies were sent to the starving people. This angered the Ethiopians and they opted for the revolution of 1974.

Selassie had become religiously biased. Christianity was declared the state religion and Islam was submerged. Selassie himself controlled the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and he greatly favoured the Christians. This made the Muslims and Christians to clash with each other and headed for the 1974 revolution.

The economic crisis in Ethiopia by 1974. The rate of unemployment, inflation and economic stagnation had taken a high toll on the peasants, civil servants and soldiers who felt the economic pinch. Fresh graduates lacked jobs, prices for essential goods were very high, workers received low salaries and wages and this led to the disgruntled people to participate in strikes that caused the revolution.

Haile Selassie practiced ethnicity and tribalism. He was blamed for favouring his Ambarse tribesmen over other tribes like the Walo, Tigre, and Gall. He made Ambar language the official national language. His tribes' men occupied senior government position. This caused a lot of discontent among the people and it made the revolution eminent.

Selassie was blamed for failure to get rid of feudal nature of Ethiopia by 1974. Ethiopia was still run on principles of feudalism where land was controlled basically by the Christian land lords who exploited the majority peasants. In the south of Ethiopia, the people opted for meaningful reforms. This made him to be hated.

Selassie was blamed for his great support for capitalism which greatly exploited the people of Ethiopia especially by U.S.A.

The influence of the communist world made his government to collapse. He was hated by Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R) and therefore U.S.S.R gave moral and financial support to the revolutionaries to overthrow the capitalist government of Haile Selassie.

The rise to power of thirsty army officers such as Aman Andan, Haile Mariam Mengistu, and Gen Mengistu Newey also led to the revolution. These had an agenda to take over state leadership from the long serving Haile Selassie.

Selassie had become too old to manage state affairs. A man who never used to delegate powers had started delegating almost every state function to his deputies and therefore there was need to get rid of him.

Influence of other successful coups on the continent led to the revolution in Ethiopia in 1974. For example, 1972 military coup in Ghana and 1969 military coup in Libya that ushered in the late Col. MuammerGadaffi.

The Unfairness of the two constitutions that is in 1931 and 1935 which had led to too much power in the hands of the emperor. To the educated Ethiopians, this was improper. To make matters worse, the constitution did not grant political freedom. Such dictatorship made the coup inevitable.

### Activity

1. Compare the causes of the 1974 revolution in Ethiopia with the causes of the 1980 1986 revolution in Uganda.
2. In your view, identify the major causes of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution.

### Summary

The Ethiopian revolution of 1974 marked the end of a great emperor who ruled Ethiopia even during his absence while in exile during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia between 1936 – 1941. Its causes exposed his weaknesses and it showed that Ethiopia could no longer entertain the old order of kingship.

### Follow Up Activity

Make research on:

1. The effects of the revolution to Ethiopia.
2. The contribution of the DERGUE on the outbreak of the revolution in Ethiopia.

## TOPIC: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

### Lesson 3: World War II and the Development of Nationalism

#### Learning Outcomes

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

- i) give a brief background of the Second World War.
- ii) examine the contribution of the Second World War towards the development of African nationalism.

#### Materials you will need:

- pens
- pencils
- papers
- notebooks
- Internet
- textbooks

#### Instructions

- i) This is a self-study lesson.
- ii) Follow the instructions carefully.
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#### Introduction

In “O” level, in the history of East Africa you studied about the World War II and the reasons why East Africans participated in this war.

#### Mention the European countries that fought in this war.

The war began in Europe but fighting took place all over the world. In Africa, the war was fought in North Africa, North-East Africa and the Malagasy (now Madagascar).

Britain recruited 374,000 African servicemen while the French colonial office recruited over 80,000 Africans.

Africans who served in the war included **Bildad Kaggia**, **Dedan Kimathi** and **Waruhi-  
uItote** General China) of Kenya, **Jaona Jiny** of Malagasy, **Leopold Sedar Sengoh** of Senegal, **Mzee Muhammad** of Zanzibar, **Jean Bedel Boukassa** of the Central African Republic, **Ahmed Ben Bella** of Algeria among others. The war made colonial masters to give Africans high sounding but empty promises. This influenced Africans to turn against colonialists.



*African soldiers ready for battles*

### **Role Played by the Second World War in the Development of African Nationalism**

You have known what The Second World War was and the countries and the Africans that participated in it. You will read ahead to understand the contribution of the Second World War on decolonisation of the African continent.

World War II created political awareness among Africans, which influenced them to demand for immediate independence. During the recruitment of Africans, European colonial masters claimed they were retaking them to fight against German imperialism and restoration of a free world in Europe. Upon returning to Africa, the ex-servicemen of World War II organised uprisings against European colonialism with an aim of establishing similar democratic governments like in Europe.

Africans recruited to fight in the Second World War acquired training in military skills and guerrilla tactics which enabled them to struggle for independence. The African combatants learnt how to operate sophisticated weapons and conduct modern warfare. On their return the African ex-servicemen of World War II used such skills to fight for independence.

World War II exposed Africans to the weaknesses and conspiracy of the Whiteman. African servicemen saw the Europeans dying of the same bullet that killed the Africans.

The Africans also came to learn that European colonialists were only interested in independence of European countries like Poland but not Africa. All these destroyed the invisibility and superiority of the Whiteman, hence increasing African anti-colonial sentiments.

Consequently, the military losses suffered by the major Allied powers during and soon after the war had impact on African patriotism. The worst defeat faced by the British at the hands of Japanese was the loss of Singapore. The defeat of European colonialists by Asians encouraged African peoples to organise struggles that would mark the decolonisation of Africa.

The end of World War II led to increased European exploitation of resources in their African colonies. The war negatively affected European powers in economic terms to the extent that when it ended, they targeted African mineral resources and cash crops. This continued European exploitation increased African suffering which influenced them to express their nationalism by agitating for self-rule through peaceful and armed resistance.

During the course of World War II, there was rapid arrival of white settlers in Africa. They settled in Kenya, Algeria, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa and elsewhere in Africa. Their settlement in Africa increased the evils of colonialism. This led to African hatred against foreigners, which provoked Africans to fight for independence (political freedom).

The Second World War led to increased urbanisation. This was due to white settlers, who developed towns and improved on the transport network. Such towns included Nairobi in Kenya, Suez in Egypt, among others. The growth of urban centres attracted African populations to settle in mining centres, towns and ports. Africans who flocked to towns in large numbers shared ideas and experiences and suffered from the same problems of unemployment, discrimination from the whites and high costs of living. The conditions in the urban areas frustrated African who easily mobilised and united themselves under anti-colonial movements to struggle for independence.

World War II led to the rise of United States of America (U.S.A) and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R) to the rank of superpowers, replacing Britain, France and Germany, that had failed to protect world peace. The USA and the Soviet Union had an anti-colonial attitude thus they encouraged colonial powers to decolonise. The USA and the Soviet Union used their influence in the United Nations to call for immediate independence of African colonies, and this encouraged the development of African nationalism.

The end of World War II resulted into the formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945 as the new world peace keeping body, replacing the League of Nations. The emergence of the UNO gave Africans hope that decolonisation was within their reach. UN provided Africans with a platform to talk against colonialism by inviting freedom fighters to present their anti-colonial grievances to the General Assembly.

The war led to the coming to power of the Labour party in Britain that influenced decolonisation in British Africa. Shortly after World War II, elections were held in Britain with the Labour Party of Clement Attlee defeating the Conservative Party of Winston Churchill. The Labour government under Clement was liberal. It initiated political reforms in British Africa-colonies which included new constitutions such as the Burns constitution in the Gold Coast and their Richards constitution in Nigeria (both in 1946) and increased African representation in parliaments. These political developments increased African morale

for independence.

The end of World War II led to the calling of the Fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester in 1945, which increased African desire for self-rule. The conference was organised by Africa—Web Du Bois and George Padmore, and was attended by many delegates from Africa like Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (Ghana), Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kamuzu Banda of Nyasaland and Nnamdi-Azikiwe of Nigeria. The Manchester conference encouraged African nationalism by recommending that freedom fighters must form political organisations and involve masses in the struggle against foreign rule and the use of military means if non-violence was ineffective in achieving self-rule.

### **Activity**

1. Was it necessary for Africans to join the second world war and fight on the side of their colonial masters? Give your views.
2. In your own opinion, did this war lead to attainment of independence by African countries from their colonial masters? Give your views.

### **Summary**

From the above extract, it is clearly seen that world war II played a great role in the rise of African nationalism. Before this time, there was only a limited amount of African nationalism among the elites of the colonies. The occurrence of world war II led to birth of nationalistic feelings among Africans which later forced them to start demanding for their independence either peacefully or forcefully.

### **Follow Up Activity**

#### **Make research on:**

1. The contribution of the signing of the Atlantic charter in 1941 on the development of African nationalism.
2. The role of the 1944 Brazzaville conference in the decolonisation of Africa.

## **TOPIC: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

### **Lesson 4: Asia and the Development of African Nationalism**

#### **Learning Outcomes**

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

- i) list the countries that participated in the colonisation of various Asian countries.
- ii) examine the role of different Asian countries towards the rise of nationalism in Africa.

### **Materials you will need:**

- pens
- pencils
- papers
- notebooks
- Internet
- textbooks
- **Introduction**

The connection between Africa and Asia sets from similar colonial backgrounds, especially with the African British colonies and French African colonies. Asia was colonised much earlier than Africa. France and Britain had the largest number of colonies in Asia such as Vietnam, Malaysia, India and Pakistan. India and British Africa formed the biggest part of the British colonial empire that existed until the second half of the nineteenth century. Japan also participated in the colonisation of China and Taiwan. There attainment of independence greatly paved way for decolonisation of Africa [as will be analysed later](#).

### **Role Played by Asian Countries in the Rise of African Nationalism**

You have learnt that the connection between Africa and Asia sets from similar colonial backgrounds. The extract below will show you the contribution of Asian countries on the decolonisation of Africa.

#### **Vietnam**

The war of independence in Vietnam influenced the rise of African nationalism. Vietnam was colonised by France. She then declared an armed struggle in 1946–54 and she regained her independence. Her independence inspired African states and leaders that they were also capable of defeating European colonial masters using armed struggles. For example, this influenced Ben Bella of Algeria to form the Front for the Liberation of Algeria (FLN) that resisted the French until 1962 when independence was attained.

#### **Indonesia**

The Indonesia independence of 1951 strengthened the spirit of nationalism in Africa. Indonesia got independence from the Dutch after a long struggle. This gave a practical example to Africans that independence in Africa was possible. Therefore, many Africans increased the demand for independence.

Indonesia's use of force to gain their rights and freedoms taught the Africans that it was ideal to use force to get rid of colonial rule. Therefore, many Africans in Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau among others adopted the military approach to get independence.

Indonesia together with other Asian countries fostered the Afro-Asian solidarity (ASS) which mounted pressure on the colonial masters to grant independence to those countries still under colonialism. Through this solidarity, colonialism was condemned and Africa was able to get support from their friends from Asia.

Indonesia organised the Bandung conference in 1955. This conference brought together low developed countries of Africa, Asia, West Indies and the Caribbean. The delegates in Bandung agreed to have a formal cooperation through the Non-aligned movement, which was formalised in Belgrade in 1961. The Bandung conference and the adoption of the non-aligned policy accelerated the growth of African nationalism. All members of the Non-aligned movement pledged to work together against foreign influence. The non-African members promised their African counterparts financial and military assistance in their struggle for independence.

## India

India was part of the British Empire up to August 1947 when she regained her independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the leader of Indian National Congress. India contributed to the rise and development of nationalism in the following ways:

- The philosophy of Ghandism inspired the growth of African Nationalism. This philosophy encouraged non-violence and non-co-operation with the European oppressors and exploiters. It began in 1907 and it was applied in South Africa, Ghana, Zambia, and Tanganyika when Africans were demanding for their independence.
- India encouraged Africans to form political parties as a vehicle for collective action against colonialism. India formed the India National Congress (INC) to foster the liberation campaign. Africans were therefore urged to follow suit and form parties to fight for independence for example Nkrumah formed Convention People's Party (C.P.P) and adopted the Indian cap as a symbol of the party.
- India promoted multi-ethnic solidarity in the quest for independence. This idea was encouraged in order to get rid of divisions, ethnic differences and racial differences in order to achieve independence for all. This was evidenced in Tanganyika, Gold Coast, Zambia among others.
- India circulated nationalistic literature which inspired the search for independence. Through India's literature, foreign oppression, exploitation and racism were exposed and encouraged people to resist them. Such literature was channelled through Mahatma Gandhi's green pamphlet, published in 1896. This encouraged nationalism throughout the African continent.
- India used common wealth to promote African nationalism. In April 1949, the common wealth conference was held in Britain. In this conference, the prime minister of India J. Nehru said that Britain should pay compensation for the long-time exploitation of colonies. This strong voice from India encouraged Africans to take anti-colonial activities and demand for their independence. Besides, India used the common wealth to decampaign apartheid and South Africa was forced to withdraw from the common wealth in 1961.
- India encouraged militarism in the process of searching for independence. In 1962, India sent tanks and artilleries to forcefully drive away the Portuguese colonialists from Goa. This encouraged Portuguese colonies in Africa such as Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau to take up the military approach as the only language Portugal would understand in order to grant them independence.
- India participated in the calling of the Bandung conference of 1955 which inspired

the search for independence. This conference of new states was spearheaded by Nehru of India, Suryakanta of Indonesia and observers were sent by main nationalist parties from Sudan, Gold Coast, South Africa and Algeria. The conference declared that colonialism and all its manifestation is an evil which should be strictly brought to an end. It also made calls to colonial masters to grant freedom and independence to subject peoples. This inspired the growth of African nationalism on the African continent.

- India initiated the Afro-Asian solidarity (ASS) within the United Nations (UN). The Afro-Asian Solidarity exerted pressure on trusteeship council in charge of Tanganyika and Italian Somaliland land and also on the colonial committee of the general assembly to end colonialism throughout the world. Through such pressure, Tanganyika and Italian Somaliland got independence early. In 1968 the Afro-Asian countries inspired the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations and this encouraged the growth of African nationalism.
- India provided scholarships to African students in order to further African nationalism. For example, Edward Kakonge the first general secretary of Uganda People's Congress (UPC) studied in India, others were Kintu Muso, among others and were exposed to revolutionary ideas which promoted hatred for colonial rule.
- Indian personalities such as prime minister Nehru made encouraging remarks to the Africans. He said 'I will assist Africans to achieve their independence'. Therefore, when Africans realised that they had friends to support them in their struggle, they were influenced with morale, in their liberation endeavours.
- India provided financial and technical assistance to liberation movements for example through the India's East African high commission in Nairobi. India provided legal advice and to a smaller extent weapons to the Mau Mau activists.
- India's independence served as a living example to African nationalists. Africans argued that if India achieved her independence, Africa a brave and vigorous race cannot be kept in subjection forever. Therefore, the early independence of India encouraged Africans to struggle for independence.
- India's long-term struggle for independence acted as a precedent to African nationalists that there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere. Indians struggled for independence for 28 years and therefore Africans were encouraged to endure all odds, until they secure their future.

## China

China is the biggest of the Asian states, it survived colonialism but was partially occupied by Japan for a long time in the province of Manchuria. China after redeeming its self from Japan underwent capitalistic influence and suffering under the reign of Chiang Kaishek of the Komitang party. The Chinese under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung carried out a successful revolution against the leadership of Chiang Kaishek who was forced to flee to Taiwan where he established his government. The success of the Chinese revolution aided decolonisation of Africa in the following ways:

- The success of the revolution was an inspiration to the Africans to wage similar revolutions against colonial regimes which were oppressive. The Africans shared the same situations as China for example they were all very poor.
- Africans adopted socialism as an ideology which was non-discriminative against

colonialism and inspiring the Africans to participate in the affairs of their countries.

- China offered radio Peking and Beijing to air anti-colonial struggles which incited the Africans into the struggle for independence.
- China offered direct military aid in terms of training guerrilla fighters, military hardware (arms and ammunitions) which the Africans used to wage war against the colonialists. For example, in Zimbabwe, it supported Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).
- China offered scholarships to Africans to increase on the number of elites that would later create a strong force that demanded for the end of colonialism, for example, Bokassa Former President of the Central African Republic.
- China participated in the Bandung conference of 1955 and requested the Non-Aligned Movement members to support the African struggle.
- China assisted Africans in the development of infrastructure. For example, it funded the construction of the Tanzam railway which boosted the front-line states in the fight against the Unilateral Declaration of Independence government of Zimbabwe and apartheid in south Africa.

## **Japan**

Japan's wonderful performance during World War II inspired the growth of African Nationalism. Until the entry of United States of America, Japan had outwitted European armies, caused serious losses to them and overran the whole South East Asia. This victory shattered the European superiority which had covered colonialism in Africa. This Japanese performance made Africans develop a mood of defiance against their colonial masters.

Japan's economic might also inspired the growth of African Nationalism. Since 1860s, Japan emerged with a modernised economy and society without any assistance from the west. By 1945, Japan had become an economic power. This economic progress of Japan made Africans conclude that colonialism is not a modernising factor and therefore started to demand for self-government.

## **Activity**

1. Think and write down the reasons why most of the Asian states attained independence earlier than African countries yet they both had the same colonial masters.
2. As a student of history, do you think there is any connection between the influx of Asians on the African continent and the help received by Africans towards decolonisation? Give reasons for your views.
3. According to the current political and economic situation in Africa, do you agree that there was a hidden motive for Asian countries to support faster decolonisation of the African continent? Explain why you think so.

## **Summary**

Though a number of Asian countries are pointed at in contributing to the end of colonialism in Africa, it is important to note that it was majorly India that played a crucial role. The personalities of Mahatma Gandhi and Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru committed themselves and resources of their countries to helping Africans

attain their independence.

## Follow Up Activity

Make research on:

1. The contribution of the Egyptian revolution of 1952 towards the rise of nationalism in Africa.
2. The role of political parties and elites in ending colonialism in Africa.
3. The role of the United Nations Organisation in the decolonisation of Africa.

## TOPIC: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

### Lesson 5: Egypt and the Development of African Nationalism 1952 –1970

#### Learning Outcomes

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

- i) give a brief background of Egypt.
- ii) explain the causes of the Egyptian revolution of 1952.

#### Materials you will need:

- pens
- pencils
- papers
- notebooks
- Internet
- textbooks

#### Instructions

- i) This is a self-study lesson.
- ii) Follow the instructions carefully.
- iii) Attempt all tasks given (in your notebook).
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#### Introduction

Egypt was colonised by Britain. In 1922, the British granted Egypt a theoretical independence. Practically, the British continued controlling the economy of Egypt and significantly, the Suez Canal. The Egyptian monarchy remained solely dependent on the British for protection, and for military and economic aid.

King Farouk who succeeded his father Fuad I in 1936 ensured the continuity of the status quo of British influence in the Egyptian monarchical affairs.

The Egyptian army became stronger and committed after the defeat of a collective Arab resistance against the newly created Israel Nation in the Palestinian crisis of 1948–49. The surviving officers of the Palestinian war blamed King Farouk for supplying them with inadequate essentials and inferior arms. They formed a group known as the Free Officer's Movement (FOM) and established a special committee (the revolutionary command council) with Nasser Abdel, Anwar Sadat and Mohammad Neguib as the influential figures.

The revolutionary command council sighted many socio-economic, political and religious problems during the reign of Farouk, which forced them to organise a coup de 'tat'.

In order to pre-empt the proposed arrest over treason charges, the free officers staged their coup on the night of July 22, 1952. The coup was bloodless and faced a weak resistance. The coup was not only aimed at overthrowing a puppet monarch but specifically to do away with British domination that had defiled the Egyptian Islamic nation for many years.



***Free Officer's Movement 1952***

### **Activity 1**

Briefly describe Egypt before the 1952 revolution.

### **Causes of Egyptian Revolution 1952**

You have now found out how Egypt was before the 1952. The text below will help you understand the causes of the Egyptian revolution of 1952.

The personality of king Farouk caused the Egyptian revolution. He kept himself away from the people, wasted much of his time on leisure and wooing women rather than attending to state duties. He lacked a consistent national agenda. This made his government to collapse in 1952.

The king was extravagant and did not value national wealth. He used tax payer's money to meet his personal luxurious requirements. He could build mansions for wom-

en who gave in to his sex demands. He wasted a lot of resources on European tours with his mistresses. He was always involved in banquets. This made people to hate him leading to his overthrow.

King Farouk and his government proved very corrupt. The king and his Wafd party leaders became a privileged class that undertook heavy withdraws from the national treasury and made lavish spending. This made the country go bankrupt and the majority of the Egyptians became disgruntled.

King Farouk failed to industrialise the country. The Egyptian society remained largely backward, the few industries that were in Egypt belonged to foreigners and were mainly processing industries. The country often lacked manufactured goods and largely depended on imported goods. Due to low levels of industrialisation, unemployment and low tax revenue were common in Egypt. This made the government to be overthrown.

Land alienation caused the revolution. Most of the productive land in the country was used and controlled by members of the Wafd party and foreigners especially from Britain and France. The Wafdist were made up of a very small Egyptian population but controlled about 87% of the productive land, yet the rest of the Egyptian controlled 13%. This made the people lack agricultural land and became victims of food insecurity.

The high levels of poverty in Egypt caused the revolution. Many Egyptians lived below poverty line. Poverty indicators showed that Egyptians could not afford the required number of meals per day neither could they manage their medical and education bills.

They were faced with rampant unemployment, low savings, low investments and thus the plight of Egyptians kept worsening. This made king Farouk to lose public support that caused his overthrow.

High taxes to which the Egyptians were subjected caused the revolution in Egypt. Despite low wages, salaries and general earnings of the ordinary Egyptian, the government of king Farouk overtaxed the masses. The government neglected the principle of progressive taxation where a person is taxed in relation to his level of income, the poor were made to pay higher taxes than the rich [retrogressive]. This worsened poverty among the poor and increased anti-government feelings. This forced the people to organise a coup against the government of king Farouk.

Massive unemployment in the government of king Farouk caused the Egyptian revolution. Egypt had a one crop economy with very low levels of industrialisation which limited economic growth and gave an opportunity to massive unemployment. The Egyptian youth failed to find gainful employment in the formal sector and these were easily mobilised by Free Officers' Movement to turn tables against king Farouk.

Inflation in the Egyptian economy caused the 1952 revolution. Due to scarcity of essentials of life, dependence on imported commodities, high levels of corruption and extravagancy, Egypt found itself engulfed by inflation. Prices of essential commodities rise steeply and poor Egyptians could not afford to access their needs and wants. This made Farouq government to lose trust thus its downfall.

The continued occupation of Suez Canal by the British and French led to the 1952 Egyptian revolution. The foreigners controlled the canal and collected all revenue to meet their economic interest. Farouk did nothing viable to check this foreigners' plunder of Egypt. Egyptians interpreted it as economic neo-colonialism. Therefore, the army decided to overthrow the government to ensure the canal was under the control of Egyptians and to stop profit repatriation.

Poor health conditions led to the Egyptian revolution. King Farouk failed to manage public health; the country had very few hospitals, medical centres, clinics and dispensaries. By 1952, the country had only 5,000 medical workers, trachoma had blinded over 150,000 people, other diseases like bilharzia, dysentery, had undermined the health of Egyptians. By this time, Egypt was known to the most diseased country in the world. This increased death rates and shortened the life expectancy of an average Egyptian. This made Farouk's government unpopular hence his overthrow.

Gender inequality in Egypt caused the revolution. The women were generally disregarded in education, politics, civil service and public places. They constituted the highest percentage of illiterates. By 1952, no single woman had a prestigious political office in Egypt. This led to wide spread discontent against the government of king Farouk leading to the July coup.

Failure to promote education in Egypt caused the revolution. There were high levels of illiteracy; the country had few schools with very few students and pupils who were enrolled annually. The government spent only 1.9 billion Egyptian pounds on education which was very insignificant. This made the public to get fed up with king Farouk which led to his overthrow in 1952.

Nepotism and favouritism of the Egyptian monarchy led to the overthrow of king Farouk. The government of king Farouk reserved lucrative government jobs for kin-royal family and relatives. For example, in 1952, when Nahas proposed the appointment of Neguib as a minister of war in order to please dissident army officers, Farouk not only refused but appointed one of his own relatives. These disappointed members of the FOM thus organising the downfall of king Farouk.

Class stratification in Egypt caused the revolution. The government of Farouk divided the Egyptian society into 3 social classes. At the top of the social pyramid was the king and his family. the middle class made up of the Turks and colonialists who dominated trade and commerce. At the very bottom were the Egyptians nationalists who were landless, poor and jobless. This inspired Nasser to organise a reform coup in order to create an equal society.

Influence of the Muslim brotherhood caused the Egyptian revolution. It was radical but a traditional Muslim brotherhood formed in 1927 by Hassan al- Banna. It was opposed to the monarchy and it advocated for Islamic domination, social, economic and political betterment of the Egyptians. It was opposed to great extremes of riches and poverty, and it won sympathy of the army when its leader was killed in 1949. This made the army to organise the 1952 revolution.

Outbreak of famine in Egypt caused the revolution. The Egyptian masses lacked land to till and the Second World War worsened the famine situation. By 1952, Egypt depend-

ed on expensively imported food which left the national treasury in poor shape. Unfortunately, Farouk lacked viable measures to address the problem of food insecurity in the country. This led to the downfall of his government in 1952.

Dictatorship of the monarchy caused the revolution in Egypt. King Farouk had come to the political scene in 1936 but he was always uncompromising. He ruled without a constitution, and he had authority to impose his selfish policies over the Egyptians. He was very intolerant to the members of the opposition and this made him lose support, hence his downfall in 1952.

The Palestinian war of 1948–49 caused the overthrow of King Farouk. Following the creation of the state of Israel on 14<sup>th</sup> May 1948, the Palestinian-Israel war began. All the Arab countries led by Egypt joined the war to help Palestine. The Palestinian Arab soldiers were poorly facilitated, they had outdated and defective arms. They were ill coordinated, had irregular military and food supply, and were poorly trained. This earned them a defeat by the infant state of Israel in 1949. This defeat was squarely blamed on King Farouk's regime.

Egypt's failure to be active in Arab politics caused the 1952 revolution in Egypt. Egypt was not highly sounding in matters of the Arab world, in the leadership of the Arab League and therefore failed to take a centre stage in issues affecting the Middle East. This compelled the FOM to oust King Farouk in order to make Egypt influential in the politics of the Arabs.

Use of force to expel foreigners from Egypt caused Farouk's downfall. In Jan 1952, Egyptians went on strike against the British troops. They attacked police headquarters in the city of Ismailia resulting into death of 43 policemen. Farouk failed to handle the situation and responded by forcefully sending away the foreigners. This caused more anarchy and such an environment was an immediate cause to the 1952 revolution.

Political ambitions of Gamal Abdel Nasser led to the 1952 Egyptian revolution. Nasser was prompted by personal ambitions to power. His ambition started when he was just 17 years old for example, he wrote to a friend in 1935 'where is dignity where is nationalism, where is what one can call the activity of the youth.....?', in 1935 and 1936, he involved himself in students' demonstrations against King Farouk government. He was a leader of FOM and led the group into overthrowing the government of King Farouk.

Neglect of the army caused the revolution in Egypt. King Farouk did not provide the army with the required logistics. It was subjected to poor pay and poor accommodation. Army meetings to diagnose the challenges in the army were very rare and there were arbitrary arrests of army officers. All this made King Farouk unpopular leading to his downfall.

The influence of World War II led to the downfall of King Farouk. For example, the war brought inflation, shortages, extreme starvation, poverty, among others. Such conditions brewed anti-Farouk sentiments which prompted Nasser to form FOM that toppled the government in July 1952.

The monarchy was corrupt which prompted the FOM to organise a revolution. After World War II the king, the royal family and the Wafdist became the privileged class

that carried out massive withdraws from the national treasury and undertook noticeable spending. This turned the government officers into parasites leading to the revolution of 1952.

Prolonged foreign domination of Egypt caused the revolution. In 1922, the British granted paper independence to Egypt with king Fuad I as a leader. The British did not quit Egypt. They were joined by the French and they both controlled the Suez Canal. In short Egypt was under the British and French neo-colonialism. This did not please the reformist FOM and they opted for a revolution to change government.

### **Activity 2**

1. State the reasons that would have caused the British to give Egypt paper independence in 1922.
2. Also, discuss the reasons for Egyptian participation in the Palestine- Egypt war of 1948–49.
3. As a historian, do you think the above factors are they similar to those that led to the 1980–1986 NRM revolution? Give reasons to support your view.

### **Summary**

The contribution of the Free Officers Movement (Society of Free Officers) blessed the 1952 Egyptian coup led by General Neguib Mohammed as chairman of the revolutionary command council (RCC) and Gamal Abdel Nasser as his deputy. However, the major causes of the revolution were mainly internal policies of king Farouk who had failed to improve on the social, political and economic life of the Egyptians.

### **Follow Up Activity**

#### **Make research on:**

1. The effects of the Egyptian revolution on Egypt.
2. The role of the Free Officer's Movement towards the success of the revolution.

## **TOPIC: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

### **Lesson 6: Egypt and the Development of African Nationalism 1952 – 1970**

#### **Learning Outcomes**

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

- i) give a brief background of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956.
  - ii) discuss the causes of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal 1956.

### **Materials you will need:**

- pens
- pencils
- papers
- notebooks
- Internet
- textbooks

### **Instructions**

- i) This is a self-study lesson.
- ii) Follow the instructions carefully.
- iii) Attempt all tasks given (in your notebook).
- iv) You can make reference / research from text books or other books or internet.
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### **Introduction the Nationalisation of the Suez Canal**

The Suez Canal is a sea level waterway that goes through Egypt, connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The canal was constructed during the reign of Said Pasha. It allows water transportation between Europe and Asia without navigating around Africa. The canal is located between Port Said in the north and to the south is Port Tewfiq at the Suez city. It is 193.3 km (120 miles) long, 24 meters deep and about 205 meters wide. Since the construction work on the Suez Canal was finalised in November 1869, controversy erupted among the key shareholders namely Egypt, United Kingdom and France.

The French established the Suez Canal Company which was licensed by Said Pasha to construct the canal and operate it for a period of 99 years after its completion. With Egypt retaining 22 % shares in the company and the remaining shares owned by the French and the British. Construction work on the canal began on April 25, 1859 and the canal was officially opened on November 17, 1869.

In 1875, following external debts accumulated by the government of Said Pasha, his predecessor Ismael Pasha was forced to sell off all the Egyptian shares in the canal to the UK government of Premier Benjamin Disraeli for four million pounds. The British shares in the Suez Canal Company increased to 44%, though France maintained the majority shares.

The Suez Canal was later to be the most important water way as it linked Europe with the Middle East oil fields, as well as the Far East Asia. The British occupied Egypt in 1882 and one of the reasons for establishing control over the Nile state was to control the Canal and collect revenues to refund the European financiers of the Suez project.

On the eve of its nationalisation, the Suez Canal was used by over 120000 ships a year from about 45 nations, carrying mainly oil to Europe in volumes of more than 35 million tons. On July 26, 1956, while addressing a crowd in the main square in Alexandria to mark the fourth anniversary of Farouk's abdication, Nasser stunned the world when he announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company, an

Egyptian registered company owned by the French and British shareholders. The company had run the canal since 1869 and its tenure (contract) was due to continue until 1968. In his words Nasser declared, “**T**oday in the name of the people, I am taking over the company. Tonight, our Egyptian Canal will be managed by Egyptians”. He then placed the canal under the Suez Canal Authority of the Arab Republic of Egypt.



*The Suez Canal 1956*

### Activity 1

Briefly, describe the nationalisation of Suez Canal in 1856.

### The Causes of Suez Canal Nationalisation

You have had a brief description about the nationalisation of Suez Canal. You will now go ahead and read the following text to find out more on the causes of this nationalisation.

The withdrawal of the British from the Suez Canal zone following the 1954 Anglo-Egyptian treaty influenced Nasser to nationalise the company. With the unfair benefits to Egypt from the canal, King Farouk's government rejected the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty and tried to individually drive out the British in 1951. The treaty had given the British total control over the Suez Canal for a period of 20 years. After the fall of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, the revolutionary government since then was engaged in negotiations with the British government over the Suez Canal. In the 1954 treaty, Britain was committed to withdrawing from the Suez Canal zone before the end of 1956. By June 18, 1956, the British had completely withdrawn from the Canal Zone, forcing the government of Nasser to put it under state control on July 26, 1956.

Nasser was influenced by communism to nationalise the Suez Canal in 1956. By 1955, relations between Egypt and France and the UK had declined. The policies of Nasser had threatened western interests in the Middle East. This is one reason why France and Britain refused to sell arms to Egypt, an arms agreement was signed between

Egypt, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia. Egypt received fighter planes, bombers, and tanks paid for in exchange with Egyptian cotton. Such communist satisfaction influenced Nasser to nationalise the canal.

The abrupt withdrawal of Anglo-American financial offer to Nasser estimated at 66 million pounds for financing the Aswan project made the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company inevitable. The withdrawal of this expected fund came in July 1956, as America blamed Nasser of being pro-Soviet Union and establishing diplomatic ties with China. The revolutionary leader responded by announcing the government takeover of the Suez Canal Company on July 26, 1956.

Consequently, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Nasser followed his ambition to establish the Aswan Engineering project, as he stated it clearly that he would use funds from the canal to construct a dam in Aswan as one of the largest engineering projects in the world. The dam would regulate the flow of the Nile throughout the year, release a million acres of land for reclamation, provide a source of irrigation and generate electricity to enhance industrial development in Egypt.

The anti-imperialist attitude of Nasser led to the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. The revolutionary leader wanted to consolidate Egyptian independence by totally uprooting imperial influence from Egypt. Even though the 1954 Anglo-Egyptian agreement led to the final withdrawal of the British from the Canal Zone, it provided for the continued existence of the British technocrats to stay for another seven years to guard British interests. The British also retained the 44% shares in the Suez Canal Company just like the French majority shareholders.

Nasser nationalised the canal as a strategy of increasing his popularity at home and the rest of the Arab world. The nationalisation policy came at the time of Nasser's official assumption of power as the three-year transition period under the revolutionary command council (RCC) ended. Consequently, excitement and praises of Nasser began as soon as he proclaimed the nationalisation of the canal and spread from Alexandria to other parts of Egypt and the Arab world.

The 1955 Baghdad pact influenced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. Nasser undermined the Bagdad pact, which was an initiative by the British government to extend their capitalist influence in the Arab world. The Egyptian control over the Suez Canal would enable Nasser to establish an Arab Défense pact as opposed to the western controlled Middle East defence-pact emphasised at Baghdad.

Nasser wanted to consolidate his rule. Nasser opted to use the Suez Canal to create more employment to over one million Egyptians in the Suez region, raise more government funds and to cut off the revolutionary government from the features of the old regime. The old regime of king Farouk had allowed foreign dominance in the Suez Canal.

Nasser was influenced by the Non-alignment ideology and neutralism. He had earlier participated in the April 1955 Bandung Conference that led to the emergence of the principle of neutralism. Nasser preferred to do away with western connections arguing that it abused Egyptian sovereignty.

## Activity

1. Discuss the French and British interests in the Suez Canal.
2. Compare the nationalisation policy of Gamal Nasser in 1956 with the economic war declared by Idi Amin of Uganda in 1972.

## Summary

The nationalisation of the Suez Canal was a sum of the agreement that had been signed between the British and the Egyptian government. However, Nasser wanted to show to the west that he was more inclined to the socialist ideas than capitalist ideas and that's why he went ahead to violet some of the articles in the agreement of 1954. This was a reflection of his desire to be independent that he could make personal decisions without the help of colonialists.

## Follow Up Activity

1. Clarify how the nationalisation of the Suez Canal promoted the rise of nationalism in Egypt.
2. Make research on:
  - a) The effects of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956.
  - b) The causes of the Suez Canal crisis of 1956

## TOPIC: THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF GOVERNMENT

### Lesson 7: Nationalism in the Gold Coast (Ghana)

#### Learning Outcomes

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

- i) discuss the factors that favoured the early independence of Ghana.
- ii) examine the extent of colonial policies in the decolonisation of Ghana.

#### Materials you will need:

- pens
- pencils
- papers
- notebooks
- Internet

#### Instructions

- i) This is a self-study lesson.
- ii) Follow the instructions carefully.
- iii) Attempt all tasks given (in your notebook).
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## Introduction

In the first lesson of term one you studied about the general factors that led to the rise of African nationalism. In this lesson, you will look at the steps taken by particular states to gain independence.

## Ghanaian Revolution

The Ghanaian revolution refers to tremendous changes registered by the nationals in the Gold Coast during the struggle for independence and nation building and thereafter. Ghana was a British colony. It should be noted that before independence, Ghana was called Gold Coast but at independence Nkrumah chose the name Ghana in memory of the ancient Ghana Empire. Ghana was the first African country in the south of the Sahara to achieve independence on March 6, 1957. The struggle for independence of the Gold Coast was possible owing to a series of political, social and economic factors.



*Ghanaian elites celebrating their independence on 6/03/1*

## Factors for The Early Independence of Ghana

You have also known that Ghana was the first African country in the south of the Sahara to achieve independence. As you read the extract below, you will find out the factors for her early attainment of independence.

The British economic exploitation of Ghana's resources annoyed the masses. The British exploited the minerals and offered low prices to the Cocoa farmers. The white business men monopolised the trade and accumulated a lot of wealth at the expense of the Ghana Nationals. This sparked off anti-colonial sentiments amidst unemployment and inflation which accelerated the fate of nationalism.

Gold coast had a sizeable number of western educated elite. These included lawyers, teachers, journalists and Doctors. Such elites included Nkrumah, J.B Danquah, William Ofori, Edward AkuffoAddo, among others. These engaged in the mobilisation, sensitisation and funding of political parties as well as interpreting the colonial language which had an impact on nationalism in Ghana.

The economic and social advancement of Ghana explains her early independence. Ghana was more economically and socially advanced than any other Black African country. Socially Gold Coast was advanced in roads, labour, railways and urban centres like **Accra**, **Takoradi** and **Kumasi**. Economically Ghana was the largest producer of cocoa and had a booming mining industry. Therefore, the monopoly of such economic benefits by white expatriates annoyed the elites to de-campaign colonialism in order to manage these resources.

The impact of World War II in 1945 accelerated the early independence of Ghana. Gold Coast contributed to a large number of troops about 65,000 to fight during the course of the war. The war experiences like operating machine guns, driving armoured vehicles and associating with liberal whites positively changed the thinking of the Nationalists like sergeant NiiAdjey and NiiKwabena Bonne. The returning ex-service men became more disgruntled and started opposing imperialism. They associated with the peasants and opposed the Burn's constitution, formed political parties which saw them succeed in 1957.

The historical record of Ghana against colonial rule also explains her early independence. As early as 1874, The Asante opposed colonial policies such as indirect rule and hut tax. The masses had also earlier on staged the anti-poll tax, hut tax which inspired hostility among the traditional leaders. Therefore, the parties that were formed were also against imperial injustices as the ancestors had done which made Ghana to attain its self-rule in 1957.

The small and manageable population of Ghana explains its early independence. Ghana is a very small country and its population was very small, compact and controllable. That is, by 1930's it had 5 million people and it was easy to mobilise and organise for a national cause which sped up the rate of nationalism and independence in 1957.

The outbreak of cocoa diseases in Ghana accelerated the rate of nationalism. The outbreak of the cocoa swollen shoot disease annoyed the farmers after the British ordered them to cut the trees without compensation. This led to strikes and demonstrations and farmers joined the political parties to overthrow the colonial government and attain self-rule in Ghana.

The role of governor **Burns** also made Ghana attain her early independence. Burns as the governor of Ghana was very understanding, sympathetic, cooperative and accommodative. He introduced constitutional changes in 1944 that allowed African representation in the parliament (LEGCO) and in 1946 the labour government in Britain ordered him to increase African representation in LEGCO. These changes reduced the colonial oppression and gave the people of Ghana more bargaining power to forge for self-rule in 1957.

The role of Sir Arden Clerk also helped Ghana to attain her independence. Arden became the governor of Ghana after the 1948 riots to bring peace in the country. He ordered for the release of Nkrumah from prison and worked closely with him. Nkrumah was made the leader of government business (Prime Minister) in 1954 and this enhanced the rate of independence in Ghana.

The 1946–49 riots accelerated the early independence of Ghana. These pressured Britain to speed up the independence of Ghana. The riots were led by the ex-service men joined by farmers who had been disgruntled by the fall of prices of cocoa, and the elites who had been arrested like Nkrumah and the massive killing of the peasants by the police. The imprisonment of Nkrumah and other nationalists for taking part in these riots increased their popularity and undermined the colonial government which gave rise to the independence of Ghana.

The attainment of independence in Asia accelerated similar developments in Ghana. Several Asian states decolonised at the end of World War II. For example, India and Pakistan in 1947, Indonesia, and China. India extended moral and financial support to the African continent and inspired the leading nationalists like Nkrumah and J.B Danquah. Nationalists also adopted Gandhi's positive strategy such as peaceful demonstrations that were staged by Nkrumah and this was a great boost in arousing self-rule.

Gold coast had a strong network of the press and the mass media and this accelerated nationalism. A series of instruments of communication like the Gold Coast independence news (1945), Accra Evening News (1948), Morning Telegraph and Daily Mail (1949) led to political publications like "Towards colonial freedom", "neo-colonialism—the last stage of colonialism" were all read by elites. Hence the strong press in Ghana exposed the nationals to the evils of colonialism thus Ghana's early attainment of independence.

The influence of the Manchester Conference of 1945 contributed to Ghana's early independence. The conference was organised in the diaspora, but was attended by very many African nationalists including Nkrumah as a co-secretary. It demanded for positive action against colonial rule and made Nkrumah to be exposed to international leadership skills and organisations. He became a true democrat and his ideology was shaped to form the Convention People's Party (CPP) with the slogans like; "Independence now", "Forward ever", "Backward never".

The role of United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945 accelerated the independence of Ghana. UNO called for the speedy decolonisation of Africa and aided the growth of nationalism in Ghana. In 1956, the UNO intervened and organised a referendum which saw the Ewe tribe in Togo joining Ghana and this boosted the unity, added pressure and reinforced political parties to demand for self-rule in 1957.

The charismatic leadership of Nkrumah led to the early independence of Ghana. Nkrumah had exceptional skills, very visionary, had organisational ability, handsome, eloquent and an orator. He returned from abroad in 1947 and became a powerful factor in demanding for self-rule. He accepted leadership in United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). He won the support of the workers, the unemployed and he became the Leninist Kaiser of Africa ready to dismantle colonial rule in Africa.

The formation of political parties sped up Ghana's independence. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) formed in 1947 by J.B Danquah and Convention People's Party (CPP) formed in 1949 had effects on Ghana's early independence.

Nkrumah was secretary General of UGCC. He became radical and broke away in 1947 to form the CPP. These parties combined different tactics of steering Ghana's independence including; mixing violence and positive action, appealing to the elites and sensitising the masses of Ghana towards a single cause of independence.

### Activity

1. Mention the internal factors that favoured the early attainment of independence in Ghana.
2. Discuss the extent at which colonial oppressive policies led to attainment of independence in Ghana.

### Summary

The independence of Ghana was majorly achieved through peaceful means. The work of Nkrumah, Danquah and other nationalists in organising peaceful demonstrations and boycotts greatly weakened the activities of the colonial masters and they quickly granted Ghana independence by 1957.

### Follow Up Activity

Compare the factors that favoured early attainment of independence in Ghana in 1957 with those Egypt in 1952.

## TOPIC: THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF GOVERNMENT

### Lesson 8: The Role of Political Parties in Decolonisation of Ghana

#### Learning Outcomes

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

- i) identify the major political parties in the decolonisation of Ghana.
  - ii) discuss the role of various political parties in the decolonisation of Ghana.

#### Materials you will need:

- pens
- pencils
- papers
- notebooks
- Internet

- textbooks

### Instructions

- This is a self-study lesson.
- Follow the instructions carefully.
- Attempt all tasks given (in your notebook).
- You can make reference / research from text books or other books or internet.
- If possible, consult an adult at home while doing an activity.
- You will present this work to your teacher when school resumes.

### Introduction

Having looked at the factors that favoured decolonisation in Ghana, it's better we also look at the role of different institutions especially the political parties. The mass political parties were very instrumental in achieving the independence of Ghana. These were the United Gold Coast Convention UGCC (1947), Convention People's Party CPP (1949), Trade Union Northern People's Party (TUNP), Moslem Association Party (M.A.P), Northern Peoples Party (NPP), the National Liberation Movement (NLM) of the Asante, Togoland Congress (TC) of mainly the Ewe, among others. However, the two parties of UGCC and CPP steered the independence of Ghana.



*CPP party logo*



*UGCC members in 1947*

### The Role UGCC and CPP in the Attainment of Independence in Ghana

You have discovered that the two parties of UGCC and CPP steered the independence of Ghana.

You will find out the details of the role of UGCC and CPP in the attainment of independence in Ghana as you read on.

### The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) 1947

The United Gold Coast Convention was formed in 1947 by J.B Danquah, William AkuffoAddo, and William Ofori Atta who were lawyers and successful business men. This was majorly an elite party and later turned into a mass party after teaming up with Nkrumah as its Secretary General in December 1947 from London.

The UGCC was the first modern political party to be formed in the Gold Coast. Even though it was mainly of middle-class influence, the leadership of the UGCC put forward the objective of achieving constitutional reforms, which would lead to self-governance in the Gold Coast.

The leadership of the UGCC adopted the slogan of' self-government in the shortest possible time. The party thus, went ahead to criticise the 1946 Burns constitution introduced by Sir Alan who was the colonial governor by then.

The UGCC appointed Kwame Nkrumah as a full-time General Secretary. Upon his return to Gold Coast in November 1947 to take over his new role in the UGCC, Nkrumah used his charismatic leadership, organisational abilities and oratorical power to attract the youths, civil servants and workers to the UGCC. By the time he broke away from the party in 1949, Nkrumah had increased the popularity of the party and had widened mass support for independence across the country.

The UGCC participated in the 1948 February riots, which were a turning point in the struggle for independence in the Gold Coast. The riots were started by discontented ex-servicemen of World War II against the British colonial government. During the riots, the people of the Gold Coast were mobilised to boycott the British, Indian, Lebanese and Syrian goods. The British reacted violently against the rioters in which some people were shot dead. Some of the top leaders of the UGCC were arrested during the riots, which increased mass discontent towards colonial rule and later led to mass recruitment into the party for the independence cause.

Consequently, the arrest of the UGCC political leaders by the British colonial government increased the activities of the UGCC towards independence. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Joseph. B. Danquah, Edward AkufoAddo, Ernest ArkoAdjei, William Ofori Atta and E. ObetsebiLamptey were all arrested and detained without trial under the orders of Governor Sir Gerald Creasy. The detention of these 'Big Six' worsened the political situation and caused general unrest in the country. Their eventual release made them national heroes and hence, attracted popular sympathy towards the UGCC in its aim of self-rule.

The UGCC condemned and rejected the Coussey constitutional reforms of 1951. These were changes initiated by the constitutional commission. This constituted about thirty-nine all Ghanaian-member committee led by Sir Henley Coussey, commissioned earlier on in January 1949. Among the changes recommended by the commission was the establishment of an executive and an African Dominated Parliament. However, the parliament would have majority traditional chiefs appointed by the colonial government. These chiefs were rejected by the UGCC

that they could not be entrusted with the mission for independence.

The party adopted effective use of the press to mobilise and sensitise the masses on the atrocities of the British colonial regime and the benefits of independence. The UGCC initially used the Accra Evening News established by Nkrumah earlier on before his departure to form the CPP. Through the press, the UGCC leadership condemned the discrimination of Africans in job allocation and denying of Africans the right to choose their own native representatives.

The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) while led by a dynamic Kwame Nkrumah opened up party branches and set in motion effective political machinery in many districts throughout the country. This move made the party more popular among the people, who were now able to engage in various party activities.

The UGCC identified with the problems of the masses during the time when Nkrumah was the General Secretary. These problems included scarcity of imported goods, inflation, unemployment and the swollen-shoot disease in cocoa. This move increased the popularity of the party in fighting against British colonialism.

The UGCC acted as the mouthpiece of the people of the Gold Coast. The party complained against and condemned the exploitative and oppressive policies of the British administration in the country. Consequently, on behalf of the masses, the party denounced British colonialism and demanded for the immediate independence of Gold Coast.

The United Gold Coast Convention participated in the pre-independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. These elections increased African membership in the legislative assembly, giving them an opportunity to pass a motion demanding for immediate independence of the Ghanaians from the British repressive administration.

### **Activity 1**

Examine the contribution of UGCC in the decolonisation of Ghana.

### **The Convention People's Party (CPP)**

In June 1949, Kwame Nkrumah stepped down as the Secretary General of the UGCC following ideological differences with the founders of the party. Nkrumah was radical and revolutionary in outlook and believed in mass involvement in the activities of the Gold Coast against British colonialism. The leadership of the UGCC influenced by Dr. Joseph B. Danquah was threatened by the growing popularity of Nkrumah within the UGCC. Nkrumah and his followers considered the UGCC and its leadership as too conservative in their approach and lacked the revolutionary momentum needed towards the goal of total independence that the masses were craving for.

The contradiction between the aspirations of Nkrumah and the leadership of the UGCC made him to break away from the party and form the Convention People's Party (CPP) in Accra on June 12, 1949. Other members with whom Nkrumah

established the CPP included K.A Gbedemah, Kwamena Welbeck, KroboEdusei and KojoBotsio with whom he broke away from the UGCC.

### **Activity 2**

Identify the major reason why Nkrumah broke away from UGCC.

### **The CPP played the following role in the struggle for independence of the Gold Coast**

The CPP adopted radical slogans such as “Self-Government now” and “Seek your first political independence, and all other things shall be added to it.” The party leadership attracted thousands and turned the CPP into a broad-based party that cut across ethnic barriers. Consequently, the party covered the UGCC and took over the leadership role in the struggle for independence.

The CPP leadership worked tirelessly to expose the colonial evils and appealed to the masses for more support. The anti-colonial campaigns by the party influenced the early internal self-government of the Gold Coast, which eventually led full independence in 1957.

The party provided a framework for unity. Apart from discouraging ethnic differences, the Convention People’s Party advocated for democracy, uplifting of people’s welfare and eradication of all injustices practiced by the colonial government in the Gold Coast. Unlike the earlier political movements whose activities were generally confined to the circles of chiefs, the middle and upper classes of society, the CPP threw its net widely to embrace all classes of people especially the youth and low-income workers and farmers throughout the country.

Through effective use of the press, the CPP made a clear route for the attainment of Ghana’s independence. The party used two nationalist papers, the Accra Evening News and the Cart-Coast Daily Mail. The articles in the papers were written in a way that was easily understood by the ordinary reader with little formal education. The message of the articles, the cartoons and slogans that appeared in the two papers met the aspirations of the ordinary man, captured his emotions and influenced him to put in the little he had in the fight to end the colonial repressive system.

The CPP rejected the constitutional changes proposed by the Cussey report of 1949, which Nkrumah referred to as false. The CPP members condemned the Cussey committee as a group of people that was chosen by the governor to sing the tune of the colonial masters. The resultant Cussey constitution of 1951 was therefore, opposed by the CPP since it failed to eliminate the dominant influence of the traditional chiefs pointed to by many Ghanaians as agents.

The CPP used Ghandism and positive action against British colonialism. The party involved in resistance by participating in wide spread strikes and riots. In

1950, British schools, shops and other economic ventures were boycotted under the influence of the CPP, which affected the British colonial government economically. In the countryside, the CPP members employed the strategy of mob justice, cutting down cocoa and rubber plantations, which put the colonial economy to a standstill. The result was the weakening of British colonialism while nationalism in the Gold Coast was strengthened.

Consequently, the CPP employed constitutional means of demanding for independence. The party demanded for constitutional reforms, engaged the colonial government in discussions and demanded for increased African representation in the legislative assembly.

The 1954 constitutional reforms that included the expansion of the membership of the Legislative assembly (parliament) from 85 to 104 seats were partly a result of pressure from the CPP. In the same year the party participated in the pre-independence elections and scored an overwhelming victory of 79 out of 104 seats.

From 1951, the CPP worked closely with the colonial government in the process of preparing the country for independence. With Nkrumah as the party head and leader of Government (Business Prime Minister) from 1952, the CPP initiated reforms and prepared the Gold Coast for independence. The CPP government initiated the cutting down of diseased cocoa trees while replacing them with strong resistant stalks. This won the party support of the peasant.

The CPP participated in the pre-independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. In February 1951, the CPP won 34 of the 38 seats in parliament, open for popular election by the Electoral College. Consequently, Nkrumah was elected representative of the Accra constituency with the highest majority while in prison. The victory of the CPP in 1951 paved way for its leadership on the eve of independence and led to the immediate release of Nkrumah from James Fort prison by Governor Sir Charles Arden Clarke. The governor consequently appointed Nkrumah leader of Government Business, making him able to stir his country to independence. In 1954, the CPP won 79 of the 104 seats and in 1956 general election; the party won 71 of the 104 seats, a reasonable majority to form the first independent government of the Gold Coast.

The Convention People's Party defeated favouritism, regionalism as well as sectarian nationalism in the process of demanding for independence. The party leadership worked closely with the Akan (tribe) speakers in the same way with the non-Akan speakers. The party also worked closely with the ex-servicemen of World War II, and the peasants, which popularised the struggle of self-determination.

The CPP leadership opened up branches of the party across the country as a means to take the party activities closer to the people. The party sounded much in rural areas in the same way like in urban centres. Branches were opened in Accra, Kumasi, the Cape Coast, Tema and Takoradi.

The CPP leadership accepted the instruments of power from the British colonial government and consequently, led the Gold Coast to independence on March

6, 1957. The new independent nation previously known as ‘the Gold Coast’ adopted the name ‘Ghana’ courtesy of Nkrumah. The name ‘Ghana’ was adopted from the ancient glorious empire of Ghana that was a success in the Western Sudan. In the words of Nkrumah, the name ‘Ghana’ was an inspiration for the future consequently, the CPP formed the first government of the new independent state of Ghana.

### Activity 3

1. Classify the major roles played by CPP in the decolonisation of Ghana.
2. Relate the roles of CPP with those of UGCC in the fight for independence in Ghana.

### Summary

Though there were many political parties that were engaged in the struggle against British colonial rule in Ghana such as TUNP, UGCC, CPP, MAP, NPP, NLM and TC. It was mainly the UGCC and CPP that played the major roles of mainly mobilising the masses and instilling into them the cause for independence that was actually achieved by 1957.

### Follow Up Activity

Make research on:

1. The role played by Kwame Nkrumah in the decolonisation of Ghana.
2. The role played by Ghana in the decolonisation process of Africa.

## TOPIC: THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF GOVERNMENT

### Lesson 9: The Achievements of Kwame Nkrumah Between 1951 –1961

#### Learning Outcomes

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

- i) explain the major achievements of Nkrumah between 1951 –1961 in Ghana.
- ii) discuss the contribution of Nkrumah in the decolonisation of Africa.

#### Materials you will need:

- pens
- pencils
- papers

- notebooks
- Internet
- textbooks

### Instructions

- i) This is a self-study lesson.
- ii) Follow the instructions carefully.
- iii) Attempt all tasks given (in your notebook).
- iv) You can make reference / research from text books or other books or internet.
- v) If possible, consult an adult at home while doing an activity.
- vi) You will present this work to your teacher when school resumes.

### Introduction

Having, spent about twelve years in the Diaspora, Nkrumah returned home to the Gold Coast in November 1947. Upon his return, Nkrumah immediately set his foot on the political ladder by assuming the role of Secretary General of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), a post he was accorded soon before he returned. In 1949, Nkrumah broke away and formed the Convention People's Party (CPP). His magnetic personality, ambition, charisma, organisational ability and oratorical power made him famous across the country.

Nkrumah and the CPP assumed the reins of government of an internally self-governing Gold Coast in 1951 at a time of rising prices of cocoa, the chief export commodity on which the country largely depended. The administration of Nkrumah also inherited a treasury of two hundred million pounds in foreign reserves. With a spirit of positive change and expectations of independence, the CPP government embarked on a number of highly ambitious but successful developmental projects that made them famous.

### Activity 1

Recognise the steps taken by Nkrumah to become the leader of government in Ghana by 1957.



**Kwame Nkrumah**  
21 September 1909 – 27 April 1972

## Achievements of Nkrumah and the CPP government (1951–66)

The achievements of Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP government can be revealed as you read the extract that follows.

The internal self-government of Nkrumah proclaimed a five-year development plan of one hundred and twenty million pounds in the first year of administration. This replaced a ten-year plan of mere twelve million pounds established by the colonial government of Governor Alan Burns in 1946.

Nkrumah imported capital equipment and expert personnel, and trained local experts to help implement his five-year plan. Nkrumah's plan targeted improvement in rural community service delivery in education, health and water to the satisfaction of people, modernisation of agriculture, industrialisation and transport and communication. The colonial government had ignored all these.

Reforms in transport network were the most impressive of Nkrumah's government. From 1951, several roads were built and others expanded. A railway line connecting Kotoko from Achiase was completed to reduce the journey between Sekondi-Takoradi and Accra-Kumasi. A new harbour at Tema was built while the old one at Takoradi was expanded. In 1958, a shipping line (the Black Star Line) was set up while in the same year the Nkrumah administration established the Ghana Airways Corporation, breaking away from the West African Airways. The Adome Bridge and Sogankope Bridge were reconstructed on the Volta River to link the Volta Region with the rest of the country. These developments in transport facilitated trade.

The CPP government initiated the construction of the hydroelectric power-dam at the Volta River. The Volta River hydroelectric project was aimed at promoting progressive modern industrialisation in Ghana. Nkrumah commissioned the Volta River project in 1961 and the dam was functioning by January 1966, a month before Nkrumah was overthrown. The electricity generated at Akosombo helped to solve the domestic needs and by 1980, it was earning export incomes from the Republic of Togo and Benin who imported it.

The CPP government devoted much effort and resources to agricultural development. Well aware that agriculture was the basis of the country's economy, the government of Nkrumah committed to modernising and diversifying the sector.

To solve over-reliance on one crop cocoa, the government introduced a wide range of crops like, maize, yam, sugar cane, groundnuts, coffee and palm oil for both local consumption and export and to supplement production of industrial raw materials. The government set up a Soil Research Institute at Kwadaso near Kumasi to help in mapping out suitable lands for agriculture throughout the Gold Coast.

Prime Minister Nkrumah helped to fight the swollen-shoot disease that was heavily affecting the cocoa industry. Focusing mainly on rehabilitating cocoa farming in the country, he promoted nationwide campaign against the cocoa disease by encouraging farmers to cut down infected cocoa trees with compensation of either new improved and resistant stalks for re-planting or the government paid farmers money equivalent of damages. These positive incentives made by Nkrumah's government rehabilitated cocoa farming and improved on the livelihood of the farmers. The Cocoa Purchasing Company offered financial assistance to farmers in form of loans to facilitate them during off-seasons.

Nkrumah's CPP government was equally advanced in promoting the welfare of Ghanaians. Aware of the acute shortage of accommodation caused by the concentration of industries and other developments in cities and bigger towns, the government embarked on a housing scheme to solve the problem. A Ministry of Housing was established, which created the State Housing Corporation that embarked on a 2.5 million-dollar housing project in the townships of Accra, Cape Coast, Takoradi and Kumasi. The houses built by the corporation were sold to individuals at a hire purchase or let-out to low income earners on rental basis. In the rural communities, the government setup a rural housing loans scheme and the First Ghana Building Society, which assisted people to build or buy their own houses through a mortgage scheme.

Reforms in the education system were carried out. In 1961, the Nkrumah government was the first in the Black world to start the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program. This was a free-tuition education scheme covering children below 12 years, which was later extended to secondary and tertiary section. This program went hand in hand with provision of free learning materials and textbooks. The Ghana Education Trust was established, to build and manage schools and colleges across the country. The government established the University of Science and Technology (1952). By 1964, sixteen (16) teacher training colleges had been built. The result of the education reforms was the reduction in illiteracy and creation of qualified work force for industries and civil service.

Health services were also expanded; the most outstanding being the building of two regional hospitals, the EfiaNkwanta Hospital in Sekondi-Takoradi and the OkomfoAnqkyeHospital in Kumasi. Polyclinics were opened up in towns to decongest the big hospitals. District hospitals and clinics were also built in many rural areas like Accra to bring the health services closer to the people. A medical school was established in Accra and many nursing schools were set up throughout the country to solve the problem of inadequate doctors.

The Nkrumah administration reformed the local government system. District and urban councils were introduced where two-thirds of their administrative posts were made elective. These councils were in charge of local needs and developments such as the feeder roads, water services, markets and education. They received operational grants directly from the central government.

In the rural communities, the government used local councils to initiate the spirit of communalism. This ensured the success of rural development programs like the Rural Feeder Roads Scheme that maintained village trunk roads connecting to districts and other commercial centres.

Consequently, the CPP government Africanised administration in the civil service. From the 1950s when Ghana gained control over the national affairs, Nkrumah's government drew up a comprehensive plan to promote a welfare state completely run by the natives. He introduced a policy known as the Accelerated Development Education Plan with an objective to train in large numbers the personnel (labour power). He wanted Ghanaians to acquire the required skills not only for general administration but also for industry, and the economic and social services in the independent Ghana. On the eve of independence, Africans had replaced over three thousand (3000) top European experts. Therefore, the natives had learnt to manage their own affairs.

After taking over the powerful position as Prime Minister of the internal self-government, Nkrumah introduced sounding constitutional reforms. In 1953, Governor-general Arden Clarke and Prime Minister Nkrumah commissioned a committee led by Van Lare, one of Ghana's old politicians to do political mapping and assist in re-demarcating the constituencies in the country. On recommendations of the Van Lare Commission, the Nkrumah administration introduced a new constitution in 1954, which resulted in the formation of a Legislative Assembly of 104 members from 85 members. All the seats in the assembly were to be contested for in a general election and members voted directly by universal adult suffrage. The cabinet was made answerable to the Assembly.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party led the Gold Coast to full independence. Nkrumah influenced the new constitution of 1954 that gave the country full internal self-government with an all-African cabinet answerable to the parliament instead of the British Colonial Governor. In 1956, he tabled another motion in parliament advocating for total independence of the colony. This influenced the British to organise the final general election in July the same year, with Nkrumah's CPP winning 71–72 of the 104 parliamentary seats. Hence the British Royal government accepted the Ghana Independence Act on February 7, 1957. Consequently, Nkrumah and the CPP received the instruments of independence (power) from the British colonial government on March 6, 1957. Nkrumah renamed the new nation Ghana meaning an inspiration for the future.

Nkrumah's administration turned Accra into a Pan African city, which later turned into a Pan African base and put Ghana at the centre of African politics. In 1958, Dr. Nkrumah organised the All-African Peoples' Congress (AAPC) that attracted African delegates from both independent and colonial Africa. The AAPC was attended by over two hundred delegates representing about sixty-two nationalist groups and twenty-eight territories still under colonial rule. The conference emphasised the ideals of unity and independence. From the conference, the delegates from states still under colonial domination gained much inspiration and encouragement. When they returned home, they were determined

to free their countries. This AAPC was the first of its kind on the African soil, hence, Nkrumah and the CPP government introduced Pan Africanism to the African content.

Consequently, the spirit of Pan Africanism influenced Nkrumah to reconcile Monrovia and Casablanca groupings and this led to the eventual formation of the Organisation of African unity (OAU) in 1963. Nkrumah's personal desire was ensuring total removal of foreign influence from the African continent and to bring about peace and unity on the continent. He played a leading role in preparing ground for the formation of the OAU. Henceforth, Ghana became one of the Pioneers of the OAU, which aimed at complete decolonisation of Africa.

The foreign policy of Nkrumah led Ghana to champion independence in most of colonial Africa. In the de Gaulle referendum of 1958, Sékou Ahmed Touré, got encouragement from Nkrumah and he mobilised Guineans to vote against the French federation, in favour of independence. Elsewhere, Nkrumah condemned apartheid in South Africa and extended financial and moral assistance to Africans like Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, who were fighting for their independence. On the independence of Ghana, Nkrumah declared, "***Ghana independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the continent of Africa.***" It is upon this background that Nkrumah took the initiative in the cause of African liberation and unity.

During the independence agitations and the early days of his leadership, Nkrumah condemned and fought neo-colonialism. He viewed neocolonialism as the worst stage of imperialism. He blocked ties with the British government and called upon African independent governments to disassociate with their former colonial masters. Nkrumah advocated for the union of the entire African continent as the best means of maintaining the African strength against neo-colonialism. He blamed the western powers for encouraging balkanization (divisionism) of Africa into smaller states that cannot stand on their own but rather, continue relying on former colonial masters.

Consequently, Nkrumah joined Nasser in the agitation for positive neutrality (non-aligned policy by African states). He was one of the influential figures at the 1955 Bandung conference who agreed on the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement. Nkrumah maintained diplomatic ties with both the USA and the Soviet Union but his Marxist outlook made him bend more towards socialist world.

## Activity 2

1. Examine the achievements of Nkrumah between 1951 –66.
2. Compare the achievements of Nkrumah with any current leader of any African country.

## **Summary**

The government of Nkrumah under CPP carried out several reforms in Ghana between 1951 –1966. These reforms were economic, social and political nature of the Ghanaians again. His achievements can also be felt beyond the Ghana state especially during the decolonisation of Africa.

## **Follow Up Activity**

Make research on:

1. The failures of Kwame Nkrumah by 1966.
2. Factors for the downfall of Nkrumah by 1966.