

**Basic notes of History P210/1 National Movements and New States in Africa courtesy of line.**

### **Key elements of history of Africa P210/1**

#### **Structure of a standard examination paper**

- The paper comprises ten questions, each carry 25 marks
- The candidate is expected to answer four questions in three hours
- No question is compulsory unless stated; however a candidate is expected to read the instructions

#### **Before attempting an examination**

- Read through all the questions about three times before choosing any
- Interpret the questions carefully and determine the right approach for each
- Understand the language in each question and know the requirements
- Understanding the language in the question helps to determine the easiest question to attempt
- Any essay question is one to which a candidate has the right approach and enough corresponding points
- Three quarters of the required points should be presented for one to score better results for each question

#### **How to pass History P210/1**

- Choose the easiest questions
- Give relevant and enough points, about three quarters of what is required
- Have the right skills in writing excellent essay
- Observe and maintain chronological order in your presentation
- Give and maintain a clear standpoint for a question that requires one
- Plan your essay i.e. use about 5-10 minutes to carefully plan for each question before answering

#### **Why plan?**

- To determine the complexity of the question
- Enables a candidate to recall easily
- It ensures chronological flow of the essay
- Helps to avoid repetition
- To determine the right stand point

#### **How to present a good essay**

A good essay or presentation must be a logical sequence presentation i.e. it should or must

have an introduction, body and the conclusion

## 1. An introduction

- An introduction is the precise information in the 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph of the essay that briefly talks about the item or topic in the question before presenting the guist of the entire essay
- It is the opening remark of the essay. It sets the tone of the question
- It gives the reader the sense of direction
- It gives the impression and there fore determines the mark essay can fetch
- For the questions that requires the stand point the stand point should be presented first in the introduction before it is reflected in the body and the conclusion
- An essay without a corresponding introduction is a fairly good essay and fetches a maximum of 15 marks

### **How to introduce an essay**

- Identify the main topic or sub-theme or subject of the question
- Give brief definitions of the major concepts or sub-theme in the question
- For an event with a clear time frame, (period when an event occurred) give the available information like dates and years in the introduction.
- It is necessary to mention key parties i.e. countries, powers, and personality, in an event where they exist.
- For questions about achievements or failures of a concept, idea or an organisation whose aims and objectives are clear, show awareness of the aims and objectives by mentioning at least one or two in the introduction.
- State a clear standpoint in the introduction for a question that requires it.

### **Note:**

- An introduction is not a summary of the points to be presented in the essay! It must therefore, be brief and precise. It should be about 5-7 lines.

## 2. The body

- The body comprises the relevant points presented, well stated, explained, illustrated and linked to the question.
- It is important that you start every paragraph with the point, well linked to the question. I.e. present a paragraph point.
- Avoid starting your paragraphs with such words and phrases like first and foremost, also, to begin with, to add on the above, as if that is not enough, I am still coming, etcetera. Such phrases may bias the examiner.
- Use very simple English when explaining your points; avoid complicated vocabularies and slangs.
- Where possible, give an example for every point you present. Examples may range from dates and years of historical events, places of events, parties involved in the events i.e. countries, personalities and organisations, etc.

- Avoid congesting many ideas in one paragraph; every paragraph should represent a different idea or point of discussion.
- Proper punctuation should be observed. Write short sentences for easy punctuation.
- Punctuating prevents the essay from being narrative
- Avoid heading or underlining your points, present paragraph points to ensure a systematic flow of ideas in the essay. Link every point to the question before explaining it.
- Ensure a systematic flow of ideas i.e. chronological order (arrangement) of historical facts.
- Every paragraph should answer the following questions,
  - (i) *WHAT caused an event (statement of the point)?*
  - (ii) *HOW did it cause the event (explanation with an example)?*
  - (iii) *SO WHAT;* a good analysed point with a conclusion linking the point back to the question.

**Below is the simple formula of writing a good paragraph in history:**

P _____	➤ State the Point and link it to the question
E _____	➤ Explain the point clearly
E _____	➤ Give an applicable example or Illustration
R _____	➤ Conclude the point relating it back to the question

- Present a paragraph of about *eight-to-ten lines* i.e. about *three to four* paragraphs per page of an examination answer booklet.

### **3. The conclusion**

- These are the closing remarks of the essay presented to the reader or examiner.
- The conclusion is more concise than the introduction.
- It is one of the key areas that create impression and hence determine the mark the essay fetches.
- If your essay has no conclusion, then it is short of a logical sequence presentation.
- You must therefore, Ensure that you do not leave your essay hanging and always give it an - appropriate conclusion.
- Maintain the standpoint in the conclusion for a question that requires one.
- Sometimes it is right to identify and write a standpoint as conclusion for a one-sided presentation.
- An essay without a conclusion scores a maximum of 15 marks

A conclusion is not a summary of the facts presented in the essay; it is simply a final analysis of the whole presentation (essay). It should therefore be about two-to-four lines.

### **Chronology and systematic presentation**

#### **What is chronological presentation and how should chronology be observed?**

- A good essay in "ADVANCED LEVEL history" should have a center of direction. It is not a fair play if your ideas are simply scattered or thrown *anyhow* throughout the essay.
- A student of history at advanced level should aim at presenting a quality-essay in order to score very good or excellent marks.
- One of the aspects of quality and excellence in presenting A' level history is ensuring chronology or systematic flow of historical facts.
- Chronology is the arrangement of historical facts or events in order of what occurred *first* to the *last* event to occur, or by considering political, social and economic aspects.
- Chronological arrangement of the essay can depend on *dates* and *years* of events.
- Some events lead to the occurrence of other events and these should be arranged in order of sequence.
- Chronology may be determined by considering the strength of factors that cause an event under discussion.
- A systematically flowing essay can also be considered by discussing primary events (*most important factors*) prior to or before events that followed later.
- It can also be arranged between internal and external factors

### **Standpoint:**

- The most significant aspect in history is a standpoint. This is the position that one takes on a contradicting situation or a controversial question (*two-sided question*).
- It is the side or decision a *historian* takes in an argument or presentation that is not all conclusive.
- The standpoint distinguishes a mature argument, presentation or (*essay*) from an ordinary *one*.
- It creates the first impression before anything else in the *essay* especially if well stated in the introduction.
- A standpoint shows that the *historian* is able to weigh facts and take a particular position of the many ideas available.

### **Basics of a standpoint**

- A standpoint must be clear, specific and quantifiable or measurable.
- It must be maintained throughout the essay and not contradicted.
- The standpoint should be identified in the *introduction*, *transition paragraph* (*commonly known as "however part"*) and *conclusion*.
- A standpoint does not depend on the number of points presented but it *rather* concerns the most important event or factor of all facts presented.
- Any *essay* without a standpoint on a question that requires it may not score above *12 of 25 marks*.

- In the same way, a contracted standpoint will affect the score of the *essay* that could have been *very good* (19~21 marks) or *excellent* (22-25 marks). A contracted standpoint may fetch a maximum of 13 of 25 marks.

#### **Examples of clear, specific and valid standpoints**

- To a larger / bigger / greater extent
- To a largest / biggest / greatest extent
- To a very large / very big / very greatest
- Largely led...
- To a smaller / lesser extent
- To a smallest / least extent
- To a very small / very less
- More important / more significant
- Most important / most significant
- ... was primarily responsible
- Played a tremendous role

#### **Examples of unclear and invalid standpoints**

- To some extent
- To a certain extent
- To a fair extent
- Could be to a big extent
- May be to a large extent
- The contribution was fifty-fifty

#### **Examples of contradicted standpoints**

- To a larger extent World War II led to the growth of African nationalism... *however, other factors were to a larger extent...*
- Played a significant role... *however, other factors were to a larger extent...*
- ....was primarily responsible... *however, other factors were to a greater extent...*
- .....was primarily responsible to a smaller extent...
- Achieved to a larger extent... *however, the failures were very many*
- African elite contributes to a larger extent... *however, the super powers played a very good role .....*

#### **Please note:**

At times the standpoint is contradicted during discussion of facts hence a candidate must take care of the words selected and used during the presentation

#### **Mark allocation of "A" level History as of 2018**

- 00-05 (an irrelevant or hopeless essay)
- 06-09 (just to the point)
- 10-12 (generalized or O' level type essay)
- 13-15 (fairly good essay)
- 16-18 (good essay)
- 19-21 (very good essay)
- 22-25 (excellent essay)

#### **Note:**

1. A' level History is marked by impression- *impression* is the impact created on the reader or

examiner by the work (*essay*) presented by a *historian*.

2. *Impression* is determined, created or affected by the *quality* and *quantity* of the essay presented. *Quality* and *quantity* should be well balanced to create "better impression."
3. *Impression* could be positive or negative.' therefore, it attracts reward or penalty respectively which leads to good or poor marks awarded to an essay.

### **Below is how impression Determines marks for a history essay:**

#### **Irrelevant essay (00-05)**

- Candidate sets their question
- Has a wrong interpretation of the question
- Very scanty information
- Very few facts given and in outline
- Wrong or no examples
- Answers do not reflect the question demands"
- The essay is very poor and full of gambling
- Poor spellings
- The question is generally misfired

#### **Just to the point (06-09)**

- The stem of the question is poorly handled
- Points are outlined
- Some of the facts are accidentally mentioned with no examples
- A standpoint may be accidentally mentioned and contradicted
- So many historical factual errors
- Very few facts are given with no explanation
- Only one side of the essay is given on a question requiring *two*

#### **"0" level essay (10-12)**

- Question interpretation is right but the essay is largely narrative
- No systematic factual analysis
- Shallow explanations presented
- Some facts are outlined and lack linkage to the question demands
- Many repetitions with very few examples
- A standpoint is not presented, but if stated, it is either not clear, or it is contradicted
- Very few points / historical facts are presented

#### **Fairly good essay (13-15)**

- Right interpretation and good question approach
- About  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the required points or historical facts given
- Standpoint given but the stem not exhausted
- Fairly good presentation
- Though some facts given are wrong
- Sometimes the points given are good but the standpoint is accidentally mentioned.
- Well explained points but no examples
- Fair language and communication in the essay
- The stem of the question is not well handled (in a two-sided presentation)
- The question lacks either a relevant introduction or conclusion, or both
- The essay could have qualified to be good or very good but is limited by factual errors or limited coverage

#### **A good essay (16-18)**

- The essay has all the good features mentioned in a fairly good bracket.
- The presentation is more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the required points
- The essay has a systematic flow, *the introduction, body and conclusion*
- The essay is well focused with good analysis
- The points are well explained and demonstrated with quality reasoning and in line with the demands of the question only,
- The stem of the question is well handled (with at least eight points)
- The points are well stated and linked to the question, explained, illustrated and concluded or referred back to the question
- Good examples or illustrations given
- A correct and measurable clear standpoint is given
- The essay could qualify to be very good but the standpoint is not mentioned when expected

### **Very good essay (19-21)**

- All the good features in a good essay are exhibited
- Much of what expected is given i.e.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the expected points raised
- Points are presented systematically, well argued in good and simple English
- The points are linked to the question and not accidentally mentioned
- Chronological flow of information is observed
- Relevant historical facts are given with correct spellings
- No factual errors, no lies
- A clear and measurable standpoint is given in the *introduction, transition paragraph and conclusion, and* maintained throughout the essay
- The essay is coherent
- Some degree of originality identified
- Respect of a proper time-frame

### **Excellent essay (22-25)**

- Almost all the required points are exhausted
- All the points are correct and not repeated
- New ideas or points are given on top of those expected
- Correct examples and no spelling errors
- Carefully selected and simple English used
- The essay is systematic and flows in a chronological order
- A very clear standpoint is given where it is expected and maintained throughout the essay
- Respect of a proper time-frame
- Originality and creativity in the essay observed
- All the features of a very good essay are recognised

### **Please Note:**

Majority of the candidates produce fairly good essays. A fairly good essay would be a VERY GOOD or even EXCELLENT ESSAY but there are mistakes always committed by historians, which limit the scores of such an essay. E.g. an essay with a contradicted standpoint will score a maximum of 13 of 25 yet if the standpoint was well stated and not contradicted; the mark could rise to 19 of 25, if the presentation was well discussed.

In order to score C3, D2 and D1 in A' level history, and therefore stand a chance of achieving principle pass 'A' or 'B', a candidate needs to score a minimum of 18 Marks on every question attempted. (*You should aim at this...*)

### **Why most essays are (only) fairly good i.e. common mistakes committed in history presentation, which leads to low scores of (13-15)**

- Wrong interpretation of questions which leads to wrong approaches

- Lack of content or knowledge on the subject matter in the question
- Scanty and sketchy information presented
- Wrong spellings of historical terms, names or events
- Poor communication i.e. inability to explain historical facts
- No respect to time frame i.e. presenting facts outside the stipulated period of event in question or giving wrong tenses
- Failure to give examples where required or giving wrong and irrelevant examples
- Limited coverage i.e. giving very few points, less than % or worst of all, less than ½ of the required answers.
- Ignoring a standpoint on an essay where it is expected or contradicting of standpoint.
- Wrong statement of points in the paragraphs i.e. failure to link your points to the question
- Very good English presented with a disputing and a hard to read handwriting
- Failure to introduce or conclude the essay.

(NB: a history essay is marked as a whole inclusive of the introduction and conclusion, for an overall impression. Any essay that lacks either an introduction or conclusion is an incomplete one hence, it falls short of being good, very good or excellent).

### **Solution:**

If candidates carefully understood the above common errors which restrict them from excelling and work towards doing the right things in the examination, they will be assured of excellent grades.

### **NATIONALISM, AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND DECOLONISATION**

Nationalism per se is a strong devotion to one's nation usually manifesting itself through patriotic feelings, efforts and principles. It is a force of change or powerful idea that can drive men and women of a given state or nation to action in order to achieve their well-being.

People long to decide for their own destiny because of nationalism. Therefore, nationalism is a desire by people of a given nation to govern themselves without external or foreign influence. It puts the welfare of the state over and above everything else.

This means that nationalism is loyalty and devotion to one's nation. It is regarded as a duty and includes pride in the nation's culture, history and the desire for national independence.

However, a political independence without control of the economy is not complete freedom if a country is to be independent of foreign influence and interference. The economic sub-structure determines the socio-political super-structure of society.

### **AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

On the other hand, African nationalism is the political awareness of all people of Africa regardless of their origin, colour, race, and religion," that they belong to the African continent and that they desire to protect and defend their continent from humiliation, oppression, exploitation, discrimination (racial segregation) slavery, and colonialism against all odds.

It means that Africans desire to be treated better by the international community with the highest degree of equality like the other peoples from the rest of the World.

### **LEVELS OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

#### **a. Ethno-consciousness (intra-state or sub nationalism)**

This is an African belonging defined by the inter connection of people of similar ethnic or tribal origin. This form of African nationalism is commonly expressed through tribalism, nepotism and sectarianism often causing civil wars and secessionist or separatist movements. Ethno-consciousness was experienced in Rwanda in 1959 and 1990-94, in Nigeria during the Biafra war of 1967-70 and in Congo during the Katanga crisis of 1961-64.

### **b. Racial consciousness (racism)**

It is defined by segregation (discrimination) based on colour differences. This was witnessed in South Africa during Apartheid (Afrikaner nationalism) where the minority whites oppressed the black majority. Racial nationalism was also experienced in Zimbabwe where the white settlers discriminated the black majority especially during Ian Smith's regime and in the Sudan where Arabs of the north dominated blacks of the south.

### **c. Super nationalism (Trans ethnic nationalism)**

This is nationalism at country or national level. It is a feeling of togetherness or belonging to a nation regardless of differences in ethnic origins, colour, background or religion. It is a force that brought together Africans of given nations to struggle for their independence.

### **d. Supra nationalism (Pan Africanism)**

Pan Africanism is the spiritual unity or solidarity of Africans living with in Africa and the Diaspora; their love for the African continent and the pride in belonging to or originating from the African continent regardless of national boundaries.

This form of nationalism *is* either'

- i. Trans-Saharan nationalism where the Arab North Africa work together and confirm with Black Africa (sub Saharan Africa) or
- ii. Trans-Atlantic nationalism where Africans on the continent are fully in touch with African descendants outside Africa i.e. in America, Caribbean and West indies.

### **DEFINITION AND UNDERSTANDING OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM:**

**African Nationalism** can be defined as the **desire of Africans** to **end** all major forms of foreign control and influence in order to have control of their political, social and economic affairs.

The introduction of foreign systems of government and the loss of independence to foreigners **caused feelings of resistance among rulers and peoples of Africa**. Therefore foreign control caused feelings of **nationalism** among **Africans** and their desire for **decolonization**.

**Decolonization** is therefore the process of granting Africans self-rule and independence, and their freedom from foreign (European) rule. **Decolonization** was hence motivated by the **nationalist spirit of Africans**.

**Different African leaders and history scholars have defined African Nationalism differently:**

**Nkrumah** looks at **African nationalism as African** efforts towards independence, mobilization of **African** people towards development of their nation and opposition to foreign influence.

**Julius Nyerere** explains that **African nationalism** should be geared towards independence and motivation to **Africans** to reject foreign interference; and ensure their destiny.

According to **Nelson Mandela**, **African nationalism** aims at freeing of **Africans** from foreign domination and leadership, the creation of a united nation out of many tribes, and the creation of conditions, which can enable **Africans** to make their own contributions to human progress and happiness.

Professor Ali **Mazrui** describes **African Nationalism** as the **African** desire for **nationhood** and the emergence of new states in **Africa** towards political and economic emancipation. He emphasizes the elimination of colonialism and the birth of consciousness and pride of being **African**; belonging to the **African** continent and liberation against foreign domination.

**Professor Semakula Kiwanuka** defines **African Nationalism** as a total rejection of all forms of colonialism and manifestations (characteristics) in political, social, and economic spheres so as to achieve complete independence.

According to **Muhamood Mamdani**, **African nationalism** is the **African** struggle for independence and eliminates foreign influence from socio-economic affairs of Africa.

**African nationalism** has taken the trend or force of trying to create unity and patriotic feelings among people of **Africa** regardless of color, religion, culture, tribe and fighting against imperialism in all its forms and malpractices.

The concept of African **Nationalism** can also be explained as desire for **African** independence and freedom from either foreign or internal oppression," the awareness of **African** people that they belong to a nation with political, social, and economic identities and interests of their own.

It emphasizes the consciousness or awareness of belonging to **Africa and African** nation, shown by the desire to develop that nation socially, politically and economically without foreign influence.

It is a political way of the **African-** people in opposition to foreign domination and favour **African** rule. It is an expression of hostility to foreign rule in all its manifestation political, social and economic.

In conclusion therefore, **African Nationalism** is an expression of hostility to foreign rule and domination in all its forms; a desire to create unity and solidarity and forge development of **African** people.

### **FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

#### **Reference questions**

- a) Examine the factors that led to the growth of modern African nationalism
- b) Explain the factors that influenced the struggle for independence in Africa
- c) Account for the growth of African nationalism
- d) What were the factors responsible for the growth of modern nationalism in Africa?

Before 1960, much of Africa was still under European colonial control. However, by 1970 most of Africa was independent of European colonialism. Therefore, the events that influenced Africans to demand for self-rule and complete eradication of European influence can be analysed as follows'

#### **1. European oppressive colonial policies in Africa**

The existence of European colonialism aroused African grievance against colonialism. These colonial policies included racial discrimination, poor taxation system like the unpopular hut tax charged on males of 12 years and above, poor labour system (forced or contract labour), grabbing of African land and forcing them into reserves and arbitrary arrest (without trial) of African nationalists. The colonial policies humiliated, oppressed and exploited Africans. African elites (nationalists) who either condemned or rose up against colonial governments like Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Nelson Mandela of South Africa got arrested.' some like Amilcan Cabral of Portuguese Guinea and Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique were murdered while King Edward Mutesa (Buganda) and Sultan Muhammad of Morocco were forced into exile. Thus, the colonial oppressive policies which were aimed at consolidating European dominations provoked African patriots to struggle for

independence.

## **2. Missionary activities in Africa**

The activities of Christian missionaries influenced African struggles for independence. Some European missionaries showed humane concern to the cause of Africans to be free from colonial exploitation. They preached the gospel of equality of races before God and love for others, and condemned the mistreatment of African subjects by European colonialists. This missionary impact was felt in South Africa and Central Africa. In Nyasaland (Malawi today), the Scottish missionaries supported the African cause for liberty and political rights as well as emphasizing independence through the slogan of '**Africa for Africans**' In some states like Kenya however, the missionaries never lived what they preached. They were discriminative and actively took part in mistreating Kenyans. Nevertheless, positively or negatively, the missionary activities were instrumental in the rise of African nationalism.

## **3. The rise of African independent churches**

The emergence of African independent church movement was a step towards anticolonial struggles in Africa. By the late nineteenth Century, African clergymen had failed in their demands to be included in church governance that was dominated by the white priests and missionaries. African converts (priests) established their own churches based on African principles. The independent church movement was active in Nigeria, Nyasaland and Kenya. The leaders of these churches like John Chilembwe of Nyasaland and Isaiah of South Africa preached against oppression of Africans and demanded for African rights. The African churches exhibited the fact that Africans could run their own affairs. The success of independent Churches influenced African demand for political independence.

## **4. The existence of independent African states, Liberia and Ethiopia**

The presence of independent African states motivated Africans under colonialism to demand for independence. By early 19th Century, almost the entire African continent was under European colonial domination apart from Liberia and Ethiopia. Liberia was protected by USA while Ethiopia had a strong African leader Menelik II who had defeated Italy in 1896. These two states enjoyed independence with related benefits such as self-rule, exemption from colonial oppression and an independent economy. The independence benefits enjoyed by Ethiopia and Liberia motivated other Africans to rise up against European colonism.

## **5. Lessons from Japanese success since 1880**

Japan by 1860 had started progressing in socio-economic development based on Japanese native cultures. The Asian country was the first major non-western power to experience rapid development without foreign influence. This Japanese economic success supported by her military advancement rang a bell to Africans that development is possible in the absence of western influence. Africans therefore, rose up against colonialists demanding for an end to colonial exploitation

## **6. Influence of blacks in the Diaspora and the Pan African Movement-PAM (since 1900)**

The influence of African descendants in the Diaspora contributed to the decolonisation of Africa. The African descendants like W.E.B Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and Sylvester Williams established the Pan African Movement aimed at liberating all blacks all over the world from white domination and oppression. They were aggrieved by the increased European colonial domination of their motherland Africa. Through the PAM, they emphasised a slogan of "Africa for Africans", extended financial and moral assistance to African freedom fighters and advised Africans to apply military means in order to achieve independence.

## **7. Impact of World War I (1914-18)**

The outbreak and eventual end of World War I had a hand in the growth of African nationalism. The events that followed World War I provoked nationalistic feelings in Africa. Following the

end of the war, Germany lost her colonial possessions in Africa, which raised hope of independence among these territories. In 1918, Lloyd George the Premier of Britain stated that the idea of self-governance was relevant to only former German colonies and occupied territories in Europe. This denied the former German African colonies the opportunity to be free from foreign domination. It also partly led to the 1919 Pan African Congress in Paris all of which influenced Africans to demand for Freedom.

### **8. The Russian revolution (1917)**

The influence of the Russian revolution of 1917 led to the growth of African nationalism. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin defeated the Mensheviks of Alexander Kerensky and established communism in Russia. Lenin's communist ideology was greatly opposed to capitalism which had influenced the introduction of colonialism in Africa. Communist Russia became an ally of Africans against foreign domination. Communism spread the gospel of equality of all nations and encouraged revolutionary armed struggles which liberation movements like FLN, MPLA and SWAPO adopted against European colonialism.

### **9. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia (1935)**

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 is yet another major event that raised the spirit of African cohesion against white aggression. Mussolini attacked Ethiopia partly to revenge the 1896 Adowa humiliation in order to extend Italian imperialism. The invasion of Ethiopia was the last major action of European colonialism in Africa which violated the 2000 years of Ethiopian independence. The crisis deepened a sense of nationalistic belonging and created political awareness among Africans. The Italian act violated Ethiopia's sovereignty which for so long had been a symbol of African sovereignty. Therefore, the Italo-Ethiopian crisis raised the issue of the right to self-determination elsewhere in Africa.

### **10. Impact of World War II (1939-45)**

The outbreak and aftermath of the Second World War was a turning point in the decolonisation of Africa. The war was between the Allied powers of Britain, France, Poland and later USA and USSR; and the Axis powers comprising mainly Germany, Austria, Japan and Italy. Africans were recruited by their colonial masters to go and participate in the war as soldiers, porters and cooks. These Africans acquired military skills which were instrumental for the struggle for independence. The ex-service men included Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, General China (Waruhiu Itote) among others. The war made colonial masters to give Africans high sounding but empty promises. This influenced Africans to turn against colonialists.

### **11. Impact of the Atlantic Charter (1941)**

Another event that raised nationalistic feelings among Africans was the Atlantic Charter. The charter was signed in August 1941 during the course of World War II between the Allied camp led by Winston Churchill, Prime minister of United Kingdom and Franklin Roosevelt President of USA with Joseph Stalin leader of Russia as the observer. Article III of the charter stipulated that the dominated people and all states under occupation had a right to choose for a government of their own. Britain and USA agreed that time had come to liberate those under foreign domination from the bondage of oppression. The charter therefore, influenced the African desire for independence.

### **12. Ethiopian success over Italy (1941)**

The military victory of Ethiopians over the Italians in 1941 became a lesson to the rest of African states under white domination. The Ethiopian resistance to Italian land grabbing, forced labour arbitrary arrests and poor taxation inspired the activities of Africans elsewhere against white settlers. The leadership of the Black Lions movement employed guerrilla and terrorist methods against the Italians, which included violent attacks on Italian settlers and their property, investments and installations. These methods were adopted in Kenya, Angola, Algeria and British Central Africa where white property and investments became increasingly

the targets of African patriots in the struggle for self-rule. The success of Ethiopians in 1941 hence, became a motivational factor in the struggle against European domination.

### **13. The contribution of the Brazzaville conference (1944)**

The Brazzaville meeting of 1944 influenced the struggle for independence especially in French West Africa. Threatened by the rising anti-colonial sentiments in Africa, Charles de Gaulle the French leader convened a meeting of all French colonial representatives in Africa. The meeting was aimed at diverting the attention of the African colonial subjects from the idea of self-rule, and rewarding them for their support to France against Germany occupation during the Second World War. The conference led to political concessions which created political awareness among the Africans. Africans attained administrative posts, native assemblies were introduced; de Gaulle increased African representation in the French parliament and allowed Africans to form political groupings. The outcomes of the Brazzaville conference influenced Africans to demand for their independence.

### **14. The rise to power of the Labour party in Britain (1945)**

The coming to power of the Labour party in Britain in 1945 influenced independence agitations in British Africa. Shortly after World War II elections were held in Britain with the Labour Party of Clement Atlee defeating the Conservative Party of Winston Churchill. The Labour government under Clement was liberal; initiated political reforms in British African colonies which included new constitutions i.e. the Burns constitution in The Gold Coast and the Richards constitution in Nigeria 'both in 1946); and increased African representation in the LEGCO. These political developments increased African morale for independence.

### **15. Formation and role of United Nations Organization-UNO (1945)**

The emergence of UNO as the new international custodian of world peace worked in favour of African nationalism. The UNO replaced the useless League of Nations which had been dominated by France and Britain, two of European powers with majority colonies in Africa. Aware of the dangers of imperialism, the UN created a Decolonization Committee to oversee the transition from colonialism to independence. The body also established a Trusteeship Council to take care of former mandated territories of the League and prepare these former German and Italian colonies for independence. The UN declared the years between 1950 and 1960 as a decade of decolonisation. The intervention of the United Nations Organisation hurried the independence in Tunisia, Ghana, Libya and Morocco.

### **16. Impact of the Manchester Conference (1945)**

The fifth Pan African Conference held in Manchester England was another event that led to the consolidation of African desire for self-rule. Organised by African descendants like W.E.B. Du Bois and George Padmore, the conference was attended by Africans like Nkrumah of the Gold -Coast as one of the secretaries, Kenyatta of Kenya as assistant secretary and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. The conference recommended the formation of African political parties, mass- involvement in the struggle for independence; and the use of military means if non-violence was ineffective. The conference influenced the return of Africans from abroad to lead independence agitations in their respective states. Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946 while Nkrumah went back to the Gold Coast in 1947.

### **17. The emergence of new super powers (1945) or cold war politics (1946)**

The rise of USA and the Soviet Union (USSR) as to the rank of superpowers after World War II facilitated the decolonisation of Africa. The new superpowers replaced France, Britain and Germany at the top of world affairs. USA and the Soviet Union expressed an anti-colonial attitude through disliking direct imperialism. They condemned the continued domination and exploitation of Africa by Europeans. The USA and the USSR allied with Africans by giving them financial, military and moral support, and education scholarships to aid their liberation struggles. The African beneficiaries included Morocco, Mozambique and South Africa. The

emergence of the Soviet Union as a world power led to the spread of socialist and communist ideas which encouraged the colonised people to use militarism as a strategy of attaining sovereign equality.

### **18. Urbanisation in Africa since 1946**

The development of towns and the increased settlement of Africans in urban centres was a step towards the growth of African nationalism. These urban centres included Nairobi, Kampala, Accra, Lagos and Pretoria. Many Africans flocked to towns in search for greener pastures but were disappointed with the expensive cost of living, lack of employment as well as discrimination by the whites and colonial agents. All these conditions frustrated the idle Africans who were easily mobilised into trade unions and political parties to oppose colonialism.

### **19. The independence of India and Pakistan (1947)**

The attainment of independence by India and Pakistan in 1947 affected the African struggle for self-rule. The British granted independence to the single Indian empire through the Indian Congress Party (INC) led by Jawaharlal Nehru. The Indians effectively used non-violence (Gandhiism) pioneered by Mahatma Gandhi, which included demonstrations, defiance campaigns, strikes and boycotts.<sup>1</sup> and sabotaging traffic flow. Africans borrowed and effected the same methods against European colonialists. Independent India extended moral, financial and military support to African states like Kenya; and increased on the members of the UN General Assembly who voted in favour of total decolonisation of the world.

### **20. Victory of the Nationalist Party and the enactment of Apartheid in South Africa (1948)**

The rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the formalisation of Apartheid in South Africa in 1948 induced Africans against white domination. The Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan defeated the Unionist Party of Smuts which had shown interest in liberating Africans. Dr. Malan went ahead and legalised Apartheid as a political administrative system in South Africa. Apartheid stressed the superiority of the white (Afrikaner) race over non-whites. This racial system subjected Africans to untold suffering, deprived them of political participation and land ownership. Such atrocities were detested by Africans on the continent who rose up against minority dominance.

### **21. The Contribution of western education and African elites**

The role of western education led to the development of African nationalism. This formal education introduced by the Europeans produced African educated masses (elite class) that included Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, etcetera. The elites were politically aware of the colonial oppressive rule and the need for the respect of the rights of man. They desired for change and therefore pressured colonial governments in to grant political concessions (reforms). They sensitised masses through press (newspapers) and used political parties as a mobilisation tool against foreign domination.<sup>1</sup> all of which influenced the growth of African patriotism.

### **22. The Formation and the role of political parties**

The formation of political parties in Africa increased the African demand for independence. These parties included the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in South Africa, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the Convention People's Party (CPP) of the Gold Coast (Ghana), the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in Kenya, the Democratic Party (DP) and the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in Uganda. These parties were used as a platform to condemn colonialism, and mobilise African masses to demand for independence. Some parties like the PAIGC of Guinea Bissau and the MPLA of Angola used military means to struggle for independence.

### **23. Influence of press and mass media**

Through press and mass media, Africans increasingly demanded for independence. African freedom fighters established nationalistic newspapers like the Accra Evening News in the Gold Coast, Sekanolya in Uganda, Sauti ya Mwafrika in Kenya and Malawi News in Nyasaland.<sup>1</sup> and radio broadcasting through Radio Cairo, Radio Accra and the Algerian Free Voice. Through mass media, Africans spread anti-colonial propaganda by criticizing colonial atrocities like arbitrary detention of freedom fighters and use of violence against African demonstrators. Mass media became an instrument of sensitising and mobilising masses to join the struggle for independence.

#### **24. Impact of MDD and African Artistes**

The role of the music and artistes led to the growth of African nationalism. Music has been a component of African life and culture, through which educative and important information is deliberated and transmitted. African musicians and artistes composed motivational songs and plays which exposed the evils of the colonial masters in Africa and encouraged the black world to unite towards demanding for independence. Music also became an effective tool of mobilising for political rallies and debates against colonialism. In South Africa, Lucky Dube composed a number of anti-Apartheid songs like "Different colours one people", "Prisoner" and "Slave" among others which encouraged the blacks to fight against the Apartheid regime in South Africa up to 1994 when it collapsed. Pan African Musicians like Bob Marley encouraged African love and unity against white domination through their Music Marley's songs like "Africa Unite," "Zimbabwe" and "One Love" motivated African efforts towards unity and freedom.

#### **25. The Chinese Communist revolution (1949)**

The success of the Communist Party in China in 1949 led by Mao Zedong (Tse Tang) against the Kuomintang supported by the British led to the growth of African nationalism. Like communist Russia, Communist China after the revolution embarked on de-campaigning colonialism through the UN general assembly.<sup>1</sup> and went ahead to extent assistance to African movements demanding for independence like FLN of Algeria, ZANU of Southern Rhodesia and FRELIMO of Mozambique. China also engaged in supporting development programmes of newly independent African states as well as states undertaking processes of nation building, such as Tanzania, Ghana and Mozambique. The attitude of Communist China towards Africa influenced African nationalistic feeling.

#### **26. The rise of Indonesian nationalism (1950 and 1951)**

The nationalistic activities of Indonesians against the Dutch imperialists had an impact on colonial Africa. The Dutch had subjected the Indo-Chinese to oppressive rule and treated Indonesia as an oversea territory. The Indonesians were economically marginalised, exploited and racially discriminated. These injustices forced the educated Indonesians to drop the peaceful means and resorted to militarism, which led to their independence by 1951. Apart from morale boosting African resistance to colonial rule, Indonesia joined the UN general assembly to condemn imperialism. Africans became aware that independence could not be possible on a silver plate but through positive action against colonialism.

#### **27. The Egyptian revolution (1952)**

The Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the eventual success of the free army officers led by Abdel Nasser made the decolonisation of Africa inevitable. Nasser successfully staged a coup that led to the downfall of a pro-western king, Farouk. As soon as Nasser came to power, he immediately extended financial, moral and military assistance to Africans struggling for their independence. These included Algeria and Kenya. He declared radio Cairo as the free voice of Africa, through which anti-colonial propaganda was spread.

#### **28. Effects of the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya (1952-55)**

The Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya increased the desire for independence especially among the British colonies. The revolt created awareness to the British colonial masters that Africans

were determined to get rid of colonialism at all cost. The British began granting political concessions to their colonies; these included increased African representation in the Legco, African participation in administration, as well as constitutional reforms. These political developments influenced Africans to demand for political freedoms hence influencing the growth of African nationalism. The Mau-Mau uprising also hastened independence attainment in Ghana, Tanganyika and Uganda.

### **29. Victory of Vietnamese nationalism over the French (1954)**

The Vietnamese war of independence had an impact on the growth of African nationalism. Between 1946 and 1954, the Vietnamese were involved in a full scale war against the French colonial regime that had been weakened by World War II. The Vietnamese used the barrel of the gun against the French with determination to end foreign rule. The Vietnamese who were regarded as weak humiliated the French at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in the presence of African soldiers like Ben Bella, who were part of the French forces. The defeat of the French in the Vietnamese jungles inspired Ben Bella to lead an armed struggle against the French in the Algerian desert.

### **30. The Algerian war of independence (1954-62)**

The Algerian liberation war motivated the decolonisation of Africa especially among French colonies. As the first war of independence against the French in Africa,<sup>1</sup> the war threatened French colonial administration on the continent. Led by the FLN under Ben Bella, the war influenced the French to initiate political developments in their colonies. These included increased African representation in the Paris assembly and the immediate independence of Tunisia in 1956; and Morocco and Guinea in 1958. The Algerian war influenced other Africans in countries like Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia to use military means in their struggle for independence.

### **31. The Bandung conference (1955) and the Non-aligned movement (1961)**

The Bandung conference and the adoption of the non-aligned policy accelerated the growth of African nationalism. 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.<sup>2</sup> All members of the Non-aligned movement condemned colonialism and cold war rivalry of the super powers,<sup>3</sup> pledged to work together against foreign influence; with the non-African members promised their African counterparts financial and military assistance in their struggle for independence.

### **32. The contribution of the independence of Ghana (1957)**

The attainment of independence by Ghana in 1957 was a landmark in the growth of nationalism in Africa. Ghana was the first country south of the Sahara to achieve independence- on receiving the instruments of independence, Nkrumah declared, "the independence of Ghana was meaningless if the other parts of Africa were still under foreign domination." Nkrumah's statement motivated Africans on the continent to demand for independence. Independent Ghana organised the first Pan African conference in Africa i.e. the 1958 'All African People's Conference' and also extended assistance to countries struggling for independence like Algeria.

### **33. Influence of Guinean independence (1958)**

The independence of Guinea Conakry in 1958 made the growth of African nationalism inevitable. Through the 1958 de Gaulle referendum, Sekou Toure Ahmed led French Guinea to independence. Guinea hence became the first French West African colony to achieve self-rule. Immediately after granting independence to Guinea, the French prepared the rest of their colonies for political freedom. In Ivory Coast and Senegal, the French allowed majority Africans in administration and in the native assembly. The independence of Guinea Conakry

hence increased the chances for independence among other French colonies.

#### **34. The role of the Commonwealth of Nations since 1959**

The contribution of the Commonwealth of Nations cannot be underestimated in influencing African independence. As a cooperation of British government and her former colonies; the committee engaged in the complete decolonisation of the rest of British colonies. African member states helped by India, mounted pressure on the British government to grant independence to the rest of their colonies in Africa. The commonwealth condemned the continued white dominance in Southern Africa, as member-states extended assistance to Africans in South Africa and South West Africa to defeat the Apartheid regime; and those in Southern Rhodesia against the UDI.

#### **35. Harold MacMiln's Wind of change speech (1960)**

The speech made by the British premier in 1960 created political inspiration in British Colonial and Southern Africa. After his tour of all African states under foreign influence, Macmilian concluded his African visit in Cape Town South Africa- during his address to the South African parliament, Macmilian stated that, "In Africa was a strong wind of change that was irresistible." The result of this influential speech was the increase in the nationalistic struggles especially in South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

#### **36. The formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) 1963**

The formation of the Organisation of the African Unity promoted the decolonization process in Africa. Among the main aims of the OAU was the complete eradication of colonialism from the continent. The OAU therefore, established a liberation committee with headquarters in Tanzania, through which moral, financial and military support was extended to Africans fighting against colonialism. The organisation also condemned the persistent foreign domination in Africa and called for sanctions against the Apartheid system, the Portuguese colonial regime and the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in Southern Rhodesia.

#### **37. Effects of the Lisbon coup (1974)**

The Lisbon coup of April 25, 1974 contributed to the decolonisation of Portuguese colonies. The coup brought to power a young socialist military government led by Antonio de Spinola, replacing another ineffective military government of Marcelo Caetano. De Spinola was more interested in developing Portugal and elevating the country from financial crisis, than keeping African colonies. Hence, upon assuming the Portuguese throne, De Spinola's regime immediately engaged in discussions with the PAIGC of Bissau, the MPLA of Angola and the FRELIMO of Mozambique. The result was the immediate independence of Guinea Bissau in 1974 and Angola and Mozambique in 1975.

### **WORLD WAR II AND THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

World War II was a military confrontation between the Axis powers led by Germany of Adolf Hitler, Japan of Emperor Hirohito and Italy of Benito Mussolini and the Allied powers led by France, Britain and later USA and USSR. The War broke out in 1939 with German invasion of Poland, and lasted until 1945 when the Axis powers were defeated.

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).

European powers like France and Britain recruited Africans their colonies to serve in the war as fighters, cooks, nurses, drivers, storekeepers, scouts and porters. Britain took about 374,000 Africans servicemen while the French colonial office recruited over 80,000 Africans.

Africans who served in the war included Bildad Kaggia, Dedan Kimathi and Waruhiu Itote (General China) of Kenya, Jaona Jiny of Malagasy (now Madagascar), Leopold Sedar Senghor

of Senegal, Mzee Muhammad of Zanzibar, Jean Bedel Boukassa of the Central African Republic, Ahmed Ben Bella and Belkacem Kerim of Algeria, Sergeant Walasi from East Africa, and etcetera.

Nationalism among the Africans did not come about until the beginning of World War II. Before this time came, there was only a limited amount of African nationalism among the elites of the colonies. In reality, the form of nationalism that was present at the time was not nationalism at all, it was anti-colonialism.

#### **Impact of World War II on decolonisation of Africa: Reference questions:**

- a) How did World War II influence the growth of African nationalism?
  - b) Assess the impact of World War II on the growth of African nationalism
  - c) To what extent did World War II contribute to the growth of African nationalism?
1. 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 taking them to fight against German imperialism and restoration of a "**free world in Europe.**" African servicemen like Bildad Kaggia got exposed to ideas of western democracy. In 1945, while in Britain, Kaggia campaigned for the Labour Party against the Conservative Party. 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.
  2. 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. Ben Bella used the National Liberation Front (FLN) to fight against the French imperialism in Algeria (1954-62). In Kenya, General China and Dedan Kimathi led the mau-mau uprising against the British (1952-55).
  3. World War II exposed Africans to the weaknesses and conspiracy of the Whiteman. African servicemen were surprised to see that Europeans could die of the same bullet that killed the Africans. It shocked them to see European soldiers run away from the battle fields. Africans witnessed the existence of slums and a destitute kind of life among some Europeans. 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.
  4. Consequently, the military losses suffered by the major Allied powers during and soon after the war had impact on African patriotism. In South-East Asia, Japan overrun and pushed the British out of Malaya, Hong Kong, and Burma. The worst defeat faced by the British at the hands c: Japan was the loss of Singapore. After the war, the Indonesians defeated the Dutch while the Vietnamese humiliated the French in the presence of their African subjects like Ben Bella, leader of the Algerian revolution and Jean Bedel Bokassa, who later became president of the Central African Republic. The defeat of European colonialists by yellow people encouraged African peoples to organise struggles that would mark the decolonisation of Africa.

5. 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 where it ended, colonial masters like the French and the British immediately ran to Africa to seek economic remedy. They targeted African mineral resources, African human resource (or labour and cash crops). More mining and trading companies came to Africa, while labour exploitation worsened as colonialists implemented compulsory growing of cash crops. Heavy taxes were imposed on African natives as European colonialists tried raising resources to reconstruct their economies ravaged (destroyed) during the war. This continued European exploitation increased African suffering which influenced them to express their nationalism by agitating for self-rule through peaceful and armed resistance.
6. During the course of World War II, there was rapid influx (arrival) of white settlers in Africa which provoked Africans to fight for independence. Most of these European settlers who arrived in Africa were running away for their lives as Europe became unstable and insecure. They settled in Kenya, Algeria, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe today) and South West Africa (Namibia today and elsewhere in Africa). Their settlement in Africa increased the evils of colonialism which included increased racism, land grabbing, over taxation and competition for the existing jobs they caused destruction of African Culture, poverty, exploitation of African labour and the general suffering of Africans. This led to African hatred against foreigners, hence causing them to fight for political freedom and self-determination.
7. The Second World War led to economic boom in Africa. During the war, many of the African resources and commodities were highly demanded for in Europe. These included minerals and cash crops. Groundnut oil from the Senegal, Palm oil from Nigeria, Cocoa from the Gold Coast (now Ghana), coffee from Ethiopia and Ivory Coast; uranium from Congo Leopoldville (now DRC and copper from Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) found their way to Europe. Besides, some European investors relocated their investments to Africa, which influenced increased growing of cash crops, expansion of mining activities and the emergence of small scale industry that employed many Africans. In colonies like Kenya, Africans were allowed to grow crops like tea and coffee which they were previously denied. All these improved the socio-economic conditions of Africans; first, trade unions were created to fight for workers' rights, then it enabled peasants to pay for their children's education and later, they could afford to fund political activities geared towards attaining independence.
8. The Second World War led to increased urbanization in Africa hence influencing the growth of African nationalism. This was due to white settlers, who developed towns and improved on the transport network. Such towns included Nairobi in Kenya; Suez in Egypt, Salisbury (now Harare) in Southern Rhodesia, Accra and Cape Coast in the Gold Coast, Algiers and Setif in Algeria and Lagos in Nigeria, among others. The growth of urban centers attracted African populations to settle in mining centers, 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.

9. The outbreak of World War II led to the liberation of Ethiopia from Italian occupation in 1941. Musolini joined the war on the Axis side led by Hitler, which worsened his friendship with Allied powers of France and Britain. The French and the British approved the Italian occupation of Ethiopia expecting Mussolini to stay away from Hitler. The Allied powers were disappointed by Italy hence diverted their support towards Ethiopia through Sudan and Kenya. Consequently, Italy withdrew her troops from Ethiopia to concentrate in the Second World War, which also enabled Ethiopians to defeat Italy. The victory of Ethiopia over Italy inspired the hope of Africans under colonialism that European powers can be defeated.
10. During the course of World War II, the Atlantic charter was signed in August 1941 between Winston Churchill of Britain and Franklin Roosevelt of USA; with Stalin of USSR as an observer. The Atlantic Charter called for self-determination of all peoples through its Article III which acknowledged the sovereign right of states under foreign domination and for the colonial people to choose a government of their own. The resolutions of the Atlantic Charter on self-government and sovereignty existence of states under domination were adopted by the United Nations Charter of 1945. **The Atlantic Charter influenced African nationalism through calling for independence and improved livelihoods of the colonised people.**
11. The Second World War influenced the Brazzaville conference of 1944. General Charles de Gaulle the French leader called a meeting of representatives of French colonies of West and Equatorial Africa. The aim was to find ways of thanking Africans for supporting France in the Second World War and for standing with the French during trial moments when Germany occupied France. At the conference, the French administrators also laid strategies to divert African attention from demanding for independence. The conference proposed political reforms in French West and Equatorial Africa, which included; the establishment of native assemblies, increasing African representation in the French parliament and allowing African participation in administration. The political reforms created political awareness of Africans to demand for independence, instead of keeping them silent and naive as the French colonialists thought.
12. World War II led to the rise of USA and USSR 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 decolonize. The new superpowers wanted to be free to pursue their trading interests in Africa but could not due to the colonial restrictions established at the Berlin Conference in 1885. USA also wanted to spread the ideology of capitalism while the USSR would spread communism. They therefore provided logistical support to African liberation in form of morale, finances, weapons, and scholarships for education. The USA and the Soviet Union used their influence in the UN to call for immediate independence of African colonies, and this encouraged the development of African nationalism.
13. The end of World War II resulted into the formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945 as the new world peacekeeping 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 anticolonial grievances to the General Assembly. It created a "Trusteeship Council" to take care of mandated Territories. (Mandated territories were former German and Italian colonies previously under the League of Nations). The United Nations declared the years between 1950 and 1960 as a decade of decolonisation; during these ten years, colonial masters were required to promote political developments (changes) in their colonies aimed at preparing Africans for independence.

14. The war led to the coming to power of the Labour party in Britain that influenced independence imitations in British Africa. Shortly after World War II elections were held in Britain with the labour Party of Clement Atlee defeating the Conservative Party of Winston Churchill. The Labour government under Clement was liberal; initiated political reforms in British Africa-colonies which included new constitutions i.e. the Burns constitution in The Gold Coast and the Richards constitution in Nigeria (both in 1946); and increased African representation in the Legco. These political developments increased African morale for independence.
15. 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-descendants like W.E.B. DuBois and George Padmore, and was attended by many delegates from Africa like Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (one of the secretaries), Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya (assistant secretary), 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.<sup>1</sup> and the use of military means if non-violence was ineffective in achieving self-rule. The conference influenced the return of Africans from abroad to lead independence agitations, hence Kenyatti returned to Kenya in 1946 while Nkrumah went back to the Gold Coast in 1947.
16. World War II weakened European colonial empires in Asia, which affected the rise of African nationalism. The end of the war led to the notable independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 Independent India immediately joined the UNO and increased on the members of the General Assembly who voted in favour of total decolonisation of the whole world. India went ahead to extend financial, technical and military assistance to enhance the African struggle for independence. India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru became a political counselor to many of the African nationalists like Apollo Milton Obote of Uganda and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. The success of Gandhiism (Non-violence) in India inspired many freedom fighters in Africa like Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast and Albert Luthuli of South Africa, to employ defiance campaigns, boycotts, demonstrations and strikes as part of nationalist activities against foreign rule.
17. World War II exhausted and depleted the resources of Allied powers like the British and the French. This followed the high investments made in the war and the shattered economies during the war. The French and the British suffered economic challenges like inflation, low export volumes and unemployment due to poor industrial performance during the course of war. The post war period witnessed loss of colonial will of the British and the French to

continue administering Africa and instead preferred to put more effort in restructuring their nations which were heavily destroyed by the war. The colonial masters gradually withdrew from Africa hence creating the opportunity for Africans to achieve independence.

## THE 1941 ATLANTIC CHARTER AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM

By 1941, World War II had become fierce. It led to the financial decline of the Allied forces, who sought for help from the USA. Led by the British Prime Minister Churchill, Allied alliance met the US president Franklin Roosevelt at a battleship of the Atlantic Ocean. The result of their meeting was the US support to the Allied powers. Roosevelt and Churchill hence signed the Atlantic charter in August 1941 with Russian leader, Stalin as the observer. The charter did not only influence USA to intervene in World War II but the document had profound effect on colonial territories especially in Africa.

### Reference questions:

- a) Explain the influence of the Atlantic Charter on African nationalism
  - b) Examine the impact of the 1941 Atlantic Charter on the growth of African nationalism
1. The signing of the Atlantic charter increased African political awareness. Africans under colonial domination came to realise that independence was a right but not a favour from the colonialist; The awareness of Africans was caused by the articles of the charter which stated that at the end of (World War II) all nations should be given a right to choose their own government and politics freedoms to be restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. This gave the African people something to look forward to. They came to believe that at the end of the war, freedom from the imperial (colonial) rule in would be given to Africa and just like the rest of the world.
  2. The Atlantic charter confirmed the legitimacy of African aspiration for independence. It made the African struggle for independence to be internationally recognised. All along, the African Agitation (demand) for their political rights had been considered as unconstitutional and rebellious by the colonial powers. Many Africans were therefore scared of joining the political struggle because they never wanted to be regarded rebels and to put their lives and professions to risk. Hence, the signing of the Atlantic charter defined the desire for African independence.
  3. The Atlantic charter proclaimed (declared) the restoration of the sovereign right and self-government to states, which had been deprived of them by force. This was a promise of independence to many colonial territories but Africans in particular. The Atlantic Charter showed Africans that the entire world was not against them. They came to realise that nations like America were against what was being done unto them by colonial rulers. This therefore increased their sense of nationalism to fight for their independence after the Second World War.
  4. The Atlantic charter also demanded for the respect of the right of all peoples of the world to choose a form of government that they wanted to live under. Many educated Africans interpreted this article as an opportunity that would lead them to fully participate in the political affairs of their states; thus influencing the desire of Africans for political freedom.
  5. The signing of the Atlantic charter made Britain to declare her commitment to respect democracy and the right of the colonial people to self-government. When the British Prime

Minister Winston Churchill signed the agreement, it was made clear to the people of Africa and the world at large that Great Britain wanted a world of piece, of sovereignty, of independence. This increased African hope for independence across British colonies.

6. It also influenced American commitment to supporting the decolonisation process in Africa. America knew where the Africans were coming from; due to the fact that they, were both colonised and ruled by a Britain for many years, American government of Roosevelt felt Africa's pain and wanted to do something about it. After signing the charter, Roosevelt set out to encourage African leaders to actively lead anti-colonial struggles. In 1943, the US-president met the Moroccan sultan-Muhammad and motivated him to engage in the anti-colonial crusade against the French. The result was witnessed when the sultan immediately spearheaded the struggle for Moroccan independence.
7. The signing of the Atlantic charter exposed the Whiteman's conspiracy: while addressing the house of commoners; Winston claimed the charter applied to European nations under Nazism Germany influence) including France that had been occupied by Germany in the early years of World War II. This caused colonial resentment among Africans. The African question was, "**If it was not right for Germans to govern Frenchmen, then how could it be right for Europeans to govern Africans?**" It is on such basis that Africans became strongly firm on agitating for self-rule from European colonialism.
8. The Atlantic charter opened up the gates for the USA and the Soviet Union (Russia) to intervene in World War II in 1941. The decision of these two powers to join the Allied powers led by Britain and France was to help end the war and ensure the commitment of Britain and other colonial masters in implementing the Atlantic Charter. The end of the Second World War led to the rise of the USA and the USSR as new super powers, replacing Britain and France that had colonial empires in Africa. Their anti-colonial attitude influenced the decolonisation process in Africa. **American and Russian governments became close allies of Africans in pressurising for the implementation of the 1941 Charter, which fastened the decolonisation process in Africa,**
9. The Atlantic charter led to the formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945. The UNO became the new custodian (keeper) of world peace and rights of man. Africans petitioned their colonial masters to the UNO for their failure to grant them political rights. Therefore, the new world peacekeeping body became a platform for African struggle for independence. UNO established a "Decolonisation Committee" and a "Trusteeship Council" that became instruments of encouraging the decolonisation of Africa.
10. The Atlantic charter influenced the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) in 1948. This new charter for Human Rights adopted many of the articles of the Atlantic Charter on independence and political freedoms. The UDHR re-affirmed the right of the colonial people to self-determination and right of all people to have the freedom to decide their own political destiny. The UDHR therefore became an inspiration to Africans to demand for their independence.
11. The charter influenced the activities of the Manchester Conference. During the fifth Pan African Conference in Manchester, the delegates passed a resolution demanding for the

implementation of the Atlantic Charter and cautioned the reluctance of European powers to implement the 1941 Charter that had been publicized across the world. Pan Africanists quoted the sovereign right to self-government of states under foreign domination, as declared in the Atlantic Charter. It therefore influenced the activities of the pan Africanists in the struggle against foreign domination.

12. Consequently, during the Bandung conference of 1955 in Indonesia, the Afro-Asian delegates were influenced by the Atlantic charter to declare their support to self-determination and equally demanded for the respect of the sovereign right of the colonial people to be free from colonial domination. Led by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the delegates at Bandung adopted the policy of non-alignment as part of their isolationist strategy against European powers that still maintained colonial territories in Asia and Africa.
13. The Atlantic charter influenced the activities of West African Students Union (WASU) led by Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. WASU was an association of all African students pursuing further education in Great Britain. Immediately after the end of World War II, Members of WASU visited the "British House of Commons" and presented to the British Parliamentarians a memorandum (document) entitled "THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND BRITISH WEST AFRICA". These WASU members wanted substantial political reforms, which would lead to independence in British West Africa, as proclaimed in the charter. These African students continued organising demonstrations, political debates and writing newspaper articles through which they condemned the British policy of refusing to implement the Atlantic Charter to which they were a signatory.
14. The failure of the European colonial masters to implement the resolutions of the Atlantic charter influenced Africans to resort to military means of demanding for their independence. Africans in Kenya organised the MauMau uprising in 1952. In Algeria, political movements like the FLN were founded, which declared an armed struggle against the French colonial administration.

### **THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (UNO) AND THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA**

The United Nations Organization (UNO) was formed in October 1945 in San Francisco, USA. Its formation originated from the principles of the Atlantic charter of 1941. The UNO was formed to replace the defunct League of Nations which failed to preserve world peace and respect for the rights of man. Unlike the League, the UNO was committed to solving the concern of big powers dominating weaker states in the name of imperialism.

The UNO therefore got determined to do away with imperialism (foreign domination), which had greatly promoted gross violation of human rights and hence contributed to the outbreak of World War II. The role of the UNO in the growth of African nationalism was hence as follows:

#### **Impact of the UNO on African Nationalism**

##### **Reference Questions:**

- a) How did the formation of UNO inspire African struggle for independence?
  - b) Explain the contributions of the United Nations Organisation to the decolonisation of Africa
  - c) Assess the role of the UNO in the growth of African nationalism
1. The United Nations Organisation immediately adopted the resolutions of the 1941 Atlantic charter and this influenced the growth of African nationalism. The Charter of the UNO

incorporated most of the articles of the Atlantic charter on independence and sovereign rights. Notable of the resolutions was "Restoration of the Sovereign Rights and Self-government to those who were deprived of them." Major Powers of the UNO called upon foreign governments to give the colonial people in Africa an opportunity to claim for their sovereign equality and independent existence without foreign manipulations. This hence legitimised and formalised African aspirations for self-rule.

2. The UNO set up a "Decolonisation Committee" to ensure that all colonised people of the world were free from all forms of foreign domination. The major role of this committee was to attend to grievances of people and states that were under domination, and monitor political developments aimed at preparing these colonies for self-rule. The Decolonisation Committee sent visiting missions to African colonies like Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Somaliland and Libya to supervise independence arrangements and constitutional progress. The committee mounted pressure against European powers to dismantle their colonial empires in Africa and Asia
3. Consequently, the United Nations Organisation established the "Trusteeship Council" with the responsibility of preparing the mandated territories for independence. Mandated territories were the former German and Italian colonies, and all territories which had been put under the defunct League of Nations. "Chapter XI of the UNO-Charter obliged the Trustee-powers to put into account the political interests of the peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions." The Council was therefore, tasked to supervise political and constitutional reforms in the mandated states as part of transformation towards self-rule. Hence African states like Tanganyika, Rwanda, Togo, Libya, Somaliland and Cameroon immediately independent. The council sent commissioner Pelt Adrian to prepare the Libyan independence constitution and in 1954, it attended to the TANU proposals for self-rule in Tanganyika. Thus independence was given to Libya (1951), Somaliland and Togo (1960), Cameroon and Tanganyika (1961), and Rwanda (1962).
4. The UNO issued the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights Charter" (UDHR) in 1948, which inspired African agitation for independence. The Human Rights Declaration spelt out fundamental rights and freedoms of all peoples of the world. The rights and freedoms presented in the articles of the UDHR included freedoms of speech, association, assembly, press, fair representation and the sovereign right to independent existence, among others. African freedom fighters used the UDHR charter to rise up and agitate for their rights and freedoms deprived of them by European colonial masters.
5. The UNO declared the years from 1950 to 1960 as a decade (ten years) of decolonisation. One of the objectives of the UNO was total decolonisation and granting of sovereignty and independent existence to all peoples and states under foreign domination. The body hence gave dominating governments a timeline by which they had to initiate political developments which would prepare Africans for self-determination. Therefore, African agitation for political freedoms was influenced by the activities of the United Nations.
6. The United Nations Organisation provided African nationalists with a political platform to address their anti-colonial grievances; seek for political guidance and pressure imperial powers to end their colonial domination. In 1955, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika was given

an opportunity to address the UN General Assembly and consequently demanded for immediate decolonisation of Tanganyika, which was realised later in 1961. In 1966, the SWAPO was allocated a permanent seat in the General Assembly of the UNO to represent the Namibian people, hence Kerina one of the Namibian nationalists took up the seat. Such UN efforts encouraged decolonisation of Africa.

7. The International Peacekeeping Body passed strong condemnatory resolutions and imposed strict embargoes and sanctions against stubborn foreign regimes who delayed to withdraw from their colonial territories. The regimes targeted by the UNO included the Portuguese colonial regimes in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, the apartheid regime in South Africa and Namibia, and the UDI-regime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The condemnatory resolutions threatened the political image of foreign regimes in Africa while the sanctions and embargoes caused diplomatic, trade and economic setbacks (disadvantages). Whereas strong UN-condemnations encouraged nationalist uprisings in Africa, the diplomatic and economic sanctions humbled the foreign governments to initiate political and administrative reforms which led to self-rule in their colonial territories,
8. Consequently, the United Nations Organisation passed and emphasised the observation of Resolution 1515 on independence which had an impact of the growth of African nationalism. The resolution legitimised the right to independent existence of all peoples of the world and denounced all cases of foreign domination exercised against the colonial people. The provisions of Resolution 1515 were adopted by the liberation committee of the OAU and used them to condemn Britain for looking on as the minority whites declared themselves independent in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) at the expense of independence for majority Africans.
9. The UNO directly participated in the decolonisation process of Africa through influencing and observing independence discussions between foreign governments and African nationalist organisations. The United Nations initiated such roundtable discussions to ensure a peaceful transition from imperialism to majority rule. In 1974, the UNO sent its delegation to preside over the Alvor Peace Talks between the Portuguese government and Angolan, nationalists, which led to the decolonisation of Angola in 1975. The UNO was also instrumental in independence discussions in Rwanda, Eritrea, and multiracial Peace Talks in Southern Rhodesia (1978-80) South Africa (1990-94) and Sudan (2005-2011), which resulted into liberation of majority blacks from racism.
10. The United nations General Assembly provided a platform for the consolidation of Afro-Asian solidarity. African and Asian delegates always found the opportunity to stand together and use one voice during the sessions of the General Assembly, as they condemned domination by western powers. African nationalists interacted with other nationalists from Asia and the Arab world. Out of this interaction, there was the formation of the Afro-Asian-Arab solidarity. This solidarity or unity enabled the Africans to get support from member states like India and China which helped them in the struggle for independence.
11. The United Nations worked closely with and through the OAU to ensure total independence for Africa. Most of the UN support to the African decolonisation process went through the

UNO. The UNO and the OAU collectively put pressure on foreign governments in Africa to initiate political reforms in their territories. The OAU used the UN-General Assembly to promote the African cause for complete independence. An African delegation consisting of foreign ministers of Liberia, Tunisia, Madagascar and Sierra Leone was commissioned by the OAU to speak at the meetings of the UN Security Council (UNSC), addressing the issue of genocide (mass killing) in Portuguese colonies,<sup>1</sup> which, attracted international attention against the atrocities of Portuguese colonialists in Africa, and paved way for self-rule in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

12. The United Nations Organisation influenced African nationalism and decolonisation process through sending observer missions to monitor elections in different African colonies. Most of the independence elections in Africa were influenced by pressure from the UNO in its attempt to completely liquidate imperialism and bring an end to colonial domination in the world. UN Observer missions were witnessed to Algeria in 1962, in South West Africa (Namibia) in 1990, in Eritrea in 1993 and South Africa during their first historical multi-racial election in 1994, among others. The supervision given by the United Nations ensured peaceful transfer of instruments of power from foreign governments to natives, hence inspiring African independence.
13. The United Nation Organisation recognised African nationalist organisations (political parties and liberation movements), thus inspiring independence attainment. In 1966 the UN General Assenby agreed to recognise the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) as the rightful representative of Namibian national interests. Many nationalist organisations consequently petitioned for the intervention of the UNO in favour of their nationalist agitations as a strategy to seek the international body's recognition. In the due course, the UNO morale boosted the struggle for African independence.
14. The UNO extended direct support to the African states struggling for independence. Financial military and logistical support was extended to liberation movements through the UN-Committee to spearhead nationalist agitations against foreign domination especially in Southern Africa. Beneficial organisations included the South West African Peoples Orgasnisation (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) of South African consequently, the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) sought for assistance from the UN-Security Council during their quest for self- rule. The UNO hence became an ally of the African liberation movement, which sped the Colonisation process.
15. The organisation promoted African nationalism by supporting consolidation of African independence. It condemned and intervened in civil wars which broke out in Africa. In 1960, the UNO worked to preserve the independence of a very young state of Congo Leopoldville (Zaire) by condemming the Katanga secessionist attempt, and went ahead to deploy peacekeepers in the country. The UN-mission intervened in the Sudanese civil war (1955-2005), Nigerian civil war of 1967 -70 in Angola (1975-2000) and Mozambique (1977-1992)

#### **THE 1944 BRAZZAVILLE FRENCH AFRICAN CONFERENCE:**

This was a meeting of senior French colonial officials. Governors General and military officers of French Equatorial Africa (French Congo); Madagascar (Malagasy) and French West African colonies. It was held between January and February 1944 in Brazzaville the Capital of French Equatorial Africa. The conference was organised by General Charles de Gaulle the French leader and presided over (chaired) by Mr. Pleven the commissioner of colonies. Africans had

no delegates to represent them at the conference, but one black man, Felix Eboue from French Guyana attended.

**The Brazzaville conference was aimed at the following:**

- a. Thank African French colonies for supporting France against German occupation during World War II
- b. Lay strategies of diverting Africans under French rule from the idea of self-rule. The Second World War had created political consciousness or wind of change prompting-Africans to demand for independence
- c. France was threatened by American anti-colonial activities in the Maghreb region (North Africa) especially in Morocco, hence the need to deal with American anti-colonial policy
- d. Lay strategies of orienting Africans into managing their own affairs
- e. It was to safeguard French interests in Africa and preserve French colonies from outside influence
- f. To plan for economic development of French colonies
- g. De Gaulle also targeted asking Africans for more war contribution<sup>A</sup> since World War II was not yet over, (This was only by promising Africans political changes)

**NOTE:**

**The conference was not aimed at preparing Africans for decolonisation hence its positive impact** on Africa was by accident. The final resolution at Brazzaville clearly stated that, "The works of France in her African colonies have no consideration of autonomy (independence) and self-government in near future..."

**Impact of the Brazzaville Conference on the decolonisation of Africa**

**Reference Questions**

- a) How did the calling of the Brazzaville Conference in 1944 influence the collapse of French rule in Africa?
- b) Assess the impact of the 1944 Brazzaville Conference on the delonisation of Africa
- c) Of what impact was Brazzaville Conference on African nationalism?
  1. The Brazzaville Conference increased African representation in the French Parliament (National Assembly) in Paris. Delegates at the conference resolved that all colonial peoples deserved to represent themselves in the Paris Assembly hence from 1945, French African territories were each required to send two representatives to the French National Assembly. The resolution of Africans representing themselves in the French Assembly was later included in the constitution of the French Fourth Republic. African opportunity to represent themselves in the French Parliament gave them a platform for political agitations geared towards self-determination.
  2. The conference led to the enfranchising of Africans in French colonial territories. The French colonial administrators agreed to grant Africans the right to vote for their representatives to the French Assembly and local parliaments with less colonial influence. As a result, one million Africans in the French colonies got empowered to participate in the election of representatives of their choice like Felix Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast and Leopold Sedar Senghol of Senegal. The rewarding of Africans with voting rights prompted them to demand for more political rights including their sovereign right to self-determination.

3. The conference provided for the establishment of native assemblies (territorial parliaments) in the French African colonies. These native or local parliaments empowered Africans to play local politics through electing local representatives to discuss solutions to problems created by the French colonial system. In the same way, French colonies witnessed political growth as many political organisations were created to compete for political participation and representation in the French Assembly and local parliaments.
4. Consequently, Africans were given civil rights like freedom of association which enabled them to form mass political associations that actively involved in the decolonisation process. These modern political associations were formed either at regional or country level. They included the "Independents d'outre Mer" (IOM) and the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA). The RDA was formed in 1946 with representative branches in Equatorial and French West Africa and was very instrumental in influencing political concessions (changes). Other parties included Bloc Democratique Senegalais (BDS) formed in 1948, Union Soudanais (US), Parti Democratique de la Guinée (PDG) founded in 1947.
5. The Brazzaville conference elevated (promoted) the status of Africans in French territories which inspired African nationalism. The French authorities agreed to accord (grant) Africans in French colonies equal status as Frenchmen and also recognise them as equals to French citizens. The abolition of French harsh colonial policies and the granting of Africans voting rights and representation in the French parliament, as well as spreading French civilisation in Africa, were all steps towards granting Africans equal status as Frenchmen. The intention of granting Africans equal status as Frenchmen was aimed at diverting their attention from demanding self-rule but instead, it exposed the weaknesses of French rule, causing African resistance. Out of 16 million Africans in French West Africa, only 1 million could vote and of the 622 seats in French Parliament, Africans were given only 13 seats.
6. The Brazzaville conference denounced (called to an end) French atrocities (bad colonial policies) which the French government claimed had tarnished the image of France. The conference cautioned the colonial authorities in French, Equatorial and West Africa to reverse the harsh policies in order to win back African trust. Consequently, the policies of forced labour and arbitrary (arrest) without trial which characterised French colonialism in Africa were officially abolished. The Africans had suffered because of these bad policies and therefore, when they were abolished, it became a major step towards restoring African freedoms and later influencing Africans to agitate for independence.
7. The conference passed a financial resolution to promote investment and socio-economic development of French West African colonies. Consequently, in 1946, the French government formed the "Fund for Investment and socio-economic Development of Overseas Territories" (FIDES) to spearhead investment projects in her colonies. Between 1946 and 1957, France had invested about 425 million pounds in West Africa in transport (roads), education and health. Such developments facilitated the road to independence in French colonies of Guinea, Senegal, and Ivory Coast among others.
8. The Brazzaville conference recommended the extension of French civilisation to French

Africa through western education and French language. The French government instructed the colonial office to establish educational institutions: in French colonies through which free education would be extended to Africans. The French civilisation programme facilitated the rise of African elites who later engaged in political activities aimed at achieving self-government.

9. The French delegates at the conference resolved to change the status of the French territories in Africa from provinces to colonies. The conference abolished the use of "overseas territories" in regard to French colonies. The status of African colonies as overseas territories or provinces had destroyed all African hopes of regaining their lost freedoms through constitutional means, referring to French territories as colonies restored a ray of hope of Africans finally becoming free independent from French domination..
10. De Gaulle's speech in Brazzaville was of political influence to French Africa he said, It is France's duty to raise the Africans to a level where they will be capable of participating in their own country." He therefore commended Governors General in French colonies to recruit Africans in the different administrative departments as well as the civil service. Many Africans got appointed to administrative offices as clerks and administrators, while others served in the civil service. This colonial arrangement exposed Africans to leadership and service which became a steppingstone to agitate for bigger political roles in their respective states, thus shaking the pillars of French rule.
11. It laid the foundation for the De Gaulle referendum of 1958, which increased hope for independence in French West Africa. Aware of the political agitations across Africa, General de Gaulle decided to determine the fate of French rule in Africa. He began by influencing the formation of the Federation of French colonies of West Equatorial Africa. In 1958, de Gaulle organised a plebiscite (referendum) in which French colonies of West Africa would decide to be colonised and lose French support, or remain under the French Federation and continue receiving French moral, financial and technical support. Sekou Toure led the Guineans to vote in favour of independence and on October 2, 1958, Guinea's independence was declared. Guinea's brevity inspired the independence of other French colonies of West Africa.
12. The unfulfilled promises made at the conference inspired radical activities of Africans towards demanding for independence. The French colonial unrests continued even after the resolutions at Brazzaville. French colonial authorities continued harassing and persecuting African politicians through arrests and shooting masses attending political rallies. Forced labour was only abolished on paper but mistreatment of African labour continued especially in the army and on plantations. Africans were hence convinced that French rule was dictatorial which increased their determination to demand for political freedoms.

### **THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA**

The connection between Africa and India sets from similar colonial backgrounds, especially with the African British colonies: India and British Africa formed the biggest part of the British colonial empire that existed until the second half of the nineteenth century. India's struggle against colonialism of the British took almost a century (about ninety years, from 1857 to 1947). The influence of India on African nationalism and the decolonisation process was determined by two great nationalists-, first Mahatma Gandhi and later Jawaharlal Nehru,

### **Reference Questions-**

- a) Examine the impact of India's independence on the development of African nationalism**
- b) Discuss the contribution of India to the decolonisation of Africa,**
- c) Assess the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in the growth of African nationalism**

1. The anti-colonial tactics used by Mahatma Gandhi helped to shape the strategy of anti-colonial struggle in Africa. During the period of Indian independence struggle, Gandhi used the principles of Satyagraha (or passive resistance) through non-violent methods. African nationalists and (freedom fighters) like Kwame Nkrumah of The Gold Coast, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Albert Luthuli of South Africa and Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria adopted the policy of non-violence during the struggle against foreign domination. The non - violent methods also known as Gandhiism involved boycotts on trade and colonial products, strikes, demonstrations and sometimes disruption of traffic flow in towns by sitting in the middle of the roads. Gandhi himself encouraged Africans to adopt the non-violence spirit if their efforts of struggling for independence were to be rewarding.
2. The activities of the Indian Congress Party (ICP) influenced African nationalists to form political movements. Many educated Africans especially from West Africa began mobilizing themselves into associations to struggle for political freedoms. In 1920, during a conference of nationalists of British West Africa in Accra, Joseph Casely Hayford, of the Gold Coast led other nationalists from Gambia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone to establish the National Congress of British West Africa. The congress was formed as a pressure group for demanding political reforms from the British colonialists; it demanded for more African representatives in the Legco voted by Africans themselves. Political organisations like the TANU of Tanganyika, the GPP of Gold Coast, the NCNC of Nigeria and the UNC of Uganda were all established due to inspiration of the ICP. Nkrumah himself admired the ICP to the extent that he adopted the ICP cap as the symbol of his party, the CPP.
3. Indian nationalist leader Mahatma Gandhi inspired the struggle against racism in South Africa. The principles of Satyagraha (passive resistance) were begun by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa where he lived before he was deported back to India by the Afrikaner leaders. Gandhi fought against racial injustices in South Africa and denial of equal opportunities to Africans Indians and coloureds. Gandhi began the strategy of strikes, protest marching, civil breach of unfair laws and demonstrations, as a means of attaining racial justice such methods were further promoted by Xuma, Albert Luthuli and continued by Nelson Mandela; Walter Sisulu Steve Biko and Mbeki. He wrote his popular publication "The Green Pamphlet" in 1896 while in South Africa. Through this book, Gandhi attacked racism and oppression of non-Europeans. Prominent Pan Africanists like Kwame Nkrumah and DuBois paid tribute to Mahatma Gandhi for starting the fight against racism in South Africa through non violence and non cooperation.
4. Independent India provided massive moral and financial assistance to African nationalists which became useful in the course of the struggle for freedom in Africa. The Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru committed himself to the 'African cause' by promising that, he will assist African to achieve their independence. He established an "African Fund" through which money grants were extended to freedom fighters through the Indian community in the respective African states. Immediate beneficiaries were the East African colonies like Kenya. The Indian financial aid to African nationalist movements added a brick to the success story of African decolonization process.

5. Independent India offered education scholarships to African students, which increased on the number of African elites that struggled for African independence. India's Nehru opened Indian Diversities and other institutions of higher learning to African students. East Africa was most blessed with a number of Kenyans and Ugandans attending Indian education. African students interacted with Indian students which shaped their political development. They also got exposed to Gandhi's nationalist activities. Kirunda Kivejinja and John Kakonge of Uganda studied from India. On his return to Uganda, John Kakonge became a founding nationalist of the Uganda people's Congress and the first Secretary General of the party.
6. India had direct impact on nationalism in the Gold Coast. In the late 1940's, Nkrumah encouraged his people to embrace the Indian independence movement which had enabled Indians to defeat British colonial rule. Nkrumah customised Gandhiism as "Positive action." He adopted the use of newspapers by establishing the Accra Evening News and the Cape Coast News Daily, through which the people of the Gold Coast de-campaigned the exploitative British rule, Nkrumah also borrowed the used of education campaigns and constitutional means like non cooperation with colonial government.
7. The decolonisation of India laid the foundation for the collapse of British colonial Empire. India and Pakistan formed the largest single British Empire and the most important of all British colonial territories,' hence granting her independence in 1947 was a shock to the whole world. It showed British commitment to decolonisation in both Asia and Africa. "India and the British colonies in Africa shared anti-colonial sentiments of racial inequality, land grabbing and economic exploitation of native resources." India's independence therefore gave a ray of hope to Africans that decolonisation was inevitable. It was thus very impossible for the British colonial office to deny Africans independence after serving India.
8. India's Jawaharlal Nehru served as a political counselor to African freedom fighters. Many African nationalists sought for political guidance from India after her independence. Upon granting independence to India, the British claimed that Africans were politically immature to receive independence. This forced Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Abdel Nasser of Egypt, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, to consult with Jawaharlal Nehru to enhance their political development. In 1960, the Indian Prime Minister invited Uganda's Apollo Milton Obote to Bangalore India and coached him on political leadership. Nehru maintained contact with Kenyatta and through exchanging letters and in 1948 he appointed Apa B. Pant as Indian High Commissioner to Nairobi whose duties included providing legal advice to nationalists in Kenya.
9. Consequently, India militarised African nationalism. First, India provided military weapons to Kenya during the Mau-Mau uprising, and later provided a military solution against Portuguese colonialism. In 1962, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru declared a military attack on the Portuguese presence by driving them out of Goa using Indian tanks and artillery. Africans in Guinea Bissau and Mozambique were inspired to declare war against Portuguese colonial rule in 1963 and 1964 respectively, just like Angola had done earlier on in 1961. African freedom fighters in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia combined Gandhiism with Nehru's military approach during their struggle against white domination.

10. Independent India used her position in the UN-General Assembly to demand for immediate African decolonisation. India led a group of member countries who voted for an end to colonialism throughout the world. These members of the United Nations came to be known as Non-aligned countries. Since joining the United Nations Organisation, India directed pressure on different departments of the body like the Decolonisation and the Committee Trusteeship Council. India's pressure to the Decolonisation Committee led to independence of Ghana while her influence on the Trusteeship Council enabled the timely decolonisation of Tanganyika and Italian Somaliland. India's voice in the United Nations therefore, became an important instrument against colonialism and racism.
11. In 1956, the government of Jawaharlal Nehru encouraged the censorship (banning) of racist films against the African race. The government ordered the Indian Central Film Board to deny license to all films which despised (abused) the image of the African person or race as primitive. Nehru's gesture (policy) was aimed at maintaining good relations with the people of African continent, and identifying with them in their trying moments as they struggled for independence. Some of the films banned or censored in India included, African Adventure, Snows of Kilimanjaro, Below the Sahara and The African Queen, among others.
12. Independent India also influenced African nationalism through encouraging the principle of Non-Alignment or positive neutrality. One of the aims of Non-Alignment was- the immediate decolonisation of the continents of Asia and Africa. Jawaharlal Nehru advocated for positive neutrality of weaker nations mostly from Asia and Africa as a step towards political freedom and economic strength. Non-Alignment emphasised non-cooperation of its members with either the Western Capitalist or Eastern Communist powers. It also encouraged a wide distance between independent states and their former colonial masters. India masterminded the first conference of Non-Aligned states in the Indonesian city of Bandung. This conference held in 1955 assured Africans of Asian support and laid the foundation for the Afro-Asian solidarity (cooperation). The Bandung conference therefore represented the beginning of the final phase of Africa's progress towards independence.
13. India took advantage of her position in the Commonwealth of Nations Organisation to put pressure on Britain and cause her to enforce total decolonisation in Africa. Soon after her independence, Jawaharlal Nehru the Indian Prime Minister influenced the British government to withdraw from the rest of British colonial territories of Asia and Africa. This eventually led to the independence of the British colonies in Africa like the Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya and Nyasaland (Malawi).
14. India sold to Africa Gandhi's policy of using Christianity against colonial exploitation. During the independence struggle of India, Mahatma Gandhi used Christianity and the Biblical teachings to condemn colonialism and agitate for equality and liberty which the British colonialists had denied to the Indians. The success of this strategy in India inspired African freedom fighters like Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Bishop Sithole Ndabaniingi of Southern Rhodesia and Arch-bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa in their campaigns against white racism and colonialism.
15. Gandhi's personality also set a good example to the African nationalists. He was a very good leader and willing to sacrifice himself on behalf of his people, and for the sake of

independence. As the leader of the independence movement in India, he inspired many African nationalists to borrow his trend of leadership against colonial rule. Examples of African leaders inspired by Gandhi's character included Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika and Nelson Mandela of South Africa among others. Mandela's refusal of freedom offered to him by apartheid dictator P.W. Botha in 1985 was in true sense of a nationalist shaped by Gandhi's dedication to the national cause of his people.

### **THE ITALIAN INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF ETHIOPIA (1935-41)**

The Italo-Ethiopian conflict of 1936-41 was a war between Benito Mussolini's Italy and Ethiopia led by Emperor Haile Selassie. The war broke out on October 3, 1935 when Italy attacked Ethiopia. At the time of Italian aggression, Ethiopia and Liberia were 'the only two states in Africa that had survived European imperialism. The invasion of Ethiopia by Italy was an extension of the scramble and epilogue (conclusion) to the partition of Africa.

Ethiopia had defeated an earlier Italian aggression at Adowa in 1896 during the reign of Emperor Menelik II. The Ethiopian effort to hold on to her 2000 years independence was stopped in 1936 when she succumbed (gave in) to Italian defeat and eventual occupation on May 6, 1936. Italy therefore violated the political virginity of Ethiopia by controlling the Abyssinian country for a period of five years.

The rise of Fascist Mussolini through the "famous march to Rome of September 27-30, 1922 and later establishing a dictatorial regime in 1923 created a platform for Italian desire to revenge the Adowa humiliation, and consequently re-establish a new Russian Empire by controlling Ethiopia.

The opportunity came in 1935 and was provoked by the following factors:

#### **Reference questions:**

- a) Account for the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935
- b)"Mussolini was primarily responsible for the 1935-41 Italo-Ethiopian crisis." Discuss
- c) How far was the Whiteman's conspiracy responsible for the Italian occupation on Ethiopia between 1935 and 1941?

#### **1. Mussolini's desire to revive Italian imperialism (colonial domination)**

The invasion of Ethiopia was due to Mussolini's desire to restore Italian domination. The emergence of Benito Mussolini came with his increased ambition of restoring Italian past glory that had been built on the aggressive activities of the defunct (former) Roman Empire. "Mussolini admired and praised the success of the Italian past during the Roman Empire and hence wanted to revive such glories of the Roman Empire." The Italian Dictator therefore wanted to re-establish a modern Roman Empire by extending Roman influence outside Italy, beginning with Ethiopia. He gave the people of Italy a very ambitious plan which included worshipping the Italian state and acquisition of new territories through a forceful and aggressive foreign policy.

#### **2. The anti-Italian policy of Haile Selassie**

Benito Mussolini attacked the Ethiopian monarchy to revenge against Haile Selassie's anti-Italian policy. Since his rise to power as the Military Governor of Harar Province, Ras Tafari adopted a diplomatic policy which isolated Italy. He completely ignored Italy in Ethiopian foreign relations. Even after signing the 1928 Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship, Ras Tafari continued isolating Italy, which frustrated Mussolini. In 1932, Emperor Selassie recruited foreign advisers from other European powers except Italy. He also appointed economic and

military experts from Sweden, France, Switzerland, Belgium as well as the USA. Mussolini took it personal hence the 1935 attack on Ethiopia was to enable Italy have influence in Ethiopia.

### **3. Italian ambition to revenge against their humiliating defeat at Adowa**

The desire by Benito Mussolini to avenge the humiliation suffered by Italy at the Battle of Adowa (Adwa) caused the war against Ethiopia. The Italian Kingdom had wished to capture and add Abyssinia to her African colonial empire which led to the outbreak of the first Italo-Abyssinian war between 1894 and 1896. The Italian force commanded by General Oreste Baratieri was defeated by Ethiopia at the Battle of Adowa on March 1, 1896. The people of Italy had not forgotten such humiliating defeat that did not only leave Abyssinia independent but also kept haunting them for years; Mussolini resurrected the Italian ambition of revenging against Abyssinia with enough confidence that an attack against Ethiopia could arouse the patriotic of Italians towards removing the shameful scar of Adowa.

### **4. Need to form the United Italian East African Empire**

Mussolini attacked Ethiopia in 1935 with hope of establishing a united Italian East African Empire. During the scramble and partition of Africa, Italy acquired Eritrea and Somaliland, which she wanted to link up by establishing a railway line. Both Italian colonies were near Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa and were at the same time very impoverished compared to Ethiopia, hence of less importance to Italy. Mussolini wished to improve on Italian position in Africa by conquering Ethiopia and joining it with Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. Emperor Haile Selassie came to be an obstacle to Mussolini's dream empire as he opposed the railway line passing through Ethiopia. Mussolini therefore found it necessary to annex Ethiopia, add her to Eritrea and Somaliland, so as to effectively establish the United Italian East African Empire.

### **5. Mussolini's determination to disgrace Ethiopia and end her pride**

The pride of the Ethiopian state of 2000 years of self-rule prompted Italy to attack Ethiopia. By the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, most of African continent had been shared and controlled by European powers.-The two independent exceptions the survived colonialism were the young Republic of Liberia on the West African Atlantic Coast, created and supervised by the US-government since 1822, and the Abyssinian (Ethiopian) Empire in the Horn of Africa, whose sovereignty was confirmed after her defeat of Italy in the 1896 Adowa Battle. Since the rule of Emperor Menelik II, the Ethiopian Empire was proudly isolating Italy in its relations with Europe especially on matters of diplomacy and military alliances. Mussolini's desire to end the arrogance of the Ethiopian government and disgrace the independent Ethiopian Empire made the Italo-Ethiopian war inevitable.

### **6. The rise of fascist Mussolini and his desire to spread fascism**

The emergence of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and his fascist ideology led to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Benito Mussolini developed the political ideology of fascism as means to help restore the social, economic, and cultural life of his country. He formed the National Fascist Party (PNF) with an aim of promoting military dictatorship, and this shaped his rigid military character. His coming to power led to the acceleration of fascism that promoted the ideology of survival of the fittest and the domination of weaker nations by powerful ones. The desire to spread fascism beyond Italian boundaries made Mussolini to look at Ethiopia as a possible venue.

### **7. Mussolini's ambition to have full control over port Massawa and Assab**

The need to have full control over Massawa and Assab caused the Italian attack on Ethiopia. Port Massawa was under joint control of the British and Italians, who most of the times failed to agree on patent issues regarding trade on the port. The port combined trade activities among the continents of Africa, Asia and Europe. It exported agricultural products, especially nuts, coffee and hides. The British accessed Port Massawa and Assab from Sudan and through Ethiopia. Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia was therefore to claim full control of

Ethiopia, deny the British access to ports thereby eliminating their interests in these ports.

### **8. The role of the 1934 Walwal incident**

The immediate cause of the Second ItakrAbyssinian war was the 1934 Walwal incident. This incident resulted from the ongoing conflict between the Kingdom of Italy and the Empire of Ethiopia. In 1930, Italy created a military fort of Italian and Somali officers at the Walwal (Welwel) oasis in the Ethiopian territory of Ogaden bordering Italian territory of Somaliland. Fighting occurred at Walwal in December involving Somali officers in the Italian forces and Ethiopian army of about 6000 men. Two Italian fighter planes bombed and destroyed the Ethiopian camp leading to the final conquest of Walwal. Mussolini used the incident to make unrealistic demands to Selassie which included a written apology, an indemnity (compensation) of about 20000 US dollars and a delegation of Ethiopian officials to salute the Italian flag at Walwal. Haile Selassie rejected the demands of Mussolini, who hence, used it as an excuse to attack Ethiopia the following year,

### **9. Need to civilize Ethiopia**

Italy claimed she attacked Ethiopia due to a civilisation mission. Mussolini claimed that the invasion of Ethiopia was not an aggression but rather it was aimed at promoting European civilization in a primitive and barbaric Ethiopian state. He went ahead to attack the League of Nations for asserting that he had a greedy heart which made him to invade Ethiopia a member of international Peace Keeping body. Mussolini questioned how the League tribunal could condemn him for civilising Ethiopia a backward and uncultured nation that deserved to be civilized.

### **10. The unfairness of the Versailles Peace Settlement**

The outcomes of the 1919 Versailles peace settlement influenced Italy to attack Ethiopia in 1935. The settlement was made at a conference convened by the victor powers of World War I led by Britain and France. The Versailles settlement was aimed at finding means of punishing Germany and her allies and to reward the allies of victor powers. Germany was hence made to lose her colonial possessions including the African territory of South West Africa (Namibia), Rwanda – Urundi, Togoland, Cameroon and Tanganyika. These were shared among the Victor allies. Italy's hope of getting more territories under her control met a dead end as she came out of the conference empty handed. This later compelled Mussolini to attack Ethiopia as a means of compensating for the loss at Versailles.

### **11. Mussolini's ambition to demonstrate Italian military strength**

The desire by Italy to exhibit her military strength made 1935 Itako Ethiopian war inevitable. Italy was regarded a military power since her wars of unification but the shameful defeat at the hands of Ethiopia during the Battle of Adowa in 1896 and the poor performance of the Italian army during World War I greatly affected her military prestige. Italy hence wanted her military -strength to be felt once again. The chance came with the rise of Mussolini to power. "Mussolini had the determination to raise the military prestige of Italy in the eyes of other powers and that possible only if he was able to show that his army was not only strong enough to protect 'Italian boundaries but also to conquer other territories." He embarked on modifying the military sector by manufacturing sophisticated arms and ammunitions as well as training the Italian troops in modern warfare and military tactics. Hence Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in order to remonstrate Italian military might to the whole world.

### **12. Mossolinis allegation of Ethiopian Planning to attack Eritrea and Somaliland**

The alleged intention of Ethiopia to expel Italy from her colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland Influenced Italy to invade Ethiopia. Soon after his coronation as the emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selasse embarked on modernising the Ethiopian forces as fast as the Empire's resources could allow. Mussolini suspected the re-organisation of the Ethiopian army as a plan by Selassie to attack the Italian colonies in the Horn of Africa. The Italian spokesperson had to

comment that Ethiopia was arming her troops in an updated European manner. This fear made the Italians to appeal to the Italian government and Mussolini responded by attacking Ethiopia.

### **13. Impact of economic crisis in Italy**

Europe after World War I influenced Mussolini to attack Ethiopia. The after reflects of World War I were a multiple of economic problems in Europe between 1929 and 1932, and this situation came to be known as the economic crisis. This economic situation severely affected every state in Europe but the condition of Italy was the unhappy. The war if: a high cost of living in Italy with a budget deficit of over 12,000 million Lire (\$228000 million) which made it impossible for the government to ensure proper economic planning. The Italian currency (Lire) was depreciated, unemployment had greatly increased due to collapse of industries, and many Italians were retrenched from their jobs while wages of those who employed were cut down. Italy had an adverse balance of trade as her import volumes compared to the exports. Such poor economic atmosphere made Mussolini to look at the virgin resources of Ethiopia as the only hope that would stabilise Italy's collapsing economy hence the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

### **14. The unfair Italian share at Berlin**

The Berlin Conference of 1884-85 had an effect on the outbreak of Italy-Ethiopian conflict. The Conference was convened in Germany, organised by Bismarck the German Chancellor. At Berlin, Africa was partitioned like a piece of cake among the European colonial powers. Italy paid the price of entering the colonial race much later than other powers by acquiring the semi-arid territories of Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland. Her joining the colonial business late was due to lack of military and industrial resources like other powers. The Italian dissatisfaction at Berlin influenced her attempt to conquer Abyssinia which failed by 1896. With such unfair share at Berlin, Italy kept alive her dream of controlling Ethiopia, and the opportunity came in 1934-35 during the time of Dictator Mussolini.

### **15. The weakness of the League of Nations**

The weakness of the League of Nations contributed to the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935. The League was formed in 1920 as an international peace keeping body. The major aim was to discourage further aggressions of one state over the other. In the charter of the League, it was stated that no country was to attack another member without a strong reason and if so, the issue would be amicably settled. The League however provided for free entry and exit hence giving Italy an opportunity to withdraw from the league. By the time of Italian aggression on Ethiopia, Italy was no longer a member of the League.

### **16. Japanese occupation of Manchuria**

Influence of Japanese invasion of the Chinese industrial province of Manchuria made Italy to attack Ethiopia in 1935. In September 1931, the Japanese Kwantung army invaded and occupied Manchuria, whose large agricultural sector turned her into the food basket of the Far East. Japan was heavily affected by the economic crisis hence looked at Manchuria as a territory to resettle part of her unemployed populace and invest her capital, a source of raw materials for her industries, a new market to expand her foreign trade and a source of wealth due to its timber resources and minerals. The major Powers of the League showed a negative reaction when China called for support and instead agreed that Manchuria was of military and strategic importance to Japan that also had a responsibility to protect the lives and property of Japanese in the province. Mussolini found a great excuse to invade Ethiopia well knowing that the principle of collective security was never upheld by the league.

### **17. Impact of the 1934 Stresa Front (Anglo-French conspiracy)**

The Stresa Front and the Italo-Anglo - French alliance gave Mussolini morale to invade Ethiopia. The Stresa Front was an agreement made during a tripartite conference in a small Italian town of Stresa. It was signed on April 14, 1934 between French Prime Minister Pierre

Laval, British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, and Italian Prime Minister Benito Mussolini. The three states represented at Stresa, France, Britain and Italy signed the treaty as an alliance again?! German rearmament plan, which threatened peace and security in Europe. Mussolini discussed with British delegates his plans of making Italy 'great, respected and feared' through the Invasion and conquest of Abyssinia and ultimately create an all-powerful Italian Empire in East Africa. Benito Mussolini believed that the signing of the "Stresa Front" would mean Britain and France would not interfere in the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. This encouraged him to organise a military invasion on Ethiopia in 1935.

### **18. The weakness of Ethiopian army**

The refusal to sell military hardware to Ethiopia convinced Italy to attack her in 1935. Britain and France refused to sell weapons to Ethiopia at a time when Italy was deploying troops along the Ethiopian border with Somali-land. Even though Selassie had embarked on modernising the Ethiopian army, Ethiopia could not build a formidable force without acquiring modern weapons

The arms embargo (restriction on the sale of ammunitions) to Italy and Ethiopia favoured the former (Italy) who manufactured her own arms and ammunitions. This biased dishonesty of the European powers gave courage to Italy to attack Ethiopia, as she was aware of Ethiopian military weakness.

#### **1. Need for territories to resettle Italian desperate population**

The desire by Italy to acquire new territories for her surplus population led to the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. Italy was in need of colonies to resettle hundreds of thousands of her people who were lacking work in their fatherland, Mussolini was concerned that Italians were no longer able to migrate abroad on account of the limitations imposed on immigration by other European countries. He claimed that Italians were hungry for land because they were abundant, productive and creative. The Ethiopian highlands had good and favourable climatic conditions with fertile arable soils conducive for Italian settlement and agriculture. Such influenced Italy to invade in order to realise economic activities and empower the Italian economy.

#### **2. Desire to exploit Ethiopia**

The conquest of Abyssinia would put the country's economic resources into Italian hands. Mussolini was eager to take up control of the all mineral resources in the mountainous country of Abyssinia. The Italian desire for raw materials for her industries and market for her finished good also made it necessary for the invasion and occupation of Ethiopia. The high Ethiopian plateau was conducive for coffee, tea, nuts and tobacco growing. Ethiopia was also famous for exporting animal hides due to a larger percentage of her population engaging in pastoralism. Mussolini confirmed Italian desire to exploit Ethiopia by claiming that Eritrea and Somaliland lacked the economic potential that other European powers enjoyed in their colonies.

#### **3. Support from German's Hitler**

German support to Mussolini in his conquest of Abyssinia made the war between Italy and Ethiopian inevitable. In 1934, Mussolini and the great powers of France and Britain opposed Hitler's ambitious desire to violate the Versailles settlement and annex Austria to Germany. Austrians were also Germans but at Versailles, the victor powers of World War I decided to leave Austria independent because the statesmen did not want to create a strong and powerful Germany, which would be a source of danger to peace and security in Europe. Mussolini was drawn to Hitler during the Italo - Ethiopian conflict, which convinced him that Germany was a better friend than France and Britain. Whereas the big powers of the world opposed Mussolini for planning an attack on Ethiopia and imposed economic sanctions on Italy, Hitler stood with Mussolini and supported him to occupy Ethiopia.

#### **4. Impact of the Hoare-Laval Pact**

The Hoare-Laval Pact was a secret proposal made to Benito Mussolini in December 1935 by British Foreign Secretary Samuel Hoare and French Prime Minister Pierre Laval to end the Second Italo - Abyssinian War. Hoare and Laval offered to partition Abyssinia to enable the Italian dictator achieve his goal of turning Abyssinia into an Italian colony. This support to Mussolini was aimed at preventing him from allying with Hitler. By this pact, Italy would gain the best parts of the provinces of Ogaden and Tigray, with economic influence all over the southern region of Abyssinia. Emperor Selassie was to retain control over only the parts of the north. Mussolini had agreed to the pact because he wanted to end the Abyssinian war which had continued due to determined nationalistic resistance of the Ethiopians. Even though the Hoare Laval Plan was not successful, it assured Mussolini of Anglo-French backing, which encouraged him to have full control of Ethiopia (Abyssinia).

**Please note:**

The Hoare-Laval Pact only confirmed Italian occupation of Ethiopia, but not the outbreak of the war. It was signed in December 1935 just two months after the war had broken out.

#### **Impact of the Italo Ethiopian war**

**Reference questions-**

- a) Assess the impact of the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935-41
- b) How did the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 affect the people of Ethiopia?

**Negative effects**

1. Ethiopian resistance was crushed as the Italian troops finally captured the Ethiopian capital which ended the 2000 years of Ethiopian independence. By January 1936, the people of Ethiopia had been decisively defeated; however, the Ethiopian army managed to resist the Italian attack for about a few more months but finally gave in by May 1936 when the Italian army commanded by General Pietro Badoglio entered the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa.
2. Consequently, the advancement of Italian troops to Addis Ababa led to the abdication and flight of Emperor Haile Selassie to exile in London through Djibouti. Emperor Haile Selassie had returned to Addis Ababa in April, the first time since the outbreak of the war. Selassie fled into exile on May 2, 1936 to escape possible capture by the Italian invading troops, and to solicit for external support and international sympathy that would enable him regain his Ethiopian throne. His family and several of his closest associates accompanied him. The loss of the empirical throne by Emperor Selassie led to a leadership vacuum in Ethiopia that dealt a final blow to the Ethiopian forces.
3. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia was a sign of humiliation to the Ethiopian monarch. It was a sign of naked aggression on an internationally recognised sovereign state. The once African symbol of dignity and freedom now fell to the Italian aggressors. The occupation of Ethiopia exposed the military weakness of the imperial regime of Haile Selassie, whose economic constraints could not sustain the resistance against Italy. The Ethiopian reputation built by Emperor Menelik II declined with Italian success over Italy in 1936. It was a sounding success to Benito Mussolini who inspired the Italian revenge of the Adowa (Adwa) defeat of 1896.
4. The war led to loss of lives and subsequent destruction of property. The use of poisonous gas and aerial bombing left the villages ablaze where Ethiopians suffered heavy casualties. Many of the victims were innocent women and children. Soldiers, elites, peasants and

priests also perished in the Italo-Ethiopian war.

5. The conflict caused and exposed divisions among Ethiopians. The grievances that were held against the Amharic tribe (Selassie's origin) by other tribes like the Galla, Sidona and Somali due to the tribal tendencies held by the Emperor's government made the other tribes to support Italian forces against the Ethiopian national army. Such gross disunity influenced the Galla to fight the Amharic, and the Italians to bribe the Ethiopians to identify the operation areas of the Ethiopian army. The Ethiopian army officials of Galla origin always led their forces into Italian ambushes.
6. The conflict ushered in a political crisis that contributed to the refugee crisis in the horn of Africa and the emergence of internally displaced people in Ethiopia. This refugee crisis exploded to the neighbouring states of Kenya, Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea where many Ethiopians sought for asylum as Italy occupied Ethiopia.
7. On defeating Ethiopia, the Italians established their imperial rule. The Italian occupation brought Emperor Haile Selassie and the Royal Imperial House of Ethiopia to experience direct European rule which other Africa leaders had already experienced about fifty years before. The Ethiopian defeat of Italy at Adwa made the country survive colonial domination and exploitation which other African countries had faced from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Her independence worked to create a sense of peace and prosperity of Ethiopian people within the borders of their own country. However, following the Italian occupation (1936-41) Ethiopians experienced land grabbing, forced labour and arbitrary rule of a European colonial master.
8. They introduced harsh and exploitative administrative policies like forced labour, excessive Coition, arbitrary arrests and execution of Ethiopians opposed to Italian leadership. All these deprived Africans in Ethiopia of their freedom.
9. Consequently, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia led to the introduction of fascism for which Ethiopia became a victim. Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia was aimed at spreading his fascist ideology beyond Italian boundaries. The ideology emphasised survival of the fittest and the dominance of weaker nations by powerful ones. Ethiopia thus experienced military dictatorship and the uncompromising character of fascist Italians.
10. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis exposed the weakness and double standards of the League of Nations, which inevitably led to its collapse. Later on, the United Nations Organisation emerged to roll the boat of peace, security and justice in the world. Ethiopia received an invitation to the new international world peace keeping body.
11. The successful occupation of Ethiopia by Italy in 1936 prompted Hitler of Germany to invade Poland which was a sparkling factor in the outbreak of World War II. The threat posed by the axis alliance and the refusal of German to withdraw from Poland made the allied alliance led by France and Britain to declare war on Germany, eventually making World War II inevitable.

### **Positive**

12. The brief Italian colonial occupation of Ethiopia witnessed socio-economic developments

in the country. Hospitals, schools and roads were set up! While Italian settlement led to growth of towns, hence urbanisation.

13. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis led to the formation of a guerrilla movement known as the "**Black Lions**" under the leadership of Ras Imru (Immiru). This Ethiopian liberation movement stood against ethnic differences in Ethiopia and ensured a successful struggle against Italy. The "**Black Lions**" movement made a major contributory factor that led to the defeat of Italy in 1941.
14. The war inspired the formation of a committee of Union in 1937. This was a step towards promoting unity among over 100 tribes of Ethiopia, as well as ending the divisions within the Ethiopian army that fought against Italian aggression.
15. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia led to international recognition of Emperor Haile Selassie and Ethiopia against Italy. Ethiopia and Haile Selassie became popular all over the world as the international community condemned the Italian naked aggression against an internationally recognised independent state of Ethiopia. Major Powers of the League like Britain channelled their support to enable the restoration of Ethiopian sovereignty.
16. The end of war in 1941 provided the opportunity for the re-organisation of the Ethiopian military. Haile Selassie realised the need for a strong modern military force hence encouraged training of many military officers in modern warfare technology. In collaboration with countries in Europe, Selassie sent military cadres to military schools in France and England. The Emperor also introduced modern military schools in Ethiopia so that more military generals could be trained. This great move towards the military was motivated by the Ethiopian defeat to Italy in 1936.
17. Following the increased international popularity of Ethiopia, the African state got the invitation as a founder member of the United Nations Organisation (UNO). After World War II, in 1945, Ethiopia was invited as one of the founder members of the United Nations organization. This did not only make the Ethiopian empire more popular, but also a major contributor to international peace and security.
18. It led to the rise of the Ethiopian Patriotic Church and the increase in its participation in the rational affairs of Ethiopia. The participation of the Ethiopian Patriotic Church in the struggle against the Italian aggressors was paramount in the restoration of Ethiopian sovereignty'. The Church mobilized the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians to die for their country. In 1938, Bishop Pedro was publicly executed for refusing to broadcast against the patriots. The Italians also killed 380 monks in the ancient monastery of Debra Limonas after arms were discovered there this act of murder on the Church officials was a motivation factor in the Ethiopian resistance against the Italian aggression.
19. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis elevated the popularity of Ethiopia among Blacks in Africa and the world over. The war strengthened black unity and co-operation towards supporting Ethiopia against Italian occupation. The Blacks recognized Ethiopia as the last cathedral of African freedom and thus were profoundly shaken by the destruction of a country that had

been a proud symbol of African independence and black achievement amidst the era of colonialism. Protest spread from Lagos in Nigeria to New York in USA and London in England. All over the world blacks were protesting against Mussolini's naked aggression against a virgin Ethiopia that had stood as a symbol of black freedom of dignity.

20. The war influenced the co-operation of Ethiopia with Eritrea against Italian imperialism. The successful Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936 was partly favoured by support from Eritrea. However, the good spirit of the Italian colonial government in Eritrea changed soon after Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Mussolini's administration stressed the racial and political superiority of the Italian people in the Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somaliland. Segregation became the hard and fast rule, and Africans in the three countries were reduced to the lowest class of society in their own homeland. The Eritreans hence worked closely with the Ethiopians to end Italian imperialism.
21. The war awakened racial consciousness of the Ethiopian people that they are Africans and that Ethiopia is part of the African continent. For longtime, Ethiopian rulers preferred seeing themselves as part of the Middle East rather than Africa. The widespread support given by Africans and blacks to Emperor Selassie and the Ethiopian people during the Italian occupation made them to develop a sense of belonging to Africa and not the Middle East. After Ethiopia regaining her sovereign freedom from Italian aggression, Emperor Haile Selassie became strongly active in the African affairs as one of the greatest Pan Africanists and elder statesmen of post-colonial Africa. No surprise that Haile Selassie got actively involved in the liberation of Africa and establishment of unity on the continent.

#### **REACTIONS OF THE BLACKS TO THE ITALIAN INVASION OF ETHIOPIA:**

The weakness of the League of Nations exposed the Africans to the Whiteman's conspiracy i.e. that the Europeans were ready to work together and dominate the blacks. Ethiopia being one of the only two surviving African states to retain her independence and international equality, the Italian invasion was disrespect and breakage of the Ethiopian sovereignty. This influenced the entire black world to come together to oppose and demonstrate their discontentment against Europeans.

**The blacks hence reacted to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia through the following!**

**Reference Questions:**

- a) How did the Black world respond to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935?
  - b) Examine the reactions of Africans to the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopia war of 1935-41)
1. Pan Africanists like Marcus Garvey immediately spoke out to condemn the invasion of Ethiopia by Italian dictator Mussolini. According to Marcus Garvey, Ethiopia was part of the great African race that was going to help Africans get rid of colonialismthus, Italy had committed a naked aggression against an internationally recognized independent country.
  2. In West Africa, the nationalistic newspapers called for the mass uprising to protest against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. This was meant to show a mass protest by Africans against European humiliation.
  3. In New York about 20,000 blacks went to the streets to demonstrate against the Italian rape of Ethiopia. This was an indication that blacks in the Diaspora (abroad) still had a

strong devotion towards their land of origin.

4. Jomo Kenyatta in a monthly Labour Publication wrote an article "Hand off Abyssinia". His article was aimed at condemning the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the only symbol and oasis of African independence. Kenyatta commented that his weapon against the Italian naked practice against Ethiopia was only the pen and paper.
5. Consequently, Jomo Kenyatta also vowed never to cut off his beard until Abyssinia was free again. This was aimed at persuading other Africans to involve in supporting the Ethiopian cause for resistance against the Italian occupation.
6. Upon news of the Italian invasion, Kwame Nkrumah, walked the streets of London with angry tears running down his cheeks. The "bad news" of Italian violation of Ethiopian sovereign independence therefore stimulated the Pan African identity of Nkrumah. According to Nkrumah, at that he could not even trust the space around him. It felt like as if the whole of London had declared war on him.
7. Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Namibia produced a very dynamic and explosive article in the press, "Has Africa a God?" With this publication, these two devoted Africans were trying to question the wisdom of Italian claim to spread Christianity and western civilization in Ethiopia, but by use of poisonous gas and weapons of human destruction.
8. In West Africa and Nigeria in particular, the Abyssinian Association was formed to support the Ethiopia cause. The association worked to condemn the Italian aggression against Ethiopia and pressurized Britain to favour Ethiopian sovereignty against the ambitions of Mussolini. It tried recruiting volunteers to go and fight on Ethiopian side
9. Consequently, the Ethiopian Defence Fund was put in place in Nigeria to help raise logistical, serial and financial assistance for the liberation of Ethiopia. These resources would later be instrumental in strengthening Ethiopian counter war against Mussolini's men.
10. West Africans under British rule held a meeting in Lagos to debate British position in the Italo Ethiopian war. During the Lagos meeting in Nigeria, a resolution was passed asking the British to stop pursuing her appeasement policy towards Mussolini and condemn Italy for occupying Ethiopia.
11. Africans under British colonialism threatened to boycott consumption of British and Syrian goods and to abandon working in government and British firms as a way of showing their discontent to British silence during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. They interpreted it as a quiet move remote European rule in Ethiopia.
12. In Britain, George Padmore, Danquah, Rasmark and Jomo Kenyatta organised the International African Friends of Ethiopia (I.A.F.E) to demonstrate their support towards Haile Selassie and the community in at large.

13. In Jamaica, a protest was organised by cultural nationalists calling themselves "Rastafarians" demonstrated in support of the African personality and show their concern for Ethiopia. The Rastafarians sang praises of Haile Selassie **"the Black Messiah!"** The leader of the Rastafarian demonstrators was later arrested for selling Haile Selassie's photographs.
14. In 1937, an International African Service Bureau was established to initiate African commitment against colonialism. This was not only to resist Italian occupation of Ethiopia, but at large to oppose European conquest of Africa with a new determination. Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, and Hastings Banda of Nyasaland were among the members.
15. On reaching London after fleeing Ethiopia, A group of blacks gathered to receive Haile Selassie at Waterloo railway station. Kenyatta, one of this black contingent embraced Selassie, which was a sign of African morale and unity of the African people against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.
16. From West Indies, a descendant of a former slave known as Griffins was very aggrieved following the Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia. Griffins reacted by dropping his name with immediate effect, and adopted the name of **"Has Makonnen"**, to show his attachment towards Ethiopians during their trial moments.

### **REASONS WHY ITALY DEFEATED ETHIOPIA IN 1936**

**Reference questions:**

- a) Discuss the factors that led to the Ethiopian defeat by Italy in 1936
- b) Account for the military success of the Italians against the Ethiopians between 1935 and 1936

Many factors contributed to the Ethiopian loss of her 2000 years of independence and included

1. Mussolini took a lot more time to make preparations for an attack on Abyssinia. First, he adopted a rearment policy by recruiting and training a very large army of more than 500000 men. He established a military industry to manufacture modern ammunitions. In 1932, he sent a high ranking Italian official to spy on Ethiopia and report on a possible chance of success in case of an Italian attack. The report given by the Italian spying official indicated that the political situation in Abyssinia were appalling (terrible) hence it would not be a difficult task if Italy organized a military attack on this state. From 1934, Mussolini's government spent a reasonable amount of Italian moneys to cause conflicts and rebellions among the Ethiopian people in preparation for the war. The clash at Walwal between the armies of Abyssinia and Italy was part of Mussolini's plan to invade and conquer Ethiopia.
2. Ethiopians were grossly disunited which enabled the Italians to take advantage of them. The people were mostly divided along tribal and religious lines. Ethiopia has a variety of ethnic religious and linguistic groups. The population comprises more than 100 tribes with the Amhara Tigre, Oromo (Galla) and Somali as the majority. Over 70 languages are spoken in Ethiopia. Such divisions were also experienced within the army. The army officers from the Northern Province like Tigrean province looked at officers from the Southern

provinces of Harar and Wollo with suspicion. The Galla warriors for example wanted the war to end so fast that they always led the main Ethiopian army towards Italian ambushes. The Italians hence got a better opportunity to facilitate more divisions among Ethiopians, by bribing many non-Amharas and influencing them to desert and join Italian army, just like Gus, while others helped Italian troops to identify the operation areas of the Ethiopian army.

3. The military superiority of the Italians over Ethiopia was a great asset in the defeat and occupation of Ethiopia. The Italians had all sorts of military hardware like powerful bombs aerial photographs and a well organised and trained army of more than 200000 troops. The people of Abyssinia could not stand the Italian force who were thoroughly mechanised and fully equipped in every way. The Abyssinian army was full of volunteer fighters. It had very few professional soldiers who either had outdated tactics or had forgotten them since the reign of Menelik II. Abyssinians had practically no modern weapons of warfare. For the few that were available, some were faulty. The Ethiopians had only eleven (ID fighter planes, three (3) of which could not leave the ground and one (1) of them had been given to the Ethiopian Red Cross Society. The national forces had only 371 bombs, 13 anti-aircraft guns and most of their rifles could not fire. This enabled the Italian armies to weaken Ethiopian troops, penetrate farther into the hilly Ethiopian country and occupy the capital, Addis Ababa.
4. Consequently, the general weakness; of the Ethiopian forces enabled the Italian occupation Ethiopia. The Ethiopian army comprised a total of about 1,000,000 but a maximum of 100,000 could fight effectively against the invading Italian troops. Majority of the fighters were volunteers with traditional fighting skills. Some of the fighters who volunteered to join the forces only because they wanted food and money. Most of the Ethiopian soldiers that fought the Italian were either sick or old. A tenth of them were women, another a tenth were priests who had no strong commitment to the national causes against Mussolini's men.
5. The weakness of the League of Nations was a disadvantage to Ethiopia. The League could not condemn the Italian action nor could she intervene by sending forces to check the Italian aggression. This left the Ethiopians at the mercy of Italians. The League failed to effect sanctions on Italy as the big powers (Britain and France) used the organisation to achieve their own needs. They recognized the Italian occupation of Ethiopia simply to appease Mussolini.
6. The Whiteman's conspiracy led to the defeat of Ethiopia such conspiracy made Britain and France not to respect the sanctions imposed on Italy by the League. They went ahead to effect the arms embargo, which was a ban on sale of military equipment to Italy and Ethiopia which solely affected Ethiopia to the advantage of Italy who manufactured her own weapons.
7. The poor financial status of Ethiopia at the time of the war made the defeat of the Ethiopian army inevitable. The Ethiopian imperial government of Emperor Selassie was so poor that it could not maintain an army in the fighting field for long. It was also expensive to transport fighting men from distant parts of the empire to the areas where fighting took place. The government hardly provided logistical support to the soldiers to ensure that they put up a tough resistance against the Italian invaders.

8. The invasion came at a time when Emperor Haile Selassie was unpopular at home. He was always faced with a lot of opposition especially from the Galla. There were even rebellions in some provinces like in the North. This made the resistance against the Italian invasion very weak.
9. The poor living conditions of the Ethiopian people led to the Italian victory. There were poor housing facilities, low wages for workers, unemployment and malnutrition which made the resistance even weaker. This is one of the reasons that made the Ethiopians to lose faith in the Emperor's government and thus could not give popular support to the national cause
10. The Italians received assistance from Somalia and Eritrea, the two Italian colonies that neighbored Ethiopia. This enforced the Italian fighters and gave them morale which enabled them to overcome the Ethiopian resistance.
11. The fleeing of Emperor Haile Selassie to exile left Ethiopia without a leader to direct any remaining morale of the Ethiopian fighters. If the emperor had not fled, maybe the Ethiopians could have put a commendable resistance against the Italian troops. Instead the Ethiopian forces had to flee the battle front while others surrendered to the Italian army which gave way to the Italian success.
12. Lack of a common strategy amongst Ethiopians led to their failure. The Ethiopian top leaders failed to agree on an effective strategy in organizing a counter war against the Italians. While the Emperor preferred the use of guerrilla tactics and timely retreats, the provincial governors wanted a more conventional war approach. This made the Ethiopian forces to lack proper direction, making their defeat inevitable.

Due to the above factors, the Italians could leave no stones unturned. They turned their tables against Ethiopians in revenge of the Adowa humiliation of 1896 and were determined to occupy Ethiopia. The defeat of Ethiopia hence became inevitable mainly due to the disunity of Ethiopians, coupled with the Whiteman's conspiracy and worst of all the Ethiopian military weakness.

#### **THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS FAILURE TO PREVENT THE ITALIAN INVASION OF ETHIOPIA**

The League of Nations was a world peacekeeping body established in 1920 following the proposal at the Versailles peace settlement of 1919. Its formation followed the suggestion by the President of the USA, Woodrow Wilson for an internationally recognised peacekeeping body charged with overseeing international peace and security, and to ensure that resolution of misunderstanding between and among states was through negotiation and arbitration than aggression.

Ethiopia was not a founder member of the League of Nations but registered its membership four years later. Upon the Italian threat of invasion, Selassie cried out to the peacekeeping body to intervene before the war erupted; the League however gave a deaf ear, thus showing inefficiency

The failure of the League to prevent the Italo Ethiopian war was due to the following:

**Reference questions:**

- a) Why did the League of National all to avert the war between Italy and Ethiopia between 1935 and 1941?
  - b) To what extent did the League of Nations cause the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935?
1. The league showed an impotent response towards the first international tension. This precedent occurred when Japan attacked and occupied the Chinese industrialized province of Manchuria. The unrealistic weaknesses of the League towards an aggression by a non-European power prompted Italy to attack Ethiopia expecting no reaction from the world peacekeeping body.
  2. The League failed to effect resolutions of the 1932 Geneva disarmament conference. The resolutions were aimed at disarming Germany and Italy, the two powers that threatened European stability. The two powers were not to manufacture or import arms; however, the very two powers failed to meet the demands of the conference but the League looked on as they accumulated arms, which gave Italy military confidence to attack Ethiopia.
  3. The League of Nations also violated the Geneva protocol, which had been imposed on the two belligerent countries; Ethiopia and Italy. The two Nations were not to import arms and no member state would connive with either of the two in trade items related to arms and ammunitions. However, the sanctions on Italy were violated; weeks after, items like oil, steel and coal found their way to Italy from Britain and France. These items were important for Italian arms manufacturing industry.
  4. The death of Mr. Briand the French foreign minister in 1932 robbed the League of a resolute policy maker. Briand was a major political actor who advocated for a policy of settlement of all conflicts between member states of the League only by peaceful means. Thus after his death universal peace remained only a dream as men like Mussolini suddenly woke up to the crude realities of aggression like the case of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935.
  5. The weakness of the League of Nations was further witnessed when she failed to restrain aggressive nations from re-arming. Italy spent years reorganizing and rearming her military in preparation for an invasion on Italy. Had the League implemented her aims of disarmament, maybe the Italian aggression on Ethiopia could have been averted.
  6. The military strength of Italy also scared the League of Nations from intervening to prevent the crisis. Italy had manufactured and bought advanced and sophisticated military hardware such as planes, machines guns and bombs. To say that Italy was militarily stronger is not to suggest that the League of Nations was militarily weak; but the League feared military intervention because the cost in terms of blood and resources would have drained the international body.
  7. The League also failed to avert the war because Italy was expanding her colonial possession just as other members had done. Britain and France the Major Powers of the League had acquired, colonies in a similar manner. They therefore lacked the moral

obligation to stop Italy from acquiring more territories in Africa more so to invade an internationally recognised sovereign of Ethiopia.

8. The negligence on the part of the Major Powers of the League also rendered the body incapable of stopping the invasion on Ethiopia, Britain and France neglected Ethiopia as a weak poor third world country without international significance. They thought that the invasion would take a matter of days. They also did not anticipate international condemnation of Italy. To their surprise the entire Black World condemned the naked aggression on the free land (Ethiopia) left to Africa amidst a sea of colonialism.
9. Racism in the League led to the Ethiopian occupation by Italy between 1935 and 1941. European members of the League showed very high levels of racism in favour of Italy against Ethiopia. They too seemed to have shared Mussolini's argument against Ethiopia that the people of Ethiopia were barbaric, backward and practiced slavery; and so they needed a dose of European civilization. Hence prompting Mussolini to go ahead and invade Ethiopia.
10. The appeasement policy of the major powers of the League of Nations towards Mussolini i.e. France and Britain expressed the white man's conspiracy, which instead weakened the effectiveness of the league. They turned a blind eye towards the Ethiopian crisis in order to discourage Mussolini to disorganize Europe.
11. The League of Nations lacked the services of big powers that could have strengthened her stand against the Italian aggression. The League had a principle of free entry and exit, which prompted Germany and Italy to withdraw from the body in 1934. Russia had joined the League in 1934 but left in 1939. The USA on the other hand maintained her isolation so she did not join. This denied the league of ideas and services of these big powers, which could have avoided the crisis.
12. Member states were disunited, suspicious and had mistrust against each other after World War I. This made the League to lack spiritual unity and corporation that would have prompted successful unity in the body. Thus, when Italy attacked Ethiopia, no power was willing to call for intervention.
13. Members of the League were in deep economic crisis after the great economic depression of 1929 and therefore could not meet the budget of the League effectively. Hence, when the war started, the League of Nations got no meaningful assistance from member states as they worked - resolving their own economies.
14. Another contribution of the League towards the defeat of Ethiopia by Italy was that almost all member states including France and Britain recognised the Italian government in Ethiopia. The British had confirmed the Italian occupation of Ethiopia through the Hoare-Laval pact of 1935 although they condemned Italy at the beginning.

#### **REASONS WHY THE ETHIOPIANS DEFEATED ITALY IN 1941**

The defeat of Ethiopians by the Italians in 1936 did not push African resistance to silence. Africans in Ethiopia re-organized under a prominent liberation movement called the "Black

Lions" led by a devoted Ras Imru. Together with the defeated Ethiopian forces, they staged counter attacks against Italy. In 1941, the Ethiopians were able to throw out the Italians due to 7 following factors:

**Reference questions:**

- a) Account for the defeat of Italy by Ethiopia in 1941
- b) To what extent did the outbreak of World War II in 1939 influence the 1941 Ethiopia victory over Italy?

1. The formation of a guerrilla group (the Black Lions) that comprised graduates mainly with modern political and democratic concepts. The leaders of the movement headed by Imru were in the Ethiopian resistance to Italian aggression. The "Black Lions" movement mobilized the masses, provided pragmatic (strong) leadership and ensured solidarity amongst the Ethiopians. The guerrilla tactics employed by the "Black Lions" humbled the Italians in 1941.
2. The Ethiopians through tireless patriots like Ras Imru forged unity of purpose against the Italians. A committee of union was set up in 1937 to reconcile the antagonistic groups. The Ethiopians hence forgot their cultural and ethnic differences and fought under a general cause. This made the resistance popular amongst all groups of Ethiopian masses.
3. The Ethiopian Patriotic Church played a significant role in the defeat of the Italians. The Church mobilized the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians to die for their country. In 1938, Bishop Pedros was publicly executed for refusing to broadcast against the patriots. The Italians also killed 38C monks in the ancient monastery of Debra Limonas after arms were discovered there. This act of murder on the Church officials was a motivation factor in the Ethiopian resistance against the Italian aggression.
4. The Ethiopians were haunted and motivated by the Graziani massacre of 1937. Marshal Graziani, the Italian viceroy (Governor) had announced the distribution of essential commodities to the poor Ethiopians in the city. Unfortunately, some of the members of the "Black Lions" were hiding in the crowd and threw grenades to Graziani, which injured him severely. The Italian troops retaliated by firing indiscriminately at the crowd and causing chaos in the city. The chaos spread in the country making the incident one of the major events in colonial history that tarnished the Italian image on the international scene.
5. The Italians carried out oppressive and exploitative policies against the Ethiopians. They forced Ethiopians to offer labour at public works like roads, hospitals, and schools; forced them to grow cash crops and imposed heavy taxes in Ethiopia. All these increased grievances in Ethiopia and attracted mass support to the anti-Italian uprising.
6. The Italian army was brutal and barbaric which cost Italian administration dearly. The army burnt Ethiopian huts and houses, raped Ethiopian women including those who surrendered, executed, and buried civilians in mass graves. This made the Italian leadership unpopular even from Ethiopians who had sympathised with the Italian administration.
7. The invasion received strong condemnation from African states and political leaders. Nationalists like Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Wallace Johnson and Nnamdi Azikiwe used the press

and other associations to demand Italian withdrawal from Ethiopia. They sent financial assistance and other logistics to Ethiopia patriots. These activities attracted the International community to isolate Italy.

8. The change of mind by the British favoured Ethiopian Liberation. The British soon after Italy joined World War II on the side of the axis alliance, sent assistance to Ethiopians through the neighbouring states of Kenya and Sudan. This British support boosted Ethiopian resistance against Italy.
9. Consequently, the Italian involvement in World War II alongside the axis alliance weakened the hold on to Ethiopia. Italy was occupied in the war with less concentration on Ethiopia. She went ahead to withdraw many of other troops from Ethiopia. The British began viewing Italy as an enemy that deserved to be defeated. Apart from raiding Italian Somaliland and Eritrea, the British extended assistance to Ethiopia, which strengthened her resistance.
10. The stealth return of Emperor Haile Selassie to Ethiopia played a significant part on the side of Ethiopia. Through Sudan, Haile Selassie crossed into Ethiopia in January 1941 to strengthen Ethiopian resistance against Italian aggression. Therefore, the presence of Emperor Selassie boosted the Ethiopian camp that fought with determination until the Italians were thrown out.

#### **IMPACT OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS ON THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM PAN AFRICANISM**

The war had a resounding impact on colonial Africa and the black race in other parts of the world discussed below

#### **Reference questions**

- a) How did the Italian attack on Ethiopia (1935-41) influence the growth of African nationalism?
  - b) Assess the impact of the (1935-41) Italo-Ethiopian war on the growth of African nationalism
1. Italo-Ethiopian war strengthened black unity and solidarity all over the world against white domination. Black men worldwide were profoundly shaken by the destruction of a country that had been a proud symbol of African independence and black achievement amidst the era of colonialism.
  2. The crisis caused political awareness and deepened the cause of African nationalists to struggle for independence. Africans came to know that the whites were determined to completely conquer the African continent mercilessly and therefore Africans had a cause to de-campaign colonial rule in Africa.
  3. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia exposed the Whiteman's conspiracy. Africans became unhappy with the British and the French who reluctantly failed to prevent Italy from attacking Ethiopia. Consequently, African resistance increased in British and French colonies in Africa through applied boycotts and demonstrations.

4. Consequently, the Ethiopian reaction to Italian rule became a lesson to the rest of African states under white domination. The Ethiopian resistance to Italian land grabbing, forced labour arbitrary arrests and poor taxation inspired the activities of Africans elsewhere against white orders. The methods used by Ethiopians against the Italians, which included violent attacks on Italalian settlers and their installations were witnessed in Kenya, Angola, Algeria and British Central Africa where white property and investments became increasingly the targets of African patriots in the struggle for self-rule.
5. The invasion, had profound revolutionary impact on African nationalists' Nkrumah of the Gold Coast on reading a heading on a newspaper stand proclaiming a report "**Mussolini invades Ethiopia**" he lamented "**That moment, it was as if the whole of London had declared war on me...my nationalism surged to the fore.**" Jomo Kenyatta on the other hand vowed never to cut off the beard until Ethiopia was free again. All these were expressions of attachment towards Africa and hatred against foreign domination.
6. The crisis sparked off hostile press attacks against colonial rule mostly in West Africa. Wallace. Johnson of Sierra Leone and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria produced a dynamic and explosive article in the press "**Has Africa a God?**" The two were questioning the wisdom of spreading Christianity by use of poisonous gas. Jomo Kenyatta wrote an article "**Hands off Abyssinia**" These articles inspired Africans elsewhere in Africa to agitate for the liberation of Africa.
7. The war militarised African nationalism. It changed the minds of Africans who had opted for peaceful means of transfer of power from colonial rule. The Africans began adopting a similar military approach, as the "**Black Lions**" which they thought was the only language the colonial roasters would understand. Case studies are the mau mau uprising in Kenya (1952-55) and the FLN war in Algeria (1954-62).
8. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis was one of the major events that led to the seating of the Manchester conference in 1945. The fifth Pan African conference at Manchester recognised the means employed by Ethiopians against Italy and demanded for the return of Africans from abroad to lead independence struggles in their respective countries.
9. The crisis provided a platform for Africans to air out their grievances against the evils of colonialism. Emperor Selassie at the League general assembly stated that the Ethiopian resistance to Italian rule was a case of defending the cause of all people that were threatened with foreign domination. This publicised the crisis for the sake of Africans and attracted international sympathy to the African cause for independence.
10. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia led to the rise of the Rastafarian sect, a black cultural nationalist movement in Jamaica. The movement rejected Christianity of the white race;

had the vision for worldwide Black liberation and regarded Ethiopia as the last cathedral of African collective security and the last piece of land left for Africans. The movement looked urgently for a radical cure of the sickness of colonialism in Africa. The Rastafarian movement therefore militarised the Pan African movement in its attempt to seek African freedom and independence.

11. The war marked the collapse of the League of Nations and dealt a final nail in the coffin of international collective security, paving way for the formation of the United Nations Organisation later in 1945. The UNO adopted a charter that emphasised equality of all nations and the sovereign rights to independence of states under oppression and domination.
12. Consequently, the Italo-Ethiopian war influenced the outbreak of World War II (1939-45) which had an impact of African Nationalism. Having seen Italy successfully occupying Ethiopia, Hitler led Germany to invade Poland in 1939, which was a sparkling factor in the outbreak of World War II. World War II produced African ex-servicemen who used the military skills acquired from the war to fight against colonialism.
13. The crisis influenced black protests in America. About 20000 blacks and coloured Americans took to the streets in Cities like New York to demonstrate against the Italian rape of Ethiopia and show their support and sympathy to all African states that were under Europeans domination.
14. The Italian invasion of the Ethiopian monarchy influenced the activities of the West African Students Union (WASU) in London. Members of WASU organised an Ethiopian committee consisting of J.B. Danquah, Asomali, Jomo Kenyatta, and five members from West Indies. The African members later became leaders of the independence movements in their respective countries.

#### **THE CAREER OF HAILE SELASSIE (1930 - 1974)**

His Imperial majesty Emperor Haile Selassie, the lion of Judah was born on July 23, 1892 to Ras Makonnen, a cousin brother to Emperor Menelik II. He was born in the province of Harar and was the 225th active successor of the Solomonic dynasty of the descendants of King Solomon and Queen Makeda (Queen of Shebah). He went to school at an early age of five years and by 1899, he had started learning French and English.

Haile Selassie was a man of remarkable mental abilities and exceptional talent. This brought him to a stately appoint at an early age of fourteen years as governor of arete in Harar province where he was born. At the age of 24, he became the regent of the realm (empire) became Ra; Tafari. He also became the crown prince or the next Negus Negast or "**King of Kings**" after while Empress Zewditu (Zauditu), the daughter of Menelik II.

His real names are however Ras Tafari Djiizmatch Makonnen. He was crowned emperor on November 2, 1930 with the most pompous style and gained the title of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie, meaning the "**Power of the Trinity.**" Other titles adopted by Emperor Selassie included "**King of Kings**" and, "**The conquering Lion of Judah.**"

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE**

Emperor Selassie was deposed from his throne in 1936 when Ethiopia succumbed to Italian defeat. However, in 1941 a combined force of Indians, Ethiopians and British forces of the King; African Rifle (KAR) that Ethiopians defeated the Italian imperial administration. This enabled Haile Selassie to regain his throne. He was bestowed the title of "The Lion of the tribe of Judah" upon his return to Ethiopia. Emperor Haile Selassie scored a number of achievements during his reign; hence, the Ethiopians referred to him as a man and a modernizer. His achievements included the following:

### **Reference questions:**

- a) Assess the achievements of Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia**
  - b) How successful was Emperor Haile Selassie's reign between 1941 and 1974?**
  - c) Examine the changes introduced by Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia from 1941**
1. Immediately after his coronation, Emperor Selassie introduced a constitutional decree that transformed Ethiopia into a constitutional monarchy. The decree became the country's first written constitution in more than 2000 years. The constitution combined both the country's customs and the cultures of the modern civilised and educated nations. The principal aim of the constitution was to bring together the people of Ethiopia as one family, united and controlled by one law, and governed by one Emperor. Haile Selassie was also hopeful the new constitution would create a long period of peace and prosperity in his empire after a series of wars and raids among different tribes.
  2. In 1955, the emperor revised the constitution that created a national assembly comprising two sections, the upper and lower chambers. The upper chamber comprised mainly members of the Royal Imperial Family and close associates of the Emperor Selassie; while the lower chamber came to be known as the people's parliament. The revised constitution recognised voting rights of the Ethiopian people, which enabled them to vote for deputies (representatives) of the lower chamber through the secret ballot. This modern move towards political empowerment of the grassroots masses was an expression of greater democracy.
  3. Emperor Selassie successfully established national unity in Ethiopia. Having a United Ethiopian Kingdom was Selassie's first major achievement as he believed that the power of unity would be protected by interests which bind Ethiopians permanently together. He was therefore able to do what other Great Ethiopian Emperors like Menelik II, Tewodros and Yohannes IV, only dreamt about, "**A unified Ethiopia.**" The struggle to create a unified modern state was begun by Emperor Menelik II. Though Emperor Menelik did not live long enough to see his efforts bear fruits, Haile Selassie recognised him by unveiling his statue during his coronation (crowning) ceremonies.
  4. He made a great contribution to his country by ensuring the total abolition of slavery and feudalism in the Ethiopian empire. Slavery and Feudalism had been strong age-old economic institutions encouraged by the previous emperors. Among the wars he fought in Ethiopia in his early years as a regent and later as Emperor were mostly against the Ethiopian provincial governors who opposed the Emperor's move to provide rights and freedoms to the poor communities in Ethiopia that were victims of oppression due to slavery and feudalism. He also established a department and a school for freed slaves to rehabilitate them from the inferiority complex of enslavement.

5. Haile Selassie made efforts to modernise the education system of Ethiopia. He established schools and colleges in Addis Ababa and other provincial cities of the empire. He sent Ethiopian students to universities in England, Egypt, France, and Syria. This was aimed at ensuring modern planning of education in the country. Emperor Selassie also upgraded "**Tafari Makonnen Secondary School**" that he founded in 1925, into a modern education facility. He recruited French and English teachers as instructors in the school.
6. Consequently, the ambition for higher education enabled the emperor to establish Haile Selassie I University. He even allowed a section of his palace in Addis Ababa to accommodate some of the important departments of the university. Foreign professors and expatriates were recruited from France, Belgium, Britain and Sweden to uplift the standards of university education in the country. This was a sign enough to show that Emperor Selassie was not a conservative monarchical leader.
7. Emperor Selassie modernised the health sector of the Ethiopian monarchy. He upgraded the Bet Sayda, Hospital he founded earlier in 1924 into a modern healthy facility. The Emperor set up more hospitals in Addis Ababa and in other provincial cities of the empire. He trained Ethiopian technocrats (experts) in the field of modern medicine, which was a quick radical move in the field of health. All this was due to his desire for improved health services for his people.
8. Emperor Haile Selassie modernised the Ethiopian military. The process of modernising the army began in 1932, immediately after the defeat of the Gojjam rebellion. The modernisation of the army went on as fast as the Ethiopian finances allowed. Selassie recruited military experts from Russia, Belgium and Sweden to train Ethiopian army officers in modern warfare technology. The French and Germans were employed to develop the Ethiopian air force. Emperor Haile Selassie sent military cadres to military schools in Egypt, France and England. The Emperor also introduced modern military schools to train Ethiopian military generals in modern military intelligence.
9. The emperor was credited for having a liberal attitude towards religion. He had a belief that religion was a personal matter that belonged to all peoples of Ethiopia. To demonstrate this, Emperor Selassie made imperial dominations to the Church and the Mosque alike. During his regime, he supported the Ethiopian Church to become completely independent from the control of the Alexandrian Patriarch Church.
10. Emperor Haile Selassie had great love for art. He devoted most of his money and time on cultural development especially in Amhara. He tried to support the establishment of cultural centers in Addis Ababa and other provinces. Selassie was extremely fond of classical music and readings in the field of philosophy, history and region; little wonder that he supported the integration of history, religion and MDD in the education curriculum of Ethiopia.

11. Selassie also emerged as a modernizer in the printing field. He made efforts to transform the Berhanenna Salam, or "**Light and Peace**," Printing Press into a modern printing press. He founded Press in 1923 during his days as a regent to Empress Zawditu. The press printed an Amharic newspaper with the title of "**Berhanenna Salam**." The newspaper published articles popularising the cause of reforming and modernising Ethiopia. A steady flow of literature, religious, and educational books in Amharic were published.
12. The emperor introduced modern political structures in Ethiopia where modern and important ministries like finance, internal and foreign affairs, health and communication were established. A council of ministers was also set up to strengthen administration of the empire. Haile Selassie put up a formidable civil service in Ethiopia. All these political developments elevated him to the position of a moderniser.
13. Haile Selassie introduced a school of aeration (piloting) where Ethiopia trained her own pilots, aircraft engineers and operators. By 1971, of all commercial airlines on the African continent, the Ethiopia airline was fully officered and ran by Africans.
14. The emperor introduced a five-year development plan in which he involved foreign technocrats to assist Ethiopia in her development programs. These technocrats (experts) from European countries like France, Sweden, Belgium, and Britain, as well as from the USA were an example of a cardinal (very important) relationship, the emperor had with Europe. Therefore, the ancient empire of Ethiopia shifted to modernity and overall progress.
15. He had a keen interest in all kinds of sports although with a personal bias in tennis, horseback riding and hunting. He facilitated sports such that during his regime, Ethiopia produced outstanding sportsmen and women including the legendary Abebe a successful long distance runner.
16. Haile Selassie is remembered for his attitude and care for the unfortunate and unprivileged. Hardly a day could pass without him visiting hospitals, orphanages and institutions of the disabled. He put some of his earnings in the disposal fund, which was charged with planning and administering institutions of the poor and the sick.
17. Emperor Haile Selassie had love for nature. Despite of his aging life, the Emperor found time to rest with his petties that included Horses, dogs and birds. He kept about thirteen lions in his Addis Ababa palace, together with many horses and parrots. This was an indication of modern care for nature during his private life.
18. During his regime, the emperor succeeded in securing and maintaining the Ethiopian seat in the League of Nations. Selassie had registered Ethiopia as a member of the league in

1924, during his reign as a regent to the Ethiopian throne. This enabled Ethiopia to interact with major European powers like France and Britain at the same level. It enabled Ethiopia to participate in influential decisions at the international level. Being part of the League of Nations also proved that Selassie had great desire for promote Ethiopian foreign affairs (relations). The League provided him with a valuable platform in his efforts to defend his country against the fascist-Italian attack which greatly threatened Ethiopian independence.

19. As a sign of concern to humanity, the leader of Ethiopia supported the opening up of the Ethiopian branch of the Red Cross. The emperor was impressed by the support given by the Red Cross to the victims of the Italian aggression and occupation of Ethiopia between 1935 and 1941. He therefore gave the body permanent premises in Ethiopia to continue with their humanitarian work towards Ethiopian people.
20. His international popularity led to the invitation of Ethiopia as one of the founder members of the United Nations organization in 1945. This made the Ethiopian empire not only popular but also a major contributor to international peace and security. Hence because of Emperor Haile Selassie, his country became part of the determining powers of modern world affairs.
21. Haile Selassie promoted Pan Africanism, through emphasising continental unity in Africa. His constructive influence was seen when he worked with Nkrumah of Ghana and Nasser of Egypt to reconcile the Casablanca and Monrovia groupings, leading to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The OAU Charter was signed in Addis Ababa on May 25, 1963 under the chair of Haile Selassie. This was a major step towards bringing together different peoples of Africa.
22. Consequently, Emperor Haile Selassie proudly sheltered the permanent headquarters of the OAU in Addis Ababa. This was a memorable symbol of the modern concept of Pan Africanism that called for unity on the African continent. This move by the emperor made Ethiopia become the center of African politics, replacing Accra of Ghana and Cairo of Egypt.
23. As a modern nationalist, Emperor Selassie stood firm behind the cause for complete freedom on the African continent. He worked closely with other African statesmen to ensure total decolonisation of the African continent from European dominance. He sharply criticised the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Zimbabwe and condemned the British government for failing to interfere and stop the Rhodesian rebellion that denied Africans freedom in their land.
24. Haile Selassie strongly supported peaceful settlement of interstate conflicts in Africa. He advocated for peace talks and initiated several peace missions to settle disputes on the continent. He used his good office to mediate in the Sudan civil war leading to the Addis Ababa Peace

Treaty signed in 1972 between the Sudanese government and the Anyanya Movement. The Emperor also mediated in the border dispute between Sudan and Egypt, among others.

### **Weakness of Emperor Haile Selassie**

1. Much as Haile Selassie was regarded a modernizer, he did not live up to the expectations of some Ethiopians many things went wrong and many factors failed him during his nation building for instance,
2. The 1955-revised constitution did not fully democratise Ethiopia. The constitution gave the emperor absolute powers which turned him into a despot (dictator). Even when the parliament existed, its pressure was unnoticed. The emperor never allowed political pluralism as it would subject him to criticism.
3. Because the emperor came from the Amhara tribe, the tribe dominated all the affairs of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian masses were expected to speak Amharic as a national language during Haile Selassie's reign. Such exhibition of tribalism was also experienced in the political offices where nepotism became a formula for stately appointments. Many Amharas maintained sensitive positions in the Emperor's government.
4. The emperor made Orthodox Christianity a state religion. Much of his religious attributes were directed to the Orthodox Church. This annoyed the Muslim community especially in the Eritrean province. The Muslims rallied behind revolutionists to bring about a fundamental change in Ethiopia by 1974.
5. During the era of Emperor Selassie, Ethiopia remained backward. The industrial sector was diminishing. A lot of unemployment existed and Ethiopians experienced poor standards of living. This was partially due to the foreign domination in the economic activities. By the time of his overthrow, the major means of transport in Ethiopia was by horses.
6. Consequently, the emperor employed foreigners as his government advisers. He appointed a Swiss for legal issues, an English adviser for internal affairs and a Swede for foreign affairs. He also, had an American who gave him financial advice. This was in no doubt promotion of neo-colonialism.
7. The emperor put his effort to improve infrastructure on a hard rock. This was because the roads and railway lines remained inadequate while a few that were existing had broken down. Many areas in the countryside as well as some towns remained remote, not connected or inaccessible. This was one reason why Ethiopia remained economically backward.
8. There was gross violation of human rights during Emperor Selassie's reign. The Ethiopians were deprived of freedom of worship, of speech, freedom of Assembly and of Association.

This meant that the period Ethiopia was under Haile Selassie was dominated by undemocratic policies and political anarchy.

9. The Emperor failed to reform the land tenure system. The land problem remained constant and affected many of the Ethiopian peasants. The mostly affected people were residents of Southern Ethiopia who were landless and stayed under cruel landowners that charged them heavy land dues. Therefore, Ethiopia suffered from feudalism and serfdom during Selassie's reign.
10. Between 1972 and 1974, drought and famine befell Ethiopia and affected many of Ethiopian masses. Among the victims of these catastrophes were the Tigre, Oromo, Somali and the Eritrean community. The government of Emperor Selassie however did little to rescue the situation. Close to 200,000 masses lost their lives. This was one of the unrealistic treatments by Haile Selassie's government that led to its overthrow.
11. Political instabilities in Ethiopia at the time were attributed to Haile Selassie's government. The emperor refused to recognise the internal self-government of Eritrea and the Ogaden claim by Somali residents. These continuously involved the Ethiopian community in war with Eritrea and the Somalia respectively. Many Ethiopians suffered due to these instabilities, which led to unpopularity of the Emperor.
12. The Emperor was reluctant to improve on the conditions of the army. The soldiers were subjected to poor payments, poor living conditions, and nepotism during the process of promotion. Raised grievances in the army, which prompted young army generals like Haile Mengistu to plot a coup in 1974.
13. The Ethiopian society by 1970 was facing an economic crisis characterised by unemployment, scarcity of essentials commodities, economic stagnation and acute inflation. This left many Ethiopian starving; the workers received low payments while the fresh graduates could hardly be posted. This prompted many Ethiopians especially youths to go on strike, hence exposing the weakness of the emperor as he was ageing.
14. Emperor Selassie failed to curb down the high levels of illiteracy. By the time he was overthrown the illiteracy rate was 90-95%, the highest in Africa. Many of the illiterates were unemployed. This increased the unpopularity of the emperor.
15. Biting poverty claimed majority of the Ethiopian population. Many of them could not afford to educate their children, cloth them or shelter them. It was hard for an Ethiopian during Haile Selassie's regime to meet the daily necessities of life, therefore, leading to poor standards of living.

16. There was too much labour exploitation in Ethiopia during the regime of Haile Selassie. The working conditions were very poor in the country characterised by little pay because the government of Selassie had not regulated a just wage. The workers were also exploited through heavy taxation.
  
17. Corruption and economic mismanagement ruined the government of Emperor Haile Selassie. Many of his government officials squandered public resources to satisfy their selfish interests. They had little concern to the problems of the masses. The emperor did not attempt to convict the corrupt government officials, which called for military intervention.

### **THE DOWNFALL OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE**

In 1974, the Ethiopian monarchy was ousted (overthrown) by a group of young army officers. Earlier on in 1960, Ethiopia experienced an aborted coup for which one of the coup organisers was Haile Selassie's son. The 1960 coup was unsuccessful due to the high military intelligence of the emperor.

By December 1973, the situation in Ethiopia was appalling. Many of the masses were suffering from drought and famine. Catastrophes were worsening. The ageing emperor (at 81 years) was advised to step down but he refused. In February 1974, a group of uncompromised young army officers led by Mengistu Haile Mariam staged up an army uprising (mutiny) where they took over the army leadership. The junior officers established a provisional military advisory council (Dergue) to assist the ageing emperor in managing the country's affairs.

The Dergue gradually weakened the powers of the emperor and by September 1974, Haile Selassie was insignificant in governing Ethiopia. Consequently, members of the Dergue who included Haile Mengistu Mariam, Atnafu Abate and Aman Andom staged a coup on September 12, 1974 that finally led to the downfall of Haile Selassie's regime.

Upon his overthrow, the Emperor was taken from his palace in Addis Ababa and detained in an exclusive prison where he was tortured and mistreated. He died a year later under mysterious circumstances.

### **CAUSES OF THE 1974 ETHIOPIAN COUP (REVOLUTION)**

#### **Reference questions**

- a) Account for the downfall of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974
- b) Discuss the factors which led to the collapse of the Ethiopian monarchy in 1974
- c) To what extent did Emperor Haile Selassie contribute to his own downfall?
- d) Examine the factors for the rise to power of the Dergue military junta
- e) Account for the rise to power of Mengistu Haile Mariam

1. The drought and famine catastrophes worsened the situation in Ethiopia resulting to the downfall of Haile Selassie. Famine broke out in 1972 after a long drought, which had started earlier in 1971. Due to increased starvation, close to 200000 peasants perished especially the Galla, Shoa, Wollo, Somalia and the Eritreans. Later floods invaded Southern Ethiopia and swept away people's houses, gardens and property. The worst part was that, the government of Selassie showed a negative response, which discredited the emperor.
  
2. Increased grievances in the army resulting from the appalling conditions made the 1974 coup inevitable. The officials in the army experienced meagre payments, poor living

conditions in terms of housing and sanitary, and discrimination during the process of promotion. All the grievances influenced the young army generals to turn the tables against the emperor's government.

3. The dictatorship of Emperor Selassie caused his downfall. The despotism of Selassie was increased after the 1955-revised constitution which gave the imperial house absolute powers. The emperor henceforth turned into a dictator. The parliament was dominated and its existence was never recognized. Democracy was abolished and the emperor could not allow political pluralism as this would subject bring him to too much criticism.
4. Because he was coming from the Amharic tribe, the emperor led the small tribe to dominate the socio-economic and political affairs of Ethiopia. Most of the lucrative and influential posts in government were given to people of Amharic origin and members of the royal family. This form of nepotism and tribalism forced the unprivileged clans and tribes to yearn for change.
5. Consequently, there was increased domination of Amharic cultures which forced other groups oppose the emperor's government. The non-Amharic were expected to speak Amharic language & national language during Selassie's regime. Other Amharic cultures were also forced unto the other groups such that the Oromo, Sidona and the Eritrean society supported the overthrow the government of Emperor Haile Selassie.
6. He made Christianity a state religion with the Orthodox Church dominating Ethiopia which caused the 1974 coup. Much of the religious attributes were directed towards the Orthodox Church. This annoyed the few Moslems in Ethiopia especially in the Eritrean province. Some of them rallied behind the revolutionaries to bring about a fundamental change.
7. The economic backwardness of Ethiopia made the downfall of Haile Selassie inevitable. By 1974, Ethiopia was one of the most primitive countries in Africa. The infrastructure was inadequate and the few available roads and railways had started collapsing. Industrialisation was very low; agriculture was declining with presence of poor communication systems. During the time of Emperor Selassie, the major means of transport was by horses.
8. Consequently, the economic problems in Ethiopia affected the popularity of Emperor Selassie. There was gross unemployment perhaps due to low levels of industrialization and the collapsing agricultural sector. The masses experienced scarcity of essential commodities and acute inflation. All these increased the suffering of masses and worsened the standards of living.

9. Emperor Selassie adopted a poor foreign policy that led to his downfall. He created an unfavourable relationship with USA, which led to economic exploitation of Ethiopia. Ethiopia was one of the leading coffee producers in Africa but all her coffee went to USA in exchange for American industrial products. Consequently, the US government determined the price of Ethiopian coffee. Such terms of trade made Ethiopia completely dependent on America. The young Marxist army officers rejected such policy and hence staged up a coup in 1974.
10. Consequently, Emperor Haile Selassie employed foreigners as his government advisors, which cost the popularity of his government. He appointed a Swiss as a legal advisor and English for internal affairs, an American for financial advice among others. Together with the continued relationship with Zionist Israel, the emperor was regarded by the Ethiopian masses as an agent of neo-colonialism and Zionism.
11. The increased political instabilities in Ethiopia caused the downfall of the Ethiopian monarchy. The emperor's government failed to solve the armed conflict in the Ogaden province. Consequently, the persistent Eritrean crisis since 1961 strained the Ethiopian army that was already concerned with poor welfare. This called for military intervention from the young Marxist officers.
12. The increased violation of human rights by Haile Selassie's government led to the collapse of the Ethiopian monarchy. The people were deprived of freedom of worship, freedom of association and of assembly. This meant that Ethiopians during the time of Haile Selassie were suffering like the rest of the Africans during colonialism. The emperor had put Ethiopia in the state of confusion and anarchy.
13. Failure by the emperor to reform the land tenure system made his downfall inevitable. The Ethiopian masses especially of the southern region either had no land or they were under the control of landlords who charged them high land dues. The poor land policy in Ethiopia was also perpetuated by feudalism and serfdom. All these increased the unpopularity of the ageing emperor among the peasants.
14. The high rate of illiteracy caused the downfall of Emperor Haile Selassie. Ethiopia at the time experienced the highest rate of illiteracy on the continent of about 90-95 per cent of her total population. The few educated were concentrated in urban areas especially Addis Ababa. This left the villages with almost no one to introduce any changes. The high illiteracy was one of the explanations of the unemployment levels in the country.
15. Consequently, the emergence of the elite class in Ethiopia led to the over throw of Haile Selassie's Government. By 1955, the number of western educated people was steadily increasing in the country. The elites were characterised by impatience, and the desire for radical changes. The elite class was greatly opposed to Haile Selassie's low pace of change, and this led to the 1974 revolution.

16. Corruption and economic mismanagement that characterised the government of Haile Selassie made his downfall inevitable. The government officials and the royal family embarked on exploiting and wasting Ethiopian resources for self-satisfaction. Haile Selassie ensured that a lot of resources were channeled for imperial functions. The emperor's tendency of banking a lot of money in foreign financial institutions like the Swiss bank in Geneva made the emperor unpopular, causing the 1974 revolution.
17. Poverty that claimed majority of the Ethiopian population led to military intervention through a coup. The Ethiopian peasants could hardly educate their children, feed them or cloth them. This was worsened by the poor working conditions in the country that were also experienced in the army. The failure by the government to address the economic problems of the peasants led to the downfall of the Ethiopian monarchy.
18. The overthrow of Haile Selassie was also a result of ambitious interests of young socialist officers, Atnafu, Mengistu and Andom. These military wanted to test power, reform the military and establish a socialist state in Ethiopia. They detested a conservative and mean Haile Selassie who despite his ageing life had refused, to step down. They formed the provincial military advisory council (Dergue) in February 1974, which later took over power from Selassie in September 1974.
19. The influence of the earlier successful coups in Africa led to the downfall of Emperor Selassie. The overthrow of Haile Selassie was therefore, a demonstration effect. The coups that had an impact on Ethiopia included the 1965 coups in Algeria led by Boumedienne against Ben Bella, and Congo led by Mobutu against Kasavubu, the 1966 coups in Nigeria e.g. the January coup of Igbo officers led by Nzeogwu against Tafawa Balewa and Ghana led by Kotoka against Nkrumah, the 1971 coup in Uganda led by Amin against Obote and the Ghanaian coup of 1972 led by Acheampong against Kofi Busia.

### **THE AFTERMATH OF HAILE SELASSIE'S DOWNFALL**

The 1974 coup in Ethiopia that led to the overthrow of Haile Selassie was followed by a revolution. The Dergue immediately established a military government after the 44 years of Selassie's rule. The Dergue was however marred with power struggles which saw the earlier Dergue leaders like Bante and Atnafu being assassinated. Consequently, the over ambitious Mengistu Mariam also selectively eliminated Andom a strong rival to the Dergue leadership. This left Mengistu Mariam with no serious competitor and therefore, he became the undisputed chairperson of the Dergue in 1977.

### **EFFECTS OF THE 1974 REVOLUTION**

#### **Reference questions**

- a) Examine the impact of the downfall of Emperor Selassie
  - b) Explain the effects of the 1974 revolutionary coup in Ethiopia
  - c) Assess the achievements of the Dergue between 1974 and 1991
  - d) To what extent did Mengistu Haile Mariam achieve in Ethiopia from 1977 to 1991
1. The revolution led to the downfall of Haile Selassie and the abrupt end of the Solomonic

dynasty. This also brought to an end aristocratic monarchism under the Amhara. Ethiopia received a military regime known as the Dergue (the Provisional Military Advisory Council), which attempted to address the problems of Ethiopia.

2. The new military regime under Haile Mengistu adapted socialist policies aimed at improving the economic and social conditions in Ethiopia. All sectors were nationalized by the government and put under state control. The government then embarked on state planning which gave her the mandate to take full control of the economy for the benefit of masses.
3. The land tenure system was reformed. The Dergue promoted a land program that benefited many households. This was important in the southern part of the country where close to 700000 peasant households benefited from this government gesture. In March 1977, a land reform decree was passed where all agricultural land was nationalized without compensation and then redistributed to the peasants.
4. Mengistu and the Dergue emphasised infrastructure development. The policy included improving on the building structures, roads and bridges, as well as extending roads and railways lines. This improved on the Ethiopian transport and communication systems, encouraged agriculture and redeemed the country of backwardness.
5. There was improvement in the provision of social services for instance medical services were improved and extended to the rural areas free of charge. The peasants were able to receive adequate medication. The government of Mengistu established more hospitals and health centers in every province as a way of improving on the health conditions for the people.
6. Illiteracy campaigns were carried-out following the downfall of Haile Selassie. The campaigns were organised through local associations at the grassroots although this was still done in Amharic. Illiteracy rates were consequently reduced from about 95% to 50%.
7. The military regime initiated the establishment of workers committees and organizations purposely to improve on the conditions of the workers. This also led to the creation of trade – unions. As a result, plans to regulate a minimum and just wage for workers were adopted by the government. The socialist policy adopted by Mengistu reduced labour exploitation.
8. The military government led by Mengistu adopted a housing policy aimed at finding solution to the poor housing facilities of the poor peasants. In 1975, all urban houses were nationalized and rent was to be collected by public authority established by government on one's earnings. Urban dwellers were also restricted to owning one house.
9. Mengistu and the Dergue introduced a progressive taxation system aimed at improving on the fiscal policy in Ethiopia. Poll tax was reduced in favour of low income earners with a 'new tax pay as you earn' introduced. The new fiscal policy was aimed at reducing the gap between the rich and the poor.
10. Ethnicism (tribalism) that was common in the old regime was weakened. The Dergue emphasized equality of all nationals and cultures of Ethiopia. Official recognition to publication in all was promoted. This helped in ensuring unity in the country.
11. The government of Mengistu recognized the rights of Eritreans. The Eritreans were allowed to practice Islam, abandon Amharic and English for their local languages and above all, Mengistu recognized the internal self-government of Eritrea. This brought hope to the Coastal Red Sea province and contributed to a cease-fire for some time.

12. There was improvement in Agriculture and this led to increased agricultural production. An increase in coffee exportation was realised, leading to increased national earnings. Growing of tea. Tobacco and nuts was also encouraged to diversify the agricultural sector. State farms were set up to provide more employment to the peasants. All these were attained despite the severe drought that persisted until 1978.
13. The government of Mengistu embarked on mass industrialisation. Many industries were set to increase on industrial output and reduce on consumption of foreign goods. Industrialisation also improved on the welfare of people through employment. By the end of 1976, the ministry of industry controlled the greatest part of manufacturing industries in Ethiopia.
14. Mengistu promoted tourism during his reign. The tourist industry boomed due to cultural pieties of Ethiopia, the scenic beauty, historical sights and the rich history of the country. Many foreign tourists were attracted, which led to an increase in government revenues.
15. Unlike the government of Haile Selassie, the Dergue extended humanitarian aid to the unprivileged and the poor. The government of Mengistu allowed foreign investors and humanitarian workers to operate in the country and assist government to aid the Ethiopian refugees in the famine-ravaged areas. This was a sign of care by the government for the disadvantaged as Mengistu used the revenues collected from tourism to cater for their welfare.
16. The Dergue under Mengistu promoted a resettlement (repatriation) program in the areas struck by famine and drought, and later floods. In 1976, the program ensured repatriation of about 660000 people from the areas affected by drought, to areas with fertile soils in the north and the east.

### **WEAKNESSES (SHORTCOMINGS) OF MENGISTU AND THE DERGUE**

Much as the political, social and economic policies of the Dergue reformed Ethiopia, the regime under Mengistu faced several problems. Mengistu failed to solve many of the problems hence, the Dergue could not keep standing. In 1991, after a long period of fighting, Meles Zenawi and the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front with assistance from the Eritrean popular Liberation Front of Isayas Afewerki, captured power and caused the collapse of the Dergue. The weakness of the military government under Mengistu Mariam included the following:

#### **Reference**

- a) Account for the collapse of the Dergue by 1991
- b) 'Mengistu Haile Mariam was primarily responsible for his own downfall' Discuss
  1. At the beginning, the Dergue was faced with ethnic conflicts. Ethnic groups like the Oromo and Sidona wanted to dominate the Ethiopian affairs at the expense of other groups. This caused civil unrest in the country. The government of Mengistu had initially failed to contain the situation leading to increased suspicion and mistrust in the Ethiopian society.
  2. Consequently, the Dergue was faced with hostilities from the former ruling class and sympathizers of Haile Selassie. They later formed the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) and cooperated with the anti-Marxist Sudanese government of General Nimieri. Mengistu's government almost failed to silence the EDU who later joined the rebel forces against his government.
  3. The government of Mengistu was faced with constant Eritrean secessionist rebellion at the same time, Mengistu's regime was engaged in a full-scale war with Somalia over the Ogaden territory until 1978. These military confrontations strained the Dergue government

and the Ethiopian economy at large.

4. Internally, there were increased political instabilities in Ethiopia that the government of Mengistu failed to contain. The Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in the north joined hands with other minor ethnic groups to form a military alliance in the name of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front under Meles Zenawi. Consequently, this military alliance caused the downfall of Mengistu and the Dergue.
5. The land policy that was reformed by Mengistu did not benefit all Ethiopians. While only 700000 households were beneficiaries, majority of the Ethiopians especially in the south were not rescued from the customary form of land ownership that affected them severely. They were subjected to feudalism and serfdom. The inconsistent land policy of the Dergue therefore reduced the popularity of the Dergue especially in the southern region.
6. The nationalisation policy on land led to famine. The policy caused decline in agricultural production leading to severe food shortage. Following the nationalisation, the government put much emphasis on state farms that promoted large capital-intensive farming with interest in cash crops as the peasant sector was ignored. Ethiopians embarked on coffee and cotton production at the expense of food crops, which led to starvation.
7. There were rebellions organized by elites who were not impressed by the socialist policies of Mengistu's government. Due to this opposition, the government transferred students, teachers and other educated groups to rural areas under the guise of carrying out literacy campaigns, however, instead of silencing them, the educated masses began politicising the peasants with an aim of preparing ground for their recruitment against Mengistu's government.
8. Mengistu failed to contain internal divisions within the Dergue. There were ideological conflicts between members who sympathised with socialism and those against the policy. Power struggles continued eating up the Dergue, which forced Mengistu to arrest and kill his rivals in the Dergue: the Dergue members selectively eliminated were, Bante, Atnafu Abate and Amon Andomn.
9. Consequently, Mengistu Haile Mariam became a military dictator who replaced the aristocratic dictatorship of Selassie. He abolished the parliament even when it was non-functional and also banned the activities of opposition politicians. Mengistu ruled Ethiopia through decrees. The despotic policies of the Dergue prepared grounds for the downfall of Mengistu.
10. Nationalisation of land led to displacement of people. The displacement grossly affected the poor Ethiopian peasants in the south. In the process, families split which also lowered agricultural production by about 30%. In the due course, many people died due to lack of scurvy and proteins.
11. Generally, the famine catastrophe continued: even when the Dergue tried to give humanitarian assistance to the affected masses, starvation and suffering continued up to 1978. The humanitarian assistance was not enough to satisfy the expectations of the masses, and this tested the popularity of Mengistu.
12. The revolutionary government of Mengistu failed in her efforts to improve on the labour conditions. The minimum wage remained on paper while job registration was not implemented to ensure job security. The high levels of inflation froze the workers' wages, strikes were banned and trade union leaders were imprisoned. The military government was hence discredited.

13. Poverty was not wiped out of Ethiopia. Many of the masses remained unemployed, suffered from economic constraints and survived on government handouts. By the time of the overthrow of Mengistu and Dergue, the economic situation in Ethiopia was appalling.
14. Mengistu embarked on intensive militarisation at the expense of other government departments. Mega military deals with the Soviet Union and Cuba made Mengistu to spend a lot of Ethiopian resources on communist artillery while other sectors of the Ethiopian society were under funded.
15. With the above weaknesses that characterised the regime of Mengistu and the junta (military regime), the Dergue could not continue in power. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front Meles Zenawi opened up a guerrilla war against Mengistu, which later led to the downfall of the Dergue in 1991. A transitional government was put in place led by Meles Zenawi.
16. After making a new constitution, Ethiopia returned to civilian rule elections were held and meles zenawi overwhelmingly emerged as the winner. He became the first executive prime minister of Ethiopia in 1995, a position he until his death.

### **EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION (1952-70)**

Egypt was part of the ancient Ottoman (Turkish) Empire; however, by 1882 the British had occupied Egypt. The British conquest of Egypt was aimed at controlling and securing the Suez Canal, in order to collect funds and pay the European financiers of the Suez project. Egypt became officially a British protectorate during World War I.

In 1922, the British granted Egypt a Pseudo (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 in 1936 ensured the continuity of the status quo of British influence in the Egyptian monarchical affairs).

The leadership of King Farouk was characterised by corruption and economic and social hardships with a remarkable gap between the rich and the poor. During World War II, King Farouk allowed the Germans (of Axis powers) to establish their military camp of the (Afrika corps) in the Northern port-city of Alexandria, at a time when the British (of Allied powers) were operating a military base for their eighth battalion in the Canal Zone. This was one of the reasons that prompted the formation of the Free Officers Movement (or Society of Free Officers) under the architecture of a young military officer, Abdel Gamal Nasser and Anwar Sadat. Sadat joined the German Afrika Corps but was captured by the British.

Gamal Abdel Nasser had the ambition to overthrow the monarchical system and establish an Arab Republic without influence of the British. The free army officers' became stronger and committed after the defeat of a collective Arab resistance against the newly created Israeli Nation in the Palestinian crisis of 1948-49. The surviving free army officers of the Palestinian war blamed King Farouk for supplying them with inadequate essentials and inferior arms.

The free army officers upon' return from Palestine 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 organize a coup de'tat. The free army officers set 1954 as the year for the coup but the local intelligence network of king Farouk acquired information on a planned military coup by a section of the army and arranged to arrest the coup plotters. 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 feeble (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.

**The causes of the Egyptian revolutionary coup were political, social and economic and included the following.**

**Reference Questions'**

- a) Account for the downfall of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952
- b) "The 1952 Egyptian coup was inevitable." Discuss
- c) To what extent did King Farouk contribute to the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy?
- d) How far were the weaknesses of the Egyptian monarchy responsible for the 1952 coup?
- e) Assess the role of the society of free officers in the 1952 Egyptian coup
- f) Examine the contribution of Gamal Nasser to the outbreak of the Egyptian revolution
- g) "Political factors were responsible for the downfall of King Farouk." Discuss
- h) "The British colonial legacy was primarily responsible for the 1952 coup in Egypt." Discuss

**Political factors:**

1. The character and personality of king Farouk made the 1952 revolutionary coup inevitable. Farouk's leadership was full of despotism and autocracy. Farouk was never a constitutional king and his word was absolute. He interfered directly in leadership appointments to the senate, and even at the grassroots. He denied the Egyptians democratic rights like freedom of expression. He censored mails (posts and telegraphs), he censored the press and banned political opposition activities. This increased opposition against the king even within the army, causing the 1952 coup.
2. The king was generally a weak leader. Due to lack of political charisma, the king could not stand to his word to implement government policies. Foreigners especially the British and Turks were so influential in his political decisions. He hardly did anything to prevent his foreign compatriots from exploiting the masses. According to the members of the free officers' movement, the king lacked mutual respect for his authority. His leadership was dogma and he thought that his throne was untouchable. Nasser hence organised a revolution to oust (overthrow) the puppet king.
3. The government of king Farouk was corrupt: apart from embezzling government funds, there was a lot of bribery even in the courts of law. Bribery in most cases put the political situation beyond imagination. Acquiring a job in the civil service was impossible unless one dug deep into their pockets. The courts of law were run through buying justice, as those accused could not survive without paying court officials through the back door. This made many peasants to give in the little they had for fear of being detained. The only answer to such injustices according to Nasser was a revolution.
4. The Egyptian colonial history influenced the 1952 revolution. Egypt had long-term colonial domination by the Persians, Greeks, Turks and later the British. For much of the period, Egypt was part of the vast Turkish Empire as a mere province before the British forcefully

occupied her in 1882. All these processes of changing foreign authority aggrieved Egyptians who despised the 1922 independence as not genuine. They condemned the continued exploitation by the British. The 1962 military coup was hence aimed at achieving a genuine independence in Egypt.

5. Consequently the continued domination and privileges enjoyed by the British in Egypt alarmed the revolutionaries. The British influenced political decisions of the government of king Farouk and held positions of influence in the army. They controlled the Egyptian foreign policy and worst of all, the British had a share in the Sudanese government yet Sudan was meant to be fully controlled by Egypt. The British exploited Egypt through encouraging cash crop production at the expense of food crops. They instead promoted small-scale industries in Egypt as a way of creating market for their industrial commodities. This British neo-colonial influence in the Egyptian society influenced the military to effect a coup.
6. Equally so, the continued control of the Suez Canal by the foreigners made the downfall of king Farouk inevitable. The Suez Canal project was one of the major sources of Egyptian revenue and being in the hands of the British and the French led to income repatriation: Egypt could only get a small share of the canal revenues. Nationalists like Nasser desired to nationalize the Suez Canal in order to make the government of Egypt have full control of the Suez Canal revenues. This was however, possible if king Farouk was out of the Egyptian political scene.
7. The grievances in the Egyptian army influenced the free army officers to organize a military coup in 1952. The army faced many unfavourable conditions: it was one of the weakest of all sectors in Egypt. The army officers experienced irregularities in military and food supplies, poor housing and meager pay. The army was ill-trained and ill equipped with inferior weapons, which the revolutionaries claimed led to their defeat in the Palestinian war. There was a lot of favouritism in the promotion to the army ranks where the British and the king had great influence. To make matters worse, the British enjoyed privileges in the Egyptian army. This forced the army to turn <sup>1</sup>3 against the government in order to change the situation.
8. The weakness of the WAFD party caused grievances among the masses. The party was dominated by the wealth families and failed to represent the grievances of the majority peasants and the small bourgeoisie (middle class). The party and its government especially under Prime Minister Nahas Pasha failed to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, and collaborated with King Farouk to promote British interests in Egypt. Members of the WAFD party enjoyed a luxurious life, owned large chunks of land and enjoyed many other privileges. This annoyed poor peasants who condemned the activities of WAFD members and hence supported the revolutionaries against king Farouk and the WAFD party government.
9. The Arab-Israeli conflict (Palestinian war) of 1948-49 was one of the immediate causes of the Egyptian revolution. Since the proclamation of the Israeli nation in 1948, the Arab world immediately went to war with the Zionist nation. The Arab countries were not happy that Palestinian land had to be divided to accommodate the Jews that were previously scattered all over the world. A joint Arab force was established and led by Egypt to fight alongside Palestine. However, Israel supported by USA and Britain defeated and humiliated the Arabs in 1949. The free army officers blamed the Arab defeat on king Farouk's government that gave the Egyptian army inferior weapons and inadequate essentials. One officer, Colonel Ahmed Abdul Aziz, **"The soldiers should remember the real battle is at home."**

10. The unilateral violation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty caused the 1952 coup that overthrew King Farouk. The unilateral violation (rebellion) was an anti-British policy adopted by Nahas the prime minister of Egypt: Nahas aimed at forcing the British out of the Suez Canal zone in order to appease the masses who constantly demanded for the withdrawal of the British from Egypt. This forceful attempt against the British made them to retaliate by assaulting Ismailia on January 25, 1952. The British assault left about 49 police officers dead, the water supply destroyed and some shelters of the inhabitants of the town were shattered. This tragedy was blamed on king Farouk and Nahas' government and caused the army to overthrow a government.
11. World War II had a hand in the 1952 revolution. During the course of the war, king Farouk blundered by allowing the German Afrika corps to establish their military base in northern Egypt commanded by General Rommel. At the same-time, the British had used their long presence in Egypt to establish their base for their eighth battalion in the Suez Canal zone making Egypt, a war theatre since the British belonged to the allied forces while the Germans led the axis alliance. The end of the war led to increased spending and corruption by King Farouk, which increased suffering of the fellas (peasants). The presence of the British and the Germans in Egypt during World War II led to the rise of the society of free officers who organised the coup of July 1952. Anwar Sadat one of the free officers had participated in the war on the side of Germany.
12. The emergence of ambitious Abdel Gamal Nasser was a turning point in Egypt at the time Nasser's personality and his ambitions for power and reforms made him to organize the coup in July 1952. He resented exploitation of peasants, which developed his nationalism as a 19 old. Such an early age, he used to organize demonstrations against the British and Egyptian monarchy. He abandoned his academic pursuit for law to join the military academy in 1937. As teen, he had sighted that Farouk's government was ineffective and corrupt and wondered who would change such leadership.
  - a) Born in Alexandria on January 15, 1918 to a noble family, Nasser was dynamic that during school time he always identified himself with the poor students who enlighten him on the poor conditions they experienced.
  - b) In 1942, the British troops rounded up king Farouk's palace and influenced Farouk appoint Nahas Mustafa Pasha as Premier, which angered nationalists like Nasser the following year in 1943, Nasser attained a rank of captain. He started making secret preparations and mobilisations to form the free officers' movement which would later stage a coup to overthrow king Farouk.
  - c) Consequently, the British influenced king Farouk to dismiss Nahas Pasha from premiership. The dismissal of Nahas annoyed Nasser and influenced him to criticise the king, leading to his imprisonment.
  - d) While in prison, Nasser wrote articles including one through which he wondered, "**where Egyptian nationalism and destiny of the Egyptians were hiding.**" On coming out of prison Nasser identified himself with the suffering masses in the peasantry, police, the army and other sectors. This enabled him to gain support when he formed the free of movement alongside Sadat and Neguib. This movement did much to effect a fundamental change in Egypt in July 1952.
13. The formation and the role of the free officers' movement. The movement was established in 1942 during World War II as a sign of dissatisfaction among some of the Egyptian army officers like Nasser and Sadat. Nasser had the desire for a fundamental change, mobilised a small loyal section in the army and laid down strategies of overthrowing king Farouk.

Later in 1952, the free officers established a revolutionary council to oust king Farouk whom they blamed for political incompetence and perpetuation of British neo-colonialism. The free officers' movement staged coup on the night of July 22, 1952 which brought an end to monarchism in Egypt.

14. The declining position of Egypt in Arab politics made the downfall of king Farouk inevitable. During the reign of king Farouk, Egypt was inactive in Arab affairs. The continued presence of the British in the Suez Canal zone led Egypt to lose her position of influence in the Middle East. The British took charge of the region and pre-determined the Egyptian foreign policy as a means to safeguard British interests and to encourage Jewish influence in the Middle East at the expense of Egypt. The climax came with the defeat of a collective Arab force (with Egypt) in the 1948-49 Palestinian crisis. King Farouk was blamed for providing his army with inferior weapons and reluctantly sending his soldiers the necessary logistics while in Palestine.

#### **Social factors:**

15. The king practiced nepotism as he favoured only his relatives, members of the royal family and friends. The fatty and lucrative jobs especially in his government went only to his relatives and members of the WAFD party. Such nepotism was also witnessed in the allocation of position of influence in the army; in the early July, 1952 premier Mustafa Nahas proposed the appointment of Neguib as the minister of war and defense but king Farouk rejected the proposal, appointed his relative to the post and went ahead to dismiss Nahas from the premiership. Hence, it took the army to organize a coup in order to reverse this nepotism.
16. Consequently, there was provision of inadequate social services during the reign of king Farouk. The few social infrastructures available were poor and could not provide quality services for better social welfare of the Egyptian society. The available education institutions were based on the British education system with English as a medium of teaching. The health centers were also few concentrated in urban areas like Ismailia, Cairo and Alexandria. The military coup was therefore aimed at solving the socio-economic problems in Egypt. It should be noted that due to poor health services, the Egyptians died of common diseases like Bilharzia, Malaria, and etcetera.
17. The social stratification (class differences) in Egypt caused grievances among the masses. The social pyramid was dominated by peasants and a small bourgeoisie at the bottom; on top was a small section of the members of the royal family while in the middle were foreigners especially the British and the Turks. These social inequalities were so pronounced as members of the royal family and foreigners dominated the political posts with an upper hand in the economic activities. The royal family and foreigners owned between 65% and 82% of the arable land and enjoyed privileges such as tax exemptions. This influenced revolutionaries like Nasser to stage a coup in order to destroy the social inequalities in Egypt.
18. The emergency and influence of the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt influenced the overthrow of king Farouk. The Muslim brotherhood emerged by 1927 under the influence of Hassan Al Banna (a qualified elementary teacher) who emphasized the revival of Egypt to an Islamic theocratic nation. Members of the Muslim brotherhood intensified their activities between 1946 and 1951 especially condemning moral decadence that involved womanizing and gambling in casinos where king Farouk was a great participant. The brotherhood provoked the arrest and murder of some members including Al Banna who was assassinated in 1949. The principles of the Muslim brotherhood even after the assassination of its leaders influenced the revolutionaries to organize a coup in 1952.

19. The appalling social-economic conditions during Farouk's regime made his downfall inevitable. The peasants (Fellahin) were exposed to unfair taxation, forced labour and worst of all they experienced acute unemployment and abject poverty. The king could do nothing to rescue the peasants from this untold situation. Consequently, the fellas continued suffering as the royal family, the wafdist and foreigners enjoyed good life. In this case, nationalists like Nasser emerged with socialist ideas aimed at improving the socio-economic situation in Egypt.
20. The religious and cultural conflicts in Egypt favoured the overthrow of king Farouk. The existence of the British who promoted western cultures and spread Christianity threatened the existence of Islam and Arabic cultural practices. There were established industries that produced alcohol and many recreation centers. All these were contrary to the Islamic and Arabic principles, where Christianity competed favourably with the Islamic religion. This socio-cultural set back was blamed on king Farouk and hence made his downfall eminent.
21. The famine outbreak increased the anti-Farouk resentment in Egypt. Following the end of World War II, the fellahin found themselves in a precarious situation that did not enable them to sustain their families with food. This was a result of lack of enough cultivable land, while those that had small pieces of land sold them to large landowners. King Farouk could hardly do anything to solve the food crisis, yet the government policy favoured cash crop intensive farming for export.
22. King Farouk ignored the status of women in Egypt. The Egyptian women were politically marginalized, had no political participation nor did they enjoy leadership responsibilities. Hardly could young women acquire education and a few who did only attain basic education. The most severe treatment of women by Farouk's regime was the death penalty on women for sex immorality. It is for this reason that women supported the coup against King Farouk.

### **Economic**

23. King Farouk was extremely extravagant and lived a lavish life. He spent much of the money from the Egyptian treasury on satisfying his desires, which included pornography, prostitution and womanizing. Not only did he spend much of his time in leisure, king Farouk was a prominent gambler and hardly a day could pass without him visiting casinos. It was much of his mannerism that influenced the free army officers to organize a coup in 1952.
24. The low levels of industrialization caused economic problems that made the Egyptian revolution inevitable. The Egyptian industrial sector was largely controlled by the British who instead promoted small-scale industries at the expense of large-scale manufacturing industries. The British never promoted industrial production as a way of creating market for their industrial commodities. Lack of industrial development in Egypt led to scarcity of essential commodities, caused unemployment and low levels of development.
25. The high levels of inflation caused the downfall of the regime of King Farouk. King Farouk and the WAFD government failed to solve the economic instability, which was largely a result of economic mismanagement, high corruption and foreign control of the Egyptian economy. The prices of essential goods were unstable and relatively high for the peasants to afford. The Egyptian currency almost lost value and was dominated by the British pound. This justified the need for a revolution.
26. The persistent unemployment levels led to the 1952 Egyptian coup. The peasants and the middle class citizens were affected by the acute unemployment that grossly resulted from

the poor land tenure system, favouritism of King Farouk and continued foreign domination of the Egyptian economy. The revolutionaries claimed that the coup was not just a result of political ambitions but also the desire for socio-economic reforms that could empower the grassroots Egyptian population.

27. The existence of monoculture in Egypt influenced the desire for a revolution. Egypt largely concentrated on growing and exporting cotton against other agricultural opportunities. This restricted the agricultural activities in the end, which affected the contrary's revenues. On the contrary, the government policy emphasised cash crop production at the expense of food production. This agricultural policy in Egypt was influenced by the British but caused suffering of masses.
28. The poor land tenure system promoted by Farouk's government prepared fertile grounds for his downfall. The king dictated the land policy where he distributed land to members of the royal family and the Wafd party members, who enjoyed a lion's share with the prevailing unfair land tenure system. By 1945, the peasants found themselves in abject poverty due to lack of cultivatable land. By 1952, 65% of the arable land was owned by only 6% of the landlords mainly from the royal family. The landlords subjected the Fellahin (peasants) to feudalism and serfdom. This influenced them to support the coup in 1952.

### **Course of the Egyptian revolution**

The revolution was in simple terms a bloodless revolution that started with a coup on the night of July 22-23, 1952. On the eve of the coup, the British had provoked Egyptians in December 1951 when they bulldozed Egyptian mud-brick houses to pave way for the new waterway for British army installation.

On January 25, 1952, the British attacked the Egyptian police barracks in Ismailia after the police officers refused to surrender. Over 50 Egyptians were killed and about 100 wounded.

January 26, commonly known as "black Saturday," an Egyptian mob started burning Cairo, targeting British installations such as shops, shelters and hotels. This was a planned disciplined action.

Serious and more violent riots broke out in Cairo and other provincial cities in June supported by the free army officers. The riots were still directed to foreigners. More houses were burnt and property looted. These riots were destructive to Farouk's government.

Amidst such confusion, the free army officers felt it convenient to take over. On July 22, 1952, a bloodless coup occurred with 34-year-old Gamal Nasser as the architect.

The free army officers began by taking almost all corners of Cairo: Farouk tried to seek US intervention but in vain. It is believed that the revolution was financed by US central intelligence agency (CIA) to a tune of 12 million dollars. From this money, a Cairo tower known as the CIA monument or Roosevelt Erection was established on Zamalek Island.

Farouk was forced to abdicate (resign) on July 26, after the free army officers occupied the city of Alexandria where the King was on summer holiday at his palace of Muntazah and forced him to sign an 'act of abdication' before boarding his yacht 'Mahroussa' with his family and headed to Italy.

The revolutionaries enthroned Farouk's son Faud II as his successor and when Egypt was declared a republic in 1953, General Neguib, chairman of the revolutionary command council (RCC) became president while Nasser became deputy premier and minister of internal affairs and remained in the shadow until 1954.

Following revolutionary misunderstandings, between Neguib and Nasser in November 1954, the latter took over both as president and prime minister (Executive president). Neguib was conservative and believed in civilian governance while Nasser believed that the benefits of the revolution could only be issued through radical means, with the army holding a major position in the Egyptian affairs.

History has it that early on, in October; Nasser survived an attempted assassination, which he blamed on Neguib. He accused him of conspiracy and in the following month, he managed to dismiss him. Hence, Nasser became undisputedly the chairman of the RCC and overall leader of the republic of Egypt.

### **FACTORS THAT LED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE EGYPTIAN (COUP) REVOLUTION**

**Reference Questions:**

- a) Account for the success of the 1952 Egyptian coup
- b) Examine the factors for the success of the Free Army Officers in overthrowing of King Farouk
1. Tie careful planning by the revolutionary command council enabled the success of the Egyptian revolutionary coup. For three years, following their return from the (1948-49) Palestine war, the free army officers laid down a framework on how to overthrow the Egyptian monarchy and rid Egypt of British military presence. Little wonder that even after their coup plans of overthrowing Farouk in 1954 were intercepted or exposed, the revolutionaries were quick to change their plan and instead plotted a successful coup in July 1952.
2. The revolutionary character of Nasser enabled the success of the free army officers against the Egyptian monarchy. Nasser, at 34 years, was the youngest of the members of the revolutionary command council. A hero of the Palestinian war, Nasser was deeply opposed to the incompetent and corruption of Farouk's government whom he blamed for the Palestinian defeat. Nasser was a tactical and patient officer, secretive by nature and driven by fierce personal ambitions. Nasser was the brain behind the formation of the free officer's movement (Society of Free officers) and his theory and organisation brought victory to the revolutionaries. It was Nasser that led the attack on the army headquarters where Farouk's army generals were confined in a meeting.
3. The contribution of the Free Army Officers (Society of Free Officers) blessed the 1952 Egyptian coup. Comprising not more than 100 men in all, the free army officers were organised into cells of four (4) or five (5) members unknown to each other. These carried out underground operations. The free army officers announced their existence, mobilised popularity and denounced Farouk's regime through leaflets. The society of officers clearly spelt out the aims of the revolution i.e. to win Egypt's independence; liquidation of feudalism; formation of a powerful popular army need to establish social equality and a healthy domestic life. The free army officers launched successful expeditions (attacks) on the radio station, telegraph offices, police posts, army and government headquarters before the coup was declared on the July 23, 1952.
4. The appointment of General Neguib Mohammed as chairman of the revolutionary command council (RCC) added value and importance to the coup, hence its success. General Neguib was a distinguished 54-year-old hero of the Palestinian war whose reputable figure in both the army and nation at large was used by the free army officers to

attract respect and support for the coup. The announcement of the army seizure (take over) of power was made by General Neguib in a radio broadcast at 7am on the morning of July 23, 1952.

5. The weakness of the Egyptian monarch or weak character of King Farouk enabled the success of the 1952 coup. In July 1952, while enjoying his habitual gambling sessions in Alexandria, King Farouk received an urgent call from Prime Minister Hussein Sirry warning him of a planned coup by a small group of dissident (rebellious) officers in the army. Farouk only referred to the coup plotters, Nasser and his friends as 'A bunch of pimps' and did not take the matter serious/ such arrogant and weak nature of the monarch (king) could not safeguard Farouk's government even after the information on a planned coup leaked.
6. The absence of king Farouk from Cairo became a great opportunity to the free army officers. In order to escape the heat and hubbub (noise) of Cairo, Farouk had camped with his family and household staff at the luxurious Muntazah palace on the beach front at Alexandria. The king had planned to spend the entire summer in Alexandria, which was about 125 miles far away from Cairo. Farouk left Cairo amidst mass riots, assassinations and political violence by the Muskr brotherhood and an angry city mob. This enabled the leadership of the free army officers to tab advantage of the situation in Cairo and overthrow the Egyptian monarchy.
7. The coup occurred at a time when King Farouk and the Egyptian monarchy were unpopular. Farouk was arrogant, extravagant and spent lavishly from the Egyptian treasury. He was the largest landholder in Egypt, had four luxurious palaces, and owned two yachts, thirteen private jets, a fleet of two hundred cars and a huge collection of pornographic materials. A prominent gabbler and womaniser, Farouk enjoyed a pretty expensive life at the expense of the suffering and landless fellahs. He was the envy of all Egyptians and therefore had no sympathy from masses that would have saved his throne. The unpopularity on King Farouk hence led to the success of his own downfall.
8. The attack and capture of the army headquarters made the success of the coup inevitable. On learning of a meeting held by Farouk's army generals at the army headquarters, the society free officers decided to attack the building while the generals were inside. The generals had assembled to prepare a plan of action against a potential coup by the free army officers. Nassar described the expedition (attack) on the army building as an opportunity that saved the revolutionaries time and trouble as they took Farouk's generals altogether, than hunting them from their homes one by one. The attack on the army headquarters and rounding up of Farouk's general was therefore a heavy blow to the Egyptian monarchy.
9. The existence of a feeble and weak royal guard enabled the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy hence the success of the 1952 coup. Within government, Farouk had created insecurity due to persistent reshuffle of Prime Ministers and the cabinets. Actually on the morning after receiving telephone call warning him of a planned coup d'état, Farouk

immediately appointed a new Prime Minister and installed his brother in law as minister of war to round up the military conspirators (coup plotters) - but this was too late to prevent his overthrow. Even during the attack on his palace at Muntazah, his security was too weak to prevent the capture of Farouk.

10. Isolation of the Egyptian army generals from the revolutionary preparations kept the coup plans secret for most of the time hence contributing to its success. The free army officers usually met at night in what had been Farouk's yacht house on an island in the Nile hence keeping their identities hidden. The revolutionary command council did not reveal any detailed plan to all members of the society of free officers. Communication to the masses and within the movement was through a series of underground leaflets (circulars). This kept the entire Egyptian army command ignorant of any revolutionary plans.
11. The seizure (capture) of communication centres and police posts ensured the success of the revolutionaries. By the early hours of July 23, 1952, the free army officers had taken control of the radio station, telegraph offices, police posts and government buildings. The capture of the police posts helped the free army officers to prevent (deter) a possible counter-revolution, while the capture of the radio station and telegraph offices ensured the spread of revolutionary propaganda. Neguib, the appointed chairman of the revolutionary command council (RCC) used the captured radio station (Radio Cairo) to announce the army seizure of power.
12. The elimination of the British enabled the free army officers to take over government control. The revolutionary command council deployed an armoured (equipped military) convoy to block the highway from the Suez Canal zone so as to prevent British troops from intervening on behalf of Farouk's government. The Suez Canal zone was a British military base with about 80,000 soldiers. The blockade on the Suez highway and the cutting of communication lines between the Suez city and Cairo enabled the coup plotters to execute (carryout) their coup plan with no strong resistance from the (British) allies of the Egyptian monarchy.
13. The common grievances in the Egyptian society at the time the military coup was organised, inspired the success of the society of free officers. The majority of the fellahs had been affected by abject poverty, lack of cultivatable land, unemployment, acute inflation and were mostly tired of the immoral, corrupt and despotic nature of Farouk's government and the continued presence of the British in Egypt. The news of the 1952 July coup was greeted with a mass welcome and popular support.
14. The abdication (resignation) of Farouk dealt a final blow to the Egyptian monarchy and brought to an end the 140-year-old Turkish dynasty and the end to foreign rule in Egypt since the Persian invasion. Farouk's abdication followed a discussion within the RCC on whether to eliminate Farouk through execution or to exile him. Neguib and Nasser chose to spare his life but send him to exile. Hence the free army officers surrounded Farouk's palace of Muntazah and made him to sign an 'act of abdication' on July 26, 1952 before boarding his yacht known as "Mahroussa" with his family, and headed to Italy.

15. The coup against king Farouk was financed by the US central intelligence agency (CIA). The revolutionary command council of the society of free officers received a financial grant from the CIA to a tune of 12 million dollars to enable effective organisation and planning. Farouk tried to seek US intervention but it was too late for his government to be saved as the Americans had already conspired with the coup plotters.

### **EFFECTS OF THE EGYPTIAN COUP OF 1952 (ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION)**

#### **Note:**

The impact of the Egyptian revolution (coup) is attributed to Nasser; therefore without Nasser the revolution could not have achieved tremendously. Many of the scores of the revolution were during the reign of Nasser as the chairman of the RCC and head of the revolutionary government. The aftermath of the 1952 Egyptian coup, largely explain the career and success of Abdel Gamal Nasser up to 1970.

The Egyptian revolution had both achievements and weaknesses. It was therefore a combination of triumph and disaster:

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) Assess the impact of the 1952 revolution on Egypt
- b) To what extent did the 1952 coup affect the Egyptians?
- c) Examine the achievements of the 1952 Egyptian revolution
- d) How successful was the revolutionary government of Nasser (1954-70)?
- e) Of what importance was Gamal Nasser to the Egyptian society?
- f) How far was the military regime of Nasser successful in Egypt?

#### **Political reforms**

1. Political leadership in Egyptian was reformed. After the abdication of king Farouk, kingship in Egypt declined. A republican form of government was established in 1953 with a republican constitution and Naguib as the first president.
2. Consequently, a moderate republican constitution was established in 1953 based on the interests of the masses. This constitution which was reformed in 1958 was aimed at enhancing the implementation of the socio-economic and political revolutionary reforms; the constitution provided for a National Assembly to be elected every after 5 years.
3. In the same case, the masses were enfranchised (given the right to vote) to determine leadership at the grass roots. This was part of the political rights, which the masses craved for but were missing during Farouk's regime.
4. Egypt acquired a genuine independence. This followed the complete elimination of the British influence from the Egyptian policy making and their final withdrawal from the Suez Canal zone after Nasser nationalized the Canal in 1956. Therefore the Egyptian independence granted to them by the British in 1922 became meaningful.
5. The revolution led to the rise of radical Nasser to the top of Egyptian politics. This followed a revolutionary misunderstanding between Nasser and Naguib which was followed by Nasser dismissing Naguib in 1954. Consequently, Nasser became the head of the revolutionary council and the executive president of Egypt.
6. Unlike Farouk, the free army officers restored Egyptian influence to the epitome of Arab politics. Nasser the Egyptian leader stood up to oppose the Arab leaning to the West (capitalist World) through adopting the pro-British Baghdad pact of 1955 which the British wanted to use against the Soviet interests in the Middle East.

7. The revolutionaries established independent government arms, a political achievement which had failed the monarchical government of Farouk. For instance, the parliament and judiciary were left independent from the executive interference.
8. The revolutionary government carried out military reforms. This was through securing a military deal from the Soviet Union to train and rearm the Egyptian national army. As a consequence, the army was strengthened and professionalised.

### **Economic reforms**

9. Agrarian (land) reforms were instituted which gave peasants (fellahin) land ownership rights. For instance the military government passed a decree in September 1952 where the government confiscated almost 185,000 acres of land and redistributed them to the Fellahs. This also led to the abolition of Feudalism and Serfdom.
10. The free officers government expanded the volume of cultivatable land. This was by reclaiming over 1,038,000 acres of desert land by use of vibrationsystem (Gezira scheme). This increased agricultural productivity and solved the problem of food scarcity.
11. Consequently monoculture in Egypt was solved .through diversification of agriculture. The government introduced sugar beet and coffee to add<sup>1</sup> on cotton which had been the only cash crop. Food production was boosted by rice and wheat growing. This was implemented through a 5-year development plan of 1960" 1965.
12. A hydroelectric power dam was constructed ie. the Aswan high dam was constructed to provide abundant hydroelectric power. This would expand Egyptian manufacturing industry and for domestic use e.g. by 1970 power generation had increased by 12 fold (12times).
13. The revolutionary government embarked on rapid industrialization. By mid 1960s, industries producing steel, iron, cement, fertilizers and petroleum products were established. Egypt could then manufacture her own refrigerators, bicycles, television sets, medicines etcetera, for domestic consumption and export.
14. Influenced by socialism, Nasser adopted a nationalization policy where all the major means of production like industries, mines, transport and commercial venture such as banks, were put under state control. This boosted economic growth with government ensuring effective economic decision-making and policy implementation.
15. Equally so the revolutionaries secured the Suez Canal from British and French control. Renovations were made to ensure that by 1964 the revenues from the Canal of about 77 million Egyptian pounds contributed over 19% of the national revenues. This boosted Egyptian socio-economic development.
16. Tax reforms were instituted by the military government of Abdel Nasser. A progressive taxation system was adopted and implemented to replace the regressive (unrealistic) taxes imposed by the old regime of king Farouk where the wealth enjoyed tax exemptions. The new taxation policy was aimed at economic equity and relieving the peasants of the tax burden.
17. Consequently, Nasser's government tried to minimise the gap between the rich and the poor. Property of the wealth especially members of the former royal family, former WAFD-government members as well as foreigners, was confiscated and nationalised. However,

private ownership on small scale was allowed. The government regulated the annual incomes per individual at 5,000 Egyptian pounds as a means of minimising corruption and embezzlement.

18. The government established state co-operatives to facilitate economically challenged peasants. Through these farmers' co-operatives, the revolutionary government advanced farm implements like fertilizers, improved, seeds, agricultural machinery and simple loans. The co-operatives helped peasants in services like pest control, irrigation, storage, marketing and transport.

### **Social reforms**

19. Education reforms were carried out to eradicate ignorance and illiteracy in Egypt. The military government "Egyptianised" the Education system to entirely eliminate British influence from the Egyptian education system. All private schools were nationalised, and new ones established, the government increased expenditure on education from one million British Pound to 20 million pounds. Enrollment in schools increased from 1.9 million in 1952 to 3.5 million by 1961 and this was attributed to the free compulsory universal primary education (UPE); higher education was considered too.
20. The status of women was improved in the socio-economic and political arenas. Many more female students were enrolled in schools and institutions of higher learning such that by 1962, 26% of the university students were female. Many women were employed in the civil service and in the industrial sector. Nasser's government appointed the first woman minister in 1962 and by 1964, the parliament had eight female members.
21. Health reforms were also instituted by Nasser's military government. More Egyptian medical staff was trained such that by 1960 the number of doctors in Egypt had doubled about 10,000. Healthy centres were set up in rural areas. Due to these modern health reforms, severe cases of malnutrition, bilharzia, malaria, dysentery and eye diseases greatly declined.
22. Nasser's revolutionary government encouraged cultural reforms. Efforts were made to eliminate western influence in Egypt by enacting laws that abolished all immoral practices like gambling, alcoholism and prostitution. The school syllabi were also made Arab oriented with few courses in English and French. Islam was re-established as a state religion, to reduce Christian influence in Egypt. Arabic drama and songs in theatres became the major source of entertainment.
23. A housing scheme was established for low income earners in the major urban centres like Cairo, Ismailia and Alexandria. This was part of the relief program for the fellahin instituted by the revolutionary government of Nasser. Workers and peasants earning about 300 Egyptian pounds annually benefited more from this housing program.
24. Attempts were made to eliminate social inequalities from the Egyptian society. This led to social harmonisation which had been lacking in the old regime. The government move to amend the land ownership policy and ensure that the employment procedure was based on meritocracy, was all to ensure social equality. The royal family and all other social classifications and the related privileges were outlawed.
25. Working conditions both in private and state departments were generally improved. Job security was enhanced by the revolutionary government through a new economic policy that gave workers a quarter shares in the company they worked for. The activities of trade unions or (workers' associations) were encouraged to supervise employment reforms like reducing of working hours to about 48 hours a week.

## **The negative impact of the coup (weaknesses of the Egyptian revolution)**

### **Shortcomings of Nasser**

1. Nasser influenced the revolutionaries to ban activities of political parties like the Wafd party as well as liberal associations like the Liberal Constitutional Organisation. The Arab Socialist Party formed by Nasser was the only party left in operation. The government policy of banning political parties was intended to eliminate possible political opposition.
2. The one party system initiated in 1961 by Nasser through his Arab Socialist Party made him a dictator. From then on, Egypt became a one man's country as all political decisions were made by Nasser without consultations from other members of the revolutionary command council or even the parliament. Nasser's dictatorship replaced the aristocratic despotism of the old monarchical regime. This undermined the revolution
3. Consequently, the revolutionary government of Nasser initiated political suppression. Opposition politicians especially members of the defunct Wafd party, the ex-monarchical conservatives and liberal politicians were on many occasions imprisoned on cases of political sabotage.
4. The revolutionary government frustrated democratic governance in Egypt. From the period when Nasser took over as the Egyptian leader, there were no genuine elections held in the country. The opposition leaders were scared of standing against Nasser. This therefore kept him in power undisputedly until his death in 1970.
5. Nasser undermined the principles of non-alignment or positive neutrality when he decided to establish diplomatic relations with the communist Soviet Union. Nasser could have intended to -56 his relations with the USSR to destroy the Baghdad Pact created by Britain, but this ended up drawing Egypt towards the communist influence. It also made Egypt to actively involve in the super power politics, contrary to the demands of the Non-aligned movement.
6. There was massive military expenditure which drained government treasury. Other departments like education and health though essential, were not given as much consideration as the army. The government of Nasser allocated a lot of state resources to the army to enable the recruitment of many soldiers as well as procurement of large quantities of military hardware.
7. In January 1953, under the influence of Nasser as the minister of internal affairs, the Muslim brotherhood was banned by the revolutionary government. This could have been a step to reduce the influence of the brotherhood in Egyptian politics; but the move only paved way for the rise of Islamic fundamentalism which over emphasised Islamic purity. Islamic fundamentalism caused terrorism and political instability including political assassinations like the murder of Anwar Sadat (in 1983) the successor of Nasser.
8. The revolutionaries failed to maintain the United Arab Republic (UAR), which collapsed in 1961, only after three years into its formation. The UAR was a federation of Egypt and Syria. Nasser's political ambitions in the Middle East caused Egyptian domination in the UAR at the expense of Syria. This led to Syrian complaints causing her to secede (breakaway) from this Arab federation.
9. Even though Nasser opposed foreign domination in Africa and the Middle East, he however embarked on spreading Egyptian imperialism. In the Middle East, Nasser supported the Yemen civil war of 1962 -67, and also allied with the right wing party of Lebanon against the Lebanon government. This caused civil unrests in the region.

10. Nasser established Cairo as a liberal city for both Africans and Arabs. The Arab city of Cairo this became a "no city" due to the increased number of people powering in without restriction. Crime and immorality in Cairo was also blamed on a multiple of people flocking the city.
11. The Egyptian economy gradually became suffocated due to high levels of bureaucracy. There was inefficiency and corruption in the revolutionary government as a result of the slow pace in decision making caused by such bureaucracy. This means that financial wastage and the high" levels of embezzlement which were common during the monarchical days were not completely erased.
12. The aggressive foreign policy of Nasser caused Egyptian conflict with Israel. His negative attitude towards the existence of the Israeli state worsened the politics of the Middle East. In 1956. Nasser closed the Gulf of Aquaba and this became the sparkling factor in the outbreak of the Suez Canal conflict. Much as the Suez Canal war enabled Egypt to claim full control of the Canal, it was at the same time very destructive on the Egyptian side.
13. The industrialization policy adopted by the revolutionary government did not yield the required effects. The industrial sector produced below capacity to the extent that the industrial products to sustain the rapid growing population as well as international market.
14. Consequently, Egypt failed to penetrate the external market yet she continued to heavily imports items like foodstuffs. The balance of trade gap became very unfavourable, thus worsening Egypt's balance of payment gap. The country's expenditure during Nasser's regime was more on imports yet the exports brought fewer incomes.
15. The government of Nasser failed to fully exploit and develop the mining industry. Oil and coal deposits in the Sinai desert province were not exploited to the required level. This limited the government's source of revenue, forcing her to rely of huge external loans.
16. By late 1950 and early 1960's, the government of Nasser embarked on heavy loan acquisition. Nasser acquired loans from America to help in supplementing food supply. However financing this debt was very hard with high interest charges of 4%. This external borrowing worsened Egypt's debt burden.
17. The government of Nasser was faced with the case of rapid population growth at a rate of 3% per annum. The government adopted the policy of family planning but it had little impact due to the traditionalist Muslim view that children are gifts from Allah. The failure of the government's population control policy affected state expenditure in sustaining the Egyptian needs.
18. The land policy did not benefit majority of the masses. Many of the fellas remained landless. By 1970, only 17% of the cultivatable land had been re-distributed with only 8% (250,000) peasant families as beneficiaries.
19. The income gap between the rich and the poor was only controlled in the short-run, but later, it deeply widened. This time it were the supporters of the revolutionary government and members of the Arab Socialist Party that became wealthier than majority Egyptians. They dominated the Egyptian economy and all influential positions in government. They were also the beneficiaries of the new land (agrarian) ownership policy. The failure of Nasser's government to control the ever increasing gross unemployment in the country made the income gap even worse.
20. The education reforms introduced later became ineffective. The compulsory universal primary education implemented by the revolutionary government enrolled pupils by 3 folds

(3times). The number of children joining school was overwhelming forcing the government to nationalise private schools due to scarcity of education facilities. The government nationalisation policy however failed to solve the congestion in schools, because Egypt at the same time had shortage of teaching staff. This affected the anti-illiteracy campaigns.

21. The emergence of high inflationary rate in the revolutionary period affected economic growth in Egypt. This high inflation was due government failure to ensure adequate supply of essential commodities especially foodstuffs. Instead, the government resorted to massive importation foodstuffs such as wheat and meat from USA. The scarcity of essential commodities strained government expenditure to the extent of converting a percentage of the gold reserve.
22. The government of Nasser generally did little to overcome the enormous unemployment problem in Egypt. This was due to the increasing population of 3% per annum. About 1,000,000 people were born in Egypt every year. The high population growth rate hardly matched the ineffective land and industrialisation policies in the country.
23. Revolutionary Egypt failed in her endeavours to liberate Palestine from Israeli imperialism. This led to Palestinian loss of faith in Egypt especially after Israel annexed the Jordan West bank, the Syrian Golan Heights, the Egyptian Sinai province and the East bank of the Suez Canal. This loss of territories was suffered by the Arab allied forces in a six-day war led by Nasser against Israel in 1967.
24. Consequently, after the Egyptian loss of the East bank of the Suez Canal to Israel in 1967, Israel went ahead to close the Canal for almost a decade. The result was the Egyptian loss of annual revenues of about 19% of the Egyptian annual budget.

### **NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICY**

Nasser's foreign policy was aimed at asserting the position of Egyptian domination in Africa, the Middle East and the international scene.

In Africa, Nasser got involved in African struggle for self-rule and unity, while in the Middle East, the revolutionary leader aimed at restoring the position of Egypt at the top of the affairs of the Arab World.

Nasser ascended to the Egyptian throne in November 1954 after removing Naguib from the leadership of the RCC. Mohammad Neguib supported the idea of eliminating the army from the politics of Egypt, and the restoration of political party democracy. Upon taking over leadership of the command council, Nasser immediately doubled as President and minister for internal affairs.

In all, Nasser's foreign policy would embark on putting Egypt at the centre of the Arab World and Africa,

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) **Describe the nature of Nasser's foreign policy between 1954 and 1970.**
- b) **Discuss the features of the foreign policy of Nasser**
- c) **How successful was Nasser's foreign policy by 1970?**

1. Influenced by the Egyptian geographical location (at the centre) of the Arab world, Nasser embarked on a pan Arabist policy witnessed by increasing on the budget of the Arab league. This consolidated Egypt as the largest contributor to the budget of the Arab league. In the end, this action by Nasser reduced the economic influence of Iraq and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East.

2. Nasser opposed the existence of the Israeli state in the Middle East. He embarked on military reforms by increasing recruitment into the Egyptian army and acquiring a lot of sophisticated arms and ammunitions especially from the Soviet Union. Consequently, he deployed more soldiers in the Palestinian-Israeli war. This made Egypt the largest contributor of Arab troops fighting against the new state of Israel.
3. As a revolutionary leader, Nasser opposed the Baghdad pact of 1955. The Baghdad pact was an anti-Soviet policy initiated by Britain and the Islamic states of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. According to Nasser, this Baghdad agreement signed in Iraq would increase Western domination and neo-colonialism in the Middle East than fighting communist influence in the region.
4. Nasser's government was sympathetic to communism (socialism). This came after Nasser adopted and implemented socialist policies in Egypt. Nasser went ahead to concretise relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union. The result of this soviet connection was the arms deal where the USSE re-enforced the military sector of Egypt. Later the Russian government pledged economic aid to Nasser to enable him construct the Aswan Engineering project.
5. The government of Nasser recognised the Chinese communist government at Peking as the true regime of China instead of the pro-west nationalist government located in Taiwan. This attitude of Nasser worsened relations between Egypt and the Western powers of Britain and France.
6. Nasser's anti-imperialist attitude influenced him to expel the British and the French from the Suez Canal region. This was through nationalising the Suez Canal predominantly owned and controlled by a foreign company dominated by the French and the British. This annoyed France and Britain who enjoyed great economic benefits from the Canal. In the end relations between Nasser and the two powers worsened.
7. Nasser organised the Fedayeen commandos, a terrorist group of Palestinian refugees and some few Egyptians in the Gaza strip. Nasser aided the Fedayeen group to conduct terrorist raids on the Israeli state. This gesture by Nasser was aimed at expressing Egyptian support to Palestine against Israel. Israel would later respond by organising attacks on the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula to cause political unrests and destabilise Nasser's government.
8. The desire by Nasser to confirm Pan Arabism influenced him to engage Syria into the creation of the United Arab Republic in February 1958. Nasser however, failed to sustain the United Arab Republic (UAR) which lasted until 1961 when Syria seceded in protest of Egyptian domination in the political and economic affairs of the federation.
9. In 1955, Nasser represented Egypt at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia which later made Egypt a founder member of the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) launched in Belgrade in 1961. He went ahead to play an important role in developing the concept of "positive neutrality" as a third bloc opposed to the superpower politics, western colonialism and neo-colonialism influence in the Arab world and Africa
10. In the late 1950's, Nasser engaged in economic relations with the USA. The result was Egyptian acquisition of American loans to buy surplus American wheat, rice and meat to supplement food provisions to the Egyptians. In the early 1960's Nasser engaged in financial negotiations with the US-government to acquire debt financing of the accumulated loans acquired by Egypt
11. Nasser engaged in the Yemen Civil War (1962-67) through giving military support to the Yemen Republicans against Imam's government. This did not only cut off relations between

Egypt and Yemen but also weakened co-operation with Saudi Arabia that supported Imam's government.

12. In a bid to liberate Palestine from Israeli imperialism, Nasser engaged Israel in a 6-day war in 1967. The war however, had an adverse effect which made Palestine to lose faith in the Egyptian liberation mission. Israel consequently, occupied the West bank of Jordan, the Golan Heights, the Suez East bank and the Sinai province, causing territorial loss to the Arab allies involved in war.
13. Nasser's government reformed religious learning in relation to establishing faculties of practical sciences at Al-Azhar University. The faculties included a faculty of science, of engineering and of medicine. This university expansion promoted Al-Azhar as an oasis of graduate education for the Islamic world. Many Muslim students were now sent to Egypt than Europe.
14. Nasser played a major role in elevating the position of Egypt in Africa. He committed Egypt to moral and financial support of the African liberation movement in the 1950's and 1960's. This move by Nasser was aimed at justifying Egyptian support to pan Africanism as much as to pan Arabism. Egyptian notable assistance was to the Mau-Mau in Kenya and the FLN in Algeria.
15. In post-colonial Africa Nasser ensured a consolidated position of Egypt in African affairs. Egypt became the first country to lead the struggle against west neo-colonial influence in Africa before being joined by Ghana after her independence and the rise of Nkrumah.
16. Nasser embarked on overthrowing the conservative regimes in the Arab world that were mostly leaning towards capitalist influence. He assisted Col. Muamar Gadhafi to overthrow king Idris of Libya in 1969, influenced the overthrow of king Faisal II in Saudi Arabia, and Nuri Said the prime minister of Iraq among others.
17. In 1953, Nasser led the revolutionary government of Egypt into discussions with Britain over the status of Sudan. He recognised the sovereign right of Sudan to independence and influenced Britain to decolonise the country in early 1956. Consequently, the new sovereign state of Sudan kept in good terms with Egypt.
18. Nasser led Egypt into becoming an active member of the Casablanca ideological group which rivaled the Monrovia group on matters of African unity. The Casablanca group stood for a strong political union of African states against a loose federation proposed by the Monrovia group.

#### **IMPACT OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION ON THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM (PAN AFRICANISM)**

The Egyptian revolution had both directed and indirect influence on the growth of African nationalism and Pan Africanism. This impact was mainly realised after Gamal Nasser took over as Egyptian leader in 1954.

#### **Reference Questions;**

- a) Discuss the impact of the Egyptian revolution on Africa
- b) Examine the role of Nasser in the decolonisation of Africa
- c) How far did the 1952 revolution in Egypt contribute to the growth of Pan Africanism?

1. The success of the Egyptian revolution threatened white settlers in the settler colonies like South Africa, Kenya, Algeria and Sothern Rhodesia. The anti-British policy of Nasser and the activities of Egypt against the British installations, property and businesses influenced similar activities against whites in other parts of Africa.

2. Consequently, the socialist and nationalisation policies of Nasser had an impact on the colonial regimes in Africa. The British and the French were scared that the ideals of socialism could penetrate their African colonial territories. Nasser's relationship with the Soviet Union scared the French and the British to organise political developments (reforms) in their colonies. They increased African representation in parliament, gave Africans positions in government and also reformed the taxation policies among others. Such policies influenced Africans to demand for independence.
3. The success of the Egyptian revolution led to the breakdown of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium over Sudan. Nasser accepted the need for recognition of the Sudanese right to self-determination. Nasser's consent of the Sudanese independence caused the British to organise national elections that enabled the Sudanese to achieve independence in 1956.
4. The revolutionary Egypt of Nasser proceeded to grant material, financial and military support to African nationalist movements in the Maghreb region and sub-Saharan African. Such assistance included financial grants, weaponry and moral support. This intensified nationalist activities against European colonial domination for instance in Kenya and Algeria.
5. Egypt provided education opportunities to African students through free scholarships. This move by Nasser to open up Egyptian educational doors to African students produced African political graduates who returned to their respective states and participated in independence struggles. Many of the students who attended education in Egypt were from the Maghreb region and East Africa.
6. Nasser particularly gave considerable assistance to the Algerian revolutionary movements like National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria that fought against French colonial domination. This assistance involved arms, ideology, strategies military training, as well as housing the Algerian provisional revolutionary government. The Egyptian support to Algeria was very instrumental in the collapse of French colonialism in Algeria by 1962.
7. Nasser's pan Arabism influenced him to support Tunisia at the time when the Tunisians were ready to govern themselves. After Tunisian independence of 1956, Nasser went ahead to support Tunisia to attack the French Naval base at Bizerta in 1961, which led to complete elimination of French influence from Tunisia.
8. Nasser and Egypt inspired militant nationalism in Africa. The adoption of a military approach by Nasser during the 1956 Suez Canal conflict and the subsequent success over the imperial aggressive powers of Israel, Britain and France influenced Africans elsewhere to resort to militarism against European colonialists. This was the case in Angola and Bissau, while the FLN consolidated the Algerian armed struggle against the French.
9. Consequently, Nasser provided free military training to young nationalists from other African states. Many militant nationalists from South Africa, Algeria and some from Portuguese colonies trained from Egyptian military academies before joining the independence struggles. Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and Amilcar Cabral of guinea Bissau were beneficiaries of this military program.
10. The radical nationalist character of Nasser bridged the gap between the Arab North Africans arid the Negros Africans south of the Sahara. In his own words, Nasser stated, "**Arabs cannot in any way stand aside from the struggle of Africans against whites because Arabs themselves are in Africa.**" This disproved the claim by the Europeans that they had come to suppress slave trade and slavery encouraged by the Arabs. Nasser's influence therefore drew North Africa and sub Saharan Africa together in spirit, where the

North African states began to actively assist black Africans in their struggle for independence.

11. Revolutionary Egypt became a spiritual home for fugitive Africans. African politicians and freedom fighters who were persecuted by the colonialists sought and enjoyed political asylum in Egypt. These Africans included Ben Khedda of Algeria and Ignatius Musaazi of Uganda. The political safe haven in Egypt boosted their nationalistic feelings and determination to achieve independence in their respective states.
12. Egypt allowed African political organisations to establish external bases within the country. The Front Liberation Nationale (FLN) of Algeria established a government in exile, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Algeria (GPRA) with headquarters in Egypt under Ben Khedda. Ignatius Musaazi of Uganda established an office of the Uganda National Congress (UNO in Cairo).
13. Nasser the leader of revolutionary Egypt condemned racist regimes in Africa. He demanded the British to dissolve the Central African Federation (CAP). He identified himself with the blacks in South Africa against the apartheid system, and denounced the UDI Government of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia in favour of Zimbabwe majority rule.
14. Egypt promoted African culture through the use of cultural shows. Nasser opened up libraries of African section, which increased interest in African studies and encouraged the study of African languages like Kiswahili, Hausa alongside the common Arabic language in Egypt. He set up a society for African culture to search into the African past. All these helped to fasten African unity and cultural revival.
15. Revolutionary Egypt promoted a propaganda base against European dominancy in Africa. Nasser encouraged anti-colonial activities and crusade by offering Radio Cairo as the free voice of Africa. Radio Cairo influenced the struggle for African independence through broadcasting revolutionary ideas in African languages such as Hausa, Kiswahili, Arabic and European languages like English and French. Egypt dedicated the Kiswahili service to the Kenyan cause during the Mau-Mau uprising.
16. At the Bandung conference of 1955, Nasser played an important role in developing the policy of positive neutrality (non-alignment). This principle was adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) with Nasser as one of the founding fathers. Egypt encouraged other African states to fight against foreign domination and influenced Asian states to support the struggle for African independence, which gave Africans a wide base to challenge colonialism. Nasser encouraged independent African leaders to adopt non-alignment policy against the cold war of the super powers.
17. The success of the 1952 coup in Egypt against Farouk inspired the overthrow of puppet and neo-colonial leaders in Africa. On ascending to power in 1954, Nasser supported Colonel Muammar Gaddafi to stage a Libyan coup against the puppet king Idris in 1969. This was a sign that Nasser denounced and fought against neo-colonial influence in Africa.
18. Revolutionary Nasser led Egypt to condemn secessionism in Africa. Nasser the leader of Egypt supported Patrice Lumumba of Congo against the 1960 Katanga rebellion (secessionist war) led by Moise Tshombe. Egypt also condemned the 1967-70 Biafra secessionist war (uprising) of the Ibo led by Ojukwu Odumwegwu against the Nigerian Federal Government of Yakubu Gowon.
19. Nasser inspired leaders of both independent African states and nationalist movements to adopt socialism. Those who adopted the socialist ideology attracted support from the communist states, notably Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea

Conakry and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

## **THE SUEZ CANAL AFFAIR**

### **Nationalization of the Suez Canal Company**

The Suez Canal is a sea level waterway that goes through Egypt, connecting the Mediterranean and the Red seas. 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 metres deep and about 205 metres 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 construction of the canal was proposed by the French diplomat to Cairo, Engineer Ferdinand Marie De Lesseps. He 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 he announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company, an Egyptian registered company owned by the French and British shareholders. The company had ran the canal since 1869 and its tenure (contract) was due to continue until 1968. In his words Nasser declared, "**Today in the name of the people, I am taking over the company. Tonight, our Egyptian Canal will be ran by Egyptians.**" He then placed the canal under the Suez Canal Authority of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

### **Causes of the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company**

#### **Reference Questions:**

- Account for the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956**
- Examine the factors that influenced Nasser to take over control of the Suez Canal**

1. 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, Mustafa Nahas Pasha's government rejected the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty and tried to unilaterally 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. The outcome of these negotiations was the 1954 treaty in which Britain committed to withdrawing from the Suez Canal zone before the end of 1956. By June 18, 1956, (the British who had been an obstacle to

Nasser's ambitions) had completely withdrawn from the Canal Zone, forcing the government of Nasser to put it under state control on July 26, 1956.

2. Nasser was influenced by communism to nationalise the Suez Canal in 1956. By 1955, relations between Egypt and the West i.e. France and the UK had declined. The policies of Nasser had threatened western interests in the Middle East. This followed the 'intimacy' between Israel and the Western powers of France and the United Kingdom yet Israel was an archrival to the Arab World. This is one reason why France and Britain refused to sell arms to Egypt, forcing Nasser to turn to the communist powers for solace. 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.
3. The abrupt withdrawal of Anglo-American financial offer to Nasser estimated at 66 million pounds (70 million dollars) 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 Red China (the Communist People's Republic of China). The UK government of Anthony Eden condemned Nasser of being anti-western and instead promoted Russian influence in the Middle East. The revolutionary leader responded by announcing the government takeover of the Suez Canal Company on July 26, 1956.
4. Consequently, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Nasser followed his ambition to establish the Aswan Engineering project. The Aswan project was Nasser's prime reason for nationalising the canal, 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.
5. The Suez Canal was strategically located and its control would confirm the spread of "Nasserism" in the Arab world. The canal was a straight path to the Middle East oil fields of the Persian Gulf. It also acted as a way station for Muslim Pilgrims travelling to and from Mecca. The nationalisation and control of the canal would enable the fulfillment of Nasser's regional ambitions as the champion of Arab unity and African liberation, and later spread the ideology of "Neutralism" and Non-alignment.
6. 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 claimed for the Egyptian control of the canal will full compensation to the shareholders.

7. 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, enchantment, excitement and praises of Nasser began soon as he proclaimed the nationalisation of the canal and spread from Alexandria to other parts of Egypt and the Arab world.
8. 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. He viewed the pact as a disruption of Arab solidarity and a move by the United Kingdom to consolidate British economic imperialism in the Middle East the Egyptian control over the Suez Canal would enable Nasser to establish an Arab defence pact as opposed to the Western controlled Middle East defence -pact emphasised at Baghdad.
9. In a related context, putting the Suez Canal Company under Egyptian control was one of the through which Nasser would 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 perpetuated foreign dominance in the Suez Canal.
10. Nasser was influenced by the Non-alignment ideology and neutralism. He had earlier on participated in the April 1955 Bandung Conference that led to the emergence of the principle of neutralism. Nasser preferred to delink from Western connections arguing that international control over the canal would infringe (abuse) Egyptian sovereignty. The Non-aligned principles influenced Nasser's foreign policy that made him to nationalise the canal in order to avoid or involvement in the cold war.

#### **Effects of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company**

##### **Reference Questions:**

- a) **Assess the effects of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company**
  - b) **Of what significance was the nationalization of the Suez Canal?**
1. The nationalisation of the canal increased the popularity of Nasser in Egypt and the Middle East. The Egyptians greeted it very emotionally and throughout the Arab world, thousands of masses entered the streets shouting slogans of support for Nasser. This increased the fame of Nasser and made the US ambassador Henry A. Byroade to state, "**I cannot over emphasise the popularity of the canal nationalisation within Egypt, even among Nasser's enemies.**"
  2. The successful nationalisation of the canal promoted Nasser as a pan Arabist leader. Throughout the Arab world, Nasser became a strong figure in promoting Arab interests against western influence. The nationalisation was Nasser's largest pan Arab triumph at the time and soon his portraits were to be found in the tents of Yemen, the souks of Marrakesh and the posh villas of Syria.

3. The policy of nationalising the Suez Canal Company worsened relations between Nasser and the west. Politicians and public opinion from both France and Britain demanded the strongest as inures to force the 'upstart' dictator of Egypt before he paralysed all their interests in the middle East. Anthony Eden, the bedridden Premier of the UK became very much angered by Nasser's move on the canal and wished him murdered; while the French Premier Guy Mollet compared him to "Hitler."
4. Consequently, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal exposed the Anglo-French conspiracy. Nasser promised full compensation to key shareholders in the canal company i.e. Britain and France, and ensured steady flow of traffic, the two European powers instead pursued a military intervention. The political chiefs from the two powers i.e. Sir Anthony Eden of Britain and Guy Mollet of France prepared for a military showdown with Egypt, plotting to cause Nasser's downfall.
5. Consequently, following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company, the British interests and influence in the Middle East were put at stake. The UK was at risk of losing her oil resources in the Middle East and her shortest route to the Far East was as well hindered. The Suez Canal was the world's most important international waterway of the time and the most valuable to the British.
6. The event threatened international harmony and led to the intervention of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). In early October 1956, a meeting was held by the UNSC on the matter of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. The seating delegates adopted a resolution recognizing Egypt's right to control the canal as long as traffic passage through it for foreign ships was not threatened. This resolution was encouraged by Eisenhower's (USA) administration.
7. Soon after the Suez Canal had been put under Egyptian control, an increased but steady flow of traffic through the canal was realised. This confirmed to the American wish of the canal under Egyptian control without hampering the traffic. Under Egyptian management, traffic on the canal increased from an average 42 ships daily to between 45 and 50 ships. Nasser improved on the canal by widening and deepening it. This enabled the waterway to allow passage of large vessels of about 60000 tons from the limit of 20300 tons.
8. Following the nationalisation of the canal, revenues and benefits increased for the Egyptian to enjoy. Nasser's reforms on the canal did not only provide employment opportunities to Egyptians but also boosted the national incomes of the Egyptian treasury. The government of Nasser was now able to collect between 50 and 77 million dollars per annum.
9. The event increased Arab-Israeli rivalry. Nasser, upon declaring Egyptian sole control of the canal company, he went ahead to block the passage of Israeli traffic by closing the Gulf of Aqaba, suffocating traffic on the Red Sea and consequently affected Israel and her trading activities with Europe.
10. Consequently, the event led to (divergent) mixed reactions of major NATO powers i.e. the USA, France and Britain. Like France and Britain, the USA regarded Nasser as a menace but did not share the Anglo-French enthusiasm for war; instead, the US-government preferred economic pressures on Egypt as an option. The USA's administration of Eisenhower condemned a possible attack on Egypt by France and Britain and demanded that the dispute surrounding the nationalisation of the Suez Canal be resolved by a negotiated settlement, claiming that they would only apply if traffic through the canal was halted (affected).

11. The nationalisation policy of Nasser over the Suez Canal Company inevitably led to "tripartite aggression" on Egypt (i.e. the Suez war). While negotiations with Egypt were underway, Eden of the UK and Mollet of France engaged in a secret conspiracy to invade Egypt together with Israel and capture (seize) the canal. Hence, on the October 29, 1956, Israeli forces crossed into Sinai and raced towards the canal. On October 31, an Anglo-French attack launched on Egypt aimed at destroying Nasser's regime including dropping of leaflets urging Egyptians to overthrow Nasser. This sparked off the Suez war.
12. The nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company marked the end of foreign domination in Egypt Nasser went ahead to put all British and French investments, property and enterprises totaling to 15,000 under Egyptian government control. These included banks, insurance comp; businesses, etcetera. New laws were passed requiring such companies, banks and commercial ventures to be registered with majority shares and management taken up by Egyptians.
13. Egyptian independence became meaningful following the Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal. This became inevitable as the British finally withdrew from the Suez Canal zone, with the remaining British technocrats seen off last. This therefore marked the end of British imperial ambitions in the region. The British military base in the Suez had been the largest external basisin the world and had given Britain an upper hand in the affairs of not only Egypt but also the Middle East.
14. Egyptian control of the canal intensified the relationship between Nasser and the Soviet Union. In October 1958, Nasser concluded a deal with the Soviet Union, which assured Nasser of Soviet finance to enable him to kick-start the Aswan dam project. By the end of the decade, Soviet Egyptians had gained momentum and had spread to the rest of the Arab world,

### **THE SUEZ CANAL WAR (TRIPARTITE AGGRESSION)**

Right from the time of the revolution, Nasser's domestic and foreign policies were geared towards weakening Egyptian economic dependence on the west. Following the nationalisation of the canal on July 26, 1956, Nasser declared that he would build the Aswan engineering project with canal revenues and would make imperialists choke in their extreme anger.

Exploiting the 1954 Anglo-Egyptian agreement signed October 19, the British plotted an attack on Egypt. The 1954 treaty had a provision that allowed the British and the French to use military intervention on the canal in protection of their interests. This however, would be commended in case of threat of the interests of the Soviet Union in Egypt. Henceforth the British and the French negotiated a plan with Israel, which would result in the return of the Suez to the British and the French, the overthrow of the Nasser regime and restoration of European, Christian and Jewish property. They decided to use substantial Israel elements operating in the Egypt after convincing Israel of the threat Nasser posed to their continued existence.

Israeli troops invaded the Egyptian possessions in Gaza and the Sinai on October 29. Following the Israeli invasion of the Sinai, Britain and France issued an ultimatum to separate the combatants i.e. Egypt and Israel. Egypt was asked to withdraw her forces west of the canal, which - Nasser rejected. Accordingly, following the terms of the canal treaty of October 1954, British and the French troops launched own attack in the canal zone on October 31, using a combined force of air strikes, naval bombardments and parachute drops. They bombed strips to destroy Nasser's air force, landing troops at port Saidi and dropping leaflets on Cairo urging the Egyptians to overthrow Nasser's regime. This therefore, resulted into the tripartite aggression on Egypt.

The tripartite aggression motivated Nasser's determination to defend Egyptian sovereignty even though British Prime Minister Anthony Eden believed it would take a short time before Nasser defeated. Therefore, the Suez war (tripartite aggression) which occurred between October and November 1956 was an aggressive war on the part of Israel, Britain and France but a war of liberation on Egypt.

### **Causes**

#### **Reference questions**

- a) Account for the tripartite aggression on Egypt in 1956
- b) Examine the causes of the 1956 Suez Canal crisis.
- c) Discuss the causes and effects of the Suez war.
- d) To what extent did Abdel Nasser contribute to the Suez war of 1956?
- e) "Western imperialism was primarily responsible for the tripartite aggression on Egypt." Discuss

1. The unilateral nationalisation of the Suez Canal led to the Suez war. On July 26, 1956 Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company but with compensation to shareholders. He aimed at completely eradicating British influence in the Suez region and delinking Egyptian economic dependence on the west. Nasser went ahead to nationalise all the property belonging to the French and the British but spared those of the Jews. France and Britain were however frustrated by Nasser's move hence supported Israel to attack Egypt.
2. Consequently, the anti-British feelings in Egypt influenced Nasser to put the Egyptian Canal under government control. The Egyptian leader referred to British influence and that of the French as a sign of neocolonialism in the sovereign state of Egypt. The existence of the British in Egypt was also a threat to Egyptian political and economic ambitions in the Middle East. The war on the canal was therefore a result of Nasser's ambitions to totally eradicate the British influence in the Nile state and make the independence of Egypt meaningful.
3. The desire by Nasser to spread his pan Arabist policy made the Suez war inevitable. Nasser had the ambition of uniting the Arab states and achieving independence for all Arab countries including Palestine that was under Israeli imperialism. This was against the Zionists who were archrivals of the Arab world. It was under this background that Israel attacked Egypt.
4. Egypt supported terrorist activities on Israel that caused the Suez war. Nasser recruited, trained and armed the "Fedayeen" commandos comprising Palestinian refugees in Gaza as well as Egyptian volunteers. Between 1954 and 1955, the Fedayeen carried out raids on Israel from Egypt. This made Israel to retaliate by attacking the Egyptian of Sinai and Gaza strip.
5. The crisis was motivated by the imperialistic interests of Israel in the Canal Zone and the Middle East. Israel had the desire to have monopoly over the Middle East affairs, to access Africa through the Suez Canal and to consolidate her continued existence in the Middle East. All these conflicted with the Egyptian policy in the Middle East and laid grounds for the war.
6. Egyptian leaning towards the eastern bloc led to the Suez Canal war. Nasser acquired

funds from the Soviet Union for the construction of the Nile high dam at Aswan and made an arms deal with USSR and Czechoslovakia. To make matters worse, Nasser exchanged visits with the sovient Union leaders. All these angered Britain who engaged in the tripartite aggression on Egypt.

7. Consequently, the recognition of the communist governance at Peking by Nasser as the official government of China against the preferred Taiwan government recognised by the capitalist world led to the Suez war. This move by Nasser annoyed the USA and the UK who withdrew promised 66 million pounds meant for the construction of the Aswan high dam. The withdrawal of the Anglo-American promised funds prompted Nasser to nationalise the canal, paving way for the Suez war.
8. The abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty made the Suez Canal crisis inevitable. The treaty stipulated that the British withdraw from the canal region completely, and stop influencing the political and economic affairs of Egypt by 1956; i.e. within twenty years. The continued British stay without signs of vacating the Nile state of Egypt was interpreted by Nasser as an intended British policy to continue exploiting his nation. Nasser therefore nationalized British property leading to the tripartite aggression on Egypt.
9. The anti-imperialist policy of Nasser was a threat to the French and the British in their respective colonies. Nasser's support of African nationalism, which was witnessed throughout the liberation process of Africa scared the colonial masters. Nasser extended material or moral support to the Fronte de Liberation Nationale (FLN) in Algeria against the French and the Mau-Mau in Kenya against the British. The two colonial powers therefore plotted to destroy Nasser through the Suez war.
10. The withdrawal of the 66 million pounds that had been promised to Nasser by the UK and the US governments made the Suez Canal crisis inevitable. The financial assistance was the enable Nasser to construct the Aswan, Engineering Project to generate hydroelectric power and reserve land for agriculture. The withdrawal of this financial and technical assistance forced Nasser to nationalise the Suez Canal Company and to seek for assistance from the eastern bloc. All these were a contribution to the outbreak of the Suez Canal crisis.
11. The closure of the Gulf of Aqaba by Nasser led to the tripartite aggression on Egypt. Closing the Gulf of Aqaba blocked Israeli ties with Europe and suffocated the Red Sea traffic, hence affecting Israel and her economy. In response, the Zionists opted to settle this account with Egypt through a military confrontation. The chance surfaced in 1956 when Israel invaded the Sinai and rapid reached the Suez Canal.
12. The violation of the Angle-French ultimatum caused the war on the Suez Canal. The ultimatum was a warning on Egypt to stay in a radius of ten miles away from the canal as a step towards preventing a confrontation between Israel and Egypt. Nasser rejected the ultimatum, forcing the Anglo-French forces to declare war on Egypt, and immediately launched an attack on October 31,1956
13. The strategic location of the Suez Canal caused the war. To Egypt and Israel, the control of the canal would make them control their economic supremacy in the Middle East. The canal was a passage of Islamic pilgrims to Mecca, which is why Nasser never wanted it under western control. On the part of Britain and France, the canal was the shortest route to the oil producing countries of the Persian Gulf; thus, the struggle to control the canal caused the Suez war.
14. Nasser was opposed to the 1955 Baghdad pact initiated by Britain, hence causing a

disagreement with the United Kingdom. The Baghdad pact was an initiative of the United Kingdom aimed at consolidating British imperial influence in the Middle East at the expense of the interests of the Soviet Union. Nasser de-campaigned this British policy by influencing the overthrow of the Arab regimes that were pro-west and had supported the Baghdad pact for example Murhez Said Prime Minister of Iraq, King Faisal II of Saudi Arabia; as well as influencing King Hussein of Jordan to dismiss his British joint army chief of staff. All these annoyed the British who master minded the tripartite aggression.

15. Consequently, the threat of the interests on the Soviet Union in the Middle East contributed to the Suez Canal conflict. The USSR equally wanted to destroy the Baghdad pact and was not happy with the Arab states that signed the anti-Soviet pact in Baghdad (Iraq) in 1955. These Arab countries included Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Iran. The USSR therefore, extended intensive financial and military assistance to Nasser, which annoyed the western powers since they were against communist interests in the Arab region. The west led by Britain imposed financial and trade sanctions on Egypt; worsened diplomatic relations with Nasser hence, paving way the conflict.
16. The threat on British interests in the Middle East and the Mediterranean Sea trade made the tripartite aggression inevitable. Following the withdrawal of the economic assistance to Nasser by the USA and the UK, Nasser did not only nationalise the Suez Canal but went ahead to put all the Anglo-French property under state control. The British feared that they could lose their shares in the Suez Canal. For this reason therefore, the British decided to get back at Nasser and overthrow his government hence the Suez war.
17. The formation of the Free Users Association on the Suez Canal caused the Suez war. The Free Users Association was initiated by Nasser to control traffic on the Suez Canal. The association on many occasions refused to guarantee free passage of Anglo-French ships forcing Britain to interpret this as a deliberate move by Nasser to suffocate the British trade activities in the Mediterranean Sea. In response, Britain supported Israel to attack the Egyptian Sinai peninsula.
18. The immediate cause of the Suez war was the Israeli attack on the Egyptian territories in the Gaza and Sinai. Britain and France convinced Israel that her continued existence was fragile with the activities of Nasser in the Arab world. Following the attack on the Sinai, Nasser was determined to protect the sovereign existence of Egypt, no wonder that he refused to respect the Anglo-French ultimatum, leading to the Anglo-French attack on the Egyptian territories, hence the tripartite aggression.

### **IMPACT OF THE SUEZ CANAL CONFLICT**

The Suez Canal war had far-reaching consequences on Egypt, Africa, the Arab world and Europe

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) Assess the consequences of the 1956 tripartite aggression
- b) How did the Suez war affect the Egyptians?

#### **Positive effects:**

1. The war established Nasser as one of the pragmatic leaders of the Non-aligned movement. Nasser became the ambassador of Non-alignment as he advocated for the policy of positive neutrality in Africa and the Middle East. The Non-alignment movement represented the voice of the oppressed against colonial domination and foreign aggression.
2. The victory of Nasser over Britain and France (tripartite powers) boosted his personal

overnight as the father of the pan Arab world. As a result, his portraits appeared in public places from Morocco to Muscat. Therefore, the Suez war built Nasser's successful defense of independence and sovereignty.

3. After the war, Nasser immediately nationalised all the remaining enterprises, investments and installations belonging to the French and the British. Henceforth, the British and the French vacated Egypt immediately and this marked the end of the long British influence in this Nile state of North Africa.
4. The Suez crisis confirmed the victory of Nasser at home politically and diplomatically. It boosted his popularity and demonstrated a new sense of nationalistic commitment where the Egyptians including political opposition groups all rallied behind Nasser for a national cause.
5. After the war, Egypt gained full control of the canal away from foreigners. This control boosted Egyptian revenues from the canal, which almost doubled. By 1964, Egypt was collecting 77 million dollars from the canal per annum. The control of the canal also contributed to the full independence of Egypt.
6. Consequently, Nasser embarked on the Aswan high project on the Nile River: The dam was aimed at regulating the flow of the Nile, spare land for agriculture of about one million hectares and generating hydroelectric power. The completion of the dam facilitated industrial development in Egypt.
7. The success of Nasser in the Suez war was a major factor in the creation of the Union between Egypt and Syria. This union was established as the United Arabic Republic; it was aimed at creating Arab unity and solidarity in the Middle East.
8. The end of the Suez war facilitated and consolidated a communist alliance between Egypt and the communist world. More military and technical treaties were signed between Egypt and the Soviet Union and later, Russian financial assistance flew into Egypt to enable the construction of the Aswan high project.
9. The result of the war encouraged Nasser to support the overthrow of the conservative monarchical Arab governments. These included King Idris of Libya who was overthrown in 1969. Many of these Arab leaders that were overthrown were pro-west and therefore supported 1955 Baghdad pact.
10. The war made Cairo a shopping centre and a meeting place for African nationalists. Political parties or liberation movements and their leaders were attracted to Cairo for political reasons. These political organizations included the Uganda National Congress (UNC) and its Leader Ignatius Kangave Musaazi and the National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria under their representative Ben Kedda.
11. The end of the Suez war intensified the Egyptian support to the liberation movements in Africa against colonialism. In particular, Egypt extended massive financial, military and moral support to the Fronte Liberation Nationale (FLN) of Algeria. This made the British and French to lose their colonies in Africa.
12. Consequently, the war facilitated political developments in Franco-phone states. The Suez conflict weakened the French colonial empire as it brought to the French throne a liberal leader, General Charles de Gaulle in 1958. Charles favored the decolonization of French colonial Africa by organizing a referendum for Africans to determine their destiny.
13. The war was one of the events after World War II that brought together the two super

powers together. USA and USSR shared a common foreign policy on the Suez war where they both denounced the tripartite aggression Egypt and recognized the custodianship of Egypt over the Suez Canal.

### **Negative effects**

14. The Suez war caused mass destruction of life and property especially on the side of Egypt. About 300 most of whom Egyptians were killed in the battle, while vast quantities of equipment were destroyed.
15. The war demolished the sounding cities of Egypt. The most affected were the Suez city and Alexandria. This was caused by the British and the French fighter planes whose motive was to cause Nasser severe casualties. The Egyptian air force initiated by Nasser was also shattered.
16. Consequently, Egypt was forced to withdraw from the rest of the Sinai and Gaza region by the United Nations Security Council. The Security Council went ahead to immediately deploy a peace force to oversee security and stability in the area.
17. Egypt also lost territories to Israel. These included Sharm el-Sheikh in Southern Sinai which was one of Egypt's military posts. More territories were lost by Egypt following the six days war of 1967, which was almost an extension of the Suez war. After the six days war, Israel annexed all of the Egyptian Sinai territory up to the East Bank of the Suez Canal.
18. The war had negative economic implications of Egypt and Israel. Egypt lost revenues from the canal since the water way did not operate during the war. On the side of Israel, her water traffic was suffocated during the war.
19. The war damaged the prestige and influence of Britain and France in the Middle East which affected their economic interests. On gaining full control of the Suez Canal, Nasser confiscated all the remaining Anglo French assets in Egypt.

### **GHANAIAN NATIONALISM**

#### **THE REVOLUTION IN GHANA FROM THE GOLD COST TO GHANA**

##### **Reference questions:**

- a) Account for the early independence of Ghana
- b) Examine the factors that facilitate the independence of Ghana
- c) Discuss the factor for the rise of nationalism in the Gold Coast.

1. The Ghanaian revolution refers to tremendous changes registered by the nationalists in the Gold Coast during the struggle for independence and nation building thereafter. Ghana was initially a British colony of the Gold Coast. She was first African country south of the Sahara to achieve independence on March 6, 1957 under the name of ancient empire of Ghana. The struggle for independence of the Gold Coast was possible owing to a series of political, social and economic factors.
2. The influence of the historical traditional resistance (anti-colonial movements) in the Gold Coast led to the independence struggle. Since the introduction of British rule in the middle of the nineteenth century, the masses in the Gold Coast staged heroic resistance against the British. The 1852 poll tax ordinance imposed by the British was opposed and rejected in the eastern parts of the coast (Akuapem, Akyem and Krobo); and in the central region. In 1870's, there was an armed resistance by the Fante confederation government (of mainly

Akan speakers) which was geared towards pushing for a policy of self-determination. The other early resistance was by the people of Asante against the British attempt to take away their traditional golden stool. Though the earlier resistances were crushed, they inspired early activities of the independence movement led in 1930 by Danquah.

3. The homogenous nature of the people of the Gold Coast promoted national unity and favoured independence movement. The people of the Gold Coast were not exposed to severe trouble and hatred due to the common history and culture. They were proud of their ancestry in the old empire of Ghana of which kept their nationalism active. The majority (about 60%) were Akan speakers who had spread their cultural influence to non-Akans such as the Kwahu, Ewe and Ga. This created a strong sense of nationalism, which was witnessed as early as the 1930s. In the course of the struggle for independence, cases of ethnic clashes were absent in the Gold Coast as there was no major ethnic group to claim the epitome of the struggle for independence. Traditional rulers such as Nana Kobina Nketsia of Esikadu in Western region greatly supported the CPP led by Nkrumah of the Eastern region and he was always arrested along other politicians for their political agitations against the British colonial government.
4. Economically, the Gold Coast was progressive with developed socio-economic infrastructures that favored independence struggle. The road and railway systems were well developed while the colony enjoyed international trade links through water harbours like Accra. The colony had a well-developed road network that was operating as early as 1910. The roads included Accra-Kyebi, Kumase-Yeji, Salaga-Tamale and Nsawam-Cape-Coast-Sekondi among others. The railroad network was the first to be developed and by 1945, Kumasi, the Central Province, Tarkwa, Prestea; Takoradi and Kade (in the Eastern Region) were all connected by rail. Though the British government developed the transport systems to exploit the economic potentials of the colony, and facilitate administration, they instead facilitated nationalist mobilisations and national unity necessary for the struggle for independence.
5. Consequently, the relative economic status of the Gold Coast contributed to the early independence of the West African country. The country enjoyed high income per capita from the cocoa production from which the Gold Coast was the leading producer in the whole world. Apart from cocoa and palm oil farming, the economy was progressing with major activities in timber and mining of gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite. This materialism benefited the natives and gave them an economic power to finance the independence struggle. The economic success of the Gold Coast thus aroused among nationals a strong sense of struggle for self-determination that led to the early independence.
6. The wide spread western education in the Gold Coast led to the early independence. By 1946, the country had a large number of elites who included lawyers, teachers, journalists, and businesspersons. This upcoming middle class had received advanced professional training and comprised influential figures like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. J.B. Danquah, Ernest Arko Adjei and William Ofori Atta among others. Despite their high education qualifications, they were denied senior positions of trust and responsibility while those

employed were paid salaries *far* below their European counterparts. This system of discrimination embittered (angered) African educated patriots who were convinced that given their qualifications, they were in no way inferior to the educated whites. The formal education thus helped to unite people of different ethnic groups and consciously equipped them to appreciate the political and socio economic injustices of colonialism. They stood for their rights, became sympathetic to the masses and got involved in mobilization against the colonial system.

7. Consequently, the formation and role of political parties contributed to the struggles against British rule in the Gold Coast. There were various political parties in the country but at the forefront were the UGCC and the CPP. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was formed in August 1947 by the upper allies led by prominent Sekondi business personnel of the Central Province George Grant, Dr. Joseph.B. Danquah, Ernest Arko Adjei, Edward Akufo Addo among other. However, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) formed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1949 later hijacked the dominant influence of the UGCC. The parties transformed passive grievances in to active agitations. They promoted political awareness through associating with masses all over the country, opening up party branches in many districts, as well as setting up political machinery to revolutionarise the struggle for self-government.
8. The 1948 riots in the Gold Coast expressed that the masses were ripe for independence. On February 28, 1948, a group of ex-servicemen of World War II marched to Accra to present a petition of their grievances to the governor Sir Gerald Creasy. A British police officer superintendent Larray fired at the marching crowd to disperse it but killed about three of them including Sergeant Adjetey the leader of the ex-servicemen. This incident sparked off more violence in other Principal towns like Kumasi and the Cape Coast, during, which European and Syrian shops were looted, with over twelve other deaths recorded. The colonial government responded by detaining without trial many people including six of the UGCC leaders (Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. J.B. Danquah, Ernest Arko Adjei, Edward Akufo Addo, Obetsebi-Lamptey and William Ofori Atta) for allegedly stirring the riots. The arrest of the UGCC leaders worsened the situation than it solved and hence hardened the anti-colonial sentiments.
9. The role of the ex-servicemen of World War II was equally responsible for the Ghanaian struggle for independence. The Gold Coast had over fifty thousand (50,000) ex-servicemen who by 1946 had returned home. The conditions upon their return frustrated and embittered them with great unemployment caused by retrenchment from the colonial army. Many of the promises made by the British colonial government during the recruitment of the Ghanaians to serve in the SecondWorld War were not fulfilled. The Ghanaian recruits were promised better welfare after the war, job opportunities and good wages. They witnessed the struggle for independence in India and Burna where most of them went to fight and with political and democratic experience from the war. The ex-servicemen condemned the inferior treatment given to the Ghanaians and criticized their position as subordinates of the 'white colonial masters'. They spread the propaganda of democracy and fundamental rights, including the right to self-determination.

10. Consequently, the aftermath of World War II affected the Gold Coast negatively and caused their desire for independence. During the war, the British colonial government of the Gold Coast paid less attention to the normal supplies to support the colonial population. The colony thus suffered a general scarcity of basic goods especially those imported overseas. This raised the prices of such goods, causing inflation and economic hardships to the ordinary people. The colonial government initiated the quota system, which drove the local importers out of business. This unfavourable economic climate also affected school leavers, majority of whom were unable to acquire employment. The unemployment problem was worsened by the retrenchment of ex-servicemen of the Second World War who had returned with experience of western democracy. The after effects of the Second World War therefore, furnished Ghanaian nationalism and prepared ground for paid salaries attainment.
11. Impact of swollen shoot disease in the Gold Coast aroused nationalism of the masses against British colonialism. The swollen shoot disease attacked and destroyed cocoa trees at an alarming rate in the late 1940s. This prompted the colonial government to initiate a campaign against the cocoa disease through a policy of cutting down all infected cocoa tree in order to save the cocoa industry. A midst political mistrusts and tension, the country's population 65% of whom were cocoa farmers interpreted the government campaign against the swollen shoot disease as a deliberate move to ruin the Ghanaian peasants and instead boost industry in other British tropical colonies. Their argument was that if a person is sick with any sort of disease, attempts are made to cure but not kill him. It is on this ground that all farmers openly rallied behind the struggle against the British colonial government.
12. The continued British exploitation led to the early independence at the Gold Coast. The British milked the country through monopolies over marketing Ghanaian farmers produce (cocoa, palm oil and timber) and mining (gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite). They offered low prices to the farmers and pocketed abnormal profits in the process. The Ghanaian farmers had no control over prices of their produce even when they owned the plantations. Instead, prices were determined by European buying agencies who fixed prices at will, often far below the prevailing world price. This was also witnessed in the mineral business especially gold and manganese. The natives often organised strikes and demonstrations against this exploitation of the British but were unsuccessful. This increased their economic grievances and hence preferred immediate independence.
13. Impact of the National Congress of British West Africa led to the struggle for the independence of the Gold Coast. The congress was founded in 1920 by a leading Ghanaian patriot, Joseph E. Casely Hayford with a major aim of establishing an inter-territorial front to fight for self-rule for the British West African colonies (i.e. The Gambia, The Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone). The congress demanded that half of the members of the legislative council in each colony be Africans, elected to represent people's demands; and that the colonialists should stop interfering in the selection of traditional rulers. It agitated for a clear separation of the judiciary from the political arm of the governor and that qualified West Africans be given the same opportunity as their European counterparts. The demands of the congress were not achieved immediately, but they influenced the colonial concessions from the 1920s, which later enabled the attainment of Ghanaian independence.

14. The activities of the youth movements inspired nationalism in the Gold Coast. There was The Gold Coast Youth Conference formed in 1930, whose members included J.B. Danquah, J.C. de Graft-Johnson, Dr. Nanka-Bruce and Miss Ruby Quartey-Papafio. The Youth Conference largely fought for political and economic reforms and the removal of all forms of discrimination in public employment and in society generally. The other was the West African Youth League introduced in the country in 1934, and whose major activists were non-Ghanaians, I.T.A. Wallace Johnson from Sierra Leone and Nnamdi Azikiwe from Nigeria. The Youth League was more radical and revolutionary; it demanded for full political independence for the people and gained popularity through its newspaper, the African Morning Post that published anti-imperialist articles. Though the youth movements had been weakened before World War II, their activities had well prepared the minds of the Ghanaians to take up arms for the overthrow of the colonial system.
15. The constitutional changes by the British colonial government after World War II provoked the Ghanaian desire for independence. Following continuous demands by the youth movements and other nationalist movements, Governor Sir .Alan Burns initiated a new constitution in 1946. The Burns constitution reduced the official and nominated members of the legislative assembly to twelve (12) and doubled the elected members (all Africans) to eighteen (18). From the eighteen, seats for the Africans, thirteen were given to the traditional chiefs who were regarded colonial agents, hence giving them a stronger voice in the legco at the expense of masses. The new constitution also gave Governor Burns reserved powers to reject any decision by the majority in the legco in the interest of the colonial administration. It also rejected a call by nationalists for universal suffrage as a means to create a strong voice for the people in the assembly. Failure by the Burns constitution to meet the aspiration of the Ghanaians inspired them to agitate for self-determination. Even the 1951 constitution recommended by the Coussey commission was criticised by the GPP and the ex-service men as it favoured chiefs and elitist groups that were pro-colonial administration arid hence, could not be trusted as champions of independence.
16. The influence of the 1945 Pan African Congress at Manchester motivated the Ghanaian demand for independence. Pan Africanism was introduced in West Africa earlier than other African regions. The activities of Nkrumah and Danquah during the struggle for Ghanaian independence were inspired by pan Africanism. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah met the pan Africanists first in the USA before working with them later in the United Kingdom during the 1945 Manchester Conference. Nkrumah engaged with George Padmore and Dr William Edward Burdghart (W.E.B) Du Bois in Manchester to organize a successful Pan African Congress. (Nkrumah and Du Bois worked as secretaries to the conference). The conference demanded for immediate African independence, condemned colonial exploitation in Africa, and agitated for mass mobilisation through political parties. The spirit of pan Africanism enabled Nkrumah and Danquah to increase their political activities geared towards independence.
17. The independence attained by former British colonial dependents outside Africa inspired the people of the Gold Coast to engage in the struggle against British colonial oppression. Ireland, India and Pakistan were freed from British colonialism soon after World War II. In

particular the acquisition of independence by India incited educated Africans in the Gold Coast to conclude that the British had acknowledged independence rights of the colonial people. The Ghanaian nationalists adopted the techniques used by Indians to demand for their independence, like Gandhiism. Nkrumah adopted the use of demonstrations and boycotts to push for political reforms. He formed the Convention People's Party and adopted the cap of the Indian National Congress as the CPP symbol and the catching colours for the flag.

18. The impact of the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya (1952-55) threatened the colonialists to initiate fast political reforms, which accelerated the independence of the Gold Coast. The Labour Party government in Britain learnt a lesson from Kenyan nationalism that Africans were ready to devise all means of achieving their political rights. The British government in London conditioned Governor Sir Charles Arden-Clarke to effect changes in the Gold Coast aimed at preventing the violent scenario similar to that in Kenya. The colonial government increased cooperation with Nkrumah's internal autonomous administration to hasten political and socio-economic reforms necessary for independence.
19. The influence of urbanisation accelerated the independence of the Gold Coast. The masses in the countryside from villages like Kwahu, Denkyira, Beyin, Konongo, Odaa, and Nsuta, migrated, in large numbers and settled in urban centres such as Kumase, Cape Coast, Accra, Takoladi and Xotoko. These commercial centres were expanding tremendously due to the success of the cocoa and mining industries, development of the transport and communication networks and import-export business (dominated by people from Syria, Lebanon and Europe). The African urban settlers were frustrated by the unfavourable trade policy, high cost of living, poor social climate, unemployment, poor housing facilities and discrimination by foreigners. Many of them anxiously opposed the colonial government and its favoritism policy of the whites. They were easily mobilized into practical movements in order to resist colonialism.
20. The distinguished role of Kwame Nkrumah facilitated the struggle for the independence of Gold Coast. A man with a humble and parentage background, Nkrumah returned home in November 1947 and accepted the post of Secretary General of the UGCC. He had spent twelve years abroad; ten years in the USA where he was exposed to ideas of political science, economics and Marxism, and two years in the UK where he studied law, political economy and socialism and played a leading role in the WASU and Pan African activities like the Manchester congress. Endowed with vision, courage and youthful dynamism, Nkrumah stood for the Liberation of his countrymen from colonial domination. Through his charismatic personality, considerable -organisation ability and the power of speech, he was able to popularize the struggle amongst the workers, civil servants, shopkeepers and the jobless school leavers. He used strikes and boycotts to paralyse the colonial system. His dissatisfaction with the UGCC prompted him to break away and form the CPP on June 12, 1949, The CPP was a mass political party that led the Gold Coast to independence.
21. The press in the Gold Coast had an influence in preparing the country for independence. The press had become significant in the struggle against imperialism early before World War II. The West African Youth League, a youth movement pioneered by I.T.A. Wallace

Johnson, a Sierra Leonean, and Nnamdi Azikiwe from Nigeria, started a newspaper in the Gold Coast, the African Morning Post, which published anti-imperialist articles. In 1948, the Accra Evening News and the Cape Coast Daily Mail were started under the influence of Kwame Nkrumah. These new nationalist dailies became the major instrument used by the CPP to spread anti-colonial propaganda, and sensitise and mobilise masses in the anti-colonial struggle. They 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 energy they had in the fight to end the colonial repressive system. The press intensified pressure for concessions (reforms) and promoted the slogan of 'Self-government NOW.'

22. Governor Sir Charles Arden-Clarke had his contribution recognised in the course of nationalism. Sir Arden-Clarke became the new governor of the Gold Coast sometime before February 1951 elections. Having assessed the political situation in the colony, Arden-Clarke became tactful in his decisions and policies. Indeed his assumption of office set the pace for self rule in the Gold Coast. The governor allowed Kwame Nkrumah to stand for election even when he was still serving his political prison sentence at James Fort. The results of the February 1951 election were amazing; Governor Arden Clarke stated in his own words that '**Nkrumah and his party had the mass of the people behind him.**' The CPP won 34 of the 38 seats open for popular election by the electoral colleges. Consequently, the governor courageously released him from prison and appointed him Leader of Government Business. In 1952, the Executive council became virtually a cabinet, with Nkrumah becoming the first prime minister of the internal self government.

### **The activities of political parties towards the independence of the Gold Coast**

Two political parties contributed tremendously to the success of the independence of the Gold Coast i.e. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the Convention People's Party (CPP)

#### **THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC)**

The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was formed in August 1947 by the upper allies led by prominent Sekondi business personnel of the Central province, George Grant, Dr. Joseph-B Danquah, Ernest Arko Adjei, and Edward Akufo Addo among others.

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) **How did the UGCC contribute to the decolonisation of the God Coast?**
  - b) **Explain the role of the UGCC in the growth of Ghanaian nationalism**
  - c) **Assess the contribution of the UGCC to the attainment of Ghanaian independence**
1. The UGCC was the first modern political party to be formed in the Gold Coast. Even though it was predominantly 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.
  2. 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.
  3. 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 broadened mass appeal for independence across the country.

4. The UGCC participated in the 1948 February riots, which were a turning point in the struggle for independence in the Gold Coast. The 1948 riots were a blessing in disguise to the UGCC; the riots were fired by discontents of the ex-servicemen of the 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 recruitment to the party for the independence cause.
5. 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 Akufo Addo, Ernest Arko Adjei, William Ofori Atta and E. Obetsebi Lamptey were all arrested and detained with 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 endeavours to achieve self -rule for the Gold Coast.
6. The UGCC condemned and rejected the Coussey constitutional reforms of 1951. These were changes initiated by the constitutional commission of 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.
7. 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.
8. The activities of the UGCC influenced the establishment of a revised constitution issued by the British colonial government of Sir Charles Arden Clarke in 1954. Unlike the Coussey constitution of 1951, the 1954 constitution provided for the establishment of a national assembly with majority seats open to popular election by universal suffrage. This constitution was instrumental in accelerating the independence of the Gold Coast.
9. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) while led by a dynamic Kwame Nkrumah opened up party branches in 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.
10. 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.
11. 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

administrators in the country. Consequently, on behalf of the masses, the party denounced British colonialism and demanded for the immediate independence of Gold Coast.

12. 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.

### **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 zeal 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, Krobo Edusei and Kojo Botsio with whom he broke away from the UGCC. The CPP played the following role in the struggle for independence of the Gold Coast.

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) **How did the CPP contribute to the decolonisation of the God Coast?**
- b) **Explain the role of the CPP in the growth of Ghanaian nationalism**
- c) **Assess the contribution of the CPP to the attainment of Ghanaian independence**

1. The CPP adopted radical slogans such as "Self-Government NOW and "Seek ye first political independence, and all other things shall be added to it." Together with rally dances, a colourful flag, and catching party symbols, the party leadership attracted thousands and turned the CPP into a broad-based party that cut across ethnic barriers. Consequently, the party eclipsed the UGCC and took over the leadership role in the struggle for independence.
2. After taking over the chief responsibility of leading the country to independence, the CPP intensively mobilized the natives against British colonialism. The CPP leadership worked tirelessly, with dedication, to expose the colonial evils, vigorously denounce imperialism, and appeal 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.
3. 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 eradicate 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 was therefore, able to throw its net widely to embrace all Classes of people especially the youth and low-income workers and farmers throughout the country.
4. Through effective use of the press, the CPP made a clear route for the attainment of Ghanaian independence. The party used two nationalist dailies, the Accra Evening News

and the Cart-Coast Daily Mail. These became the major instrument used by the CPP to spread ant-colonial propaganda, and sensitize and mobilize masses in the ant-colonial struggle. 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 press thus, helped the party to call for positive action, nation-wide strikes, intensify pressure for colonial concessions (reform?) and promote the slogan of 'Self-government NOW.'

5. The CPP rejected the constitutional changes proposed by the Coussey report of 1949, which Nkrumah referred to as fraudulent. The CPP members condemned the Coussey committee as a group of people that was enlisted (chosen) by the governor to sing the tune of the colonial masters. The resultant Coussey 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.
6. The CPP used Gandhiism 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.
7. 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 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.
8. The CPP derived popularity from the arrest of party leaders and the response of the British colonial government towards the radicalism of the party. In 1950, following a workers' sit-down strike of January 9, provoked by Nkrumah through an article in the Accra Evening News, the colonial government declared a state of emergency, raided the CPP offices and arrested the editors of the Accra Evening News, and the party leaders who included Nkrumah, Gbedemah and Betsio. The arrest of the leaders of the CPP made them state heroes and honourably strengthened the party in the course of the struggle for independence.
9. 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.
10. 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.

11. 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 speakers in the same way with the non-Akan speakers. The party also worked closely with the ex-servicemen of World War II, the workers, professionals and the peasants, which popularized the struggle of self-determination. The CPP was able to defeat sectarian political organisations like the Northern Peoples Party (NPP) supported by the Gonja, Dogomba and other northern tribes; the National Liberation Movement (NLM) of the Asante, led by Kofi Abreya Busia, and supported by many Northern Asante chiefs like Asantehene Bafuor Osei Akoto and the Togoland Congress (TC) of mainly the Ewe in the Trans-Volta Togoland led by Daniel Chapman, Empraim Amu and Reverend Henri Kwakume. The Trans-Volta Togoland a UN-mandated territory to the British, which the British annexed to the Gold Coast.
12. 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, Kumase, the Cape Coast, Tema and Takoradi. Just as he had done while serving the leadership of the UGCC, Nkrumah effected a politic machinery to co-ordinate between the party leadership in Accra and the party branchy-countrywide. Thus, the CPP was able to over-ride the UGCC that had concentrated her activities-in the urban centres, and among the middle class citizens.
13. 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.

#### **KWAME NKRUMAH FRANCIS KOFI NWIA**

Nkrumah was born on September 21, 1909 in Nkroful in the South western region of the Gold Coast to a goldsmith father, Mr. Mwayi Kofi Francis. After his secondary education, he joined Chicwota where he graduated as a teacher. He later trained in theology. In 1935, Nkrumah left for further studies in the US where he joined Lincoln and Pennsylvania for his masters in Arts and later Law.

The Italian aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 aroused pan African sentiments in Nkrumah; his exposure to the racial problem in America, but as well, the ideas of liberty made him even more radical. The trip to the US marked a turning point in his political career. While in the US, Nkrumah trained in the disciplines of economics, philosophy, Marxism, political science, sociology and history. These liberal subjects shaped his moral outlook. Nkrumah was an active member of Africa Students Movement, which brought together the African students in the US and Canada. This enabled him to exercise his skills of leadership and mobilisation.

His intellectual outlook was also influenced by the writings of Karl Marx and Lenin thus turning him into a disciple of socialism. He was also inspired by the philosophies of Mazzini and the Pan African ideas of Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois.

Nkrumah admired his African teacher, the principal of Hwelles College in Ghana, Dr. Kweggir Aggrey, as such, education made Nkrumah not only an intellectual but also a revolution character. In 1945, Nkrumah left New York for London where he completes his academic mission a lawyer. While in England, he took the occasion to participate in the October 1945 Pan African Congress in Manchester, as a co-secretary. This inspired him to consolidate the anticolonial crusade and later take it back to Africa.

On the eve of his return from the Diaspora, Nkrumah worked briefly as the secretary of African students of West African origin in their association, the West African Students Union (WASU). Through the WASU, Nkrumah established links with the French speaking West Africa students such as Leopold Sedar Sengoh of Senegal and Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast. He also started a newsletter "The New African," in a bid to create a wider appeal for the African cause

### **The role of Kwame Nkrumah Francis Kofi Nwia**

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. His magnetic personality, ambition, charisma, organizational ability and oratorical power made him famous across the country. The role of Nkrumah in the struggle for the independence of the Gold Coast was therefore as follows:

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) **Discuss the influence of Francis Nkrumah during the struggle for independence in the Gold Coast**
  - b) **Examine the role of Kwame Nkrumah in the attainment of independence in Ghana**
  - c) **To what extent was Nkrumah responsible for the decolonisation of Ghana?**
1. Nkrumah accepted the leadership of the UGCC as the Secretary General upon his return to the Gold Coast in 1947. He used his position to radicalise the independence struggle in the Gold Coast, which increased the pace towards independence attainment. His dynamism enabled him to open 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. Nkrumah revolutionised the UGCC to the envy of the very founders.
  2. He made effective use of the press to extend anti-colonial propaganda to various parts of the country like the Asante Region and the Northern Region. He established two nationalist dailies, the Accra Evening News and the Cape Coast Daily Mail. Nkrumah made sure that the articles, cartoons and slogans, which appeared in these papers, were written in a way that was easily understood by the ordinary reader with little formal education; and that they met his aspirations, captured his emotions and influenced him to put in the little he had; in the fight to end the colonial repressive system. The press thus, helped him to call for positive action, nationwide strikes, intensify pressure for colonial concessions (reforms), and promote the slogan of 'Self-government NOW.' This made the movement against colonialism more popular among the masses.
  3. Nkrumah worked hand in hand with trade unions like the Teachers Union and the Railways Union to fight for workers' rights and conducive working conditions at their places of work; this strategy won him support of workers to the struggle for the independence of the Gold

Coast. He was able to call the different groups of workers, professionals and farmers to Positive Action, to demonstrate and strike against the discriminative labour policy of the colonial government. Nkrumah was the brain behind the January 9, 1950 workers' sit-down strike that turned into political chaos, and threatened the colonial system.

4. He formed the committee for the youth after the 1948 riots. This youth committee appealed to the young people and helped to expand membership of the United Gold Coast Convention, which was a vital step towards the struggle for independence. Even after he left the UGCC, Nkrumah's mobilisation strategy targeted the youth especially the school leavers, whose lack of jobs after school compelled their anger to oppose the colonial discriminative system that denied them access to employment. In fact, it was much of the incessant demand and pressure from the youths, who had become his major followers that prompted him to break away from the, UGCC and form the CPP. The youth supporters regarded him '**Osagyefo**' the redeemer.
5. Kwame Nkrumah condemned British colonialism, and mobilised and sensitised the masses about the evils of the British repressive colonial system. He made political tours throughout the country, carried out public lectures and rallies, which incited the masses to support the independence struggle. His mass political rallies reached the remotest villages in the countryside, which he often addressed together with his leading men. This propaganda strategy, supported by an effective organisational and propaganda machinery out-competed the political strategy of the UGCC leadership.
6. The arrest and imprisonment of Nkrumah by the colonial government boosted his radical character in the struggle for self-rule. He was first arrested in February 1948 with the other members of the 'Big Six' following the riots that were fired by the marching of the ex-servicemen to the government headquarters in Accra. The arrest of the 'Big Six' led to open confrontation between the people and the government leading to the eventual release of the leaders. In 1950 Nkrumah was again arrested on charges of inciting political chaos among the workers. The persecution of Nkrumah and the other leaders of the GPP strengthened the party, turned their cause into political martyrdom and graduated Nkrumah and the other prisoners to national heroes in the cause for independence, hence boosting the success of the GPP in the 1951 elections.
7. On June 12, 1949, a day after he broke away from the UGCC, Nkrumah formed a more radical and revolutionary party, the Convention People's Party (GPP), which was to lead the country to independence. The GPP overshadowed other political movements that fought for the Ghanaian independence because it embraced all groups of people, youths, workers, professionals, ex-servicemen among others. Nkrumah expressed the vision of the GPP in the slogan 'Self-government NOW,' opened up party branches throughout the country and always-addressed mass rallies to the remotest villages in every district. He therefore, set in motion very effective organizational and propaganda machinery never known in the Gold Coast before.
8. Dr. Francis Nkrumah opposed the Coussey constitutional reforms that were a result of the

Coussey Committee report of October 1949. He referred to the Coussey recommendations as fraudulent because the report suggested an increased African representation in the Legislative Assembly, but that, the African seats would be dominated by tradition chiefs who were to be appointed by the colonial regime. To Nkrumah and his followers, the Coussey committee was just a group of people that had been enlisted (chosen) by the governor to sing the 'tune of the colonial masters!' Nkrumah's objection to the Coussey report was the foundation for Positive Action of January 9, 1950 that forced the British to carry out more political reforms.

9. Dr. Nkrumah launched "A Positive Action campaign" against colonialism. The campaign educated masses on the use of strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and civil disobedience against the colonial policies. The success and popularity of Nkrumah's Positive Action campaign was demonstrated on January 9, 1950, when (through the Accra Evening News) he called upon workers all over the country to stage a sit-down strike as a sign of their support to the demand for an end to colonial administration. All workers in the country joined the sit-down strike Nkrumah and most of the CPP leaders and the editorial team were rounded-up, tried and imprisoned. This increased the popularity of the independence movement.
10. As leader of the CPP, Kwame Nkrumah accepted the position of Leader of Government Business in 1951, after release from James Fort prison. This followed the success of the CPP in the concluded election, winning 34 of the 38 seats in the Legislative Assembly, with Nkrumai winning a seat in Accra with the highest majority in the whole election. He became Prime Minister in 1952 and initiated reforms in the Gold Coast like improvement in infrastructure establishment of the Volta River Project and many other reforms. This fast pace for the economic and social development of the country convinced the people that Nkrumah and the CPP were significant in the struggle for full independence of the Gold Coast.
11. Nkrumah supported farmers in the Gold Coast in the fight against the swollen-shoot disease which was affecting cocoa production in the country. He encouraged farmers to cut down infected cocoa trees and gave them new improved and resistant stalks for re-planting or compensated them in monetary terms. These positive incentives made by Nkrumah rehabilitated cocoa forming, improved on the livelihood of the farmers and made his campaign acceptable to the masses.
12. In his new position as Prime Minister of the internal self-government, Nkrumah improved social service delivery in the country. These services had been badly neglected by the colonial government and were the dominant cause of people's discontent that made them to fight and end the colonial system. Nkrumah extended health services to rural areas and provided free universal primary education (UPE) to children below twelve years. He also extended water and electricity to the rural community. This move won him mass support in the Gold Coast.
13. Nkrumah defeated tribalism during the independence struggle by encouraging national

unity among the masses. He worked with all leaders of ethnic based parties and movements such as Togoland Progressive Party that was promoting the secession of British Togoland. Nkrumah reconciled with the National Liberation Movement (NLM) of the Asante led by Kofi A. Busia, who was supported by Asantehene Bafuor Osei Akoto to advocate for the federal system of governance against Nkrumah's unitary system. Because of his visionary leadership and charismatic personality, the CPP won sympathy from traditional rulers such as Nana Kobina Nketsia of Esikadu from the Western region.

14. Nkrumah cooperated with the colonial authorities under Governor Sir Charles Arden Clarke during the process of preparing the Gold Coast for independence. Nkrumah was at first reluctant to work with Arden Clarke, but later realised that him and the Governor had the same objective, the attainment of full self-government for the country. Nkrumah and the governor began to establish a 'measure of trust' as opposed to working against each other. The mutual understanding between Kwame Nkrumah and Governor Arden Clarke influenced the British to accept the Ghanaian demands put before the colonial government.
15. He led the Convention People's Party (CPP) to participate in the 1954 and 1956 elections, which preceded independence. Nkrumah's CPP won overwhelming majority parliamentary seats in the two elections, bringing independence closer in sight. In 1954, the CPP won 79 of the 104 seats; that is 76% majority. In the 1956 general election, the party won 71 of the 104 seats, a reasonable majority of nearly 70%, making it inevitable to form the first independent government of the Gold Coast.
16. Nkrumah demanded for the (full) independence of the Gold Coast, first in 1953 and later in 1956. In July 1953, he introduced a motion in parliament demanding full self-government without delay. He was impatient with the constitution that had left the Governor with control of the police, the judiciary, finance, defense and foreign affairs, and absolute powers to preside over cabinet meetings, as well as enforce or reject laws upon his will. Nkrumah therefore, influenced the new constitution of 1954 that gave the country full internal self-government with an all-African cabinet. 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 of the 104 parliamentary seats. Hence, the British Royal government accepted the Ghana Independence Act on February 7, 1957.
17. Nkrumah the leader of the CPP received the instruments of independence (power) from the British colonial government 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 with Kofi Francis Kwame Nkrumah Nwia as the Prime Minister.

#### **THE IMPACT OF GHANA'S INDEPENDENCE ON PAN AFRICAN NATIONALISM)**

The Gold Coast assumed the name 'Ghana' on the eve of independence. On March 6, 1957, Ghana became the first black-African state south of the Sahara to attain independence; and the first tropical colonial territory both in African and the Caribbean to get rid of colonial rule

and domination. In a related context, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Ghanaian first leader and a gifted Pan Africanist became described as 'the star of Africa's destiny' whose deliverance of the Gold Coast to independence lit a torch of hope that became an inspiration for the rest of colonial Africa still fighting for self-determination. The contribution of Nkrumah and independent towards Pan Africanism and African nationalism is as follows:

#### **Reference**

- a) **Of what impact was Ghana's independence on the development of Pan Africanism?**
  - b) **Discuss the importance of Ghana's independence to Pan Africanism**
  - c) **How far did Ghana contribute to the growth and development of Pan Africanism?**
1. The political victory gained by Ghanaians influenced other nationalists in the rest of Africa who came to realise that the struggle against colonialism had started bearing fruits. Once British granted independence to the Gold Coast in 1957, it became difficult for the same colonial masters to deny other African subjects what she had already granted elsewhere. As the African intensified their anti-colonial crusade, the British prepared to withdraw from Africa. Therefore with Ghana independent, other countries especially of West Africa like Nigeria, French West Africa, Sierra Leone and even Gambia, small as it was, could not be denied independence.
  2. After independence, Ghana became a safe meeting place for anti-colonial groups in Africa. Upon his success of delivering Ghana's independence, Nkrumah's main ambition was now to turn Accra into a centre of African liberation, and provide a base from which nationalist leaders from colonial Africa could draw support and encouragement. Nationalists like Patrick Lumumba (Belgian Congo), Hastings Kamuzu Banda (Nyasaland), Julius Nyerere Kambalage of Tanganyika and Robert Mugabe (Southern Rhodesia) among others made visits to Accra to meet with and get political inspiration from Nkrumah. Therefore, Ghana had become a focal point from which anti-colonial ideas and propaganda spread.
  3. Ghana influenced anti-colonial sentiments in the French colonies of West and Equatorial Africa between 1958 and 1960. These states that came under Ghanaian influence included Senegal, (French) Guinea Conakry, Ivory Coast and Congo Brazzaville. They learnt from Ghana and increased their demand for independence. Nkrumah of Ghana personally influenced Ahmed Sekou Toure of (French) Guinea Conakry to vote against the French federation in the De-Gaulle referendum of 1958. Consequently, Guinea acquired her independence in October 1958. Ghana went ahead to extend financial and humanitarian assistance to Guinea up to a tune of \$10 million for ten years. This economic gesture by Nkrumah followed the French departure cancelling their economic aid to Guinea as well as withdrawing their personnel.
  4. Nkrumah took the lead in the movement towards regional cooperation in Africa. In November 1958, he initiated the establishment of the union of Ghana and Guinea. With its motto 'Independence and Unity' the union of these two countries was to be the nucleus of a future 'Union of Independent African States,' and this was open to any African state. It later became the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union in April 1961 after Modibo Keita agreed to join

Kwame Nkrumah and Ahmed Sekou Toure. This political union gave a practical step towards the political union of African states as the best way of strengthening African unity and resist neo-colonialism.

5. Independent Ghana organised the first conference of independent African states in April 1958. Nkrumah invited the seven other independent African states, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan and Tunisia. The conference discussed means of safeguarding independent strengthening economic and cultural ties between these countries, and how they would contribute to world peace. The independent African states agreed on workable arrangements for helping African states still fighting for self-rule.
6. In December 1958, Nkrumah and George Padmore organised the first All- African People's Congress (AAPC) in Accra, after the Accra conference of /independent African government of April 1958. Over two hundred delegates representing about sixty-two nationalist groups from twenty-eight territories still under colonial rule attended the colonial domination gained much inspiration and encouragement, and therefore, returned home determined to free their countries.
7. Consequently, Belgian Congo caught the fever of Ghanaian nationalism, which contributed to her independence. In particular, Patrice Lumumba returned to Belgian Congo after the All-African Peoples Conference in Ghana, tremendously impressed by the contacts he had made and the political strategies he had acquired. Soon, he led his Movement National Congolais (MNC) to organise political rallies in Leopoldville (Kinshasa) and other areas. He increasingly demanded far an immediate end to Belgian rule in the colony. Thus from Ghana, Lumumba got the support he needed to implement his demand for independence.
8. Independent Ghana contributed to the bridging of the gap between the Arab North and the Negro South of Africa. Nkrumah was a unifying factor between Arab and Black Africa. He worked intensely with Abdel Nasser, and the Algerian provisional government to harmonise the historical differences between the Arabs and the Negroes. Nkrumah commended that the Sahara desert, which divides between North Africa and Sub Saharan Africa should instead be considered a consolidating factor of continental unity.
9. He worked tirelessly to bring unity on the African continent. Nkrumah played a leading role in preparing grounds for the formation of the Organisation of African Unity. The spirit of Pan-Africanism was also witnessed when Ghana participated in the reconciliation of Monrovia and Casablanca groups, leading to the eventual formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Aware of the position of members of Monrovia group, Nkrumah abandoned his proposal for an all-African government with a common defense system, common currency and a union legislature. The result of his move was a conference of independent African states at Addis Ababa in May 1963, at which the OAU emerged.
10. On acquiring independence, the new state of Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations and consequently became one of the forces that put pressure on the British Royal

government to grant independence to her colonies in Africa. This same influence was carried forward by Ghana to the UN General Assembly. In September 1960, while addressing the United Nations, Nkrumah reminded the General Assembly of the two hundred million Africans crying for a free Africa. In his words he said, "...One cardinal fact of our time is the momentous impact of Africa's awakening upon the modern world... The tide of African nationalism constitutes a challenge to the colonial powers to make a just restitution for the years of injustice and crime committed against our continent... All our continent is demanding is that AFRICA MUST BE FREE."

11. Nkrumah the leader of Ghana condemned the spirit of secessionism in Africa. Ghana played a great role in defeating the Katanga secession in Congo (1960-64). He called upon African leaders to oppose the capitalist influence in the Congo, which encouraged Moise Tshombe, the provincial governor of Katanga to secede from the former Belgian colony. In particular, Nkrumah led the Casablanca group to support a strong central government in the Congo under the radical Patrice Lumumba against the Katanga secessionist movement of the pro-western Moise Tshombe. His idea was to maintain large independent African states than encouraging balkanisation.
12. Ghana gave physical support to liberation movements in Africa. Nkrumah strongly supported the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria at a time when the former French West African colonies expressed a negative attitude towards the Algerian cause. In the 1960 conference of African leaders held in Accra, Nkrumah led a discussion about the dangers of the protracted Algerian conflict. He did not only provide financial and military assistance to the FLN, but also to the African Independence Party of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). The country also offered facilities in Ghana to help train 'freedom fighters' to overthrow their colonial masters. Ghana was a safe Haven to political leaders facing colonial persecution for example, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau.
13. Nkrumah of Ghana advocated for the United States of Africa (One African Community) as proposed for by the pioneers of Pan Africanism led by Marcus Garvey. In his words during the opening of the All-African Peoples' Congress in 1958, Nkrumah stated that, "**Today is independence; tomorrow is the United States of Africa.**" He desired for a federated African continent under one political leadership, a common defense system under an African high command, a union legislature with two houses of parliament and a common currency.
14. Consequently, Ghana joined the agitation for the adoption of the ideology of "positive neutrality" (the Non-alignment policy) by African states. The ideology was aimed at disassociating Africa from the influence of cold war politics of the super powers. Nkrumah like Nasser was a founder member of the Non-aligned movement (NAM) together with Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Joseph Tito of Yugoslavia and Sukarno of Indonesia. He encouraged African leaders to take the non-aligned stand and follow 'positive neutralism' as a move to redeem Africa from the years of oppression and repression, which the continent had suffered for more than a century under the colonial system.

15. Nkrumah's Ghana became the first country after Egypt to recognise the dangers of neo-colonialism in Africa. Nkrumah went ahead to warn the new independent governments of Africa to protect and defend their independence away from foreign influence. He condemned the evils of neo-colonialism and called upon African leaders to work together and resist the external forces from the western world that looked up-to balkanizing (dividing) the continent into small individual state units, use them as political and economic pawn (instruments),<sup>1</sup> and keep Africans divided and backward. In 1960, Nkrumah organised a conference of African leaders, which among other resolutions took a firm stand against European powers using African soil as a testing ground for nuclear weapons. He condemned de Gaulle's testing of nuclear bombs in the Sahara and Algeria.
16. On receiving the instruments of independence, Nkrumah made a moving speech that showed his strong attachment towards the Pan African Movement. He declared- "**Ghana's independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the continent Africa.**" Such declaration became an inspiration to the rest of colonial Africa still fighting for their own independence. It is upon this background that Nkrumah took the initiative in the cause of African liberation, in the pursuit of his passionate desire to see total removal of colonial rule in Africa, and to bring about peace and unity on the continent.
17. Many liberation movements in Africa got direct encouragement from the success of the CPP in attaining the independence of the Gold Coast. In South Africa, Robert Sobukwe and other nationalists founded the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959 in a bid to consolidate the struggle against apartheid. Similarly, in British Central Africa, political organisations were formed to challenge white domination: they included the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of Nyasaland formed in 1959 whose activities were also motivated by the success of the CPP.
18. In November 1959, almost a year after the All-African Peoples Conference, Ghana hosted the All-African Trade Unions conference, which led to the emergence of the All-African Trade Union Federation. Nkrumah emphasised that Africa could never be fully independent of the former colonial powers unless it was strong, and that Africa's strength was not only in political but also economic unity.
19. The government of Kwame Nkrumah went ahead to offer generous scholarships to students from other African countries in Ghana's education institutions. This was to assist in aiding personnel training schemes of these African countries. The benefiting states included Algeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Nyasaland (Malawi) and East Africa.

Note: Kwame Nkrumah's pan African spirit was stronger than his commitment to his role as the leader of Ghana. His downfall in 1966 was mostly due to devoting much of his time to African (pan African affairs) at the expense of domestic problems in Ghana. Thus, he was regarded in African first and Ghanaian second.

#### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF NKRUMAH AND THE GPP GOVERNMENT (1951-66)**

##### **Reference Questions-**

- a) Examine the contribution of Kwame Nkrumah to the history of Ghana
- b) Assess the performance of the CPP government between 1951 and 1966

- c) To what extent did Nkrumah live to the expectations of the people of Ghana?
- d) How successful was Nkrumah's administration up to 1966?

NKrumah and the CPP assumed the arms 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 dynamism and prospects of independence, the CPP government embarked on a number of highly ambitious but successful developmental projects.

1. 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 expertise 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, modernization of agriculture, industrialisation and transport and communication. The colonial government had ignored all these.
2. Reforms in transport network were the most impressive of Nkrumah's government. From 1951, several roads were built or expanded. The most important were Accra-Takoradi-AixnTarkwa highway, the trunk road from Kumase to Tamale and beyond in the north and the Accra-Kumase trunk road. A railway line connecting Kotoko from Achiase was completed to reduce the journey between Sekondi-Takoradi and Accra-Kumase. A new harbour at Tema was built while the old one at Takoradi was expanded. Another rail-line was also built from Achimota to the Tema harbour. In 1958, a shipping line (the Black Star Lone) 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 constructed on the Volta River to link the Volta Region with the rest of the country. The developments in transport hence, facilitated trade.
3. Nkrumah craved for modern communication facilities in his country. He might have concentrated much of the resources to improve on transport and facilitate social services in the rural areas; however, he spared some for improvement in the field of communication. His government established and modernised radio and television services to ensure mass education, entertainment and information. The telephone and wireless telegraphy systems built in the colonial days were modernised and tremendously expanded. The government also introduced automatic communication services, which linked many important towns and cities.
4. 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. He secured financial assistance from the Soviet Union for this power dam project, which was stationed at Akosombo and build by an Italian construction firm. Apart from supporting the industrial sector, 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.

5. The administration of Nkrumah ensured effective industrial development for Ghana compared to the colonial government. The industrial policy in the colonial days emphasized primary industries making the Gold Coast a source of raw materials for export to feed the manufacturing Industries in England. On assuming government control, the CPP leaders took measures to ensure that much of the raw materials were reserved for the local industries. Manufacturing industries were established and encouraged with incentives like tax exemptions, especially on imports, industrial materials and capital equipment. The Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation (GIHOC) was set up to control state industrial enterprises manufacturing and marketing goods for both local consumption and export. To ensure effective production of essentials like safety matches, sugar, pharmaceutical products, fishing vessels, detergents and textiles, the government of Nkrumah entered into partnership with other manufacturing sectors.
6. The CPP government devoted much effort and resources to agricultural development. Well aware of the importance of agriculture as 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, Shea-nut, coffee and palm oil for both local consumption and export and to supplement production of industrial raw materials. A State Farms Corporation was established to encourage livestock farming, particularly poultry, cattle and sheep farming. Teaching of agricultural science in institutions and universities was emphasised, while experimental farm stations were set up to give the agricultural supporting staff professional and practical training and to train farmers in modern farming methods. The government set up a Soil Research Institute at Kwadaso near Kumase to help in mapping out suitable lands for agriculture throughout the Gold Coast.
7. 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 diseased 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. In 1952, the CPP "government" setup the Cocoa Purchasing Company to help in reducing the monopoly of foreign firms like Cadbury and Fry, over the purchase of cocoa produce, while the operation of the Cocoa Marketing Board was also expanded. The Cocoa Purchasing Company offered financial assistance to farmers in form of loans to facilitate them during off-seasons.
8. Nkrumah's CPP government was equally progressive in promoting the welfare of Ghanaian. 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 housing project in the townships of Accra, Cape Coast, Takoradi and Kumase. The houses built by the corporation were sold to individuals on hire purchase or let-out to low income earners on rental basis. In the rural communities, the government set up 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.

9. Reforms in the education system were commendable. 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 circles. Primary enrolment multiplied to over a million from about 153,360 pupils in 1951. This program went hand in hand with provision of free materials 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) and another University at Cape Coast (1962). By 1964, sixteen teacher training colleges had been built. The National Research Council was founded in 1958 to encourage research. The government also encouraged adult literacy through the People's Educational Association under the University of Ghana. Special scholarships were issued to students to go abroad and acquire special skills. The result of the education reforms was the reduction in illiteracy and creation of qualified work force for industries and civil service.
10. Health services were also expanded with the most outstanding being the building of two regional hospitals, the Efia Nkwanta Hospital established in Sekondi-Takoradi and the Okomfo Anquaye hospital in Kumase established at a cost of \$1.5 million. Polyclinics were opened up in towns to de-congest the big hospitals, while district hospitals and clinics were also built in many rural areas like Accra to bring the health services closer to the people. The government of Nkrumah also provided modern equipment and facilities to hospitals built in the colonial days. A medical school was established in Accra and many nursing schools were set up throughout the country to solve the problem of inadequate doctors.
11. 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, which 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.
12. Consequently, the CPP government Africanised 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) with 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 top European experts. Therefore, the natives had learnt to manage their own affairs.

13. 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.
14. The defeat of regionalism, sectarianism and ethnic nationalism was a significant achievement for Nkrumah and the CPP government. Between 1954 and 1956, about seven other political parties teamed up to oppose the CPP government. They included the UGCC, the Northern Peoples Party (NPP) led by chiefs J.A. Braimah and Yakubu Tali; the Ghana Congress Party (GCP) led then by Kofi A. Busia, the Muslim Association Party (MAP), and the Togo Congress. (TO that was promoting the secession of British Togoland. After the 1954 election won by the CPP, the National liberation movement (NLM) was established by the Asante led by Kofi A. Busia to oppose Nkrumah's administration and was supported by the NPP and the TC. Nkrumah however, reconciled with the NLM that was advocating for the federal system of governance against Nkrumah's unitary system. The NLM was a threat to full independence of Ghana and its participation in the actual motion for independence in early 1957 meant a great score to Nkrumah and the CPP government.
15. 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.'
16. 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. Over two hundred delegates representing about sixty-two nationalist group from twenty-eight territories still under colonial rule attended the AAPC. The conference emphasised the ideals of unity and independence. From the conference, the delegates from state; still under colonial domination gained much inspiration and encouragement, and therefore returned home 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.

17. 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. In fulfilling his personal desire of ensuring total removal of foreign influence from the African continent and to bring about peace and unity on the continent, Nkrumah played leading role in preparing ground for the formation of the OAU. Hence, Ghana became one of the Pioneers of the OAU, which aimed at complete decolonisation of Africa and consolidation c: continental peace.
18. The foreign policy of Nkrumah led Ghana to champion independence in most of colonial Africa. The result was the de Gaulle referendum of 1958 in which Sekou Ahmed Toure, on encouragement from Nkrumah 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, he 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.
19. 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 mean of maintaining the African strength against neo-colonialism. He blamed the western powers for encouraging balkanisation (divisionism) of Africa into smaller states that cannot stand on their own but rather, continue relying on former colonial masters.
20. 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 tie- with both the USA and the Soviet Union but his Marxist outlook made him bend more towards socialist world.

### **The short comings of Kwame Nkrumah**

1. Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP-government lasted up to 1966. In spite of their achievements, Nkrumah and his government failed to pursue consistent policies and thus, it were much of his weaknesses that led to the February 24, 1966 coup organised by Colonel Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, Colonel A. Ocran, Major A.A. Afrifa and police Commissioner J.W. Harley. With the support of the US-CIA., the February coup led by the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The coup occurred at a time when the president was away to Hanoi, Vietnam on an international peace mission.
2. The change in character and personality of Kwame Nkrumah was a major disappointment to the people of Ghana. Up to 1960, Nkrumah was selfless, humble and tolerant. However, he became a selfish, intolerant and indifferent leader, very insensitive to the wishes of the people. His boot blockers flattered him with titles like Osagyefo (redeemer), show boy and Founder of the Nation. Nkrumah personified authority and felt able to apply socialism by

force against any opposition. Ghana national forces much like the civilians were shocked and alarmed at the dramatic change in character of the Osagyefo from a selfless and humble leaders to a corrupt, intolerant, proud and power hungry President whose government was less concerned with national interests.

3. Nkrumah became autocratic and authoritarian much to the surprise of his Ghanaian subjects. He gradually destroyed the forces of democracy after independence. In July 1960, he issued a republican constitution, adopted the title of Executive President, and thereafter, assumed sweeping powers (absolutism). Nkrumah ruled Ghana by decree, and appointed and dismissed civil servants without hindrance. This left many Ghanaians in the civil service on their toes. The republication constitution of July 1960 gave President Nkrumah more dictatorial powers that led him to destroy the democracy he craved for and had helped to create. In 1965, on Election Day for Members of Parliament (MPs), Nkrumah announced MPs he had selected with their respective constituencies they were to represent, some of whom were surprised and did not even know the location of their constituencies.
4. Nkrumah used the powers of the presidency to interfere with the Judiciary. In 1962, he survived from an assassination attempt, which led to the wrongful trial of Adamayo, a political opponent as a suspect. Even after the court acquitted Adamayo for lack of evidence, President Nkrumah however, ordered for the dismissal of the Chief Justice and other judges who were in charge of Adamayo's case. This cost Nkrumah popularity in Ghana and the western world. In January 1964, Nkrumah organised a plebiscite (referendum) where the Ghanaians were to decide on their motion becoming a one party state and to mandate the president to dismiss High Court Judges at his wish.
5. Nkrumah rule was tyrannical and oppressive especially towards the February coup. He governed Ghana like an absolute monarch. He established a coercive spy network and passed the Power Act and preventive detentions act in January and July 1958 respectively, which were used to harass political opponents. The Emergency Power Act gave unquestionable powers to Nkrumah administration to deal with political unrests and disturbances while the preventive Detention Act empowered the government to detain suspects of detrimental activities, without trial up to a period of five years. Between 1960 and 1966, over one thousand three hundred (1300) people were unrealistically arrested and detained. They included Dr. J.B. Danquah, Obetsebi Lamptey, Adamayo, Ako Adjei and Kofi. Dr. Danquah and Obetsebi died in detention (Danquah died in February 1965). Others like Gbedemah were forced into exile. The coercive political measures eroded the popularity of Nkrumah and his government.
6. Due to fear of popular criticism, Nkrumah and the CPP government resorted to suppression of liberty. The government curtailed press freedom, banned opposition political parties, opposition newspapers like the Daily Graphic were censored, leaving only the Accra Evening News, and the Ghanaian Times were left in operation. The uncompromising government of the CPP suppressed the rights and freedoms of masses, which they craved for during independence agitation. Nkrumah silenced the political opponents of his government. The CPP government suppressed and dominated the

Kumasi council. In 1957, the government passed the Avoidance of Discrimination Act. Despite all of these measures, Nkrumah was unable to win over the support of the traditional leaders and hostile tribes like the Asante. The result was increased opposition in Ghana.

7. The socialist policies adopted by the Nkrumah government failed to impress. In his economy pursuit, Nkrumah failed to sustain development from 1960.' he enforced nationalisation and state control of the economy, with emphasis on industrialisation. A socialist institute was started as Wineba in 1960 to provide socialist education to the CPP leaders and civil servants. In 1961 Nkrumah visited the communist republics of Eastern Europe and China. Later, he entered into arms deals with the eastern bloc, part of which was the building of the Ghanaian security system by the Russians. The radical socialist policies of Nkrumah scared off the rich Ghanaian and alienated the western capitalist world with their financial support.
8. Some of the economic measures in mining, touring, banking, insurance, trade and farming successful but later affected by Nkrumah's ambitions. The Volta River Project, which tea functional in January 1966, was one of the ambitious projects undertaken by the Nkrumah administration. His economic developments were affected by socialism. Most of the industries were robbed of good managers as the supporters of capitalism lost their jobs through the socialist managers who replaced them were often incompetent. The result was economic mismanagement and industrial decay. By 1965, only two state-owned factories out of seven were making profits.
9. Nkrumah and his CPP government led the country into bankruptcy and other economic problems. By 1965, the CPP government had become financially insolvent (bankrupt). The government officials were very extravagant and engaged in excessive and lavish spending at the time of economic grievances most of them were corrupt and embezzled vast sums of money through manipulation of their ministerial offices. Nkrumah kept a huge cabinet of thirty two ministers with very many foreign missions. Cabinet ministers and top party officials led to expensive life much to the envy of the common person. All these political anomalies worsened the financial crisis and made the downfall of the Nkrumah government inevitable.
10. From 1964 to the time of the coup in February 1966, essential goods like sugar, drugs, milk, rice, cement, paraffin, safety matches and industrial raw materials were short in supply. The price for these commodities were inflated and very unstable. The Nkrumah administration exercise controls over importation in order to protect the country's foreign reserve, but this resulted into shortages of imported industrial raw materials and basic goods that could not be produced locally. In urban centres, employment caused several hardships. The falling price of cocoa on the world market promoted poverty in the countryside. It was unwise to construct the Nkrumah Tower, as the masses were poor and starving. The aforementioned problems wiped away the earlier economic gains of the CPP government.

11. The excessive ambition of Nkrumah cost his government. Nkrumah tried to do too much to bring about economic and social change within the shortest time possible. His dream is industrialisation drove the country into over ambitious ventures. The Nkrumah administration was a tragedy of excess as he tried to be too revolutionary with his concept of organising the state and delink it from the influence of the British: In his attempt to modernise Ghana, the Nkrumah initiated expensive projects like the Volta River Project and the Accra-Tema highway in order to finance these projects, Nkrumah resorted to foreign borrowing. The trouble was that he over borrowed'. By 1964, Ghana's debt had jumped to seven hundred seventy million dollars (\$ 770m) from five hundred twenty-five million dollars (\$525m) in 1957. Even with the fall in the price of cocoa, the principle source of Ghana's foreign exchange, the Nkrumah Administration made no effort or revise the government economic projects and industrial programme.
12. The CPP regime was corrupt and immoral in conduct. The government officials received bribes openly, stole public funds, bought expensive cars and built fabulous mansions. Nkrumah himself owned several mistresses and girlfriends on which he spent lavishly. On cases of corruption, the commissions of enquiry into the Nkrumah projects after the fall of his government clearly indicated that much of the monies spent on development projects and the services to the masses were always inflated through the malpractices of those officials controlling the award of contracts and procurement. The government official kept money in foreign banks. Thus, Nkrumah and his CPP lost the moral voice to rule the country.
13. In 1964, Nkrumah directly interfered with the police department. After he escaped another assassination attempt when his presidential police-guard called Ametewe, on duty at his residence in Accra fired at Nkrumah but missed him for one of his bodyguards. The President got determined to let the police at large pay heavily for the abortive crime. On orders of President Nkrumah, many of the senior police officers were purged and many others detained. The police commissioner J-W.K. Harley and his immediate deputy A.K. Deku were arrested and detained while all the regional police heads were dismissed from office. Consequently, the president lost the loyalty of the police officers who later joined their counterparts in army to stage up a coup
14. The government of Nkrumah aggrieved the national army and failed to attend to the grievances of the army officers. The senior officers felt insecure with the establishment of the President's own guard brigade (unit) which was steadily expanding and better equipped than the national defence force. The Ghanaian army in contrast lacked basic utilities like boots, uniforms, weapons and vehicles. By the time of the February coup, only 40% of the army vehicles were road-worthy. The more annoying part was the government move through the Defence Ministry to politicise the army by opening a CPP branch in the military academy obliging cadets to apply to join it. Two provoking situations in the army came in 1965, which convinced the army to plot a coup against Nkrumah administration: the first was in August when Nkrumah decreed the forced retirement of the professionally competent army Chief of Staff Major-General Otu, and his Deputy Lt.-General Ankrah, and replaced them with a 'socialist political officer' Charles Barwah, later promoted to Major-General. The second situation was in November, the attempted decision by Nkrumah to send his army to Rhodesia to fight the settler (the UDI-government) led by Ian Smith.

#### **THE 1966 – MILITARY COUP AND NKURUMAH DOWNFALL**

Nkrumah failed to uphold the support of the national forces; instead he antagonised his top

command by ensuring forced the retirement of the army Chief of Staff Major-General Otu and his deputy Lt. General Ankrah without sounding reasons. Gripped with fear, the remaining army officers moved against Nkrumah administration to safeguard their positions by staging a coup on February 24, 1966.

In the final analysis, the reign of Nkrumah closed on a sad note. He lost the support of all classes in Ghana, making his downfall inevitable. Since there was no possibility of removing him from power through constitutional means, the coup became the best alternative. In February 1966,

The main figures behind the coup included Colonial Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, Colonel A. Ocran, Major Akwasi A. Afrifa and police Commissioner J.W. Harley. The coup plotters were determined to overthrow Nkrumah and were ready to engage in a civil war in case Nkrumah's royal army (presidential unit) staged a counter offensive. The causes of the downfall of Nkrumah were mainly the weaknesses of the CPP administration, and a few external factors. Henri Nkrumah was primarily responsible for his downfall.

#### **Guiding questions on the downfall of Nkrumah**

- a) Account for the 1966 coup d'état in Ghana
- b) Discuss the causes and effects of the downfall of Nkrumah
- c) Examine the factors for the overthrow of the CPP government
- d) How far were the economic factors responsible for the collapse of Nkrumah's government in 1966?
- d) "Kwame Nkrumah was primarily responsible for his downfall." Discuss

#### **Summary of causes of Nkrumah's downfall**

1. Corruption and immorality practiced by the government of Nkrumah
2. Grievances in the army, which caused dissatisfaction among the military generals
3. Attempt by Nkrumah to send his military forces to Southern Rhodesia to fight against the UDI government of Ian Smith.
4. Nkrumah's intervention in the police and judicial system especially after Adamayo was acquitted of an attempted assassination of Nkrumah
5. Nkrumah's authoritarianism and dictatorship exhibited when he abolished the constitution, which had put the cabinet under parliamentary control
6. The change in character of Nkrumah from Osagyefo and tolerant leader to a self-intolerant corrupt and power-hungry leader
7. The unrealistic socialist policies of Nkrumah
8. The excessive ambitions of Nkrumah, which led to the excessive external borrowing that caused financial bankruptcy
9. The extravagance and lavish spending by Nkrumah and his government officials
10. Suppression of democracy by Nkrumah administration (persecution of political opponents)
11. Socio-economic problems like unemployment and scarcity of essential commodities
12. Nkrumah's government practiced tribalism
13. Lack of constitutional avenues to overthrow and the CPP government

14. The drastic fall in the price of cocoa on the world market, which increased economic problem in Ghana
15. Ambition for power by the coup plotters for example Col. Kotoka and Harlley
16. Influence of prior coups in Africa like the 1965 coups in Algeria and Congo and the 1966 coups in Nigeria

**Please note:**

It were largely Nkrumah's weaknesses that caused the 1966 coup that caused his downfall

**Effects of the downfall of Nkrumah and the CPP government**

The February 1966 coup led to the overthrow of autocratic Nkrumah and the CPP administration. Nkrumah fled to exile sought refuge in Guinea Conakry where the Guinean leader Sekou Toure made him co-president and settled him into an old French colonial style residence. The Guinean leader allowed him to broadcast messages of resistance to the Ghana against the military government on radio Guinea's 'Voice of the Revolution.' Nkrumah died in frustration after succumbing to cancer of the skin on April 27, 1972 in Bucharest, Rumania. He was buried in Guinea before the Acheampong administration returned his remains to Ghana for a state burial in July 1972.

After the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah's government, the coup leaders set up a military junta in the name of the 'National Liberation Council' (NLC) and invited the retired deputy head of the armed forces Lt.-General Arthur J. Ankrah to head the Council with the police commissioner J.W.K. Barley as Deputy Council Chairman. The NLC comprised four senior army and four police officers who led the government until October 1969. Some of the Council members were Colonel A.A. Afrifa, Colonel A. Ocran, Colonel E.K. Kotoka, and A. Yakubu. The NLC however, appointed mainly civilians to head the different ministries.

**Reference questions**

- a) Examine the effects of the 1966 coup in Ghana
- b) Assess the achievements of the military government in Ghana between 1966 and 1969
- c) To what extent did the National Liberation Council fulfill the aspirations of Ghanaians upto 1969?

**Positive effects (strength of the NLC administration)**

1. The people of Ghana welcomed the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with jubilation. They saw it as a restoration of their freedom and constitutional rights. His statue in front of the old Parliamentary House in Accra, which proclaimed "KWAME NKRUMAH FOUNDER OF THE NATON" was pulled down as young groups that had brought up slogans like 'Nkrumah is the new Messiah' marched through the streets of Accra carrying placards and banners proclaiming 'Nkrumah is NOT our Messiah.'
2. Consequently, the NLC government immediately released members of the public and opposition politicians who had been kept in custody (detention) under the 1958 Preventive Detention Act initiated by the government of Nkrumah. However, some like Danquah and Obetsebi had died in prison before the coup. Many persons who had fled to exile due to political persecution or fear of coercion from the Nkrumah administration were welcomed home by the NLC administration. Among those who returned was Kofi Abrefa Busia who became Prime Minister in 1969 when the military junta returned Ghana to civilian rule.
3. Consequently, hundreds of the CPP government and party officials went in detention as Nkrumah's detainees came out. Most of the cabinet ministers of the CPP government were arrested and detained on the morning of February 24, 1966. In the days that followed the coup, many of the CPP Members of Parliament, Regional Commissioners and party

officials were rounded up and imprisoned. In an attempt to check on corruption and bribery, the new detainees were later tried and convicted on cases of corruption, bribery and abuse of public office. However, majority of the CPP supporters were given fair treatment like K.A. Gbedemah.

4. The NLC government under took immediate measures to effect political changes (reforms). The new military government helped to prepare the constitution for the 'second Republic of Ghana.' The junta established a Constitutional Commission in 1967 as part of the preparation process to return to civilian rule. In December 1968, a Constituent Assembly was sworn in to discuss and draw up a constitution, which was promulgated (declared) in August 1969. Among other changes brought by the new Republican constitution was the reduction in the number of administrative districts to the original number inherited at independence.
5. In May 1969, the National Liberation Council, now under Brigadier Akwase A. Afrifa lifted a ban on political parties. This followed the establishment of an Electoral Commission in an attempt to restore democracy in Ghana. Consequently, Kofi A. Busia a former exile and longtime critic of the Nkrumah administration formed the Progressive Party (PP) that later was to win the 1969 general election. Other parties formed after the CPP ban on political parties was lifted included the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) established by a long time leading member of Nkrumah's CPP and government, K.A. Gbedemah and the People's Popular Party (PPP), which was banned by the NLC almost immediately after its formation. The PPP had been formed with the sole aim of reviving Nkrumah's ideals and works.
6. In an attempt to cut down government expenditure, the NLC government initiated practical steps. First was a reduction in the size of government ministries from thirty-two to seventeen (32-17). Most of the ministerial posts were given to mainly civilians. Foreign missions were equally reduced by forty per cent (40%). Consequently, the junta called back or dismissed diplomats sent to various countries by the government of Nkrumah, replacing some of them with goodwilldiplomats who were highly powered civilians. The local government was reformed with a reduction in the number of administrative districts.
7. Traditional chiefs who had been dismissed by the Nkrumah administration were restored and re-instated. The traditional leaders were dethroned (removed from office) as punishment for engaging in open political activities against the CPP government. Nkrumah had replaced them with those who pledged their loyalty to his government. The re-installation of Ghanaian chiefs was a clear indication that the February 1966 coup was not a result of interests of the army and police but for every group of people in the country that was dissatisfied with the Nkrumah administration.
8. The National Liberation Council (NLC) restored complete freedom of speech and press. Freedom of press had been increasingly restricted by the administration of Nkrumah because some press journalists were engaged in open criticism against the government policies and acts of repression than constructively commenting on the government projects. The abuse of freedom of speech had led to fleeing of many of opposition politicians including Kofi A. Busia, who had long served as the chief spokesperson of the opposition. The NLC set up the Centre for Civic Education headed by K.A. Busia to sensitise Ghanaians about their civic rights and duties.
9. General Ankrah negotiated for massive financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and set up an economic committee to receive and plan for the financial grant. The committee was also tasked to find a better formula for debt repayment to the Ghanaian creditors. Consequently, the NLC government received a grant

from the IMF and the World Bank of about twenty million Dollars (\$20m) to pay off the short-term trade bills (debts) accumulated by the Nkrumah administration; and successfully negotiated with creditors of both the Western and Eastern blocs about rescheduling Ghanaian debt repayment for medium and long-term loans. The junta received material aid from countries like Canada, West Germany, the USA and the UK, in form of drugs, food and agricultural goods.

10. Nkrumah's prestigious Seven-Year Development Plan was suspended and many of his projects that were underway like the Nkrumah Tower and Accra-Tema highway were stopped. This was a move by the military government to improve on the country's economy. Government expenditure on capital and machinery, experts and equipment was tremendously reduced. The resources were hence, diverted to better social service delivery especially in the countryside.
11. The military government went on to employ competent managers in the government departments and state corporations as other service ventures like state-owned hotels were given to private individuals to run them. The labour force was hence revised and redundant labour was obviously retrenched. This economic policy by the Ankrah administration was aimed at delinking state parastatals from the incompetent and inexperienced socialist managers whose appointment to office followed their loyalty to President Nkrumah. The NLC -government set up a number of Commissions of Inquiry to investigate state organisations like the Timba Marketing Board and the State Housing Corporation. All that the military government aimed at was improvement in the operations of public co-operations and other statutory boards.
12. The masses were relieved of economic pressures for some time. Between 1966 and 1969, the National Liberation Council introduced measures designed to reduce the cost of living. In the very first budget of the new military regime, reviews were made in the customs and excise duties targeting reduced prices on essential commodities. The prices of motor spirits and inland postage were also revised. A progressive taxation system was established with favourable rates of income taxes declared. The new fiscal policy adopted by the military government gave tax exemptions to poorly paid workers.
13. The cocoa farmers benefited from the improved prices of cocoa. The National Liberation Council increased the producer price of cocoa by about twenty per cent (20%). This was accompanied by two-year development plan, which introduced reforms in Agriculture, fisheries and water supply. The development plan paid special attention to rural development especially in extending safe water in the countryside. The government launched the 'Operation Feed Yourself,' which led to, a remarkable increase in food production. These and other reforms uplifted the people's standards of living especially of the grassroots masses.
14. The government of Ankrah attempted to reduce on the inflationary rates in the country. In 1967, the military government devalued the Ghanaian cedi (currency) and increased wages and salaries in the public service by five per cent (5%). In order to ensure further economic growth in Ghana, basic import items like drugs, chemicals, and spare parts were put on the general license (open to every potential citizen). Hence, there was increase in the supply of essential commodities thereby reducing inflation and saving Ghana from total economic collapse.

#### **Negative effects (shortcomings of the NLC administration)**

1. In spite of the above gains, the period after Nkrumah witnessed serious unemployment caused by economic steps taken by the NLC administration to re-appraise Nkrumah's prestigious Seven-Year Development Plan, abandoning many of his projects that were

underway like the Nkrumah Tower and Accra-Tema highway. This measure appeared necessary but led to the sacking of redundant workers on these projects. Unemployment got worse with the retrenchment of labour in government departments to cut on government expenditure.

2. The military regime increased the defence budget hence, antagonised the economic life of the country. As the Ankrah administration cut expenditure in many sectors, this policy was offset by increased defence expenditure. Most of the government departments received less funding that could not enable them commit to fulfilling their departmental obligations. The army allocations went up by twenty-two per cent (22%) and the huge defence budget was a strategy by the National Liberation Council to consolidate its power base.
3. The National Liberation Council chaired by Arthur Ankrah devalued the Ghanaian cedi (currency), which led to increased prices of imported items and shortage of supply of basic commodities. The increase in price of imported items did not only bring about deterioration in the balance of payment for the country, but also affected people's consumption of essential goods from outside the country.
4. The huge external debts left by Nkrumah and the CPP administration were not repudiated much as steps had been undertaken by the NLC to settle them. Attempts by Ankrah's administration to attract foreign aid by acquiring more credits (loans) from the IMF and World Bank to promote economic growth only worsened the country's debt burden. The government's successful negotiations with Ghana's creditors to re-schedule the payment of medium and long-term loans only prolonged the financial frustrations. Failure of the military junta to settle Nkrumah's external debts became a millstone (economic burden) to the NLC itself and the future governments.
5. Economic problems persisted in the country. There was persistent inflation, which worsened the economic life of the people of Ghana. The inflationary trends in Ghana raised the prices of goods and services and thus increased hardship for most people. The government attempt to control inflation by devaluing the cedi was only successful until half-way through the NLC administration. Consequently, the food prices remained high much to the dissatisfaction of Ghanaians.
6. Even when the military council increased the producer price of cocoa by twenty per cent (20%), this price remained low on the world market. This was a major cause of economic hardships in Ghana since cocoa was the chief source of foreign exchange for Ghana.
7. Corruption in Ghana persisted especially within the different government departments. Some high-ranked officers of the NLC government were guilty of corruption as they engaged in financial mismanagement. Several of these high-ranked officials were convicted and imprisoned for bribery and corruption, but these evils persisted especially at the lower levels of public service. In all but the police department, corruption remained untouched. The Ghanaians were in disbelief as 'rumours of malpractice' among the disciplined members of the military government and thus, they looked forward to a change in administration.
8. Consequently, Ankrah, the chairman of the NLC became self-centered. In preparation for a return to civilian rule, General Ankrah was guilty of soliciting for funds from foreign companies to organise a political party of his own in a deal of becoming a head of state and government. Ideally, members of the NLC were only obliged to prepare the Ghana for a return to civilian rule and Ankrah's manoeuvre to form his own party caused loss of confidence, which the people had in the military government. He resigned his position as chairman of the NLC in March 1969 and was replaced by Brigadier AKwase A. Afrifa one of

the architects of the 1966 coup d'etat.

9. Divisions continued within the National Liberation Council. The misunderstandings within the junta affected decision making at the top level. Evidence of the divisions in the NLC came out with an abortive coup in April 1967, led by two junior officers. The attempted coup was staged at Ho in the Volta Region in which General E.K. Kotoka the major architect of the February 1966 coup d'etat was short dead. Ankrah's attempt to form his own political party was partly due to disagreements with other members of the NLC. Such divisions forced Afrifa to rush the return to civilian rule for fear of a coup attempt similar to that of April 1967, which led to the murder of Kotoka.

**Guiding questions on the 1972 coup:**

- a) Account for the downfall of Kofi A. Busia in 1972
- b) Account for the rise to power of Ignatius Acheampong in 1972
- c) Discuss the causes and effects of the 1972 military coup in Ghana
- d) Assess the achievements of the military government in Ghana between 1972 and 1978
- e) Account for the overthrow of Acheampong in 1978
- f) Examine the causes and effects of the 1978 coup in Ghana

**THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE AND THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

The Bandung conference was held in Indonesia in 1955 between April 18 and 24. It was the first large-scale Afro-Asian conference that was attended by delegates mostly from newly independent states from both Asia and Africa. It was spearheaded by Asian states of Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon (Sri-Lanka) and Burma. Other Asian states represented were, Vietnam, and communist China whose Prime Minister Zhou En-Lai survived an attempted assassination on his way to the conference. The independent African states represented were Egypt, Liberia and Ethiopia; African states under colonial rule like the Gold Coast, Algeria, Kenya, the Sudan and Libya were represented. In total, twenty-nine states from Africa, Asia and the Middle East were represented at the Bandung Conference.

The main architects of the conference were, Surkano President of Indonesia, Jawaharlal Nehru Premier of India and Abdel Gammal Nasser Executive President of Egypt.

**Origin of the Bandung Conference**

In May 1954, Asian states held the Colombo meeting in Sri-Lanka in which Nehru emphasised a meeting for African and Asian states aimed at creating unity and peace between the two continents. Such a meeting was a threat to the USA and the imperialist powers of Western Europe. The US-government tried to counter act an Afro-Asian meeting and a possible friendship between Africa and Asia by organising the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) meeting in Manila Philippines in September 1954. The SEATO conference was attended by the Asian state of Philippines (host), Pakistan and Thailand, and the western states of the USA, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand. Many of the Asian states rejected the conference, hence it had little success.

Jawaharlal Nehru chaired a preparatory meeting for the Afro-Asian conference on December 28 and 29, 1954. The meeting was held at Bogor, Indonesia and was attended by the sponsoring countries of the Bandung (Afro-Asian) conference.

As opposed to the Afro-Asian conference and due to the little success of the SEATO conference, the British initiated the Baghdad pact. The treaty was signed between Britain, and Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan on February 24, 1955, about two months before the Bandung conference. The Baghdad pact was an anti-communist or anti-Soviet agreement which led to a formidable alliance between the signatory nations in collaboration with the USA.

Nehru was against the success of the Baghdad pact and proceeded to work with Surkano to organise the Afro-Asian conference. Nehru's interest in the Bandung conference was based on positive neutrality which stood for the following:

- Non participation in military blocs
- Opposition to imperialist military treaties
- Total abolition of colonialism and all its manifestations
- Anti-colonial campaigns through supporting all people fighting for independence
- Anti-racism through demanding for equality of all races
- Active struggle for preserving and strengthening peace
- Mediation in the settlement of international disputes and ensuring non-violence in easing international tension
- Adopting principles of peaceful coexistence among nations

The final preparations for the Bandung conference involved a meeting between Nasser of Egypt representing Africa) and Nehru of India (representing Asia). The meeting was held on February 15 and 16 in Cairo and was concluded with Nasser and Nehru signing the "Treaty of Friendship."

### **Objectives of the Bandung conference**

- a. To promote Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation
- b. To oppose colonialism and all its malpractices
- c. To lay strategies for distancing from cold war politics
- d. To denounce neocolonialism by cold war powers and major industrialised powers of Europe
- e. Establish a foundation for future meetings between present states with a possibility of expanding the forum
- f. Delegates at the conference were also concerned with the worsening relations between China, the USA and the west
- g. To discuss mechanisms through which Afro-Asian nations could contribute to world peace and cooperation
- h. Need for good will and cooperation between Asia and Africa
- i. To discuss matters of national sovereignty and denounce racism

### **Why the USA and western European powers were against Afro-Asian cooperation**

- a. The conference would bring together representatives of close to 1.44 billion people of Asia and Africa combined, almost two thirds of the world's population.
- b. The delegates at the conference posed a threat to the dominant western powers in the United Nations General Assembly.
- c. The agenda of the conference aimed at denouncing colonialism in Asia and Africa, in order to limit direct economic exploitation of the two continents by the west.
- d. The organisers of the conference like Nehru and Nasser had Marxist influence which scared the western powers of a possible involvement of communist Russia in Asia and Africa.
- e. The cooperation between Asia and Africa would limit capitalist relations of western powers with the two continents.
- f. The involvement of communist China called for suspicions of a possible communist influence in Eastern Asia.
- g. The USA on her part was opposed to the principle of positive neutrality advocated for by Nehru.
- h. The Bandung conference provided an opportunity to build a strong Afro- Asian solidarity whose foundation was already laid at the fifth Pan African conference in Manchester.

### **Influence of the Bandung conference on African**

**Reference Questions:**

- a) How did the 1955 Bandung Conference inspire the decolonisation of Africa?
- b) Assess the impact of the 1955 Afro- Asian Conference in Indonesia on the growth of African nationalism
- c) To what extent did the Bandung Conference contribute to the decolonisation of Africa?
  1. The conference consolidated the Afro-Asian solidarity. The relationship between Africa and Asia influenced Asian states to ally with Africans throughout the decolonisation process.
  2. The Indonesian success against the Dutch was still fresh at the time of the conference. The success of Indonesian nationalism became a motivation to the African delegates who increased their political agitations upon their return to Africa.
  3. The resolutions of the Bandung conference shocked colonial administrators in Africa. Consequently, the French and the British colonialists increasingly gave their African colonies political concessions (reforms) like increased African representation in the assembly constitutional developments and administrative positions.
  4. Delegates from African states like Kenya and Algeria were inspired to increase their demand for sovereign right and independence following their interaction with delegates from independent Asian states.
  5. Delegates at the conference unanimously condemned all manifestations of colonial domination in Asia and Africa. They declared independence as a sovereign right of all people under colonial domination. The declaration of sovereign right to independence had profound impact on colonial Africa.
  6. The delegates at Bandung adopted the resolutions of the UN charter on the declaration of full support to the fundamental principles of human rights and self-determination of all peoples and nations.' thus, increasing on political agitations for independence in Africa.
  7. The Bandung conference gave African delegates a platform to air out anti-colonial sentiments against European powers. The conference therefore boosted the confidence of African leaders like Nkrumah and internationalised African right to political independence and freedom from economic exploitation.
  8. The conference condemned the activities of cold war powers, the United States of Africa (USA) and the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in the developing world. The success of the Bandung conference therefore, influenced the foreign policies of the new super powers in Africa and Asia through intensifying their support to anti-colonial struggles, hoping to win loyalty from Africans and Asians respectively.
  9. At the Bandung conference, the delegates openly condemned the French rigid aggression in Algeria and their continued colonial exploitation in North Africa. Consequently, there was increased militarism of the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria and political agitations in the rest of North African states under French imperialism.
  10. The conference condemned the racist regimes in Africa i.e. apartheid in South Africa and the Central African Federation (CAF). The delegates called upon the United Nations Security Council to intervene in South Africa, while Asian and African members of the Commonwealth organisation pledged to pressurize the British government to dissolve the CAF and recognise autonomy of the CAF members.
  11. The Bandung conference influenced communist China to confirm support to African liberation movement. Consequently, China intensified support to Algerians through the

FLN, and later to other liberation movements like the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in Southern Rhodesia.

12. Consequently, other Asian participants at Bandung pledged to assist Africans in their quest for sovereign existence and self-determination. India, Indonesia and Burma after the conference began extending moral, financial and military assistance to African freedom fighters like the CPP of the Gold Coast and to Africans in Portuguese Africa.
13. At the conference, the delegates used one voice to condemn neocolonial mechanisms of the super powers and industrialised powers of the west. Independent African and Asian states were cautioned to protect their sovereign existence and independence from western imperialists.
14. The big nations at the conference like India and Indonesia pledged technical expertise and technological assistance to economically weak nations especially in Africa. The most beneficiaries included the Gold Coast, later Ghana.
15. The conference militarized African nationalism. Apart from emphasizing non-violence in restoring world order, Indonesian and Vietnamese delegates encouraged African nationalists to employ violence with lessons of success in Indonesia against the Dutch and Vietnamese against the French.
16. The Bandung conference laid a foundation for the formation of the Non-aligned movement (NAM). The delegates subscribed to non-alignment whose charter was signed at the 1961 Belgrade conference. The Non-aligned members declared their commitment to the struggle against imperialism in all its manifestations. The NAM confirmed the Afro-Asian solidarity where members used a collective voice against colonialism during the UN general assemblies.

## **THE MOVEMENT OF THE NON ALIGNED COUNTRIES (THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT)**

### **Origin**

The end of World War II in 1945 was a turning point in the history of the world. It led to the emergence of new super powers, the United States of America (USA) and the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), with different ideologies which led to the emergence of cold war politics in 1946. The USA and the Soviet Union changed the order of world affairs to a bipolar world, later influencing the formation of military blocs; the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw pact. The NATO was created as a cooperation of (western) European capitalist nations in alliance with the USA, while the Warsaw pact was an alliance of (eastern) European communist states led by the Soviet Union.

The countries of the south i.e. Asian and African states were opposed to the military blocs and the emerging cold war influence. These were economically weak nations that had emerged with the rapid collapse of colonial empires. They felt the need for a new international multi-lateral coordination among themselves that would promote peaceful coexistence and preserve world peace and security.

The Afro-Asian nations had the desire to join efforts for the common defense of their interests, the strengthening of their independence and sovereignty and the cultural and economic rescue of their peoples. They wanted to jointly express a strong commitment to world peace by declaring themselves as "non-aligned" or non-supporters of neither the capitalists of the NATO nor the communists of the Warsaw pact. They held a conference in Bandung, Indonesia in April 1955 to strengthen their non-aligned interests and advance a strategy to achieve their objectives.

The Bandung conference was attended by delegates from twenty-nine countries of the post-

colonial generation with a major goal of identifying and assessing world issues at the time, and coordinate policies to deal with them. Participating nations (non-aligned states) at the conference agreed to have a common project that will unite them with closer coordination of their position in the cold War era. The conference focused on total political decolonisation of Asia and Africa, and agreed that the newly attained political independence was just a means to attain the goal of socio-cultural and economic independence.

The Bandung conference therefore laid the foundation of the non-aligned movement with its charter signed six years later at the first summit conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade Yugoslavia from September 1-6, 1961.

Following the achievements of the Bandung conference, the Non-aligned leaders of India, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria and Yugoslavia held a meeting on April 26, 1961. Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Josip (Joseph) Tito of Yugoslavia addressed heads of state and government of twenty-one non-aligned countries; together, the non-aligned countries agreed on an improvement in international relations, resistance to use of violence in the settlement of conflicts and other matters of concern in the world. They met again in Cairo in June 1961 to formulate the criteria of membership to the NAM. Member states emphasised that the movement was not to play a passive role in international politics but instead, they agreed to formulate their own position in an independent manner so as to reflect their interests.

Therefore the Belgrade summit conference in Yugoslavia of September 1961 attended by delegates from about twenty-five non-aligned countries officially unveiled the Non-aligned movement with Josip (Joseph) Broz Tito as the first General Secretary.

### **THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT**

The Non-aligned movement was founded during the collapse of the colonial systems in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world. The movement emerged at the height of the cold war. The term "non-alignment" is an idea brought up by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharl Nehru referring to neutralism or positive neutrality. It is a concept founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence or 'panchsheet.' The principles of non-alignment are,

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- Non-aggression
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs
- Equality and mutual benefit
- Peaceful coexistence

Non-alignment is an inter-governmental cooperation of states who considered themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc of the cold war. Jawaharl Nehru, the founder father of the principle of non-alignment described it as a refusal to be tied to any military alliance with either bloc in the cold war, i.e. capitalist or communist bloc; a conscious attempt to widen the distance between independent states and the former colonial master.

The principle of non-alignment means that non-aligned members reserved the right and freedom to decide to support or not support any country on any matter of concern. Hence, members of NAM could decide to support a superpower on one issue, and refuse to do same on another.

The Non-aligned movement was founded by the economically and militarily weaker nations in an effort to determine their own policies without any influence from the great powers, so as to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity away from cold war influence. The developing countries of Asia and Africa adopted non-alignment as a strategy to exert their position on the world scene, and participate in international affairs without any manipulation from power blocs and their allies.

The reasons that led to the rise of the Non-aligned movement included the position of Nehru against the strong allegiance of an independent state to the former colonial master. The end of World War II led to cold war rivalry between western and eastern powers in their attempt to extend their influence in Africa and Asia; hence NAM was a collective attempt to resist this influence. The independent Asian and African countries wanted foreign aid and felt they would gain more without aligning with either the USA or the Soviet Union as they feared that the super power rivalry would put them under cold war control that would undermine their newly acquired independent status. Consequently, the third world nations wanted to establish their own identity in the world affairs.

## AIMS AND OBJECTIVE OF NAM

**Reference Question:**

- 1. Account for the adoption of Non-Alignment by post independent African states**
  - a. To maintain world peace by promoting non-violence means and reject the use of force
  - b. To support self-determination and national independence in the third world and reject all forms of imperialism
  - c. Safeguard the sovereignty of member states against domination by the superpowers i.e. encourage independence of non-aligned nations from cold war of great powers
  - d. To discourage military alliances and push for disarmament of superpowers
  - e. Enhance socioeconomic development and the restructuring of international economic systems
  - f. To promote economic independence of member states
  - g. Encourage active participation of non-aligned states (third world) in international affairs especially in the UN without coercion and domination from great powers of the north
  - h. Strengthen the UNO towards effective performance
  - i. Promote south-south cooperation i.e. cooperation among third world nations with mutual understanding and tolerance
  - j. Ensure peaceful coexistence among all nations of the world i.e. democratise international relations
  - k. Reject all forms of racial discrimination like apartheid and Zionism
  - l. Encourage respect for human rights as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
  - m. Total eradication of poverty from non-aligned countries

**Note:**

**At the Lusaka conference of September 1970, Non-aligned members adopted two new aims:**

- ❖ Peaceful resolution of disputes in the world;
- ❖ Opposition to stationing of military bases in the foreign countries, especially the third world.

**The aims and objectives of the Non-aligned movement were officially proclaimed in the Havana Declaration of 1979 at the sixth Non-aligned Summit Conference in Cuba.**

## Performance of the Non-aligned movement

**Reference questions-**

- 1. Explain the successes of the Non-aligned movement since its inception**
- 2. How relevant is the concept of Non-alignment in post-independence Africa?**
- 3. How successful has been the Non-aligned movement since its 1955**

## SUCSESSES AND ACHIEVEMENTS:

- 1. The Non-aligned movement had a long period of existence as a bloc of developing nations since its official inauguration in 1961. The movement has been in existence for over fifty years and this has been due to the continuous conferences held by the member states**

since the Belgrade conference of 1961, and the strong ground taken by member states during international forums like the United Nations General Assemblies.

2. The movement attracted many developing countries hence expanding membership. As more Asian and African nations became independent, they joined the movement thus membership widened from the original twenty-nine states to over one hundred and twenty. Most of the members of the movement are from Asia, Americas, Africa and three members from Oceania. The last members to join include Fiji (2011) from Oceania and Azerbaijan of Asia (2011)
3. The NAM through the Working Group on Peace Keeping Operations has greatly contributed to the prevailing world peace and stability. Non-aligned members contributed to containing the cold war tension of superpowers which had threatened world peace and security. The movement condemned the arms race by the superpowers through supporting the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) against nuclear weapons and the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). The SALT and START reduced on militarization of the world, calmed down the east-west conflict and finally led to the final collapse of cold war politics. Working Group on Peace Keeping Operations has also been instrumental in proposing peace expeditions in states threatened by war and conflict, for instance, Somalia.
4. Consequently, the pressures and activities of the Non-aligned movement led to the collapse of cold war politics. Member states continued with their pursuit of neutralism or positive neutrality as they condemned the activities of the superpowers like the arms race. As a third bloc, Non-aligned nations used the United Nations as a platform to isolate the ideological war and bring about a mutual consent between the USSR and the USA. The pressure of the NAM led to the collapse of the Berlin wall and the re-unification of Germany, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, which dealt a final blow to the communist bloc.
5. The Non-aligned movement has stood firm in demanding for reformation of the United Nations as a way of strengthening its effectiveness in carrying out its activities. The NAM has openly criticised the current UN-structure and power dynamics that has been taken advantage of and utilized by powerful states at the expense of Non-aligned states, which violates the principles of the movement. The movement has outlined the United Nations Security Council as the most distorted and undemocratic organ that needs reshaping to improve transparency and democracy in the UN decision-making process. Hence the aligned states led to the establishment of the UNDP in 1965, and the negotiation on an International Economic Order (IEO) in the 1970s to solve the North-South conflict.
6. The Non-aligned states have produced an impact on international politics. They have continuously demanded for mutual respect of all nations of the world, big or small in the international affairs. Due to the strength of the movement, the superpowers and other great powers have allied with Non-aligned nations in attempt to win their support for various world policies. The USA through the UN Security Council (UNSC) has worked with many Non-aligned states in both Africa and Asia in the campaign against terrorism. The

movement has been instrumental in the UN peacekeeping missions launched by the Security Council in Namibia, Yugoslavia, Somalia and Angola.

7. Non-alignment has enhanced unity and cooperation among member states. This south-south cooperation i.e. cooperation among third world nations has enabled the formation of a united front of developing nations during the United nations General Assemblies. Non-aligned members have worked together and have used one voice in an attempt to reduce the dominance of superpowers and industrialised nations on the international scene.
8. The Non-aligned movement has been instrumental in the consolidation and promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity. The mutual cooperation between African and Asian states became official at the Bandung conference and has been propagated during the various Non-aligned conferences like the 1960 Cairo conference, the 1961 Belgrade conference, and the 1970 Lusaka conference. Consequently, coordination between African and Asian nations has been witnessed in the field of education, trade and industry, humanitarian and technological advancement.
9. The movement has achieved economic fruits. Economically, strong non-aligned nations have always extended financial and technical assistance to member states in wanting. Non-aligned powers like India, Indonesia, UAE and Saudi Arabia have provided funds and technical expertise to projects underway for weak members like Angola, Uganda and Tanzania. The movement has therefore boosted the confidence of Non-aligned nations to reject any economic assistance from great powers with strings attached.
10. Consequently, the Non-aligned movement led to the establishment of the south-to-south commission in 1988 with a major aim of increasing cooperation among the southern nations i.e. nations of third world. The south-to-south commission was also formed to address the economic backwardness<sup>^</sup> of the Non-aligned members and the continued exploitation of low developing nations by the developed world. The NAM has hence collaborated with other organisations of the developing world like the Group of 77 to promote dialogue and cooperation among third world nations in an effort to create global awareness about their political interests.
11. Members have upheld and demonstrated the non-aligned principle of maintaining friendly relations of all nations of the world. The Non-aligned movement has hence condemned imperialist attacks, acts of aggression and other injustices of big powers against weaker nations. Members of the NAM condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the American aggressive attack on Libya in 1981, the American invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq and the invasion and occupation of Libya by the NATO in 2011 that consequently led to the mysterious assassination of the great Libyan leader Muammar Gadhafi.
12. The Non-aligned movement boosted the development of African nationalism. Through the

United Nations General Assembly, Non-aligned members aired out anti-colonial sentiments against European colonial powers and demanded for the intervention of the international body in favour of African and Asian states under foreign domination. The efforts of the movement against foreign domination influenced the major powers in the UN to reconsider their approach towards the persistent foreign dominations in Africa and Asia.

13. Non-aligned members condemned racial discrimination and dominance in the world. The spirit of non-alignment inspired the movement to condemn apartheid in South Africa where the whites oppressively dominated majority Africans. Member states extended moral and financial assistance to Africans against the apartheid regime. The movement has also been instrumental in pressurizing the United Nations to intervene in the Palestinian question against Zionist Israel.
14. The Non-aligned movement has attempted to intervene in conflicts involving member states. Non-aligned countries condemned the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and often tried mediating in the Pakistani conflict. The movement members were part of the success in the arbitration process in the Sudan conflict that peacefully ended the protracted civil unrest since 1955. The arbitration in the Sudan conflict led to the 2011 referendum that led to the mutual independence of the South Sudan, hence a new member of the movement.
15. Non-aligned nations have stood for the rights of all people in the world and the sovereign right of every state. The NAM adopted the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) and the United Nations charter that calls for sovereign equality of all peoples of the whole world. The movement encourages respect for human rights and condemns unilateral aggressions of powerful nations over the weak ones. This is aimed at supporting sovereign existence of all nations in the world. The movement through its Working group on Human Rights has often stood for social justice, has fiercely stood against cultural marginalisation by calling for protection of cultural diversity and religious tolerance in world affairs.
16. Members of the Non-aligned movement have continuously emphasised democracy and the establishment of peoples' governments. They condemned dictatorial regimes of Idi Amin in Uganda and Hussien Sadam regimes. The movement called for peaceful handover of power through constitutional and democratic means. Non-aligned nations has collectively stood against military coups and has condemned unlawful takeover of government by military men.
17. Some Non-aligned member states have managed to exercise freedom of action while dealing with great powers. This was exhibited by Libya against the NATO invasion in 2011. Egypt exercised the same freedom of action and nationalised the Suez Canal Company in 1956 after the United States of America and the United Kingdom withdrew their economic aid meant to enable Nasser's revolutionary government to establish the Aswan engineering project.

## **Problems or challenges of the movement since its inception**

The NAM has faced a lot of problems which have made it difficult for the movement to achieve most of the objectives:

### **Reference**

- a) Examine the challenges to Non-alignment**
- b) Discuss the factors that have hindered the performance of the Non-aligned movement**
- c) Account for the failure of the NAM since 1961**

1. Persistent poverty and economic backwardness among the Non-aligned nations is one of the far reaching problems that have made the concept of non-alignment to remain a myth. Hence member states have ended up aligning with or accept dictations of the industrialised powers, and this has undermined their economic independence.
2. Ideological differences have created conflicts among member states. A lot of mistrusts and suspicions have made it impossible for the non-aligned states to fulfill the major aims and objectives of the movement. States like Tanzania, Ghana, Yugoslavia, India and Cuba embraced scientific socialism at the time other non-aligned states like Kuwait and Kenya committed to capitalism. The differences in ideology have affected unity and cooperation of non-aligned members.
3. Neo-colonialism is yet another thorn in the flesh of the Non-aligned movement. Former colonial masters and the industrialised nations have continued to dictate policies upon the newly independent states of the third world. Non-aligned states have been unable to make independent political or socio-economic decisions without manipulation from the west. During the Non-alignment conference in Harare, Liberia was influenced by the USA to oppose the resolution of imposing economic sanctions on apartheid South Africa.
4. Political instabilities within member states have hindered the progress of the movement. Such instabilities include civil wars, ethnic and racial clashes, which are a disease in many developing nations. The political instabilities have strained resources of Non-aligned states and have influenced them to agree to military pacts with great powers.
5. The end of cold war politics left the movement with no common enemy. Ideally, the Non-aligned movement was an offspring bloc of the cold war tension between the western and eastern blocs. The collapse of the ideological war threatened the existence of the movement as non-aligned countries have failed to establish new principles to guide their relations and activities in world politics, away from the cold war era.
6. Lack of a proper definition of non-alignment has been another threat to the movement. Non-aligned members have promoted and implemented policies according to the way they understand the movement. Ahmed Surkano of Indonesia defined non-alignment as a policy geared towards containing cold war while other non-aligned leaders like Nyerere defined it as a right of small nations to self-determination. This variance in approach affected and continues to affect decision making of the movement.
7. There is always foreign supervision, patronize and interruption by power blocs and great powers of the world, thus suffocating the interests of non-aligned states. During cold war times, the Soviet Union influenced Cuba to accept her (the USSR) as unofficial ally of the Non-aligned movement, while the USA used non-aligned states like Kenya, Liberia to prevent the movement from imposing sanctions on apartheid South Africa. Such external influence affected the operations of the movement.
8. The wide operation area of the Non-aligned movement has proved a big hindrance to the activities of the movement. Membership to the movement is entirely for third world of

countries of the 'south' and thus its operations include the different continents like Asia, Africa, South America and some parts of North America like the Caribbean and West Indies. This is one of the major hindrances to mutual cooperation, unity, and support among non-aligned states.

9. Non-aligned states are affiliated members of other groups and organisations. Since 1963, African independent states have been members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU) and are under regional groupings like the East African Community, Preferential Treaty Area, and the Economic Community of West African States; while the Arab states have consolidated their cooperation through the Arab League. The member states of therefore pay more loyalty to other groupings than the NAM.
10. The persistent interstates conflicts are yet another great challenge of the Non-aligned movement. Non-aligned nations have often been engaged in interstate wrangles due to border issues or support of subversive and terrorist activities in another member country. Conflicts have existed between India and Pakistan, Iraq and Kuwait, Uganda and the Congo, Nigeria and Cameroon, Morocco and Algeria among others. The interstate wrangles among non-aligned countries have endangered unity and harmony in the movement.
11. Many of the core founders of the Non-aligned movement are either dead or have left the political scene. Kwame Nkrumah was ousted in the 1966 Ghanaian coup before he died years later Nasser died in 1970, and Surkano, Jawaharlal Nehru and Josip (Joseph) Tito are all long gone. The movement is hence in the hands of new generation leaders who do not have initial vision and motives of the founder statesmen of non-alignment.
12. Leaders of non-aligned nations are either driven by personal or national interests, which have suffocated the non-aligned interests. Nasser of Egypt joined the movement with a basic aim of promoting pan Arabism, Yugoslavian Tito wanted to use the Non-aligned movement to ensure Yugoslavian security by reducing cold war tension and Museveni engaged in non-aligned activities to confirm to the fact that Ugandans have legitimate interests of their own than being pro-west or pro-east. To him non-alignment is taking the best and rejecting the bad from every system; but without allowing outside powers to prescribe what is best for Uganda as a non-aligned nation, hence Uganda judges friend and foe according to how they relate with Ugandan interests.

### **Shortcomings and failures of the Non-aligned movement**

The above problems have rendered the movement weak through the following ways

1. Bilateral military agreements have been signed between member states of the Non-aligned movement and power blocs. Countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Democratic Republic of Congo. Kenya and Uganda have signed treaties with the western bloc on economic and military lines. Others like Angola, Libya, Burma and the Sudan aligned with the Eastern bloc. This is against the principles of non-alignment.
2. The movement has failed to solve interstate conflicts among non-aligned nations. Conflicts and political misunderstandings have existed between India and Pakistan, Iraq and Kuwait, Uganda and the Sudan and the Congo question, which caused tension between Uganda, the Kabira administration and Rwanda. Such conflicts have influenced member states of the NAM to ally with the west in the quest for solutions.
3. The Non-aligned movement failed in its attempt to maintain political stability and security of its member states. Many military coups and civil wars have been experienced in African states like Uganda, Congo, The Sudan, The Central African Republic (CAR) and Asian countries like Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Syria. This has affected peace in these

nations hence rendering the movement ineffective.

4. The NAM has failed to develop into a cohesive body that can threaten the world power blocs. The power blocs, that is, Eastern and Western blocs have continued to exist even after the collapse of cold war politics, hence leading to a new trend of imperialism. The NAM is the second largest organisation after the UN and has about 60 % of its members as members of the UN as well. The movement has however failed to exert its influence in world politics as the power blocs have always appeared superior to the movement and hence continue subordinating the aligned states in world affairs. The movement has hence remained in an inferior position during international conventions like the UN-General Assembly.
5. Member states of the movement have not absolutely followed the "principle of non-alignment" or "positive neutrality". The aligned states since cold war times failed to uphold the principle of "positive neutrality", and instead ended up identifying themselves along foreign ideologies i.e. capitalism and communism. The failure of positive neutrality has not only perpetuated neo-colonialism in member states of the movement, but also undermines the sovereign status and independent existence of the aligned states.
6. The NAM has failed to prevent ideological conflicts among member states. Conflicts have occurred among member states as a result of ideological differences. The bigger nations of the movement have on many occasions undermined proceedings forwarded by Non-aligned members regarded to be weaker than them. This has affected the process of finding a common approach to problems of the world and therefore hindering solidarity within the movement.
7. The movement has failed to promote economic development of member states. Most members are weak scientifically, technically and socio-economically, which has caused their political vulnerability to neo-colonial influence of power blocs. As a requirement, the movement has failed in the endeavors to collectively encourage capacity development of its member states to uplift –their socio-economical welfare.
8. The movement has failed in its endeavors to improve on the living conditions of the people of its member states. Majority of the Non-Aligned member states have been increasingly affected by the levels of ignorance, diseases, poverty, starvation and other related socio-economic problems. The intervention of the western international non-governmental organisations has opened gates for increased domination and exploitation of Non-aligned states. The poorest nations of the world regarding to the UNDP poverty index are mostly members of the movement.
9. Economic cooperation has not been completely achieved among Non-aligned states. The poor quality of agricultural and industrial commodities of Non-aligned states has forced most of them establish economic and trade ties with the west. Competition for western investors has been rampant among NAM members in their efforts to uplift their economic standards. All these have only hindered economic relations of Non-Aligned members but also worsen the dependence syndrome among member states of the Non-aligned movement.
10. The movement has failed to check on personal conflicts of heads of Non-aligned states which have affected the movement. In 1969, Fidel Castro of Cuba organised the Havana Conference of Non-aligned countries which some member states ignored. Conflicts existed between Sultan Hassan of Morocco and Ben Ali of Tunisia, Joseph Kabila of DR-Congo and Paul Kagame of Rwanda.

11. The movement failed to condemn and prevent militarism of great powers in the Non-aligned countries. Major Powers of the world since the 1960s have exercised acts of aggression against non-aligned countries for example; France tested a nuclear bomb in the Sahara in 1966 and the US bombardment of Benghazi in Libya in the 1980s. The NAM did not take action apart from verbally condemning the major powers. The weakness of the movement in preventing militarism by major powers was further exposed in 2011 when the NATO unleashed explosions in Libya against Gadhafi's regime. The movement did not clearly come out to rescue Libya from the NATO imperialism.
12. Non Aligned members have failed to prevent influence of western cultures from eroding native cultural heritage. The Non-aligned states have continuously been dominated by western cultural values against the native cultures and this has affected the social and culture integrations of the movement. Dubious western practices like homosexuality and gay-marriage are highly growing in the NAM fraternity courtesy of western moneys and political favours pouring into desperate countries, most of which are Non-Aligned.
13. Some member states have accepted bigger powers to establish military bases in their territories. Such states include Pakistan, Egypt, Kenya, Central African Republic (CAR), Iraq, Afghanistan mention but a few. The establishment of military bases in Non-aligned states has undermined the sovereign status and territorial integrity that the movement has strongly encouraged.
14. Non-Aligned states have become breeding grounds for terrorist activities in the world. Terrorist organisations have harboured, organised and unleashed activities of terrorism using grounds of aligned states like the Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. The leader of the Al Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden was killed in Abbottabad in Pakistan, a strong member of NAM, where it had sought refuge following the popular massive terrorist activities of September 11, 2001 on the USA.

#### **THE PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT (PAM) AND THE CONCEPT OF PAN AFRICANISM SINCE 1900**

The Pan African Movement (PAM) is an organisation of self-expression, coordination and resistance of African peoples throughout the world in their quest for a total and complete liberation.

The concept of Pan Africanism emphasises spiritual unity of blacks in the world with a strong attachment towards the black continent Africa. It seeks to unify the African people or people living in Africa, into a "One African community."

The movement upholds the right to self-governance (independence) in Africa, recognises the desire to preserve and revive the African cultural heritage and African economic advancement. It condemns slavery and colonial influence that raped the African cultural heritage. hence, it aims at achieving an African personality and dignity.

Pan Africanism pre-supposes that both Africans in the Diaspora and those in Africa suffered at the hands of the white race. The African descendants in the Diaspora suffered from slavery under the white slave-lords and those in Africa were subjected to untold atrocities committed against them by European colonialists.

It is on this basis that the advocates of pan Africanism, who included, Dr. William Edward Burdghart (WEB) Du Bois, Blaise Diagne, Dr. Alexander, Marcus Garvey and George Padmore etcetera, emerged to oppose the continued oppression and exploitation of blacks by the white race in the political and socio-economic fields. The advocates of Pan Africanism were African descendants in the diaspora mainly from Americas (including West Indies and the Caribbean).

They were freed-slaves but still facing marginalisation. The African descendants were denied freedoms of association, ownership of land and property and were racially discriminated with no voting rights.

Therefore, the Pan Africanists longed to improve on the position of the black-man through agitating for equal treatment from the white race. They identified themselves with Africa and desired to see Africa free from foreign rule and European domination. To achieve this, they came up with the concept of Pan Africanism implying their spiritual union with their motherland Africa.

The Pan African concept was aimed at agitating for a political federation of African states under the "United, States of Africa." However, with the attainment of independence, the concept of a politically united Africa was soon replaced by the assertion of competing national interests within the newly independent African states.

### **Origin of pan Africanism**

Pan Africanism is a political and cultural phenomenon that regards Africa, Africans and African descendants abroad as a unit, and aims at the regeneration and unification of Africa and the promotion of the feeling of solidarity among the people of the African world.

Pan Africanism originated in the New World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as an integral part of the black liberation struggle against white domination and exploitation. In Africa, the Pan African Movement (PAM) took a new twist of liberation from the date of fascism: Italian aggression on Ethiopian in 1935.

The PAM arose out of and in response to the oppressions of African peoples for their dignity, self-respect and independent statehood, and suppression of their special and economic freedom.

By 1900, the African descendants had intensified their activities to secure equal rights, self-government and independence for Africa, and unity of the African peoples. Marcus Garvey referred the PAM as an inspiration to encourage self-awareness on the part of Africans by encouraging the study of their history and culture.

The leadership of the movement came from the Americas until the fifth PAC in Manchester

UK, in 1945, which saw the emergence of African nationalist figures/ notably Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, with a programme of African 'autonomy and independence.'

The movement started as a black intellectual, cultural and political movement that advocated for the rights and freedoms of African descendants in the new world (America, West Indies, and the Caribbean). These African descendants rose up following the discrimination they faced after the abolition of slave trade and slavery.

The PanAfricanism was a joint effort by African-Americans to fight against slavery, white domination and exploitation they experienced in the Diaspora. They felt depressed, homeless as orphans and so much unwanted in the New World. They hence, thought- of Africa excellently and with no doubt as their ancestral land and believed the continent was their source of love and happiness.

The pioneers of Pan Africanism were intellectuals like Marcus Garvey from Jamaica, a strong scholar and writer, Dr. William Edward Burdghart (WEB) Du Bois, Dr. Alexander, George Padmore and Sylvester Williams a Trinidad lawyer. Education was therefore, a major factor that aroused nationalism of these Negros and their desire for freedom. They shared the same objective of liberating the black race though they differed in approach. Marcus Garvey headed

a group that was radical and supported a militant approach whereas others like Dr. Du Bois were moderate and opted for strong constitutional means of achieving African demands.

The Pan Africanists formed associations and held conferences that later exported the ideas of Pan Africanism to Africa. The associations included the American Negroes Academy Association of Dr. Alexander, the National Association for the Coloured People led by Dr. William Edward Burdghart Du Bois, and the Universal Negro Movement of Marcus Garvey.

Since the inception of Pan Africanism, a series of Pan African Congresses (PACs) have also proceeded in the various cities across Europe, America and Africa. They included the PAC in London-UK (1900); the 1919 PAC in Paris-France; the 1921 PAC in London-UK, Brussels-Belgium and Paris-France; the 1923 PAC in London-UK and Lisbon-Portugal; the 1927 PAC in New York-USA; the 1945 PAC in Manchester-UK and the 1958 AAPC in Accra Ghana. Other inferences included the Sixth PAC in Dar es Salaam-Tanzania (1974) and the Seventh PAC in Kampala-Uganda (1994).

### **Aim and objectives of Pan Africanism**

- ✓ Promote and forge unity of blacks all over the world regardless of education and economic levels
- ✓ Restore the black- man's respect and dignity that was whitewashed by slavery and European colonial exploitation.
- ✓ Revive the African cultural heritage that was undermined by slavery, Christianity and colonialism.
- ✓ To build and establish a strong loyalty to Africa, as opposed to individual and divisive interests: the Pan Africanists encouraged "African for African."
- ✓ Establish a strong black voice against white domination and exploitation.
- ✓ Promote international relations with other races without Africans being enslaved or exploited.
- ✓ Promote respect of the rights of Africans.
- ✓ Uplift African interests and the desire to develop.
- ✓ Eradicate interstate conflicts out of the entire African continent.
- ✓ Ensure respect and defence of African sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence the Pan Africanists wanted to prevent foreigners from exploiting African resources an: intervening in African affairs.
- ✓ Enforce regional economic integration as a way of ending economic exploitation of the African states by foreigners.
- ✓ Uplift the African standards of living and possibly curb down poverty.
- ✓ Promote technological transfer from the new world to Africa. The Pan Africanists highlighted science and technology as a means to promote development and create material conditions for the liberation of the African people.

### **Please note:**

The emancipation of women, the end to apartheid, religious freedom, freedom of movement, freedom of expression, economic cooperation, African unity and social transformation were al

placed on the Pan African agenda for African liberation from the period of slavery to the independence of the African continent and freedom to the peoples throughout the world.

## **THE PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT IN PHASES**

### **PHASE 1 since 1900**

The modern Pan African Movement started leading the struggle for African rights officially in 1900. During this period, a series of Pan African Conferences (PACs) were held in various cities across Europe and America.

This was mainly a radical movement dominated by intellectuals from America and West Indies who included Dr. William Edward Burdghart (W.E.B.) Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, and Alexander.

It was characterised by Political manoeuvres in European and American capitals, aimed at liberating the blacks all over the world from racial segregation. Various conferences were held during this period and this was because of the intellectual characteristic of the PAM. The conferences held included:

#### **The 1900 London Conference:**

This was the first conference of people of African descent: it organised by Sir Henry Sylvester Williams a Trinidadian Barrister. The conference took place from July 23-25 at the London's West Minister Hall. It was attended by Staunch and radical Pan Africanists like Alexander and Dr. William Edward Burdghart (W.E.B.) Du Bois.

The 1900 London conference was the first ever-political conference by blacks to be recognised by the white administrators, and the first to unite the people of African origin. The delegates condemned the grabbing of African land and racial discrimination by colonialists.

During the conference, Dr. William Edward Burdghart (W.E.B.) Du Bois drafted a letter to the Queen of the UK and other European leaders appealing to them to struggle against racism, to grant black colonies in Africa and the West Indies the right to self-government. Du Bois also demanded for political and other rights for the blacks in the United States.

#### **The 1919 PAC in Paris:**

The conference was the first official PAC. It was held from February 19-21. It was organised by Dr. William Edward Burdghart (W.E.B.) DuBois assisted by a Senegalese born Blaise Diagne, the Head of Chamber's Committee on Colonies. Fifty-seven (57) delegates from America, West Indies Europe, and Africa attended, representing about 85,000,000 people of Negro and African descent African delegates were from Egypt, Abyssinia, Liberia, Algeria, Belgian Congo and the Portuguese colonies.

Many people could have attended the Paris conference but were denied passports by the British and American governments. The purpose of the meeting was to unit black leaders worldwide to secure internationalization of former German colonies in Africa.

The conference was at the time vector powers of World War I led by the British and France, were holding the Versailles peace Settlement in the city of Paris. The main task of Pan Africanists was petition the major powers attending the Versailles peace conference. Dr WEB Dubois wanted the recommendations of the African Conference to be recognized by the Allied Victors at Versailles.

In the name of justice and humanity, the Pan African delegates in Paris demanded for the strengthening of the force of civilization and that, immediate steps be taken to develop the

people of African descent. The resolution at the PAC in Paris hence, stipulated that:

- ❖ The Allied victors and their associates established a code of laws. "For international protection to the natives of Africa."
- ❖ Establishment of a permanent Bureau whose special duty was to "oversee the application of the law stipulated in (a) above to the political, social and economic welfare of the natives."
- ❖ The natives of Africa and people of African descent nr "governed according to the principles mentioned above."
- ❖ Land and all its natural resources be preserved for the natives with effective ownership.
- ❖ Capital investment and granting of concessions be regulated so as to prevent exploitation of natives and exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country.
- ❖ The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and profits be taxed for social and material benefits of the natives.
- ❖ The right of every native child to learn to read and write in their own language and the language of the trustee natives.
- ❖ Slaver and corporal punishment be abolished and forced labour except in punishment for crime and the state to prescribe and regulate labour conditions.
- ❖ Persons of Africans descent should be accorded the same right like their fellow citizens (whites) and not to be denied a voice in government, court justice or social economic equality on account of race or colour.
- ❖ Greater security of life and property should be guaranteed all the natives.
- ❖ Natives workers, like whites, shall equitable representation in all the international institutions of the League of Nations.
- ❖ In case people of Africans descent are deliberately denied (excluded) from social political and cultural affairs on racial grounds, it shall be the duty of League to intervene.

The above resolutions resolutions, which were also sent to Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, the US Secretary of State, were however, rejected by the Allied victors at the Versallies Peace Conference.

### **THE 1921 LONDON PAC**

This was the second Pan African Congress held in several sessions. It began in London UK, while other conference were held in Paris France and Brussels Belgium. Among delegates who deliberately was W. F. Hutchinson, a journalist from Gold Cost and an Indian revolutionary Shapurji Saklatvala.

This PAC was mostly focused on change to be presided over in Africa by the Europeans, for the good of African natives. The meeting was more practical than the previous ones. At the London session, London Resolutions were adopted, later restated by (W.E.B) Du Bois in his Manifesto to the League of Nations.

"England, with all her Pax Britannic, her courts of justice, established commerce, and a certain apparent recognition of Native laws and customs, has nevertheless systematically fostered

ignorance among the Native Africans, has enslaved them, and is still enslaving them, has

usually declined even to try to train black and brown men in real self-government, to recognise educated blacks as civilised, or to grant to African colonies those rights of self-government which it freely gives to white men."

### **1923 LONDON CONFERENCE:**

This was the third PAC held first in London-UK and concluded in Lisbon-Portugal 133 black delegates from the world-over attended the meeting. This meeting was totally unorganised. This meeting was also a repeat of the demands such as self-rule, the problems in the Diaspora and the African- European relationship.

The congress claimed that the absolute equality of all races in the physical, political and socio-economic fields was a founding stone to human advancement. The major concern of the conference was however, the social improvement of the black race than political freedoms. The following was addressed at the meeting:

- a. The development of Africa should be for the benefit of Africans and not merely for the profits of Europeans.
- b. There should be home rule and a responsible government for British West Africa and the British West Indies.
- c. The Abolition of the pretension of a white minority to dominate a black majority in Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa.
- d. Lynching and mob law in the US should be suppressed: (the law mostly harassed blacks)

### **THE 1927 PAC IN NEW YORK:**

It was scheduled to sit in Tunisia but failed because Britain and France could not allow an African sitting in New York it was however attended by 208 delegates significantly if adopted and reinforced most of the resolutions similarly it passed during the earlier conferences. The colonial authorities in Africa denied passports to Africans who wished to attend the conference in the US. This fourth Pan African Conference however adopted resolutions that were similar to the Third Pan- African Congress meetings.

### **NOTE:**

Phases I had little impact as it never involved a reasonable number of blacks from the African continent. It was also not specific in demanding of rights and independence.

### **PHASE II (1945)**

This period was a turning point in the history of Pan Africanism, its growth and development. It started with the fifth Pan African Congress held in 1945 in Manchester UK. Delegates who attended were from America, Africa, West Indies, Europe and the Caribbean.

The fifth Pan African Congress was the next gathering after the first major four held in phase I. The Conference in Manchester was pre-dominated by African delegates for the first time in the history of Pan Africanism, Among the Africans who attended were Wallace Johnson from Sierra Leone Peter Abrahams from South Africa, chief Obafemi Awolowo and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Kwame Nkrumah and Danquah of the Gold Coast, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Nyasaland.

The focus of discussion was on the liberation of colonial Africa. The Manchester Conference was organised by a special '**International Conference Secretariat**' consisting of Dr. Peter Milliard of British Guyana as chairperson. Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast and George Padmore of Trinidad as joint secretaries, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya as assistant secretary, Peter Abrahams of South Africa as publicity secretary and Ras Makonnen (formally Griffins) of

West Indies acted as the treasurer.

About 200 participants attended mostly from colonial Africa. Some of these African delegates later became future presidents of independent African states. Du Bois was the permanent chairperson to all the sessions of the Manchester conference that ran from the 15-19 of October 1945.

Some of the factors that influenced the Manchester Conference included the emergence of an elite class in Africa, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, World War II, African economic boom, the 1941 Atlantic charter, and concern over the rights of people of African descent. The conference was basically to unite the independence movement leaders and to find appropriate means of achieving African independence.

**The significance of the fifth Pan African Conference in Manchester Reference Questions:**

- a) Examine the impact of the Manchester conference on the development of Pan Africanism
- b) To what extent did the Fifth Pan African Congress influence the growth of African nationalism?
- c) Explain the significance of the 1945 conference in Manchester on Pan Africanism

1. The Manchester Conference Africanised the concept of Pan Africanism. It was the first Pan African Conference to be attended by many delegates from Africa. The delegates at the conference shared common anti-colonial sentiments, as they were under the same colonial masters notably the British and the French. The ideas acquired at Manchester prompted them to return home and consolidate the liberation movement.
2. The conference brought together Africans from Africa and those in the Diaspora. It fostered unity between the two groups of Pan Africanists. The conference encouraged co-operation among Pan Africanists who shared ideas and strategies of achieving unity and independence of Africans. The Pan Africanists from Africa buried their misconception of those in the diaspora, whom they had regarded as strangers. The African Diaspora assured their colleagues from Africa of their support against European domination.
3. During the conference, the delegates agreed to sell the idea of Pan Africanism to Africa. They suggested the shifting of the Pan African base from the Diaspora to Africa. On return to Africa, the African delegates laid down a strategy of establishing a Pan African foundation that came to reality after the independence of Ghana in 1957.
4. It encouraged delegates from Africa to return home and lead their countries to independence. Upon the end of the conference, these African delegates returned home to their respective countries to lead the independence struggle. Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946 and Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in 1947. Nyerere, Nnamdi Azikiwe all followed suit, with Kamuzu Banda returning to Nyasaland much later.
5. The Manchester conference called for effective mobilisation in order to score against colonialism. Pan Africanists on the African continent were therefore influenced to form radical movements that demanded for immediate autonomy and independence, and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of African states. The radical movements (political parties) adopted slogans like 'Self-determination NOW' and passed resolutions demanding for freedom, justice and democracy in Africa.
6. Consequently, delegates from Africa were advised to involve masses in the struggle for independence. Unity was also called for among the freedom fighters. Upon their return to Africa, the Pan Africanists involved illiterate peasants in the struggle against European domination and sensitised them on Pan African affairs. This led to the popularity of the independence movement. Notably, Nkrumah and Kenyatta respectively transformed the

UGCC and the KAU into mass political parties.

7. The conference led to open criticism against European colonialism in Africa. Intellectual attacks on colonial exploitation increased within and outside Africa following the increased political awareness of Africans. The Pan Africanists after the Manchester Conference condemned the continued inhuman exploitation of Africans through forced labour, political suppression and discrimination, and land grabbing.
8. Delegates at the conference advocated for cultural revival among African states. They were concerned with the abuse of the African cultural heritage following the introduction of Christianity and colonialism by Europeans. The delegates agreed that promoting African cultural values would help to redefine the African dignity and personality.
9. The fifth Pan African conference led to the formation of the West African National Secretariat (WANS) in December 1945. The secretariat had members who were mainly West African politicians staying in the UK and France. They included Danquah from the Gold Coast and Sengoh of Senegal. The WANS politicalised members who returned home to Africa to actively involved in the independence struggle.
10. The conference was one of the earlier events that encouraged unity, solidarity and co-operation of African leaders both independent as well as those still fighting for independence. The Pan Africanists from independent African States like Ethiopia motivated their counter parts from colonial Africa to consolidate their struggle against colonialism.
11. The theme of the conference stirred up Pan Africanism. It stated, 'Africa for Africans and Africa for blacks.' It therefore consolidated African personality and dignity. The delegates at the Manchester Conference emphasised respect for African dignity, sovereignty of African states and respect of rights of Africans in Africa and blacks in the new world. They demanded for the immediate withdrawal of Europeans from Africa.
12. The Manchester Conference militarised African nationalism. The delegates at the conference realised that African independence could not be achieved on a silver plate as the European colonialists were not prepared to decolonise African territories under their control. They agreed that it was useless to condemn colonialism and its related oppressive policies without taking action. The delegates hence supported the use of force and with dedication for the sake of African cause.
13. The fifth Pan African conference laid the foundation for further Pan African conferences (PACs). Pan Africanists from Africa notably Nkrumah and Kenyatta acquired organization skills that later enabled them to successfully organise African gatherings. On achieving the independence of Ghana, Nkrumah organised the "All African Peoples Conference" (AAPC) in Accra. Other conferences included the 1961 Cairo Conference, the second All African Peoples Conference of 1974 in Tanzania and the 1963 conference in Addis Ababa during which the OAU charter was signed.
14. The conference strongly condemned racism in the world. The delegates demanded for equal treatment of the black race by other races especially the whites. They attacked racial discrimination of Africans and the coloured in South Africa and in the new world. The Pan Africanists encouraged the involvement of Africans and blacks in the development of the world affairs.
15. The 1945 Pan African conference increased the activities of the West African Students Union (WASU). Members of WASU became increasingly radical; they used the press to attack colonial exploitation in Africa,-petitioned the British government of Clement Atlee to

decolonise British colonies in Africa'-or initiate reforms to politically empower the Africans. WASU emphasised unity among African freedom activists and a common approach to attain self-rule.

16. Delegates at the Manchester Conference demanded for the implementation of the resolutions of the 1941 Atlantic charter. The delegates based their arguments and resolutions on the principles of the charter that demanded for sovereign right and self-government of all people under foreign domination.

### **PHASE III (1958)**

#### **EVENTS ON THE EVE OF THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES' CONGRESS (AAPC)**

Phase III of Pan Africanism was mainly a phase of struggle for African independence, which had its routes established soon after the attainment of the independence of Ghana in 1957. At the time, Kwame Nkrumah the first leader of Ghana was the main activist behind the Pan African Movement on the African continent.

Nkrumah endeavoured to pursue an integrative agenda of co-coordinating unity of African states. He echoed the dream of the pioneers of Pan Africanism of unifying the African people or people living in Africa, into a 'One African Community.'

From 1950 to 1965, this period could be referred to as the 'Age of Kwame Nkrumah,' by words, actions and example, Nkrumah mobilised African leaders of both independent Africa states and liberation movements for Pan African causes.

Nkrumah's attitude was in confirmation with his declaration on the night of Ghana's independence that the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless it was linked with total liberation of the African continent. It was for this background that the leader of Ghana organised various Pan African Congresses.

It was therefore from this date signified by the attainment of Ghanaian independence under the dynamic leadership of Nkrumah that Pan Africanism, as a movement of integration (unity) was pursued with purpose. During this period, the Pan African Movement aimed at improving the African political culture and economic integration at regional, continental and intercontinental levels.

Nkrumah as the pacesetter first spearheaded the formation of Ghana-Guinea union early in 1958. The union was later joined by Mali, and this was the first step towards the union of African states.

Secondly, Nkrumah organised a conference of independent African states in Accra in April 1958, just a year after Ghana's independence. The conference was attended by all independent African states of the time i.e. Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana ('host state'), Liberia, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia.

The 1958 April conference of independent African states called for removal of customs and other restrictions on trade among all African states; enhance economic exchanges-and consequently establish a common market. The independent African states also proposed the establishment of the Economic Commission of Africa and advocated for the political unity of Africa.

Other issues at the conference included, assistance to the liberation movements throughout Africa, the relation between independent Africa and the United Nations, and on the ways and means of protecting Africa from the divisiveness of cold war politics of the east and west

blocs, as well as adopting the Non-alignment policy. The independent African states arguably laid the basis for the Organization of African Unity.

Later in December 1958, Nkrumah with the help of George Padmore whom he had appointed as his personal advisor on Pan African issues convened another conference in Accra known as the All African Peoples Conference.<sup>1</sup> This was a conference of both leaders of independent African states and liberation movements.

### **THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES CONFERENCE (AAPC)**

Over 250 delegates and several observers attended the AAPC. Some of the members were representatives of Africans from South Africa (notably Mandela) who escaped the Apartheid security-intelligence network to attend the meeting. Patrice Lumumba (Belgian Congo) and Kamuzu Banda (Nyasaland) were also among the delegates from colonial Africa that attended the AAPC.

Issues that were discussed included anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-racism, African unity and non-alignment. The delegates discussed regional groupings, colonial boundaries and the role of chiefs and religious leaders.

The December 1958 Accra Conference was intended to install revolutionary spirit in the freedom fighters or nationalists as a way of achieving an all-African independence and later the proposed United States of Africa. Nkrumah in his key address to the delegates stated, '*Today is African independence, tomorrow is the United States of Africa...*'

### **Significance of the PAM-African Peoples' Congress**

#### **Reference Questions**

- a) How far did the AH-African Peoples Conference (AAPC) in Accra influence the growth of African nationalism?
- b) Assess the impact of the Pan African Congress of December 1958 on Pan Africanism

The All-African Peoples Conference provided a platform or an avenue for interaction between leaders of liberation movements and independent African states. These delegates shared amongst themselves ideas, strategies and ways of achieving African independence. During the conference Nkrumah had lengthy discussions with other African political leaders like Patrice Lumumba of the Belgian Congo. Such political interactions created a bond among African leaders.

Delegates at the conference condemned colonialism and the continued colonial domination in Africa. With concern of African liberation coming on top of the conference's agenda, the delegates discussed among other issues anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. This increased African grievances against imperialism and hence consolidated anti-colonial sentiments on the continent.

The delegates at the conference condemn all forms of racism in Africa. In their views of anti-racism, they attacked the racist regimes in Algeria by the French, in South Africa and in the Portuguese colonies. The conference agreed to push for the disintegration (separation) of CAF (Central African Federation) and demanded for African participation in Southern Rhodesia Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (which were British colonies under CAF). Emphasis was also put on recognition of the dignity of an African person.

The conference emphasised African unity. The desire to achieve political, cultural and economic integration both at regional and continental level was clearly put forward. This form of integration (unity) had earlier on been presented at the April congress of independent African states. Delegates at the conference realised the importance of African cooperation,<sup>2</sup>

hence, the idea of unity was emphasised in the rest of the conferences that followed.

Consequently, the Accra conference of December 1958 laid the foundation for the formation of Organisation of African Unity (OAU). This came after the delegates agreed to establish an instrument (body) that would enable Africans to work together and solve the socio-economic and political problems on the continent without involving the international community.

During the conference, Nkrumah encouraged the policy of Non-alignment. He called upon African leaders to adopt the policy of positive neutrality as a strategy and means of protecting African from neo-colonialism and hostilities between cold war blocs of the east and west. The conference realised the importance of pro-Africanism as opposed to the ideological differences of the super powers. In his words, Nkrumah stated, "We face neither East nor West! We face forward."

The delegates agreed to establish a permanent Pan African secretariat in Africa. Hence, after, the conference, Ghana became a Pan African base and a revolutionary base of freedom fighters. African nationalists visited Nkrumah (Ghana) to get revolutionary morale and political guidance. This was a long-term achievement, which Pan Africanists longed for. From Accra-Ghana, anti-colonial sentiments would be aired out without fear.

Consequently, the Accra conference led to the establishment of regional groupings in Africa. The delegates at the conference discussed at length the importance of inter-state cooperation at regional level as a boost to Pan Africanism. Lessons were drawn from the Ghana-Guinea union, which was later joined by Mali. Significantly, the union set the pace for the establishment of regional integrations like the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Committee of West African States (ECOWAS) among others.

At the All African Peoples' Congress, the Pan African Movement became a concern of Africans in Africa than championing the interests of blacks in the Diaspora (abroad). This therefore marked a shift away from the grievances of the black people towards the idea of bringing together Africans on the continent, and to use the movement to solve African problems. Tom Mboya, the chairperson to the conference made the following closing remarks, "The All-African Peoples Conference has marked the rediscovery of Africa... the colonial powers should now reverse the scramble for Africa... Your time has passed, Africa must be free. Scram from Africa.'

The conference boosted the spirit of African nationalism on the continent. Being the first of its kind on the continent, the conference was attended by many representatives of about 300 from close to 62 nationalists and revolutionary organisations. This strengthened anti-colonial sentiments and consolidated a revolutionary spirit among African nationalists. The delegates cautioned the revolutionary leaders to use military means against European colonialists.

At the AAPC congress, Pan Africanism became more realistic, practical and more militant. Pan Africanists demanded for immediate independence and a speedy end to colonial oppression. They criticised the reforms implemented by the colonial masters and demanded Europeans to respect African sovereignty.

Consequently, the conference, agreed to ensure respect for every African leader, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The delegates agreed to the use of peaceful means of solving inter-state conflicts other than resorting to war.

The All African Peoples' Congress bridged the gap between the Arabs in the north of Africa and blacks south of the Sahara. This enabled black Africans to erase the historical grievance against the Arabs as perpetrators of slave trade and slavery.

The conference laid the foundation for the conferences that followed in Africa. These were held in Tunis-Tunisia, Lagos-Nigeria, in Addis Ababa-Ethiopia, and Cairo-Egypt. All the meetings that followed discussed the attainment of total independence and protection of Africa from neo-colonialism and cold war. Unity in Africa was a common phenomenon during these conferences as emphasised in Accra.

At the conference, independence African states pledged financial, moral and military assistance to freedom fighters. This motivated African nationalism and increased the revolutionary spirit during the struggles for independence.

Delegates at the conference discussed the role of African chiefs and religious leaders in the struggle against European domination; the participation of the chiefs and African religious leaders was a step towards effective mobilisation of masses against colonial domination. The conference agreed that the chiefs and the religious leaders played a great role in popularising the independence struggles.

Ghana after the AACPC realised a consolidated position to influence nationalism in West Africa. The host state to the conference became a habitat for freedom fighters. The influence of Ghana was strong in Franco-phone states of West Africa, as Nkrumah believed in the immediate independence of states like Ivory Coast and Senegal.

### **Obstacles to the Pan African Movement**

#### **Reference Questions-**

- a) Account for the delayed progress of the Pan African Movement before 1945
- b) Examine the reasons why Pan Africanism had little influence on Africa before 1945
- c) Discuss the obstacles to the Pan African Movement

#### **OBSTACLES BEFORE 1945**

1. The Pan African Congresses (PACs) were initially held outside Africa, that is, in Europe and America. The Pan African idea was not exposed to the native Africans during the time. That means that Africans had little knowledge about the Pan African Movement, while the few who heard of it were too poor to travel and attend the PACs. This hindered the development of Pan-Africanism in Africa.
2. The Pan African Movement lacked a strong base (platform) on the African continent. The Pan African ideas and resolutions hence stayed far away from Africans. It should be noted that Africa lacked any white appeal or sympathy. This was witnessed when the European colonialists (France and Britain) denied the 1927-PAC from seating in Tunisia before it was rescheduled to New York.
3. The intellectual characteristic of the Pan African Movement at its initial stage affected the Pan African activities. The black elite class dominated the movement in the early years, which made many Africans to perceive it as an alien movement. The intellectuals in the Diaspora did not do much to identify with the African poor. It was this intellectual gap that prevented the spirit of Pan Africanism from spreading to Africa.
4. The difference in ideology among the pioneers of the PAM hindered the activities of Africanism from spreading to Africa. Marcus Garvey desired for a more aggressive and militant approach whereas Du Bois preferred a more peaceful approach of discussions with the white oppressors. This was a set back to the Pan African Movement until the 1945 Manchester Conference.
5. Pan Africanism before 1945 had been perceived as a brief movement aimed at promoting the interests of blacks and solving their problems in the Diaspora. The native Africans referred to the Blacks in the Diaspora as strangers who had abandoned the original African

cultures for foreign ones in the New World. Natives in Africa looked at blacks in the Diaspora as strangers and that is why the idea of Pan Africanism was not taken seriously at the time.

6. The black descendants in the New World experienced financial constraints. They lacked enough resources and work force to spread the ideal of Pan Africanism. This explains why the Pan African ideas and activities for a longtime remained theoretical and hence ignored by the Africans on the African continent.
7. The colonial policies in Africa introduced by Europeans could not allow Pan Africanism to germinate. These policies created divisions among Africans and groomed hatred. The British policy of divide and rule and the French and Portuguese assimilation policy created rivalry and pride among Africans. All these denied the Pan African Movement a possibility to unite Africans against fight European colonial domination.
8. The native Africans at the time were politically backward and ignorant of the rights they were supposed to enjoy. They treated whites as a godly race; it is not therefore surprising that by the time, the ideal of Pan Africanism broke the headlines. Such political unconsciousness could not enable Africans to adopt it.
9. The communication system together with language barrier also hindered the development of Pan Africanism in Africa. Illiteracy was at its highest peak while at the same time, there was a variance (difference) in the languages spoken on the continent. The Anglo-phone (English speaking Africans) and the Franco-phone (French speaking Africans) could not mutually communicate. This hindered communication and cooperation among Africans hence an obstacle to African unity.
10. The independent states present by 1945 ignored the ideals of Pan Africanism. These countries were Liberia, Egypt and Ethiopia; they never embraced Pan Africanism either because they were economically constrained or were pre-occupied with socio-economic problems. However, the opportunity came when Ghana received independence in 1957. Nkrumah the Ghanaian leader had earlier attended the Manchester Conference and was aware of the benefits of the Pan African Movement.
11. The negative attitude of the colonialists towards Pan Africanism was another obstacle. The colonialists were aware of Pan Africanism and its objectives, and were scared of the Pan African activities. No wonder that they prevented the 1927 congress from seating in Africa. The colonialists easily silenced Africans who returned from abroad. The British and the French were suspicious of any nationalistic activities that would check on their exploitative policies in Africa.

#### **Other obstacles to the Pan African Movement (from 1945) included:**

#### **Revision Question:**

#### **Account for the ineffectiveness of the Pan African Movement from 1945**

1. The area of operation of the Pan African Movement is too big. The movement is expected to operate in Africa and the rest of the World, in the Caribbean, Americas, Europe and West Indies. That is why it took so long for other parts of the world like Africa to conceive the ideals of Pan Africanism. Africa alone is too big an area to witness the effectiveness of the movement.
2. African societies lacked fairly developed cash economies, which would finance nationalist activities to oppose the European colonial policies. Before independence, the Europeans controlled most of the economies in Africa. This means that the Africans would not ensure the effectiveness of the nationalistic activities hence hindering the

progress of Pan Africanism.

3. It took long before Africans witnessed militant nationalism on the continent. It was after World War II that Africans resorted to military means of struggling for independence. This was after the return of African ex-servicemen of World War II and African intellectuals that attended' the Manchester Conference. These had acquired modern political skills, which were essential to fight for independence.
4. Lack of an indigenous African political culture of purpose has hindered the activities of Pan Africanism. This has forced Pan Africanists to adopt Western political cultures such as multi partism and disguised democracy. These foreign political systems are divisive hence discourage unity of purpose.
5. The heterogeneous nature of African societies in terms of race, ethnic and cultural diversity-Among the races in Africa, include blacks, coloureds, Arabs, Whites and Indians. This has been worsened by the existence of very many languages and religious differences. The aforementioned have made the gospel of African unity and brother-hood a myth.
6. There is a problem of regionalism. Some nationalists like Nkrumah and Nasser advocated for an integration of all African states into a large United States of Africa as proposed by the pioneers of Pan Africanism. Others like Nyerere and Azikiwe oppose the arrangement. This led to the division of Africa into Casablanca and Monrovia groupings. Even today, whereas leaders like the late Gaddafi supported an African Federation, others like Mbeki are opposed to it. This sense of regionalism was witnessed at the African Union Summit of July 2007 in Accra, Ghana.
7. Consequently, African countries have preferred to establish regional groupings at the expense of continental integration. The regional groupings include the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the South African Development Community (SADC). Members of these groupings prefer loyalty at regional level than continental level, hence hindering continental cooperation in solving African problems.
8. The impact of civil wars in Africa has severely affected the Pan African Movement. These civil wars have divided the African states against the ideals of unity, solidarity and cooperation,' and finding solutions to the instabilities on the continent. These included the Biafran civil war in Nigeria (1967-70), the Katanga civil war in Congo (1960-63), and the civil wars in Sudan (1955-2005). Other civil wars have occurred in Uganda, Chad, present day DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia and Libya.
9. Interstate and inter-personal rivalries in Africa have dragged down the Pan African Movement; Nkrumah was condemned by the West African leaders for supporting subversive (rebel) activities in their countries. Congo Kinshasa (DRC) condemned Uganda and Rwanda for unauthorized entrance in the Congo. Personal bickering (quarrels) were witnessed between Uganda's Amin and Nyerere of Tanzania, Mobutu of Zaire and Dos Santos of Angola etcetera. Currently (2012) Joseph Kabila of DRC is blaming Rwanda for supporting the Nyamurenge rebels (a.k.a. M23) led by Jean Bosco Ntaganda. Not all these can enable African leaders to agree on strategies towards continental problems.
10. The weakness of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) delayed the achievements of Pan Africanism. Since its formation in 1963, the OAU was never perfect. Her powers were economically and politically limited, which reduced the body to a conservative one. The OAU hence found it increasingly difficult to solve the problems on the continent. She

lacked finances, had no continental army yet there were ideological variances among African political leaders. Due to this, Pan Africanism remained in theory and was not able to perform to its expectations.

11. Differences in development levels among African countries hindered the progress of Pan Africanism. Economically stronger nations like Egypt, Ivory Coast and Nigeria are not willing to share their resources with weak states like Burundi, Uganda, Mozambique and the Congo. Such discourages interstate trade and regional cooperation and in the end hampers unity on the continent.
12. Bad governance (arbitrary rule.) of some African leaders has also hindered the Pan African activities. Since independence, human rights violation has been rampant during the reign of leaders like Idi Amin of Uganda, Mobutu of Zaire, and Sani Abacha of Nigeria. Such leadership was a reflection of the colonial oppressive rule of the Europeans. The policies of the oppressive African leaders greatly hindered political awareness of their subjects, hence crippled Pan Africanism.
13. Neo colonialism is another thorn in the flesh of the Pan African Movement. The former colonial masters and the industrialised countries of the world have intensified their influence in Africa treating the continent as a source of cheap labour, raw materials and a venue of investment and market, hence, undermining economic and political growth of Africa.
14. Independent African states have balkanised (divided) themselves into Francophone and Anglophone states (Commonwealth Nations). They have equally adopted foreign cultures in their political, social and economic life. This has made African states to remain socioeconomically poor and vulnerable to the dictates of the industrialised world.

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAN AFRICANISM (PAM)**

**Reference Questions:**

- a) Assess the achievements of the Pan African Movement up to 1963
- b) How successful is Pan Africanism since its inception?
- c) "Pan Africanism is an idea difficult to achieve." Discuss

Since its inception, Pan Africanism has had the following achievements:

1. The Pan African Movement has managed to uplift the dignity of blacks and Africans throughout the world. Most of the Pan Africanists believed this was the only route to peace and progress. As a result, African descendants have risen to international leadership while others have held positions of influence in world affairs. Boutros Boutros Ghali of Egypt and Kofi Anan of Ghana are former Secretary Generals of the UN. In November 2008, Barack Obama was voted the first African-American President of the US.
2. Pan Africanism relatively succeeded in bringing together people of African descent (origin) all over the world; from Africa to the Diaspora. This was through effective Pan African Conferences where all the African descendants could meet and discuss matters concerning Africa. Significant of these conferences was the 1945 Manchester Conference.
3. Pan Africanism was the first expression of anti-colonial sentiments. It condemned the colonial oppressive policies such as economic exploitation and arbitrary arrests. Through continuous demand for African self-rule, the whole of Africa was rescued from direct foreign domination. The African descendants from the Diaspora played an important role through extending moral and financial support to facilitate the decolonisation process. Notable was the much assistance extended to the Africans in Ethiopia and South Africa against the Italian aggression and Apartheid respectively.

4. Consequently, the spirit of Pan Africanism led to the destruction of Apartheid in South Africa, and the liberation of blacks. The movement condemned racism and during the various Pan African congresses, the apartheid regimes were condemned for atrocities against Africans. Through the OAU (and the frontline states), the Pan African Movement extended assistance to the Africans in South Africa and called for sanctions against the apartheid regimes.
5. The movement militarized African nationalism. The Manchester and Accra conferences advocated for the use of force and militant means against colonial domination in Africa. Many liberation movements in Africa like in Kenya, Algeria, South Africa and the Portuguese colonies, adopted this radical approach.
6. The Pan African Movement established a Pan African base in Africa as agitated for during the Manchester conference. The Pan African Secretariat came into existence upon the return of the Pan Africanists of African origin to the continent and the attainment of independence by Ghana in 1957. Nkrumah the leader of Ghana took up the task of creating awareness to the rest of the African population about the need for total African independence and integration, hence he was regarded the grandfather of Pan Africanism in Africa.
7. The Pan African Movement boasts of its long existence of over 110 years since its inception around 1900. This is partly due to the recommendable work by the movement, and the strong sense of brother-hood and togetherness among the Pan Africanists. In Africa, the movement has evolved from a loose body (OAU) to a strong African Union (AU) aimed at achieving concrete goals of Pan Africanism.
8. The concept of Pan Africanism developed from being a movement of emotions and ideas to a movement with objectives and targets to achieve. PAM advocated for unity of African states which led to the formation of regional integrations like the East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Economic Community of West
9. Consequently, in 1963, the Pan African Movement gave birth to the Organisation of African Movement (OAU) with its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The OAU was able to address some of the problems of the African people, promoted the concept of African identity, resisted neo-colonialism and cold war," and encouraged unity and co-operation at regional and continental level.
10. The spirit of Pan Africanism among African states has ensured solidarity among African delegates (representatives) at various international conferences and forums. This was experienced during the Lome Convention and has been witnessed at the United Nations General Assembly and during meetings with donor agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The African solidarity at international level has reduced chances of neo-colonialism.
11. Through the OAU, Pan Africanism bridged the gap between the Arab north and the Negro South. This brought coexistence between the two races while the improvement in their relationship has consolidated African brother-hood as well as promoting development in Africa.
12. The movement has tried to uplift the socio-economic welfare of the African people. This has been through the regional groupings and continental collectiveness through which the economic market has been enlarged; and has strengthened the African bargaining power for African goods and services on the world market. The movement has enabled African

governments to establish strategies of eradicating poverty and disease. In 1974, the movement led to the establishment of African trade unions Association, which has been instrumental in promoting the interests of workers in Africa.

13. The movement has continuously condemned civil wars and political conflicts, which have ravaged the African continent since independence. The civil wars include the Mozambican civil war (1977-94); the Angolan civil war (1976-2002); the Sudan civil conflicts since 1955; and the civil wars in Chad since 1965. Other countries affected by civil conflicts include Burundi, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Somalia. Pan Africanists like Nelson Mandela, Joachim Chissano and Bishop Desmond Tutu have tried to mediate between conflicting groups in order to ensure peaceful resolution to political disagreements.
14. Pan Africanism condemned and partly succeeded in keeping Africa away from the ideological conflict of the cold war powers of the USA and the USSR. The Pan African Movement demanded the independent African states to adopt positive neutrality and become members of the Non-Alignment Movement. Abdel Gammal Nasser and Kwame Nkrumah were founding fathers of the Non-Alignment Movement. The non-aligned propaganda hindered the penetration of cold war influence into African states.
15. The spirit of Pan Africanism has been witnessed with the refugee policy adopted by African governments. African states have collectively tackled the problem of refugees by ensuring their protection, provision of relief aid like food and medicine,' and ensuring observation of refugee rights. Working with the international bodies like the International Committee of the Red Cross (CRC), and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), African states have ensured extension of humanitarian assistance to the refugees as well as settling and resettling them in their respective countries.
16. The Pan African Movement has ensured revival of African cultural heritage. Through the Organisation of African Unity, a language bureau was established with its headquarters in Kampala Uganda to promote African languages. Leading languages like Hausa, Kiswahili, Lingala and Arabic are taught and promoted. Assistance is always given to African writers like Ngugi WA Thiong'o, Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka. The OAU ensured successful Pan African cultural festivals previously held in Lagos, Cairo and Johannesburg.
17. The movement has encouraged respect for and observation of human rights, and establishment of democratic governance in Africa. Through the African Union (AU) African states collectively oversee respect for human rights by condemning despotic rule and crimes against humanity especially during civil wars. The AU sends African delegations to observe election processes in different African states to ensure peaceful transfer of power. To note is that the African Union has worked with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to try African political leaders blamed for gross human rights violation and crimes against humanity, such as, Charles Taylor former leader of Liberia and Bemba former Congolese rebel leader and politician.
18. Pan Africanism has been instrumental in the Afro-Asian relationship. The two continents have always stood together during UN general Assemblies to condemn the industrialised nations that exploit and dominate the poor African and Asian states. Due Pan Africanism, trade relations between African and Asian states have improved. Asian states like India, Japan, Indonesia and China have always given assistance to Africa in form of finances, human resource, technical and technological knowledge.

**Note:**

Other achievements of PAM are covered under the OAU.

## **Weaknesses of the Pan African Movement**

1. The movement has failed to form an African federation, the United States of Africa advocated for by the pioneers of Pan Africanism. The African federation or the "One African Community" would put African states under a centralised political administration and a collective military command. The fate was witnessed at the Pan African conference in Ghana in 2007 when the African leaders expressed mixed reactions as the late Colonel Muammar Gadhafi; the fallen Libyan leader resurrected the idea.
2. Pan Africanism has completely failed to eradicate neo-colonialism from Africa. Manifestations of foreign domination still exist in Africa. Neocolonialism has greatly hindered African governments from making independent decisions. African economies have remained under-developed due to neo-colonial influence. Politically, neo colonial intervention was experienced among other cases during the involvement of the NATO in the Libyan political strife of 2011 in which celebrated and now fallen colonel Muammar Gaddafi was ousted. Neo-colonial influence in Africa has much been felt in economic terms due to acquisition of external aid from the west that African governments keep financing for over years. According to the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), between 1970 and 2002, sub Saharan Africa received \$294 billion in loans, paid out \$268 billion in debt service, and yet still owes \$300 billion.
3. The Pan African Movement has failed to improve on the standards of living of Africans. Many Africans live in abject poverty and suffer from severe killer diseases. Africa remains mired in poverty. As of today, most of the Africans live below the poverty level of 1 dollar as daily earning. Of the 177 countries on the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)'s Human Development Index, the bottom 23 are all African states. Of the 39 most impoverished nations of world (by 2007), 34 are African and they include Ethiopia, Burundi, Uganda, Malawi and Mozambique. Hence, as the PAM fails to tackle the levels of poverty and disease, underemployment and unemployment, and the poor and low levels of education, the future of Africa is at stake. 198 million (76%) Africans living in cities in sub-Saharan Africa live in slums, the biggest percentage in the world.
4. The movement has failed to bring about concrete cooperation between Africans on the continent and the African Diaspora. Today Pan Africanism is completely an idea of Africans on the continent than of blacks all over the world. This partly explains why many blacks outside Africa despise anything to do with Africa. Some claim that Africa was better off during the colonialism days than today under independent leadership. To these African descendants, nothing good can come out of Africa.
5. Inter-state conflicts have continued to eat up the African continent. The differences between and among African states have sabotaged African cooperation and unity. Many of these inter-state conflicts are a result of unclear national boundaries as well as promotion of subversive (rebel activities in other states. Some of these interstate conflicts have been between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden territory, between Uganda and Tanzania over the Kagera region and between Uganda and Kenya over Mizingo Island in Lake Victoria. Currently (July-2012) the DRC is blaming Rwanda for supporting the Nyamurenge rebels (a.k.a. M23) led by Jean Bosco Ntaganda.
6. Consequently, conflicts among African leaders and diplomats are very common. Such conflicts have hindered solidarity at international level, making Africa unable to compete favourably with other races. These conflicts have existed between the late Mobutu of Zaire and Dos Santos of Angola, between Bashir of Sudan and Museveni of Uganda, Museveni and the late Gaddafi of Libya and between Zenawi of Ethiopia and Afewerki of Eritrea. Pan Africanists (African leaders) have failed to reconcile and cooperate mutually.

7. Ethnicism, racism and divisionism are rampant in Africa and these deteriorate national unity and national building. Ethnic rivalries have been witnessed in Rwanda and Burundi between the Tutsi and the Hutu, in Nigeria between the Hausa-Fulani and the Igbo, in Congo between the Lendu and the Nyamurenge, in Ethiopia between the Amhara and the majority of other ethnic groups like the Galla, the Bakongo and Ovirnbundu in Angola. Some African states have experienced the rise of ethnic sub-nationalism like of Buganda in Uganda, Makonde in Mozambique and Ja-luo in Kenya, while racial nationalism of the Arabs against Negroes of Sudan and blacks against whites in the South African Republic and Zimbabwe.
8. Regional integrations have usurped continental integration advocated for by the Pan African Movement. Many African states find it easier to relate with their neighborhood at regional level than referring to continental affairs. This has crippled continental unity and cooperation which requirements for development.
9. African culture is still being overshadowed or eroded by western cultural influence and this is a weakness of the Pan African Movement in its efforts to ensure an intact African cultural heritage. The African cultural heritage has been diluted, hence undermining the Pan African objective of reviving African culture.
10. The Pan African Movement has failed to find a lasting solution to the rampant civil wars experienced on the African continent. The civil wars have condemned unity, peace and development in the states of Africa and the continent at large. Such civil wars have occurred in Mozambique (1977-94), Uganda (1989-2005), Sudan (1955-2005), Congo (1998 to present), Libya (2011) and Somalia until present.
11. Pan Africanism has failed to wipe out dictatorship and authoritarianism from Africa, Some African leaders at the same time have over-stayed in power thus, undermining democracy and peaceful transfer of leadership. Cases are the late Muammar Gaddafi of Libya (1969-2011), Dos Santos of Angola (since 1978), Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe (since 1980), Paul Mbiya of Cameroon (since 1982) and Museveni Yoweri of Uganda (since 1986).
12. The movement has not found proper medicine for the rampant military coups in Africa. Very few African governments are safe, as the armed forces have quite often taken over power under the guise of solving national problems. Coups have been experienced in countries like Ghana (1966 leading to the downfall of Nkrumah), Uganda (1971 leading to the downfall of Obote) and Nigeria 1966 January leading to the overthrow of Tafawa Balewa). Other coups have occurred in Ivory Coast, Libya, Congo, Togo, Algeria and Mali (2012).
13. The Pan African Movement has not put any proper mechanism to ensure observation and respect of human rights on the continent. Even though the movement continuously condemns activities of human rights abuse, up to present, human rights are grossly violated in Africa. Countries with a record of human rights violation include Uganda, the South African Republic, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Ethiopia and Nigeria.
14. Africa is still economically backward, which is a weakness to the Pan African Movement. Economically developed countries of Africa have done little to encourage economic growth of the entire continent. This has encouraged neo-colonialism, increased the debt burden and worsened the standards of living of Africans. Rampant slums, rural population that is two-thirds of the total African population and lack of basic structures needed for development, are all manifestations of Africa's economic inability.
15. The refugee crisis has been concentrated in Africa. By 2011, Nigeria had many refugees

from Liberia and Sierra Leone while today; Uganda is accommodating a high population of refugees from Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda and the Congo.

16. Pan Africanism has failed to eradicate ideological differences from Africa. During the cold war era, the Pan African movement failed to uphold the principle of positive neutrality. Many of the African states either aligned with the communist USSR (Russia) or Capitalist USA. This increased political unrest in Africa as most of the civil wars like in Angola, Sudan and Mozambique turned out to be proxy wars due to cold war influence.
17. Though the OAU, Pan Africanism failed to ensure infrastructural development on the African continent. Many of the African states have poor socio-economic infrastructures especially in transport systems. This affects the mechanisms of development especially in the industrial and agricultural sectors. Hence, most of the African states have failed to realise economic development and the millennium development goals.

#### **Summary of the factors that influenced the development of Pan Africanism**

- a. The legacy of Slave trade and Slavery
- b. European colonial policies
- c. Influence of blacks / African Diaspora
- d. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia 1935-41)
- e. The Manchester Conference (1945)
- f. Activities of the West African Students Union (WASU)
- g. Racial awareness of Africans e.g. Apartheid in South Africa since 1948)
- h. The Egyptian revolution (1952)/influence of Nasser
- i. The independence of Ghana (1957) / contribution of Nkrumah
- j. Impact of the All African Peoples Conference 'AAPC conference (1958)
- K. The independence of Guinea Conakry (1958) / role of Sekou Toure
- l. Influence of the Non-aligned Movement (since 1961)
- m. The formation and role of the OAU (1963-2002) / role of African Union (AU)
- n. Impact of western education
- o. The role of mass political parties
- p. Contribution of mass media and press

#### **Summary of the contribution of the PAM to the growth of African Nationalism**

- a. It was the first expression of anti-colonial sentiments i.e. attacked the colonial oppressive policies
- b. Encouraged unity of Africans during the struggle for independence
- c. The movement militarised African nationalism e.g. during the Manchester Conference
- d. Pan Africanists demanded for the implementation of the 1941 Atlantic charter
- e. Called upon Africans to return to Africa and lead independence struggles in their respective countries
- f. Condemned the Apartheid policy in South Africa and demanded for liberation of blacks
- g. The movement condemned the Central African Federation and demanded for the independence of CAF member countries
- h. Condemned the continued colonial exploitation of Africa and through the OAU, it petitioned the UN to intervene in favour of the African cause
- i. Influenced the African Diaspora to support the independence movement in Africa j.

Supported the formation of political parties and the involvement of grassroots masses through effective mobilization

- j. Condemned neo-colonialism and warned Africans on the dangers of cold war influence 1, Influenced the establishment of a liberation committee by the OAU through which assistance could be extended to African freedom fighters
- m. Enabled Africans to talk with one voice during the UN General Assembly deliberations, and in condemnation of the increased colonial domination in Africa
- n. Encouraged the revival of African cultural heritage and condemned western cultural influence in Africa

### **THE 1963 PAN AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN ADDIS ABABA AND THE FORMATION OF THE OAU**

Following the 1958, "**All African Peoples Conference**" in Accra, Ghana, other PACs and conferences on African issues were organised on the African continent. Through these conferences, African states-men could meet to deliberate on African independence and unity of purpose. They included the "**All African Peoples Conference**" in Tunisia, the 1961 Cairo conference (Egypt), the Lagos conference (Nigeria) and the 1961 and 1963 conferences in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).

In the early 1960s, Africa became balkanised into Casablanca and Monrovia groupings resulting from divergent views on African unity especially as regards the formation of a One African Community (USA). The two groupings organised secret meetings all with the purpose of finding lasting solutions to African problems. The two antagonistic groups represented the divisionism and differences among African leaders. The Monrovia group was relatively big comprising all former French colonies of West and Equatorial Africa at the time apart from Guinea Conakry and Mali. Other members were the two English speaking West African states of Liberia and Nigeria.

Members of Casablanca grouping were Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Egypt, Mali, Morocco, and etcetera.

The Casablanca ideological camp was relatively small but her strength lied in the ideas members stood for. Casablanca members pushed for an African federation (the United States of Africa) under one political administration and a centralised military command. The ideas of Casablanca were greatly opposed by members of the Monrovia ideological grouping that regarded an African federation as Nkrumah's own making. The Monrovia blamed Nkrumah for his intentions of ruling over Africa. Members of the Monrovia claimed that political unity would hardly be achieved immediately before African independence was consolidated.

The ideological misunderstanding between members of Casablanca and Monrovia hindered the progress of the Pan African ideal of unity and co-operation. A political reconciliation of the two African ideological groupings was achieved at the 1963 conference of independent African leaders in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Addis Ababa conference was chaired by the Ethiopian leader, Emperor Haile Selassie and was concluded with the signing of the charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on the May 25, 1963.

### **Factors behind the calling of the 1963 Addis Ababa conference and the formation of the OAU**

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) Account for the calling of the Addis Ababa conference in May 1963
  - b) Examine the factors for the formation of the Organization of African Unity
1. The increased demand for African independence led to the formation of the OAU. By 1963,

the seeds of African nationalism planted during the colonial period had started bearing fruits. Nationalism in Africa was consolidated by a number of factors such as impact of World War II, impact of the 1945 Manchester conference, the rise of African elites, etcetera. The African elite' class established political organisations, which enabled them achieve independence for their respective states. The OAU was therefore, established to ensure total decolonisation of Africa.

2. By 1963, a number of African states had gained total freedom and independence from foreign domination. Such countries were Tanganyika, Ghana, Liberia, Egypt, Uganda, Sudan, Nigeria, and etcetera. These countries were proud of their newly achieved independence and were inspired by popular slogans such as "African identity", "African personality", "African unity" and "African destiny." The OAU was therefore, established to steer-up these ideas.
3. The development of Pan Africanism and its adoption in Africa enabled the formation of the Organisation of African Unity. The OAU was an offspring of the Pan African Movement in the quest for African unity since 1900. Pan Africanism was growing stronger over generations. The movement was embraced in Africa after the Manchester Conference, which was attended by a large number of delegates from the African continent. Pan Africanism influenced African states to have a strong solidarity, work together towards the same goals, which included safeguarding African independence. Such African efforts were to be realised through a continental body, hence the OAU.
4. From the time African states acquired independence, African leaders began to strongly advocate for continental unity in Africa (One African Community). The pioneers of African unity included Sengoh Sedan of Senegal, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Their influence was due to the theme of "**Africa for Africans**," which could be achieved only if African leaders worked together or used one voice to spell out their interests.
5. The impact of the "**All African Peoples Conference**" held in Accra led to the formation of the OAU. The conference attracted many delegates from both independent and non-independent states of - Africa. During the conference, Nkrumah the leader of Ghana and host-president stated, "**This mid twentieth century is Africa's. This decade is a decade of African independence; forward then to independence, to be independent now, tomorrow is the United States of Africa.**" The proceedings of the Accra conference influenced Africans to continue meeting and working together, the result of which was the OAU.
6. Consequently, the role of Kwame Nkrumah was paramount in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity. Nkrumah adopted the slogan of "**Africa must unite,**" and went ahead to write relevant literature on the theme. He organised the "**All African Peoples Conference**" in Accra in December 1958, in which he emphasised that Africa could never be wholly independent unless she was politically strong and economically co-operative. Nkrumah was the brain behind the Casablanca ideological grouping whose dream was to establish a Pan African federation under one political administration.
7. The emergence of Monrovia ideological grouping influenced the calling of the Addis Ababa conference and the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963. The Monrovia grouping was formed in 1961 to rival the radicalism of members of the Casablanca. The political conflict between the two ideological groupings was resolved in Ethiopia in 1963; later leading way to the formation of the OAU.
8. The role played by Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian leader led to the birth of the OAU. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia consolidated the position of Ethiopians the pride symbol of

Africa. Selassie-desired to shift the centre of African politics from Ghana, West Africa to Ethiopia, in the Horn of Africa. He realised the dangers of the ideological conflict between the Casablanca and Monrovia groupings; he reconciled the internal rivalries between the two ideological camps for the good of Africa. Selassie hence called the Addis Ababa conference in May 1963, from where the OAU charter was drafted and signed.

9. African leaders were not happy with the continued exploitation of their continent by the Western colonial powers. Nkrumah and Nasser in particular were strongly opposed to the emerging neo-colonial influence in Africa. They were opposed to the existing links or relations between the independent colonial states and their former colonial masters. The Addis Ababa conference was therefore, an opportunity to devise a mechanism of controlling the influence of the former colonial masters and the other industrialised western European powers in the affairs of Africa.
10. African leaders were also influenced by the newly established Non-aligned Movement (NAM), which came into existence in 1961. The NAM comprised mainly African and Asian countries whose major aims were to co-operate and solve their own problems without involving super powers and industrialised western powers. Nasser and Nkrumah were founding members of the NAM. They hence desired for the same ideas and principles for Africa, and to guard the African continent against cold war influence,

**Note:**

The aims and objectives of the OAU are also reasons why the organisation was formed

### **THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) CHARTER**

The year 1963 was a year of African unity. Representatives of 32 independent African states met in Addis Ababa Ethiopia, to sign the OAU charter. After Haile Selassie played an advisory and reconciliatory role, members of radical Casablanca and moderate Monrovia settled their differences and signed a charter on May 25, 1963, giving birth to a loose political organisation of Africa states (the Organisation of African Unity).

The OAU therefore originated from the pan African ideal of unity. The African states-men who signed the charter had the idea and desire to uphold African dignity and self-determination with political, social and economic unity of African states.

#### **Aims and objectives of the OAU**

The aims and objectives of the Organisation of African Unity were brought out in article II of the charter and were as follows:

- a. Eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa
- b. To promote African unity and solidarity that was to develop and create brotherhood among Africans
- c. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states
- d. To promote the respect of human rights in accordance with the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) of 1948
- e. To co-ordinate and intensify African effort to achieve better standards of living of the people of Africa
- f. To enforce economic development and prosperity on the continent as a way of checking neocolonialism

#### **Principles of the OAU**

- a. To achieve the above aims, the African states-men laid down guidelines in article III of the charter'
- b. Non-interference in the internal affairs of another member-state

- c. Respect for sovereign equality of all member-states
- d. Adhere to the peaceful settlement of disputes that include inter-state and inter-personal conflicts among African leaders through negotiation, mediation, reconciliation and arbitration.
- e. Absolute or total dedication to complete liberation of African states which were still under colonial control.
- f. Detachment from super power ideologies (cold war) by adopting a policy of non-alignment (positive neutrality) with regards to power blocs i.e. capitalism of the west and communism of the east.
- g. Eradicating of political assassinations as well as condemn subversive (rebel activities) in other member states.
- h. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each member-state and complete right to independent existence.

### **Organs and structure of the Organization of African Unity**

#### **The General Assembly (Summit)**

This comprised of heads of state and government. The major duty was decision making. The chair to this general machine became the Diplomatic Chief of Africa.

Every year member-states would sit and elect a Diplomatic Chief or Chairperson during the annual summit conference. The head of state or government of the host state to the annual summit conference became the next Diplomatic Chief.

#### **The General Secretariat**

This served as the permanent administrative wing of the OAU. It had its headquarters in Addis Ababa Ethiopia. The general secretariat was headed by a Secretary General, elected by the OAC general assembly on a 5 (five) year term. He was assisted by regional assistant secretaries from the different regions of the continent i.e. North Africa, Central Africa, Southern Africa etcetera.

#### **The Council of Ministers**

The council comprised ministers of foreign affairs from each member-state. These had a task of drafting minutes for the general assembly to discuss. They also overlooked the implementation of the OAU resolutions.

#### **The specialized commissions**

These were set up for specific roles in specific areas. They included:

- a. A commission for reconciliation, arbitration and mediation supposedly to resolve conflicts among member-states.
- b. The economic and social commission with a role of ensuring socio-economic development. This commission could also extend relief to disaster fallen areas.
- c. The Defense and security commission to oversee stability on the continent as well as solicit a peace force to areas facing insurgency.
- d. A commission for Health, sanitation and nutrition' this was charged with the health and welfare of the Africans.

- e. The Education and cultural commission: this was established with the aim of reviving African culture and promoting literacy among the African people.
- f. Science, research and technological commission: this was tasked with promoting inventiveness and innovativeness of the body in the fields of research, science and technology.
- g. The liberation committee with its headquarters in Tanzania: this was charged with the liberation of the entire continent from foreign rule and domination through extending support to liberation movements.

### **Achievements (successes) of the OAU**

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) To what extent did the OAU achieve the aims of its founders?
- b) Assess the achievements of the OAU between 1963 and 2002
- c) How successful was the Organization of African Unity in achieving its obligations?

Since its inception, the Organization of African Unity managed to score relative success through the following:

- 1. Despite of the many problems she faced, the Organisation of African Unity managed to overcome most of them and hence survived up to 2002. This long existence of almost 40 years was due to the annual summit meetings that provided ground for discussion and finding solutions to African problems.
- 2. Due to its ideal success in overcoming most of the challenges, membership to the OAU was expanded from the original 32 member-states who initially signed the charter in 1963, to almost the entire continent. This showed a remarkable work as drawn in the objectives of the body. It should be noted that Morocco pulled out of the OAU after the body recognised the right to independence of South West Sahara (POLISARIO) from Moroccan domination: and later granted membership to South West Sahara.
- 3. As almost the entire continent became part of the body, the Organisation of African Unity therefore succeeded in upholding the ideal of unity. As such, members of the OAU always spoke with one voice during the UN general assembly.summits and other international conventions like the most pronounced Lome convention on economic relations between Africa and European Economic Community (EEC).
- 4. Through the commission for mediation and reconciliation, the Organisation managed to settle interstate conflicts, which occurred mainly due to border misunderstandings. The OAU mediated between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden province, between Congo and Uganda, Morocco and Algeria etcetera.
- 5. The OAU contributed to the complete eradication of colonialism from the continent. This was the effort of her liberation committee in Tanzania. The committee mobilised and extended support to the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Mozambique, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. This support from the continental body influenced the attainment of independence in these states.
- 6. Consequently, the OAU made an effort to liberate blacks in South Africa from the bondage of apartheid. The organisation called for sanctions against the racist white minority regimes and through the frontline states, the body extended the necessary assistance to blacks in form of moral and finance and pressurised for the release of politicians like Mandela who later led Africans to victory.

7. The body supported the establishment of regional economic co-operations. This was after member-states realised it was impossible to achieve continental economic integration. Therefore, the OAU influenced the establishment of the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the South African Development Community (SADC).
8. The OAU promoted and encouraged economic development within Africa. The body established the African development bank (ADB) with its headquarters in Abidjan Ivory Coast. The OAU also influenced the establishment of the Arab bank for African Development. These banks extended loans for development programs to African states with the lowest interest rates, aiming at discouraging borrowing from the western world.
9. The OAU put more effort to reviving and promoting African culture as well as social integration. The organization encouraged African cultural festivals like the 1973 festivals in Nigeria; other festivals were held in states like Egypt. The organisation also encouraged games and sports on the continent through the all-African games like those South Africa hosted in 1999.
10. Through the education and cultural commission, African literature and languages were encouraged. A language bureau was put in place with its headquarters in Kampala, Uganda, through which leading languages like Hausa, Kiswahili and Arabic were promoted. Assistance was also given to African writers like Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka etc.
11. The body courageously intervened and condemned civil wars and separatist (secessionist) movements on the continent. She intervened and succeeded in preventing the disintegration of Congo in 1963 during the Katanga crisis (1960-63) and in Nigeria during the Biafra war (1967-70). The OAU succeeded in ending the Mozambican civil war (1977-94) and tried to solve the civil wars in Sudan, Chad, Somalia and Uganda.
12. The Organisation of African Unity tried and managed to handle the refugee problem on the continent. Through the commission for refugees, member-states tried to resettle internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees in their respective countries. In conjunction with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the OAU established a general fund to give relief support to displaced persons in Africa in terms of food, Medicine and shelter.
13. The continental organization encouraged observation and respect for human rights and democratic governance. Member-states agreed to oversee the respect for human rights through condemning oppressive and authoritarian regimes that promoted abuse of human right and observed election processes on the continent. The OAU sent observers to South Africa during the 1994 general elections that led to the collapse of apartheid.
14. Consequently, the Organisation of African Unity went ahead to condemn dictatorial regimes in Nigeria under Sani Abacha, in the Central African Republic under Boukassa and Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime in Ethiopia. Such regimes especially of Mengistu were internationally recognized despots who tarnished the African image.
15. The OAU tried and managed to maintain peace on the continent. Through noble men like Mandela, the OAU mediated between warring parties who included the government of Burundi and the opposition rebel group in 1998. The body also encouraged talks between blacks and the apartheid regime in South Africa. Member-states would also contribute peace forces to oversee peace and security in countries experiencing insurgency. The OAU influenced Zimbabwe Uganda, Rwanda and Angola to send troops to DRC during the

civil strife in 1999.

16. The body encouraged relations between Africa and Asia, and this consolidated the Afro-Asian solidarity. The two continents always stood together -during the UN General Assembly to condemn exploitation by the developed countries and the continued neo-colonial influence to both continents. The OAU also promoted trade relations between Africa and Asia. Asian countries India, China and Japan often gave assistance to Africa in form of finance, technical and technological knowledge and services.
17. Good and commendable work was witnessed in scientific research through the science and technological commission. The African medical research fund (AMREF) was established and worked with the World Medical Association and the World Bank to carry out research on African local herbs. The commission worked to eradicate some diseases on the continent such as the east-coast fever, rinderpest as well as dealing with the problem of locusts especially in central Africa through the East and Central Locust Association (organisation).
18. The Organisation of African Unity attempted to encourage infrastructural development in Africa. Through the African Development Bank (AFDB), funds were extended to member-states to improve on their infrastructure such as roads, harbours and railways. The body tried to establish a trans-Africa highway from Mombasa to Lagos. An attempt was also made to construct the north-road from the Cape in South Africa to Cairo in Egypt.
19. The OAU called for and encouraged member-states to adopt the policy of non-alignment (positive neutrality) during the cold war politics of the super powers. The body discouraged member-states from allowing the establishment of military bases in their countries by either the USA or the USSR. The organisation therefore attempted to protect the continent from the super power ideologies.
20. The continental body ensured a harmonious relationship between the Arab North and the Sub Saharan Africa. This increased African benefits from the Arab League whose headquarters were situated in Cairo, Egypt.
21. The body continuously condemned the assassination of African leaders, which put many African governments in suspense. African leaders assassinated during the tenure of the OAU include Sankara of Burkina Faso, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Laurent Kabil of Congo, among others.

### **Weaknesses (failures) of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)**

**Reference Question:**

**a) How far did the OAU fail to achieve the aims to which it was established?**

1. The organization failed to achieve the desired political union on the continent. Pan Africanism advocated for the establishment of a One African Community (the United States of Africa). However, this failed because the member – states have become more concerned with internal – state affairs than fostering continental interests.
2. Consequently, the OAU failed to establish a continental armed force under a centralised 1C command. The wars and rebel activities on the continent were not checked because the body lacked an army of its own. Therefore, the objective of defending independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity remained a dream in Africa. Observing peace and security on the continent also remained a dream.
3. The body failed to get a clear medicine against cold war influence. Hence, it was unsuccessful in enforcing the policy of positive neutrality (non-alignment). This brought ideological differences among member-states. Countries like Tanzania, Mozambique, and

Guinea (Conakry) fell under communist influence while others like Kenya, Congo (Zaire) and Nigeria became purely capitalistic states. The result was imperialism of the super powers in Africa.

4. The organisation failed to enforce discipline and responsibility among member-states. She could not punish member-states who failed to meet their annual subscription (membership) fees. Until 2002, most member-states had not even paid their arrears. Basing on 1995 statistics \$583 million were in arrears as only 17 members had fully cleared their financial obligations. This hindered the OAU in financing the annual budgets.
5. Failure to improve on the welfare of Africans; during the tenure of the OAU, many Africans lived in abject poverty and suffered from severe killer diseases. Africa was mired in poverty as most of the Africans lived below the poverty level of 1 dollar as daily earning. By 2000, only about 33% of the African populace earned about \$25 or above as daily earning while the income per capita had continued to decline. During this time, 72% of all Africans living in cities in sub Saharan Africa lived in slums while 40% of these lived in life-threatening circumstances in terms of health with no connection to sewers, lack electricity and have no access to running water, By 2002, 22 of the 33 poorest nations of the world were African.
6. The OAU sometimes failed in her mediation and arbitration efforts. Many inter-personal conflicts continued to exist among African leaders as well as inter-state conflicts among member-states. The inter-state conflicts existed between Tanzania and Uganda during Amin's regime, the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogden territory intensified by 1979, while Nigeria and Cameroon experienced a border dispute. All these tested the credibility of the OAU.
7. The OAU failed in its endeavors to find concrete remedy (solution) to the refugee problem in Africa. This was due to the failure to address the causes of the refugee crisis that included rampant wars. The result was the constant migrations from one country to another. By 2002, Nigeria had many refugees from Sierra Leone, Liberia etcetera, while other countries for like Uganda had many of the refugees from Somalia, Sudan, Congo Rwanda and Burundi.
8. By the time the OAU collapsed, African infrastructure was in a very sorry state. There were very low and poor transport and communication systems, many of which were incomplete or broken down. The trans-Africa highway from Mombasa to Lagos and the north-road from the Cape to Cairo were not completed. Development of slums was rampant especially in urban areas where most city dwellers lived in slums in houses barely fit for human habitation.
9. The body failed to do away with neo-colonialism through which African independence was undermined as economic exploitation of Africa became rampant. The OAU member-states were grossly dependent on foreign and relief aid from developed countries. African states could not sustain their domestic budgets without external funding. This consolidated foreign (neo-colonial) influence in Africa. Neo-colonial influence in Africa was much felt in economic terms due to acquisition of external aid from the west that African governments kept financing for over years. According to the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), between 1970 and 2002, sub Saharan Africa received \$294 billion in loans, paid out \$268 billion in debt service, and yet still owes \$300 billion.
10. Military coups were rampant during the tenure of the OAU simply because the body failed to find proper medicine to these rampant coups and continued militarism on the continent. Such coups included 1971 and 1985 coups in Uganda, the 1966 January and July coups in

Nigeria, 1966, 1972 and 1978 coups in Ghana among others. These coups left African governments insecure.

11. The OAU failed in her efforts to do away with dictatorship and the long persistence in power of African leaders. Since independence, Africa witnessed great dictators like Boukassa of the Ir-iral African Republic, Idi Amin of Uganda, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sani Abacha of Nigeria, Mobutu Wazabanga of Zaire, Mengistu Mariam of Ethiopia among others. These leaders violated democracy as they perpetuated neo-colonialism. It was a failure of the OAU that witnessed the continued authoritarianism in Africa as the body pursued the policy of non interference in the affairs of the member-states. In 1975 at the time the savage-dictatorship of Amin was internationally condemned, he received the "**Honour of the Diplomatic Chief of Africa.**"
12. The Organisation of African Unity could not do away with the assassination of African political leaders. Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Sankara of Burkina Faso, Samora Macheal of Mozambique and Laurent Kabila of D.R.Congo among others were all murdered as they served their nations.
13. The body's other weakness was the failure to eliminate civil wars and secessionism completely out of the African continent. Such civil wars threatened African unity at both national and continental level, as well as breeding inter-state wrangles amongst neighbouring states. Such civil wars included the Sudan civil wars, the Chad civil wars, and the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, as well as secessionist wars like the Biafra war in Nigeria.
14. The OAU tried but failed to put up a proper mechanism that would ensure concrete observation and respect for human rights. Gross human rights violations were recorded in countries Like Uganda during Amin's regime, South Africa during apartheid regime, and Zaire under Mobutu, to mention but a few. All those tarnished the African image on the international scene.
15. The continental body did little to rescue and preserve African culture. African cultures were always dominated and over shadowed by foreign and western cultures. As such, the foreign cultures diluted the African cultural heritage and affected the African original personality and identity.
16. The Organisation of African Unity failed to consolidate membership of all independent African states. The body failed to lure Morocco back after the Maghreb-Arab nation withdrew from the OAU. The body had condemned Moroccan dominance in the South Western Sahara and gave an invitation to South West Sahara to join the OAU as a way of recognising her independence away from Morocco.
17. Consequently, the continental security organ could not rescue South West Sahara (POLASARIO) from Moroccan domination. By 2002, the year the Organisation of African Unity was dissolved, the POLASARIO war had intensified with Morocco refusing to grant self determination to South West Sahara
18. The OAU was discredited for her failure to create a continental economic co-operation and failure to establish a continental common market. This left African economic relations at regional level through regional groupings such as the East African Community (EAC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).
19. The body failed in its endeavors to collectively isolate apartheid regime in South Africa. Some member-states of the OAU exhibited double standards by maintaining dialogue (detente policy) with the racist regime in South Africa. These OAU members included

Mauritius, Malawi etcetera. These conspiring member-states sabotaged the African efforts against apartheid and delayed the liberation of blacks in South Africa.

20. The body reacted reluctantly in the 1990-94 Rwandan crisis. This caused the Rwanda genocide (mass killing) where the conservative Hutu eliminated (murdered) close to one million Tutsi and Hutu-moderates in a record 100 days. The Rwandan genocide was recorded as one of the seminal events in the life of humanity of the twentieth century. The OAU never intervened as Hutu extremists carefully coordinated an organized assault against their Tutsi counterparts and slaughtered them in the most gruesome way as thousands of moderate Hutus and opponents to the government were systematically hunted down and murdered as well. The event did not only affect Rwanda but also Central Africa and Africa at large with a large-scale refugee movement into neighbouring countries.

### **Challenges (problems or obstacles) to the OAU**

#### **Reference Questions**

- a) Account for the failure of the Organisation of African Unity
- b) Examine the challenges faced by the OAU between 1983 and 2002

A number of problems affected the activities of the OAU causing its failure and eventual collapse. These included:

1. The geographical vastness (size) of the continent of almost 12 million square miles affected the performance of the body. The size of Africa hindered the effectiveness of OAU in trying to promote political unity and trading activities among the member-states.
2. The heterogeneous nature of Africa was a great obstacle. Africa has a variety of races, with many cultural and ethnic differences as well as many languages. As a result, these variances could not enable co-operation and unity of purpose on the African continent.
3. Consequently, lack of a common language that could unify African people as well as ease communication hindered the activities of the continental body. This is because many tribes in Africa have their own languages that paved way for Anglo and Franco languages to dominate and divide Africa.
4. African states-men were always divided on ideological lines. People like Nkrumah desired a political federation of Africa while others like Nyerere encouraged regionalism (loyalty to regional integrity). Even after the death of some of the founder states-men, those who remained and others that came after them could not agree whether to establish a federation of African states or maintain a loose union.
5. Consequently. Lack of a common approach against African problems proved a great obstacle. Whereas the OAU condemned apartheid, member-states like Malawi, Botswana and Mauritius succumbed to the dentente policy and maintained dialogue with the apartheid regime. As African leaders like Nyerere, condemned Amin's dictatorial and tyrannical rule, others like Gadhafi supported Amin.
6. The cold war conflict (of the super powers) affected the operations of the OAU. States like Egypt, Tanzania, Angola, and Mozambique allied with the USSR and the rest of the communist bloc with Kenya, Congo and the Central African Republic (CAR) bending towards the capitalist world led by the USA.
7. Presence of neo-colonial influence of developed countries in the affairs of Africa equally affected the decisions of the OAU as well as continental and regional relations. In 1987, USA intervened to prevent a barter transaction of beans and transformers between Uganda and Tanzania respectively by offering Tanzania free beans. The collapse of East African Community in 1977 was also a result of neo colonialism.

8. The differences in the levels of economic development among the states of Africa were another problem that affected the continental body. Developed African states Like Nigeria, Egypt, Algeria and Ivory Coast could not co-operate on equal footing with poor countries like Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda, and Guinea Bissau and this hindered trade and economic relations among members of the Organisation of African Unity.
9. Consequently, poverty and economic backwardness of Africa affected the activities of the OAU. Many African states were affected by financial constraints and this could not enable them meet their annual subscription obligations (payments). The body could not hence, fund her activities. By the time of the collapse of the Organisation of African Unity, 22 of the 33 poorest nations of the world were in Africa.
10. The Organisation of African Unity lacked a defined disciplinary mechanism to punish member states who defaulted against her principles. Case studies include Malawi and Botswana who supported apartheid through dialogue with the South African racist regime, and all other members who failed to meet the requirements of the OAU such as paying annual subscription obligation (membership fees).
11. Militarism and rampant political instabilities such as civil wars affected the OAU. These threatened African peace, security and unity of purpose. Political instabilities hindered economic development, co-operation and trade relations and worsened diplomatic relations among member-states.
12. Presence of dictatorial regimes on the continent affected the Organisation of African Unity. Dictatorial leaders jeopardised or hindered the efforts of the continental body in promoting democracy and human rights in Africa.
13. Colonial legacy was another obstacle to the OAU. African states had categorized themselves basing on their former colonialists e.g. the Anglophone of the British and Francophone of the French. These kept close relations of African states with their former colonial masters
14. The interstate conflicts and interpersonal wrangles (among African leaders) affected the OAU. Some leaders of African states dragged their countries into conflicts, which could not enable them to respect the principles of the OAU. These conflicts existed between Uganda under Museveni and Sudan under Bashir, Dos Santos of Angola and Mobutu of Zaire, and many others.
15. The double standards of African leaders were a great hindrance to the OAU. Some African leaders worked against the principles of the body for selfish interests. Countries like Kenya accepted military bases in their territories contrary to the OAU's call for non-alignment (positive neutrality). Others like Botswana maintained dialogue with apartheid yet the OAU had imposed diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa.
16. Trade barriers established by members of the Organisation of African Unity hindered trade relations on the continent. Kenya in 1976 blocked the passage of Tanzanian trucks from passing through Kenya from Zambia, which partly led to the collapse of East African Community. This case among others hindered economic co-operation in the region.
17. The rampant outbreak of calamities like famine, floods and epidemics exposed the weaknesses of the Organisation of African Unity as international organisations like the UN and the ICRC took over responsibility of disaster management in Africa.
18. Lack of a continental force with a centralised military command paved way for persistent political instabilities and insecurities and failure by the body to check on them. This

explains the persistent civil wars and subversive activities during the days of the Organisation of African Unity.

### **The contribution of the OAU to the growth of African nationalism and Fan Africanism**

One of the major reasons of the signing of the OAU Charter on the May 23, 1963 was the complete eradication of foreign influence and domination from the continent. Member-states established a liberation committee to help in during this noble cause where they agreed to work together to help African states and people still under foreign domination. For instance:

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) How did the OAU influence the growth of African nationalism?
  - b) Examine the role of the OAU in strengthening the desire for independence of Africa
1. The organization called for unity of Africans in their struggle against foreign domination. The OAU called upon African nationalists to involve masses in the anti-colonial struggles as a way to popularize the desire for independence.
  2. Consequently, member-states of the OAU agreed to use their good offices to unite the liberation movements as a way to strengthen the effectiveness of the struggle. This was witnessed when the ZANU and the ZAPU agreed to work together to defeat the UDI.
  3. The body established a liberation committee with its headquarters in Tanzania. The committee consisted of Algeria, Ethiopia, Guinea Conakry, Uganda, Egypt, Senegal, Zaire, Nigeria and Tanzania. The committee was responsible for coordinating the assistance from African states and managing the special fund. The committee extended moral, financial and military support to the liberation movements especially of Southern Africa.
  4. Members of the OAU agreed to receive and sponsor nationalists from liberation movements for military, education and vocation training. They also allowed the transit of all materials (material aid) and volunteers on their way to liberated zones and to African states struggling for independence
  5. The Organisation of African Unity called upon the UN to impose sanctions against the Portuguese colonial oppressors in Africa, the apartheid regime in South Africa and Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) for their continued violation of African rights.
  6. Consequently, members of the OAU addressed the African cause for complete independence in the UN general assembly. The body sent an African delegation consisting of foreign ministers of Liberia, Tunisia, Madagascar and Sierra Leone to speak at the meetings of the UN Security Council (UNSC) addressing the issue of genocide (mass killing) in Portuguese colonies. This attracted international attention against the atrocities of Portuguese colonialist in Africa.
  7. The OAU demanded all African states to break off diplomatic and consular relations with the governments of Portugal and South Africa because of their continued oppression and humiliation of their African subjects. Members of the OAU agreed to cut off trade ties and boycott imports from these two countries and to close African ports and airports to Portuguese and South African ships and planes. They also restricted their planes from flying over African states.
  8. Member-states of the OAU declared May 25, as 'African Liberation Day.' On this day of every year, African states agreed to organize popular demonstrations, and raise awareness for complete eradication of colonial oppression from African states still under foreign domination.
  9. Members of the OAU recognized possibilities of employment to refugees and political

leaders from African states that were still under foreign domination. They agreed that if these political refugees were employed in African government services of independent states, they would be motivated to increasingly demand for their self-governance.

10. The OAU condemned racial discrimination in all its forms in Africa and all over the world. This led to the growth of African nationalism in a way that members of the OAU expressed deep concern aroused in all African peoples and governments. In particular, the OAU demanded an end to discrimination against people of African descent (origin) living outside Africa particularly the USA. This motivated Africans outside the continent to give assistance to the cause of African independence.
11. The Organisation of African Unity emphasized resolution 1515 of the UN and this had an impact to the growth of African nationalism. Members of the OAU encouraged pressure on the colonial masters especially Britain to observe the provision of the UN resolution 1515 on independence and opposed her for looking on as the minority whites declared themselves independent in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) through the UDI.
12. The continental body demanded for the immediate independence of Namibia away from the influence of apartheid in South Africa. The OAU emphasized that South West Africa/Namibia was under the UN mandate (supervision) and therefore Africans in Namibia were entitled to self-determination. This moral support from the OAU increased the spirit of Namibians to use military means in their struggle for independence.
13. The OAU advocated for the respect of the resolutions of the 1941 Atlantic charter and this greatly influenced the growth of African nationalism. Members of the OAU called upon colonial masters to give the colonial people in Africa an opportunity to claim for their severe equality and independence without foreign domination.
14. Consequently, the OAU demanded for the observation and respect for the rights of Africans on the African continent as stated in the 1948 universal declaration of human rights, which included freedom of press, association and the right to equal representation in the legislative council.
15. The continental body recognized and approved liberation movements in Africa and this motivated African nationalism. The movements approved by the OAU included the FRELIMO of Mozambique, the ANC of South Africa, MPLA of Angola and the SVVAPo of Namibia. The OAU supported them to use military means in their struggle for independence.
16. The OAU participated in pre-independence discussions between African nationalists and colonial administrators and this paved way for independence. Such discussions were organized between the ZANU and the ZAPU with Ian Smith's government of Southern Rhodesia, the ANC under Mandela and the apartheid regime of South Africa etcetera. The discussions were directed towards African freedom and independence from foreign domination.
17. Consequently, the organisation condemned the persecution of African liberation fighters through arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, hard labour, public flogging, among others. The OAU on this ground pressurized for the release of African politicians such as Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Robert Mugabe of Southern Rhodesia.
18. The Organization of African unity sent observers to witness independent transition (elections), which contributed to African attainment of independence. Observers were sent to Southern Rhodesia in 1980 where the ZANU led by Mugabe were victorious, to South Africa in 1994 where Mandela and the ANC won the race.

## **How successful has been the African Union (AU) in fulfilling the objectives the aims to which it was founded**

### **Preamble**

- a) A viable introduction
- b) Show the awareness of the objectives of the au
- c) Give and explain the achievements and weaknesses of the au
- d) A clear stand point and valid conclusion.

### **Points to consider**

- ✓ The au was founded out of the desire to rebrand the OAU in finding solutions to its serious problems that plagued its operations
- ✓ Its establishment followed the signing of the constitutive act in July 2000 in Lome Togo by 53 African heads of states and launched in Durban south Africa on July 9 2002

### **Objectives**

- Achieve greater unity and solidarity among African countries and people
- Accelerate political and socio-economic integration of the continent
- Promote peace, security and stability on the continent
- Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states
- Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance
- Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its people

### **Achievements**

- Has consolidated unity and interdependence of African states.
- Successfully mediated in the Sudan conflict (2005-2011) and Somalia conflict (2006) leading to the south Sudan independence in 2011 and the transitional federal government of Somalia in 2006 respectively.
- Establishment of the pan African parliament as a platform to involve the African people in its activities
- Attempted to combat corruption through adopting the African union convention on preventing and combating corruption (2003).
- Has developed a common defense policy for the African continent through the establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) in 2004.
- Has encouraged peaceful resolutions of conflicts on the continent e.g. called for the dialogue in Burundi between president Nkurunziza and opposition over the

incumbents third term aspirations

- Has tried to promote self –reliance through strengthening the African development bank and establishing new financial institutions e.g. the African monetary fund (Yaounde), the African investment bank(Tripoli),
- Has stood against unconstitutional change of government in Africa through coups and civil wars e.g. condemned military intervention in CAR 2013 Mali 2013and mauritania2005
- The au condemns terrorism and subversive activities on the continent e.g. the terrorist attack in Uganda (2010), Kenya(2014and 2015), Alshabab in Somalia and Boko Haram in Nigeria
- Upholds gender equality and women empowerment through encouraging women in important positions like the chairmanship as well as organizing conferences on gender issues ;the current chairperson of au is Dr.(Mrs) Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma.
- It has stood ground to directly intervene in the affairs of member states to prevent war (Burundi may 2003) and counter grave circumstances like war crimes against humanity e.g. Somalia and Chad etc
- Has enabled African states to maintain a common stand with one voice during international forums on matters concerning the continent e.g. in the un general assembly
- Strengthened regional economic communities (RECS) on the continent as a basis for all African integration
- Has attempted to re-establish the membership of morocco the absconded the OAU in the 1984 through according her all AU benefits and status.
- Emphasizes cross border trade through encouraging member states to open borders.
- Has emphasized the promotion of African culture and language e.g. through the African academy of languages
- Has attempted to improve on the welfare and living conditions of Africans e.g. commended 950 million dollars in April 2015 to fight the Ebola scourge in west Africa
- Upholds Afro-Asian solidarity e.g. expressed condolences to victims of earthquake of April 2015 in Nepal and also encourages strong economic ties with Asian powers like Ghana.
- It condemns foreign intervention in African affairs e.g. it stood against NATO expedition in Libya in 2011 and rejected the “no fly zone” over Libya produced by the UN security council

- Has established strong economic and diplomatic ties with the European Union (EU) and the European Economic Community (EEC).

## **Weaknesses**

- Failure to create a union government that would lead to the desired united states of Africa. The idea was highly rejected by member states of southern Africa in the AU-Accra summit of July 2007.
- Failed to rescue African territories from imperial control e.g. canary islands, Ceuta and Melilla under Spain, saint Helena and Tristan Da Cunha under Britain, Madeira and savage islands under Portugal, Mayotte and reunion under France.
- Has failed to find a lasting resolution in the territorial conflict between Moroccan government and the POLISARIO front over the status of Western Sahara.
- Has not found a lasting resolution in the severe killer epidemics that threaten African people on the continent like malaria and HIV/AIDS scourge.
- The AU had been challenged in remedying the severe abject poverty among African peoples which has hindered improvement in their standards of living
- There has been no solution by the AU to counter the eco-problems on the continent like deforestation, drought which have caused persistent famine in different African states.
- It has failed to harmonize policies of the RECs which is an obstacle to the mission of the African economic community in ensuring a continental economic integration with a single currency by 2023
- No practical step in integrating the participation of the Diaspora in building the AU and contribute to the development of the continent.
- Inability to intervene in Libya in 2011 to blocker peace negotiations between incumbent Gaddafi and opposition groups which escalated into the overthrow and murder of Gaddafi
- Failure of member states to rise enough funding to support the AU-peace missions e.g. in Darfur and Somalia which render the AU ineffectiveness.
- The AU has continuously relied on foreign organizations like UN and the NATO in handling African affairs e.g. in the Darfur and Somalia and Somalia hence perpetuating neo-colonialism.
- Persistent violation of human rights in Africa e.g. in Chad, Somalia and CAR is attributed to the AU weak human rights observation instruments.
- The AU has not established proper mechanism to protect the African people from untimely terrorist attacks e.g. in Kenya, Somalia and Nigeria.
- No resolution by the AU on the bureaucracy in decision making caused by the

differences in ideology among heads of state

- The continental body has not been able to establish a continental military force under a centralized command and instead relies on mainly voluntary forces from member states for its peace missions.
- The African union convention on preventing and combating corruption adopted in 2013 has not yet helped in curbing down the rampant corruption on the continent as many member states are still ranked high among the world's most graft nations.
- The principle of non-intervention has protected despotic leaders

### **NATIONALISM IN KENYA (KENYAN ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE)**

The road to independence in Kenya was a mixture of violence and non-violence. In 1895 after the British had established Kenya as a settler colony, white settlement increased in the country. By 1920, the whites had taken charge of the political, social and economic affairs of Kenya. The settlers had occupied Land especially in the central; they established an unfair education system established and above all racism. These among other atrocities influenced Africans in Kenya to struggle for independence. The struggle for Kenyan independence was not however-a straight path; the Kenyan nationalists faced many challenges.

### **OBSTACLES TO KENYAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE**

#### ***Reference Questions:***

1. Account for the delayed independence of Kenya
  2. Examine the obstacles to Kenyan nationalism
  3. Discuss the challenges faced by Kenyan nationalists in the struggle against British imperialism
- The British colonial policy of divide and rule affected the development of nationalism in Kenya. As a matter of consolidating the colonialism in the colony, the British policy instigated rivalries among Kenyan masses and this worsened the existing ethnic conflicts in Kenya for example, the Nandi against the Masai, and the rest of the other tribes against Kikuyu. The divide and rule policy therefore, disunited the Kenyans which greatly affected the struggle for independence.
  - The colonial government in Kenya implemented political restrictions which retarded Kenyan nationalism. The government slapped barriers on African political participation to the advantage of white settlers and perhaps Asians. The fear was that African politicians would sabotage and cut short British rule and white settlement. This hostile attitude of the British colonial government was evident with the banishing of the operations of political parties (organizations) especially KAU after the defeat of the Mau Mau movement.
  - Consequently, the brutal policy employed by the British during their colonial governance in Kenya hindered the progress of nationalism. The colonial officials coerced the Kenyans in a way of intimidating them from joining the political struggle. Some of the political activists were killed like Dedan Kimathi one of the influential leaders of the mau-mau armed resistance.
  - The presence of a high number of foreigners i.e. whites and Asians held back the decolonization process in Kenya. The whites and Asians worked as colonial agents which put them in a position to have a political and economic

advantage over Africans. The advancement of African nationalism posed a great threat to the foreigners whose desire to protect their economic and political positions influenced them to oppose the Kenyan nationalist struggle.

- The political suppression by the colonial government threatened the spirit of nationalism in Kenya. During the mau-mau rebellion, the British adopted a counter revolutionary approach which involved rounding up suspected collaborators in urban centers. The colonial government hunted down and arrested prominent political leaders like Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.
- The emergence of tribal, regional and sectarian nationalism in Kenya contributed to the delay of independence. The Kenyan political leaders were divided on tribal lines where many from other tribes blamed those from kikuyu of being egocentric. This tribalism was witnessed in political mobilizations like mau mau movement and the political parties like KANU and KADU.
- Economic constraints affected the process of Kenyan struggle for independence. The Kenyan nationalist leaders were incapacitated financially; they could not raise the desirable funds to enable local and national mobilization against British dominance. Most of the economic and / or commercial ventures were under the monopoly of foreigners i.e. whites and Asians who were colonial agents.
- Ideological differences among Kenyan nationalists worked against the struggle for independence. The Kenyan politicians differed in their approach to achieve independence. Some like Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya opted for discussions with the colonial government while others like Dedan Kimathi and Jomo Kenyatta seconded militarism. Even at the Lancaster conference with the British government Ngala and Mboya clashed in disagreement over each other's views.
- Nationalism in Kenya was further discouraged by the inconsistence of Kenyan nationalists. Political leaders like Kenyatta and Mboya concentrated their political mobilizations in urban centers among the elites and middle class citizens. The majority peasants in the countryside were ignored until 1960.
- Consequently, lack of political consciousness among Kenyans partly delayed independence attainment. Due to the discriminative education policy by the colonial government, the majority of the Kenyan populace was left in ignorance due to the high levels of illiteracy. Sensitization on the colonial atrocities was hence not effective especially in 1940's and 1950's. This delayed Kenyan independence.
- The poor transport and communication system led to the delayed independence of Kenya. The inability of Kenyan politicians from urban centers to access the countryside (rural areas) to extend their political activities affected the struggle for independence. This ineffective mass mobilization rendered the opposition to colonialism a tough time.
- The delayed independence of the neighbouring states i.e. Uganda and Tanganyika was a setback to the attainment of independence in Kenya. The fact that the British were in charge of Uganda and Tanganyika made them to have strong hold unto Kenya. In the same way, it was hard for Uganda and Tanganyika to extend assistance to their Kenyan counterparts as they were equally involved in struggling against British rule.

## THE MAU-MAU UPRISEING 1952-55

The mau-mau uprising was a war of independence that occurred in Kenya between 1952 and 1955. It was the first revolt in Kenya against colonialism and the first military uprising in British Africa.

The origin of the uprising is not clear although some historians say; it is derived from the phrase in Kiswahili, "Mzungu Aende Ulaya Mwaafrika Apate Uhuru".

The mau-mau rebellion was spearheaded by the Kikuyu and it was centered in Central Kenya.

The rebellion was organized under the banner of Kenya land and reform army led by General China (Waruhiu Itote), Bildad Kaggia and Dedan Kimathi the ex-service men of World War II. Other key persons in the uprising were Jomo Kenyatta and Paul Ngei.

### **Causes of the revolution**

#### **Reference Questions:**

1. To what extent was the land problem responsible for the outbreak of the Mau-Mau uprising in 1952?
2. "British policies were primarily responsible for the 1952-55 Kenyan revolts." Discuss
3. How far was the Mau-Mau movement a nationalist movement?
4. Assess the contribution of racism to the outbreak of Kikuyu uprising in Kenya 1952-55
5. Discuss the causes and effects of the Mau-Mau uprising of 1952-55

- The land question was primarily responsible for the mau-mau uprising in Kenya. By 1950, the British policy in Kenya had resulted into land alienation by the white settlers especially of the fertile lands of Kirinyaga highlands (Mt. Kenya). The ultimate goal was to turn Kenya into a Whiteman's country. This policy affected the Kikuyu, Masai and other groups in central Kenya. Due to African land hunger, they rose up through a rebellion.
- Consequently, many Kenyans were compelled to abandon their ancestral homes. Many of them became squatters on estates and plantations owned by whites who settled in the country from South Africa, Austria, and Britain. It should be noted that some whites left commission did not solve the problem. Therefore, the strong attachment of Africans to their ancestral traditions influenced them to stage up an uprising.
- The creation of reserve by the British colonial government to resettle some of the Africans grievances land had been grabbed raised African grievances. These reserves were mainly dominated by the Kikuyu and the Masai. The Masai were once forced out of the fertile Vasin-Gishu plateau and later the Laikipia plateau to Ngong reserves. Many of the reserves were small, over populated and less productive. This congestion coupled with poor conditions in the reserves influenced many Africans to flock to towns like Nairobi and Nakuru in search for employment. Their frustrations while in these towns influenced them to join the uprising.
- Introduction of soil conservation methods by the British was looked at as a mockery. The Africans were taught methods of using terraces across the ridges as a way of checking soil erosion. As they toiled to earn a living through cultivation, discontent among Africans grew due to unproductivity of land. This influenced them to rebel against the British.
- The desire for independence influenced militant nationalism in Kenya. This could be derived from the Kiswahili meaning of the phrase 'Mau-Mau'. The Kenyans were tired of political marginalisation from the time their country was established as a settler colony. Africans were left out of politics with the whites assuming all political responsibilities.
- The oppressive colonial policies of the British hardened the people's grievances in Kenya. Amongst them was the Kipande (identity card) system where Africans

could not be allowed to move from one county to another freely unless they had a special pass issued by the colonial authorities. This restriction of African movements annoyed them to rise up against the British.

- The British colonial administration imposed agricultural restrictions that increased the hatred of Africans towards the British / whites. Africans were not allowed to grow some of the cash crops such as coffee and pyrethrum. Africans were not supposed to involve in cattle ranching as well. All these agricultural activities were reserved for the white farmers. The policy was looked at as a measure to impoverish Africans in Kenya. Hence they staged the mau-mau uprising to redeem themselves.
- Forced labour as instituted by the colonial government caused untold suffering to the masses. Through this policy, the Kenyans were compelled to provide free labour on public works like roads, railway line and government stations. Many others employed by the white plantation owners were paid very low wages. This exploitation compelled a sizeable number of Africans to flock to towns such as Nairobi. Without education and any skill, these Africans found themselves unemployed and desperate. They were easily recruited into the mau-mau forces.
- The British colonial government adopted a poor taxation policy. Africans were forced to pay high taxes through the hut and gun tax policy. Taxes were also levied on land. The taxation policy was aimed at forcing Africans to work for whites on their plantations as well as government stations. This repressive taxation system with a poor method of tax collection influenced Africans to rise up against the British.
- Racism caused the mau-mau rebellion. Kenya, like South Africa and Algeria had a colour-bar problem. This was due to the presence of a sizeable white and Asian population. The Asians were mainly in towns while the whites were found in the countryside as well. The whites practised undisguised discrimination especially against the blacks. This attitude was also shared by the Asians who kept their distance away from the blacks even though these Asians were equally under looked by the British. Such racism was clearly visible in the political and economic system where Africans were generally excluded.
- The conflicts in culture and traditional beliefs had a hand in the rebellion. The Scottish missionaries established a strong base in kikuyu land to Christianise the country. Christianity was strongly opposed to some of the traditional practices of the kikuyu tradition. A case in point was female circumcision. Missionaries had also excluded the Africans from the top church leadership. Therefore, mau-mau was partly inspired by differences in religion.
- Consequently, the independent African churches in Kenya influenced the mau-mau uprising. Some Kikuyu nationalists had founded key independent churches. This was an attempt to glorify the position of the blacks. The impact of this was the cementing of a strong sense of independence within the African church movement. It is for this reason that many of the mau-mau fighters were members of the independent African churches and opposed Christianity in its original sense.
- The impact of World War II had an electronic effect on nationalism in Kenya. The war brought about the return of African ex-service men who had gained military skills and renewed patriotism. Those who returned included Bildad Kaggia and Waruhiu Itote popularly known as General China. These 'returnees' had observed the Asian national movement and were exposed to democratic politics. By 1950, many of the ex-service men were discontented owing to the declining standards of living and inadequate political reforms by the British colonialists. They therefore, opted for violence out of political and economic grievances.
- The inadequate constitutional changes initiated by the British tasted the patience

of Africans to revolt. Around 1946, the African elites led by Mathu Eliot founded the Kenya African union (KAU). These Africans pressed for African participation in Kenyan politics, equitable representation of all races, social justice and self-determination. KAU demanded for better working conditions and called for land reforms. The members of KAU who believed in constitutional means ignored by the colonial secretary who refused to meet the delegates that the party had sent. Consequently, some of the members of KAU realized the failure of peaceful means and therefore, influenced the mau-mau uprising.

- Grievances among the urban petty traders and workers influenced the mau-mau uprising. These traders and workers in Nairobi and Nakuru were overtaxed, commercially discriminated and denied lucrative deals by government in favour of Asian traders. Most of these traders influenced the formation or joined the "40 group" which mobilized assistance among town dwellers and prepared ground for the uprising.
- Consequently, the formation of the "40 group" laid grounds for the mau-mau uprising. The "40 group" was formed in the 1940's led by Mwangi Macharia and Stanley Mathenge. The "40 group" operated secretly in urban areas especially Nairobi, mobilizing assistance and recruiting fighters. This "40 group" also known as Chama Cha 40 (the political party of 40) and /or young men of 40 administered the Kikuyu oath which was a dedication by the freedom fighters to fight for the land of Gikuyu and Mumbi. Most of the member of this group of 40 became mau-mau fighters.
- The emergency of radicals in KAU made the mau-mau revolt inevitable. Many of these radicals were ex-service men of World War II who never believed in peaceful means of demanding for self-rule and land reforms. Around 1946, these radicals founded the Kenya land and reform army (later the Ma-Mau movement) and established links with the "40 group" in Nairobi that operated secretly among the petty traders, workers and the unemployed Africans. By 1952, the stage was set for a revolt.
- The rise of kikuyu nationalism, whose ambition was to capture power and lead the rest of the country. At the top of this Kikuyu movement was Eliot Mutonyi and Dedan Kimathi. These Kikuyu nationalists collected guns and other weapons and established camps in Nairobi, Kiambu, Nyeri, Embu and Muranga. They recruited members from within and outside KAU and administered the 'oath of secrecy' (kikuyu oath) to the new recruits.
- The growing nationalism in West Africa inspired the Kenyans to rise up against the British. After World War II, the West Africans intensified their demand for self-government both in the French and British colonies. In 1944, The French colonial authorities organized the Brazzaville conference which resulted into some political concessions in French colonies. Africans got the right to vote, establish political parties with an increased African representation in the French parliament. Similarly, the Gold coast and Nigeria received constitutional changes from the British colonial authorities i.e. the Burns constitution and Richards constitution in 1946 respectively. All these lacked in Kenya which influenced Kenyans to resort to violence.
- The Egyptian revolution of 1952 organized by Nasser paved way for the wider mobilization of Africans against colonial rule. Nasser used radio Cairo to broadcast programs in Arabic, English, Hausa and Kiswahili, which programs appealed to the African patriots to intensify their effort against European colonialism. The benefits from radio Cairo, with moral and financial support from Egypt crystallized Kenyan nationalism in form of an armed resistance through mau-mau movement.
- The role of Kenyan elites influenced the mau-mau uprising. The most influential

was Jomo Kenyatta whose importance was to sensitize the middle class, offer espionage information to the freedom fighters and solicit for financial support. The activities of the Kenyan elites towards the uprising caused concern on the British who later arrested many of them including Jomo Kenyatta.

## THE COURSE OF THE REVOLT

The revolt started in 1952 when the mau-mau fighters went to the bush and started attacking government stations, farms of white settlers and destroying their property in the process. The fighters slaughtered / mutilated the settlers' animals, attacked their shops and killed colonial officials.

In March 1953, a police station at Naivasha was invaded and about 173 prisoners were freed. Up to April 1954, the guerrillas were on rampage due to a number of factors;

- The rebellion started in an area that was heavily populated and very close to Nairobi, a city of unemployed idlers. The people also had access to newspapers, radios and were able to monitor the activities of the rebels.
- The declaration of the state of emergence by the British colonial government aroused more fear among the people of Kenya, forcing them to go to the bush.
- In 1953, the government made a blunder of arresting Jomo Kenyatta who was tried and imprisoned at Kapenguria. Although he belonged to KAU, there was no clear evidence that he was an active member of mau-mau. With a wide following, the arrest of Kenyatta resulted into an increase in the number of rebel sympathizers among the kikuyu.
- The role played by the ex-servicemen of World War II who had military skills and courage favoured the Mau-Mau. This together with the secret nature of the movement made it difficult for the British to discover the plans of the fighters well in advance.
- The fighters also fabricated weapons like guns and grenades from their workshop, collected finances and other war provisions from their supporters hence were able to sustain the uprising at the beginning.
- The fighters were also well mobilized and organized at the beginning of the rebellion; they" boasted of a strong leadership under Dedan Kimathi and General China who tried to unify the guerrilla army on Mt. Abadaires.
- The geographical factor greatly assisted the mau-mau. The rebellion occurred around Mt. Abadaires and Mt. Kirinyaga. The mountains had steep slopes and bamboo forests, which were suitable for guerrilla warfare. In a short run, the rebels were able to recruit and train their forces without much interference up to 1954. Thereafter, the colonial government embarked on a systematic campaign and suppressed the rebellion, leading to its collapse by late 1955.

## FACTORS THAT LED TO THE DEFEAT OF MAU-MAU

### Reference Questions:

1. Account for the failure of the Mau-Mau movement by 1956
  2. Discuss the factors that led to the collapse of the Mau-Mau movement
  3. Account for the military defeat of Kenya in the period 1952-56
- Mau-Mau was organized on ethnic lines especially that it was dominated by the Kikuyu. The British were able to exploit this by turning the rest of the tribes against the kikuyu. It should be noted that the kikuyu leaders administered the oath of secrecy in kikuyu language and sang praises to Gikuyu and Mumbi. By doing so they scared away the rest of the tribes.
  - Disunity among the Africans failed the mau-mau. The British effectively used the divide and rule policy and turned the kikuyu themselves against the Mau-Mau.

The great landowners and the elderly as well as the Christians were all opposed to the use of violence. They therefore discouraged their tribesmen from joining the rebellion, which suppressed the uprising.

- The military weakness of the mau-mau movement frustrated Africans. Many of the fighters lacked training and experience; they were ill-equipped and ill-organized compared to the British. Many were armed with rudimentary homemade guns and pangas. Besides; the British had recruited Africans to fight fellow Africans.
- The mau-mau movement did not receive much assistance from external sources. This was due to the strong hand of the British and the existence of colonial rule all over Africa. The movement also failed to capture and retain the internal bases where they could expand and consolidate the uprising.
- On the other hand, the British colonial government in Kenya had a powerful and well equipped army. Some of the colonial troops were recruited from Kenya and the rest of British Africa; for instance, Idi Amin and other Ugandans were taken to suppress the mau-mau movement. The colonial troops did so with a lot of brutality. The colonial army was also supported by jet fighters which bombed the rebel possessions.
- The British counter insurgency measures scared the kikuyu into gradual withdrawal from the rebellion. The government rounded up thousands of the Kikuyu in the areas of Nyeri, Nairobi and Kiambu. These were detained in concentration camps where they were subjected to forced labour, and torture. Some of the Africans died in the process. This policy isolated the fighters and denied those supplies and recruits.
- Geographical obstacles contributed to the defeat of the mau-mau. Due to the difficult terrain e.g. the ridges, fighters were cut off from their reserves as the government forces surrounded the hills and forests. This facilitated their defeat and the victory of the British.
- Consequently, the conditions of the war could not favour the freedom fighters. They suffered from famine and starvation and many survived on wild games e.g. monkeys and plants. The more freedom fighters starved to death, the more the rest were demoralized and surrendered to the colonial forces.
- The economic weakness of freedom fighters facilitated their defeat. At the initial stage, the Mau-Mau fighters survived on handouts from a small middle class of mainly petty traders and workers. By mid-1954, suppliers were scarce as the middle class declined financially.
- The white settlers in Kenya gave the British government formidable assistance. They provided much of the food and espionage information while others were recruited as troops in the colonial army. Their desire to protect the economic and political position in Kenya inspired them to give full support to the colonial government against the Africans.
- The mau-mau movement gradually lost her leadership. This was mainly after the capture of General China in February 1954 and Kimathi in October 1956. Kimathi was later convicted and hanged. The loss of influential leadership declined the spirit of freedom fighters and weakened them tremendously.
- By 1956 the number of freedom fighters had shrunk due to the deaths, arrest and desertions. Some of the victims were betrayed by former fighters who on their capture were released by the British to spy on their fellow fighters. By the end of 1956, mau-mau was dead.

## **EFFECTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MAU-MAU UPRIISING**

### **Reference Questions:**

1. Assess the impact of the Mau-Mau uprising

## **2. How did the Kikuyu revolts of 1952-55 affect the people of Kenya?**

### **Significance / positive effects**

- Mau-Mau laid a foundation for African self-rule in Kenya. The British were compelled to abandon their plan of continuing to rule the country for the interest of white settlers. Thereafter, they assumed direct responsibility for Kenyan advancement and saw the need to speed up constitutional and economic progress in favour of Kenyan natives.
- Reforms were carried out in the agricultural sector. The Kenyan government opened the Kenyan highlands to some of the African peasants. The government issued out land titles to those who owned land and resettled many of kikuyu peasants to areas with fertile soils.
- Consequently, African farmers were allowed to grow cash crops especially coffee and pyrethrum. Between 1954 and 57, coffee produced by Africans rose from 4,000 to 26,000 acres. This reduced African political grievances.
- The Mau-Mau uprising influenced the British government to initiate constitutional changes in Kenya. In 1954, the colonial secretary Oliver Lyttleton created a multi-racial council of ministers comprising three Europeans, two Asians, and one African. B.A Oginga was the African representative. The above figures were later revised and in 1960 the constitution gave majority of the posts to Africans.
- Africans were enfranchised and started electing their fellow Africans to the national assembly in 1957. This empowered Africans and gave them hope for self-determination.
- The political activities which were banned during the rebellion were resumed. In 1955 political parties were formed leading to the emergence of prominent nationalists such as Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga and Arap Moi. Mboya was influential among the workers. These politicians were also elected to the LEGCO and later joined the major political parties i.e. KANU and KADU.
- The colonial policies were revised. The labour policy changed and forced labour was abolished. Gradually, the kipande system declined and the taxation system was revised. This created relative harmony between the British colonialists and African community and with the white settler community in Kenya.
- The end of the rebellion and abolition of the kipande system facilitated the closure of African reserves and detention camps. By late 1956, the state of emergency was denounced.
- Indirectly, Mau-Mau influenced African nationalism in the British colonies of east, central and West Africa. The British feared that violence could break out in other colonies. They therefore, hurried / hastened to initiate constitutional changes that prepared their respective colonies for independence.
- In the final analysis, the Mau<sup>L</sup>Mau movement had a tremendous impact on Kenya. It was a nationalistic movement that Africans lost militarily but won politically.

### **Negative effects**

- The Mau-Mau uprising was a disaster to Kenyans at least militarily. The movement was crushed and Africans were defeated hence the rebellion was short lived due to the military defeat suffered by Africans.
- The uprising claimed thousands of lives. Over 13,000 Africans, 100 whites and 29 Asians perished during the war. Many of the Africans who died were not actually freedom fighters.
- The uprising led to the creation of concentration camps as an isolationist policy adopted by the British. Africans mainly of kikuyu and Masai origin faced harsh conditions in these detention camps due to famine and starvation, diseases and other problems. Most of them died and were part of the 13,000 that the war claimed.

- To note is that in the wake of the uprising, the British carried out counter revolutionary measures. They declared a state of emergence in 1952 which lasted until 1956. During this period, a vast number of Africans mainly kikuyu and some Masai, embu and meru were arrested, tortured and imprisoned or put in detention camps. All these occasioned psychological torture and human suffering.
- Many politicians and other Kenyans suspected of collaborating with the Mau-Mau fighters were arrested. Among them were Jomo Kenyatta, Gen. China, Kimathi and other kikuyu politicians. They suffered long periods of detention up to 1960. Others like Kimathi were convicted and executed.
- Consequently, the uprising disrupted the economy and scared away some of the white settlers. The cattle, farms, plantation, homesteads, shops etcetera were destroyed during the war. This was an economic set back to the colonial government as it disrupted agricultural and industrial production.
- It should be noted that Africans and Asians also lost property due to insecurity during the uprising. These included gardens being destroyed and businesses, especially in Nairobi and Naivasha.
- Politically, there was a temporary setback on African nationalism caused by the loss of some of the patriots or their imprisonment for instance Kimathi and Kenyatta. The demand for African freedoms and rights therefore declined.
- KAU as a party was banned with her leadership, and for some time, the kikuyu lost their enthusiasm and leadership. They were replaced by upcoming politicians from other ethnic groups such as Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya. Both of these were Luo.
- Furthermore, there was a delay in the transition to independence. More particularly, the British exploited the kikuyu elements by promoting tribal sentiments among different ethnic groups against the kikuyu. The political parties that emerged like KANU and KADU reflected tribal and regional royalties. They were antagonistic and hostile which occasioned future political conflicts.
- Besides, the uprising fractured the Kenyans society even among people of the same tribe. Long after the suppression, families and clans remained divided along loyalties and Mau-Mau groups. It became difficult to have a united front against the colonial administration.

**The factors that facilitated the growth of nationalism in Kenya included the following:**

**Reference Questions:**

1. Examine the factors that facilitated the growth of Kenyan nationalism
  2. Account for the rise of nationalism in Kenya by 1963
  3. Discuss the factors that facilitated the attainment of Kenyan independence in 1963
- The emergence of the independent African churches in Kenya influenced the political struggles. The activities of the Scottish missionaries in the areas around kiambu, Nairobi, meru among others raised discontentment from the African converts. Besides, Africans wanted to maintain an African cultural heritage. This influenced them to establish their own churches which later became significant in mobilizing political activists especially in kikuyu land.
  - The earlier political organizations in Kenya influenced the desire for political freedoms. Political associations like the Kenya African Union (KAU) and the other minor organizations established on tribal lines mobilized masses against the colonial activities in Kenya. Even though they were less successful in the earlier years, they laid a foundation for the development of nationalism in Kenya.
  - The British colonial activities influenced the desire for independence in Kenya.

The colonial government adopted a poor taxation policy, and established a land commission that worsened the land problem in Kenya. These among other colonial policies hardened the hearts of Africans to resent foreign rule. To make matters worse, such policies favoured the white settlers at the expense of Africans. Therefore, African grievances against the colonial policies were witnessed through their struggle for independence.

- World War II had a profound effect on Kenyan nationalism. The war produced Kenyan ex-servicemen like Kimathi, Kaggia and Itote. Upon their return to Kenya these ex-servicemen engaged in violence (through the Mau-Mau movement) to struggle for independence. They were concerned with the unfair policies of the British, unemployment levels and the costly but poor standards of living of the Africans. To note, the aftermath of World War II saw the increased colonial exploitation and white racism which aggrieved Africans to demand for independence.
- Consequently, the Mau-Mau uprising of 1952-55 was a sign of African discontentment against British colonialism. Even though Africans lost militarily; politically, success was on their side. The uprising checked the colonial policies, led to political reforms like increased African representation and rang the bell to the colonial masters that Africans in Kenya were politically mature for independence. No-wonder the years after Mau-Mau witnessed political developments that finally brought independence to Kenya.
- The emergence of Kenyan elites influenced independence struggles. These included Jomo Kenyatta, Oginga Odinga, and Tom Mboya among others. The elites condemned colonialism, demanded for political reforms while some engaged in pre-independence discussions with the British colonialists. Amongst them were some that were voted to the LEGCO and became a mouthpiece for African demands.
- The desire to revive and maintain the African cultural heritage in Kenya influenced nationalism in the country. The activities of the Scottish missionaries in central Kenya together with the British colonial policies were gradually eroding the cultural practices in Kenya. This created awareness among Kenyan radicals to demand for independence.
- The poor education system in Kenya angered Kenyans to demand for self-government. The education given to Africans was more inferior to that acquired by whites and Asians. The unemployment levels in Kenya and the disadvantaged position of Africans were all attributed to the poor education system adopted by the British colonialists. Therefore, the desire for equal education opportunities influenced Kenyans to engage in political activities.
- Consequently, the continued dominancy of Kenya by the white settlers and their racist policies increased African grievances. The white settlers monopolized cash crop production and all the-other profitable agricultural ventures like cattle ranching. They owned most of the land in the countryside and discriminated Africans from politics. The desire for equal political rights influenced the growth of nationalism in Kenya.
- The contribution of political parties led to independence attainment in Kenya. The parties like the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) mobilized masses to engage in anti-colonial struggles. KANU united Kenya against tribal sentiments. The popularity of KANU put her in an influential position to lead the Kenyan struggle for independence.
- The activities of trade unions in Kenya cannot be underestimated in the Kenyan agitation for independence. Like in Tanganyika, the trade unions were organizations by workers and professionals to demand for their rights, better social welfare and working conditions. However, the negative response by the

colonial masters influenced trade unions to engage in political activities which had a positive impact in the struggle for independence.

- The role of the press influenced the growth of nationalism in Kenya. Newspapers like 'Sauti ya Mwaafrika', 'Kenyan weekly news', etcetera helped to sensitize masses on the colonial atrocities and the need to struggle for independence.
- The charismatic role of Jomo Kenyatta brought independence to Kenya. Kenyatta spent most his education days abroad where he was able to attend the Manchester conference in 1945. Kenyatta turned KAU into a vibrant KANU, engaged in mobilization for the Mau-Mau uprising which led to his arrest for seven years. Even in prison, the influence of Kenyatta was still felt among Kenyans which motivated them to oppose colonialism.
- The impact of the Manchester conference influenced the struggle for independence in Kenya. Kenyatta from Kenya was among the African delegates at the Fifth Pan African conference. The conference proclaimed total independence of African states and the complete eradication of all forms of colonial oppression. The resolutions at the conference were much felt in Kenya upon the return of Kenyatta in 1946.
- The attainment of independence by India in 1947 led to growth of nationalism in Kenya. Indian independence from the British motivated Kenyans to employ similar method of positive resistance against the same colonial master. India also extended assistance to the Kenyan nationalists during the process of the struggle for independence.
- The independence of Ghana in 1957 led to the increased independence struggles in Kenya. Ghana would later organize the 'All African People's Conference' in 1958 where Kenyans like Tom Mboya attended. Mboya claimed the Accra conference was a '**redefinition of Africa**' consequently, the independence of Ghana from the British increased pressure on the colonial master to initiate political reforms that put Kenyans in the independence mood.
- Impact of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis (1935-41) motivated Kenyan nationalism. The Italians on establishing their imperialism in Ethiopia implemented dictatorial policies by land grabbing, imprisonment of African political activists, over taxation, etc. which policies were similar to those implemented by the British in Kenya. The response of the Ethiopians to Italians colonialism motivated Kenyans to rise up against the British colonial rule and the white settler community.
- The role of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) influenced nationalism in Kenya. The UNO established the years 1950-60 as a decade of decolonization. During this period colonial masters were expected to prepare their colonies for independence. The Kenyans used this chance to petition the British to the UN for their slow reaction in preparing Kenya for independence. The Kenyans therefore, used the UN as a platform to demand for their independence.

### **The contributions of Kenyatta in the struggle for the independence of Kenya**

#### **Reference Questions:**

**1. Examine the contribution of Jomo Kenyatta to the decolonization of Kenya**

**2. Assess the role of Jomo Kenyatta in the rise and growth of Kenyan nationalism**

Jomo Kenyatta was born as John Kamau Wa Nsenyi in 1893 at Nsenda in Kikuyu land. He attended missionary education in 1914 before travelling to London for further studies in 1931. He was politically known to Kenyans by his popular name Kenyatta (Kenya's light). His role in the struggle for Kenyan independence was as follows:

- Kenyatta was an activist for the rights of workers through the Kikuyu Workers Organization. He therefore, became the voice of the oppressed Kenyan workers, where he demanded for better working conditions e.g. better wages

and housing facilities

- He accepted the post of secretary general of Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1928. The main objective of KCA was to fight for Kikuyu-land lost to the white settlers. It was during his work with KCA that he abandoned his original name Kamau for Kenyatta.
- Kenyatta represented the demands of KCA to the colonial secretary in London in 1929. During his visit to London, Kenyatta demanded the colonial secretary to influence the return of Kikuyu lost land.
- During his studies in England, Kenyatta wrote a literally political book "**Facing Mount Kenya**", whose ideas created political awareness of the state of colonial rule in Kenya.
- Jomo Kenyatta attended the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan African Conference in November 1945 at Manchester. During the Manchester conference, Kenyatta interacted with other prominent pan Africanists like Nkrumah, Padmore and DuBois. The Manchester conference therefore influenced him to turn to Kenya and participate in the struggle for independence.
- Consequently, Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946 and immediately replaced James Gichuru as leader of Kenya African Union (KAU). Kenyatta used KAU to demand for the decolonization of Kenya through positive resistance.
- During the mau-mau uprising, Kenyatta worked as an underground member whose task was to mobilize funds from the petty traders in Nairobi. His association with mau-mau fighters threatened the British colonialists.
- Kenyatta became an activist for the rights of Kenyans. In 1951, he presented a memorandum to the colonial government demanding for the rights of Kenyans.
- Kenyatta was suspected by the colonial government as a collaborator of the mau-mau which led to his arrest in 1953. His arrest however, caused sentiment among Kenyans and increased political pressure on the colonial government to decolonize Kenya.
- When KAU was revolutionalised into Kenya African National Union (KANU), Kenyatta was elected as chairman in absentia of the new party. This was a clear indication of the influence of Kenyatta on the Kenyans even though he was in prison. Such influence was witnessed when members of KANU refused to form a government in 1961 after winning the pre-independence election demanding for the release of Kenyatta first.
- Kenyatta led the delegation that attended the second Lancaster House Conference in London in 1962. This followed his appointment to the legislative council in the same year. At Lancaster, the independence constitution of Kenya was drafted.
- Kenyatta led KANU to form a coalition government with Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) in 1962. This coalition government set the pace for self-governance in Kenya,
- Jomo Kenyatta led KANU to victory in the independence elections of May 1963. He went ahead to form an internal government on June 1, 1963 attaining the title of first prime minister.
- As leader of KANU, Kenyatta accepted the instruments of independence on December 12, 1963 and became the first president of the independent government of Kenya.

**The role of Kenya African National Union (KANU) in the struggle for Kenyan independence**

**Reference Questions:**

**1. To what extent did the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) contribute to the attainment of independence in Kenya?**

**2. Explain the influence of KANU to the struggle for Kenyan independence**

- KANU was formed in March 1960, by African members in the legislative council dominated by the Kikuyu. KANU replaced KAU, which had outdated ideas and no clear program of achieving Kenyan independence. However, the contribution of KANU is discussed below:
- KANU designed a clear political program aimed at attaining independence for Kenya. This Program included bringing all tribes on board, increased demand for workers' rights and increased pressure on the colonial government through political discussions.
- The party demanded for the release of Kenyan political prisoners who included Jomo Kenyatta. The release of political prisoners increased the capacity of KANU to attain independence.
- Through prominent politicians like Jomo Kenyatta, the KANU gave charismatic relationship to the struggle for independence. Through KANU politicians, it was easy for the party to mobilize masses throughout the country and sensitized them to join the political struggle.
- The Kenya African National Union identified herself with the national problems in the country. The party increased pressure on the colonial government to ensure sounding land reforms. KANU also condemned the colonial government and the white settler community for abusing the African culture.
- The party cut across ethnic lines throughout the process of mobilization. The leaders of KANU encouraged national unity during the struggle for independence. She therefore, condemned the British policies of ensuring disunity among Kenyans.
- The KANU worked to ensure economic emancipation of Kenya. She condemned the colonial policy of discriminating Africans from the economic activities of the country namely agriculture, trade and commerce. This won the party popularity of masses.
- The KANU organized political campaigns throughout Kenya. During these campaigns the leaders of KANU spread anti-colonial propaganda and encouraged the masses to join the struggle for dependence.
- The activities of KANU inspired the formation of other political parties like Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The emergence of these new parties increased the African pressure on the colonial government to grant independence to Kenya.
- The KANU was greatly opposed to federalism in Kenya. The party demanded for the establishment of a unitary government for fear that federalism would worsen tribal nationalism and regionalism in Kenya,
- Leaders of KANU participated in the second Lancaster House Conference of 1962. At this conference, the independence constitution of Kenya was drafted. This motivated the mood Kenyans to achieve independence.
- The KANU formed a coalition government with KADU in 1962. This was the first government dominated by majority Africans. The coalition government paved way for the independence of Kenya later in 1963.
- The party participated in the pre-independence elections of 1961 and 1963. In 1961, KANU won majority seats (19) but, refused to form a government before Kenyatta was released. In 1963, KANU won majority of the seats in the May elections.
- The KANU formed an internal government on June 1, 1963 with Jomo Kenyatta as the first prime minister. This government prepared ground for

Kenya to finally achieve independence.

- The party received the instruments of independence on December 12, 1963 with Jomo Kenyatta as president. This marked the collapse of British colonial rule in Kenya.

### **THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLES IN TANGANYIKA (1945-61)**

Tanganyika was a German colony from 1895 until 1919. Tanganyika was then transferred to the

League of Nations as a mandated territory following the defeat of Germany in World War I. Britain was given administrative mandate over Tanganyika on behalf of the League.

After World War II, Tanganyika was put under the trusteeship council of the United Nations Organization (UNO) with Britain receiving full mandate over the territory as a trustee power.

The people of Tanganyika rejected the second stunt of colonialism under the British and began struggling for self-rule as early as 1945. However, independence only came by in 1961.

The path of Tanganyika's independence was very drastic and smooth compared to that of Uganda and Kenya who had problems especially of ethnic sub-nationalism and internal disunity. In 1945, two Africans were elected to the membership of Tanganyika national assembly (legislative council). This was followed by the establishment of a constitutional committee to design a constitution for Tanganyika.

In 1945, the UN mission visited Tanganyika and recommended that Britain, administering Tanganyika on behalf of the UNO should prepare the country for immediate independence. The UN mission had originally fixed the date for Tanganyika's independence on May 1, 1961, but, due to bureaucracy, Tanganyika attained only internal self-governance with Kambarage Julius Nyerere as the prime minister. Tanganyika was declared fully independent on December 9, 1961, when the British colonial government handed over the instruments of power to Tanganyika Africa national union (TANU).

### **FACTORS FOR DELAYED GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA**

#### **Reference Questions**

a) Account for the delayed independence of Tanganyika

b) Examine the challenges to the independence struggles in Tanganyika

- The large size of the country led to the delayed growth of Nationalism. The vast geographical size of Tanganyika made it extremely hard for the Nationalists to travel across the country to sensitize and mobilize masses especially in the countryside to rise up against the European colonialists.
- Poor transport and communication network in Tanganyika led to the delayed growth of nationalism. The colony of Tanganyika had low infrastructure development i.e. the road network was poor with some areas inaccessible. It was difficult for nationalists to travel from coastal areas like Dar-es-Salaam to interior areas like Karagwe in the west, Kilimanjaro areas in the north and to the extreme South along the border with Mozambique. This limited the spread of nationalistic ideas.
- High levels of illiteracy affected the struggle for self-rule in Tanganyika. During the colonial period, Tanganyika had few educated people who were mostly concentrated in towns and mission centers. The masses were ignorant of their rights yet nationalistic literature was inaccessible, by the rural populace.

- Extreme poverty among Tanganyikans caused economic hardships hence hindering the forces of nationalism in Tanganyika. Tanganyika had the most backward economy in East Africa whose population was predominantly made up of peasants who practiced subsistence agriculture with very little to sell. Such a population was unable to contribute to nationalistic activities, which affected Tanganyika's road to independence.
- Failure of the earlier violent attempt against European rule caused a hiccup to Tanganyika's dream for self-determination. Between 1905 and 1907, the people of South Tanganyika who included Pogoro, Wangido, and matambi staged an unsuccessful maji-maji uprising against the Germans. The defeat of the maji-maji by the Germans demoralized the people of Tanganyika hence affecting their quest for political freedom.
- The exclusion of Africans from political participation delayed the growth of nationalism in Tanganyika. German colonialists and later the British despised the people of Tanganyika and denied them involvement in political decision-making. Very few Africans were given administrative posts in the colonial government yet on the overall; Africans lacked voting rights, which meant affected preparations for self-rule.
- The opposition from the British colonialists also delayed the independence of Tanganyika. When the British took over the affairs of Tanganyika on behalf of the United Nations Organization, they were not prepared for the activities of TANU. Britain encouraged Africans against TANU to form the United Tanganyika party UTP in 1956. To work against TANU.
- The imprisonment and restriction of TANU leaders also delayed the independence of Tanganyika. Besides supporting activities against TANU, the British usually rounded up and arrested a number of TANU leaders they even used to close TANU branches and in 1957, Nyerere was stopped from addressing any rally. This negatively affected political mobilization and delayed the independence of Tanganyika.
- The tribal diversity of the Tanganyika also delayed the independence of Tanganyika. As a heterogeneous state composed of different tribes and cultural groups, Tanganyika faced challenges towards fostering national unity, which was desirable to boost nationalism. It took time before Kiswahili played a very important role in boosting nationalistic struggles in the colony.
- The introduction of a multi-racial policy by the British in 1951 was another obstacle to the decolonization process of Tanganyika. The British introduced a policy that provided for the representation of all the races of African, Asian and White at all levels of administration. This new policy affected African interests especially the demand for independence, which the Asians and whites reluctantly supported.
- The mandatory status accorded to Tanganyika delayed the decolonization process. Following the defeat of Germany in World War I, Tanganyika became a mandated territory of the League of Nations with Britain as the caretaker. This mandatory status of Tanganyika under the British was further confirmed by the UNO in 1945. To note is that the Versailles settlement of 1919 had recognized sovereignty of territories formally under German occupation, but Lloyd George of Britain declared that the resolution applied to only former German territories in Europe. This eventually delayed Tanganyika's independence.
- Lack of capable leaders at the initial stages of independence struggles delayed the decolonization of Tanganyika. Before emergence of Julius Nyerere, Tanganyika lacked capable, charismatic and foresighted leaders to mobilize masses and stir them towards self-rule. The independence

movement in Tanganyika only gathered momentum after the emergence of Nyerere, who went ahead to achieve self-rule for the country.

## **FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE INDEPENDENCE OF TANGANYIKA**

### **Reference Questions:**

- 1. Examine the factors for the early independence of Tanganyika**
- 2. Discuss the factors that facilitated the growth of nationalism in Tanganyika**

- Absence of tribal nationalism favoured the independence of Tanganyika. The colony had no single tribe or ethnic group that was powerful enough to claim control over the politics of the country like it was for Buganda in Uganda and Kikuyu for Kenya. By the time of the independence struggle, the different ethnic groups in Tanganyika i.e. the Sukuma, Masai, Yao, the Makonde, the Nyamwezi and Chagga etcetera, were weak and none of them could threaten the neighbours to cause state conflicts. Besides, the various ethnic groups were spread thought Tanganyika without a concentrated settlement for a particular tribe. Due to this, the tribes were able to unite against the British colonial system, which enabled Tanganyika to attain independence before the other East African states.
- The role of Kiswahili as a common language among the people of Tanganyika helped to quicken independence. Kiswahili created unity among the various tribes and this facilitated communication. Parties like (the TANU) used Kiswahili to mobilise the masses into passive resistances like strikes and demonstrations. Therefore, Kiswahili compromised the language differences in Tanganyika, and this helped the nationalists to have good organisation that enabled them to attain independence. Kiswahili had been the lingua-franca right from the days of Arabs at coast all through to the time of German and British rule, who never imposed their respective languages unto the people of Tanganyika.
- The lessons learnt from the earlier resistances against German rule motivated the demand for -dependence. The major rebellions were the Hehe rebellion and Maji Maji uprising (1905-07), but in particular, the latter was instrumental in bringing independence to Tanganyika. The uprisings united the various ethnic communities mostly in Southern Tanganyika like the Ngoni and the Mponde against the Germans. Though the Germans crashed the Maji Maji uprising, the unity and organisation shown by the tribes of Southern Tanganyika inspired the nationalistic struggle. It taught the nationalists in Tanganyika that the attainment of independence could be successful if non-violence and passive resistance are used. The new generation-nationalists in Tanganyika led by Julius Nyerere employed non-violence in the struggle against the British, which convinced the colonial masters to grant independence to Tanganyika earlier than Uganda and Kenya.
- Absence of religious conflicts in Tanganyika favoured independence attainment. Even though Christianity and Islam coexisted in the country, this was never a divisive factor that would hinder unity and proper organisation against British colonialism. Instead, the Muslims in the coastal regions worked closely with Christians in the interior to achieve independence. This was in contrast with Uganda, the Sudan and Nigeria, where religion played a major role in dividing people during the struggle for the independence. Political leaders like Julius Nyerere worked hand in hand with Muslim-counterparts, to achieve independence for Tanganyika. In fact, the entire Tanganyika populace accepted Nyerere a Catholic to lead the struggle for independence.
- The role of trade unions (welfare associations) that had emerged after World

War II accelerated the independence of Tanganyika. Tanganyika had very strong trade unions of farmers, teachers and other civil servants, which engaged in the struggle for independence. These associations included the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association and the most important one as the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). In an attempt to raise the welfare of the respective various groups of people, these trade unions engaged in non-violent protests like sit down strikes and peaceful demonstrations, which greatly threatened colonial rule in Tanganyika. The activities of trade unions especially the (TAA), formed in Dar-es-Salaam in 1929 motivated many disgruntled and frustrated workers in Tanganyika to join the struggle for independence. The TAA cut across the different ethnic groups and encouraged togetherness in the struggle against foreign domination.

- The role of the United Nations Organisations (UNO) accelerated the independence of Tanganyika. In 1946, Tanganyika was put under the UN trusteeship council, which entrusted retain to govern Tanganyika. The UNO was anti-colonial and went ahead to put pressure on the British to prepare Tanganyika for self-rule. The body accepted Julius Nyerere to use its General Assembly as a platform to demand for the independence of Tanganyika. The UN sent a visiting mission to Tanganyika to supervise political developments enhanced by the British in preparing Tanganyika for independence. Consequently, the UN pressurized the British to end their colonial influence in the mandated state of Tanganyika.
- The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) played a role in the success of the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika. After electing Julius Nyerere as the president of the Tanganyika African Association in 1953, Nyerere went ahead to transform the association into the TANU which was confirmed on July 7, 1954. The objectives of the TANU included achieving the socioeconomic welfare of the people of Tanganyika and above all the demanding for the immediate independence of Tanganyika. The TANU united the various ethnic groups in Tanganyika against the British colonial administration.
- The presence of able leaders in Tanganyika worked in favour for independence. In particular was Julius Nyerere who became a key figure in the struggle for independence. After graduating from Makerere College, Nyerere went to England for further studies before he returned to Tanganyika in 1953. Immediately, Nyerere was appointed the president of Tanganyika African Association (TAA), which he later transformed into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), a mass political party that struggled for Tanganyika independence. Nyerere represented the people of Tanganyika during the independence negotiations with the British colonial administrators, led accepted the instruments of power from the British.
- The absence of a strong settler community also accounted for the quick decolonization of Tanganyika. By the end of World War II and the aftermath, there were a smaller number of white settlers in Tanganyika compared to Kenya. This meant that there was no white objection to the African demand for independence, and was an opportunity for Tanganyika to attain self-rule. Hence, the fact that Tanganyika was not a settler colony quickened her process of independence attainment.
- The unfair colonial policies awakened the people of Tanganyika to demand for independence. The British colonialists in Tanganyika grabbed land from the Africans, tried to enforce plantation agriculture and other related evils like heavy taxation. Such policies angered Africans who were imposed of heavy fines because of resisting growing new crops with new farming techniques

brought by the colonialists, such as compulsory soil terracing. These policies generated fear and hatred of Africans against colonialism and this was exploited by nationalists like Nyerere to mobilise the masses to demand for independence.

- The role of Richard Turnbull (1958-61) accelerated the independence process of Tanganyika. Turnbull was appointed as the new British governor of Tanganyika with instructions to prepare Tanganyika for independence. He had previously been the chief Secretary in the Kenyan colonial government at the time of the Mau Mau rebellion and he was determined to avoid such related havoc in Tanganyika. He became co-operative and established a close relationship with Julius Nyerere. Turnbull helped a lot to sell the TANU in the UNO, which was helpful in the early advancement of Tanganyika self-rule.
- The impact of the Mau Mau (1952-56) was partly responsible for the early independence of Tanganyika. Because the Mau Mau was an anti-colonial uprising that was very destructive and expensive for the British, they never wished to experience another revolt of the kind. It was because of this that Turnbull was appointed governor of Tanganyika due to his Mau Mau experience. Thus to avoid such, the new governor was instructed to prepare Tanganyika for independence.
- The kabaka crisis (1953-55) in Uganda had a threatening impact on the colonial government in Tanganyika. Though it occurred in Uganda, the event had a profound impact that created awareness to the colonial government that the Africans in East Africa were politically mature to attain independence. The crisis weakened the British position on the formation of the East African federation and instead, they initiated political concessions that prepared the atmosphere for Tanganyika's independence. From the effects of the Kabaka crisis, the British learnt to cooperate with Africans in Tanganyika as a way of avoiding political conflicts in the trusteeship territory.

## **JULIUS NYERERE KAMBARAGE**

### **Reference Questions:**

- 1. Explain the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the decolonization of Tanganyika by 1961**
- 2. Assess the role of Julius Nyerere in the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika**

Nyerere was born in March 1922 in Butiama village, Musoma district southeast of Lake Victoria to Chief Burito Nyerere of the Wazanaki ethnic group and his eighth wife Kambarage. Nyerere lived his life in a traditional setting which enabled him acquire skills of traditional leadership. He went to Mwisenge primary school, Tabora secondary school and later Makerere College in Uganda.

- In 1945, Nyerere attended the fifth Pan African congress together with other Africans like Jomo Kenyatta and Nkwame Nkrumah. On his return from the conference in 1947, like Nkrumah, Nyerere demanded for the immediate independence of Africa and hoped to lead Tanganyika to independence.
- In 1949, Nyerere left for further studies at Edinburgh (Scotland) and obtained a Masters of Arts in history, economics and philosophy. The studies abroad widened the mind and commitment of Nyerere to the struggle for self-rule. He returned to Tanganyika in 1952 with a strong desire to end British colonialism in Tanganyika.
- Nyerere was elected President of the Tanganyika African Association in 1953. The TAA was basically fighting for African civil rights and improved welfare of African workers. With this, Nyerere represented the symbol of charisma and

forward looking, which qualities would help to confront the exploitative policies of the British.

- Because of his strong -zeal and love towards independence, Nyerere used his leadership qualities and skills to transform the TAA into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which became an "all inclusive" and radical mass political party that would help in the mobilisation of masses for self-rule.
  - As a leader of the TANU, Nyerere influenced the party to adopt peaceful means (pacific resistance), in order to avoid conflicts with the British colonial administrators. Thus, Nyerere organized and led workers strikes and street demonstrations all aimed at showing African grievances against colonial rule.
  - In 1955, Nyerere accepted the presidency of the TANU. He immediately consolidated the struggle for better welfare of the people of Tanganyika; but above all the increased membership of Africans to the legislative council.
  - Nyerere led the TANU to petition the British colonial administrators to the UNO with an intention of achieving international concern towards the independence of Tanganyika. The leadership and activities of Nyerere influenced the UNO, especially the Trusteeship Council to have direct interest in Tanganyika's advancement towards self-determination.
  - In 1957, Nyerere joined the legislative assembly and was immediately elected President of the assembly. In a short while however, Nyerere stepped down as President of the legislative assembly because this position was bound to hinder his demand for the immediate independence of Tanganyika.
  - Between 1958 and 1960, Nyerere led the TANU to landslide victories in the local elections. After the August 1960 elections where the TANU won seventy of the seventy-one (70 out of 71) seats in the LEGCO, Nyerere was made Chief Minister hence, giving him an upper hand to use the government to demand for the independence of Tanganyika.
  - The activities of Nyerere through the TANU mounted more pressure on the British colonial administrators to grant Tanganyika an internal autonomy (self-government), which was declared in 1958. Nyerere became the first Prime Minister. This new position motivated him to demand for total independence, which was granted on December 9, 1961.
  - Julius Nyerere established a cordial relationship with Sir Richard Turnbull the colonial governor of Tanganyika (1958-61). Turnbull was forward looking and went ahead to support Nyerere's actions; he (Turnbull) worked well with (Nyerere) until the last stages of the independence of Tanganyika.
  - As the President of the TANU, Nyerere accepted the instruments of power from the British colonial government of Tanganyika. He consequently established the first independent African government for Tanganyika.
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## **THE ROLE OF TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (TANU)**

### **Reference Questions:**

- 1. To what extent did the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) contribute to the attainment of independence in Tanganyika?**
- 2. Explain the influence of TANU to the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika**

The TANU was a mass political party that was founded on the July 7, 1954. It evolved from the existing popular trade union, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). It was founded with Julius Nyerere as its first leader. The TANU was formed along the same principles of the Convention People's Party (CPP) of the Gold Coast under Nkrumah. It was aimed at achieving socio-economic welfare of the people of Tanganyika, promoting unity and creating a spirit of nationalism to achieve independence in Tanganyika.

**The TANU played a major role in the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika as seen below:**

- From the beginning, the Tanganyika African National Union advocated for an increase in the number of African seats in the Legislative Assembly and government. This would give Africans an upper hand in voting against colonialism.
- In 1954, the party utilized the position of the country in the UN Trusteeship Council to demand for the independence of Tanganyika. The party made demands to the UNO to quicken the independence process of Tanganyika. The TANU convinced the UNO mission to visit Tanganyika in 1954, which visit came in 1955. Consequently, the TANU issued a petition to the UN visiting mission to put pressure on Britain to grant independence to Tanganyika.
- The TANU promoted unity of the various ethnic groups in Tanganyika with the aim of achieving self-rule. Membership to the party was granted to all ethnic groups like Nyamwezi, the Makonde, the Sukuma, and the Mponde with no discrimination. The major medium of communication for the TANU was Kiswahili, which strengthened national unity contrary to ethnic nationalism during the process of demanding for independence.
- Consequently, the TANU adopted passive resistance and non-violent means of demanding for independence. The means included peaceful strikes and demonstrations and negotiations with the colonial government that made the British to accept the political demands of the TANU. On December 9, 1961, the British transferred the instruments of power to the TANU leadership.
- The TANU leadership established branches of the party throughout Tanganyika, which helped to quicken the decolonization process. After her transformation from the (TAA), the TANU took over all the TAA upcountry branches. The party therefore, used these branches scattered throughout the country to spread anti-colonial propaganda that enabled her to succeed in the struggle of independence. The party branches eased the task of mass mobilization.
- Consequently, the TANU identified itself with the people's problems in Tanganyika, which the Party used in its plan to turn the masses against the British colonial government. In an effort to win the peoples of Tanganyika and their support, the party allied with the masses to condemn the colonial government for the various problems in Tanganyika like loss of land, low prices for the farmers' produce and lack of quality education for African children. The party hence won support of the masses and eventually forced the British to grant independence to Tanganyika.
- The TANU gave charismatic relationship and a clear political program through

Julius Nyerere, which were vital in the independence struggle. Nyerere had unique leadership skills and qualities; he was soft spoken and lived in harmony with other political activists. Such leadership made the TANU popular among the masses in Tanganyika and the mass support to the TANU activities made the road to independence in Tanganyika smoother.

- The party also set up a close relationship with trade unions in Tanganyika to struggle against British imperialism. This won support of workers for the TANU and increased her popularity, this was evident in such a way that by 1958, the party had more than a quarter million members. The TANU equally embraced the values of trade unions like demanding for improved welfare of masses. The alliance of the TANU with trade unions forced the British to grant dependence to Tanganyika in 1961.
- Through the skills and works of Julius Nyerere, the TANU established a good working relationship with Governor Richard Turnbull. From the start of his regime in 1958, Governor Turnbull was influenced by the TANU to adopt relatively moderate policies in administering Tanganyika compared to how other colonial governors administered Uganda and Kenya.
- The Tanganyika African National Union established a close link with the Convention Peoples Party of Kwame Nkrumah, which was instrumental in the independence struggle in Tanganyika. Nkrumah went ahead to extend moral advice to Julius Nyerere as well as influencing the party to adopt the policy of non-violence that accelerated independence in Tanganyika.
- The party participated in the local elections where she achieved landslide victories. Between 1958 and 1960, elections to the LEGCO were conducted and the TANU won these elections majority seats and let many of the TANU representatives become ministers in the colonial government and the LEGCO and consequently Nyerere became the Chief Minister.
- The TANU called for the immediate independence of Tanganyika following the landslide victory in the 1960 elections. The party under Chief Minister Nyerere Africanised the civil service and introduced a special training scheme to accelerate Tanganyika's path to independence.
- The Tanganyika African National Union accepted the instruments of power and led Tanganyika to independence that was granted by the British on December 9, 1961. The TANU leadership went ahead to establish the first independence government following the attainment independence.

#### **CLASS ASSIGNMENT:**

##### **To research on the career and achievements of Nyerere (1961-85)**

##### **Guiding questions:**

1. Explain the role of Julius Kambarage Nyerere in the social, political and economic development of Tanzania
2. To what extent did Julius Nyerere's leadership benefit the people of Tanzania?
3. Examine the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the history of Tanzania upto 1985
4. Assess the achievements of Julius Nyerere between 1961 and 1985
5. How far did Julius Nyerere contribute to the development of Tanzania?

#### **THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME IN TANZANIA (1967-1985)**

##### **THE ARUSHA DECLARATION / UJAMAA POLICY**

The Socialist programme in Tanzania was introduced by President, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere through the Arusha declaration. The Arusha Declaration was a white paper (blue-print document) addressed to the members of the National

Executive Council (NEC) of TANU at the party headquarters in Arusha on February 5, 1967.

This document announced a development programme, which emphasized nationalization of the economy; its financial, manufacturing and trading institutions and called to an end the accumulation of private wealth by leaders in the ruling party and the government. In his speech, Nyerere informed the NEC that Tanzania was at war against poverty and external dependence and suggested that the only way Tanzanians could win this war was by adopting a socialist approach, hence the Arusha Declaration. He further stressed that the policy would promote or develop Unity and brotherhood among Tanzanians.

The Arusha declaration became a constitutional amendment which gave priority to rural development and the need to utilize domestic other than foreign resources. This socialist programme (Arusha declaration) was implemented through the Ujamaa policy or scheme which enforced the principles of villagisation, nationalization and family-hood / communalism (collectiveness towards achieving national goals). The concept of Ujamaa (family-hood) was launched mainly in the rural areas. It was based on creation of communal (ujamaa) villages as the major production units of Tanzania. The Ujamaa villages ensured that Tanzanians practiced co-operative farming through communal sharing of resources.

### **FACTORS FOR THE ADOPTION OF ARUSHA DECLARATION / UIAMAA (SOCIALISM) IN TANZANIA**

#### **Reference Questions:**

- a) Account for the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania in 1967
- b) Discuss the factors for the introduction of socialism in Tanzania
  - Nyerere desired to promote self-reliance and defend the independence of Tanzania. According to TANU leadership, it was inevitable to break the colonial umbilical cord, prevent neo-colonialism and stop dependence on foreign aid.
  - The government of Tanzania wanted to initiate people's effort towards self-help projects, without using finances from the government. It was one way to Africanize the economy of Tanzania and also encourage mass participation towards development. Nyerere stated that, it were the people who brought about a country's development but not money.
  - President Nyerere opted to African socialism as a means of promoting national integration (unity), brotherhood and togetherness in Tanzania. To him, socialism would assist to destroy the colonial system based on race, tribe and religion. National unity was important in mobilizing masses for national defense, stability and state planning. It was through African socialism that integration would be encouraged between islanders (of Pemba and Zanzibar) and mainland settlers (Tanganyika).
  - The desire to mobilize labour for increased productivity led to the adoption of African socialism in Tanzania. Socialism would help enhance the idea of collective participation and effective use of rural labour not only for sustainable food production, but also to curb down the high levels poverty among masses.
  - The government of TANU adopted socialism with a mission to extend social amenities (services) to the masses in Tanzania especially those in rural setting. These social services were to help uplift the standards of living of the rural masses in Tanzania as a means to discourage rural-urban migrations.
  - Nyerere wanted to create an egalitarian society (classless society) which

would ensure equal opportunities and responsibilities for all Tanzanians. For this case, socialism was to help destroy or banish social classes especially between the rich and the poor.

- There was a need to fight and eliminate poverty, ignorance and diseases from the Tanzanian society. Nyerere clearly stated that the basic war of Tanzanians was the war against poverty i.e. it was poverty that caused all problems in Tanzania including reliance on foreign support. African socialism was to help in mobilizing masses for specific poverty alleviation tasks.
- Nyerere wanted to re-establish the Tanzanian society basing on the roots of the African traditional society of family-hood. Nyerere wanted the Tanzanian masses to live together and work together in a communal setting.
- African socialism in Tanzania would act as an avenue or strategy to promote communal production through co-operative farming in the Ujamaa villages. Emphasis was to be put on agricultural activities to ensure employment to all Tanzanians
- Consequently, African socialism would help to establish self-governing communities in Tanzania. This would be through the viliagisation program or the establishment and settlement of people in Ujamaa villages whose leadership would be empowered by the grassroots masses.
- President Nyerere wanted to promote industrial development in Tanzania. He wanted to ensure full utilization of the local agricultural resources without importing raw materials. Industrialization would also enhance improved agricultural output in the long run.
- Nyerere was frustrated by his 5 years development plan of 1964-69 which failed to attract support and investment capital from the capitalist world. He hence adopted the Arusha Declaration as a means to attract economic-sympathy from the communist world. Nyerere was impressed by the communist success in China after his tour of the country in 1965 and he thought his socialist ideas could cause Chinese attention towards his development plans.

**Other reasons for the adoption of socialism in Tanzania are covered in the aims and objectives of the Arusha Declaration**

**Aims and objectives of the Ujamaa policy (Arusha declaration in Tanzania)**

- Socialism in Tanzania was aimed at creating a classless society (egalitarian)
- To cement national unity and brotherhood in Tanzania
- To ensure better use of labour and increase agricultural production
- The Arusha declaration was also announced to promote self-reliance and defend the independence of Tanzania
- Socialism in Tanzania would help to prevent neo-colonialism and consolidate independence
- The Ujamaa policy was adopted to mobilize masses for national defense and development
- To eradicate poverty from Tanzania
- Nyerere aimed at ensuring industrial development
- The Arusha declaration was intended to uplift people's standards of living
- The Ujamaa policy would ensure that the Tanzanian society have food security and eradicate famine

**Principles of Ujamaa policy**

***Family-hood (communalism)***

Family-hood would promote co-operation and self-help spirit among Tanzanians. It

was imposed from above" through the Chama Cha Mapindizi (the ruling party) and government officials. President Nyerere assumed that the policy could achieve respect in society, collective ownership of property and obligation to work as a community.

The weakness of the principle of communalism was that no feasibility study was carried out to whether the Ujamaa policy was suitable or unworkable.

### ***Villagisation***

This involved encouraging masses to relocate to systematically government established villages, involved creation of Ujamaa local communal governments by the people and government. The government hence established Ujamaa village-s as collective or cooperative production units, and gradually encouraged Tanzanians to settle in these villages from urban areas. Villagisation was voluntary at the beginning, until around 1970 when Nyerere initiated Operation Dodoma" through which the peasants in Dodoma were repatriated to Ujamaa villages in phases.

Similar campaigns like "Operation Dodoma" were started in other areas of the country. However, the policy of voluntary villagisation was slow as the peasants were not willing to move, this was worsened by the general economic crisis of 1973-74 resulting from drought, rising oil prices and the international recession. This forced the government to embark on compulsory villagisation from November 1973. About five million (5,000,000) peasants were forcefully moved to Ujamaa villages between 1973 and 1976.

### ***Nationalisation***

In an attempt to make the economy indigenous, the government nationalized foreign investments and the major means of production. By 1972, capital intensive farming had come to an end in some parts of the country. More than 50% of the sisal plantations were taken away from private owners. By 1974 the coffee estates of Kilimanjaro were in the hands of Ujamaa villages.

### ***Social amenities***

This principle ensured that social services were extended to the ujamaa villages. These services included feeder roads, rural water, primary schools and health facilities. The services were provided for gradually by the government or the local community authorities. About 40% of the villages had co-operative shops through which the government targeted the disappearance of private retailers in some places like Dodoma.

### ***Single party democracy***

To enhance the goals of Ujamaa, Nyerere declared a one party system of governance in on February 5, 1967, Tanzania was declared a Single Party state under Chama Chaa Mapiduzi (CCM). The CCM was a revolutionary party formed through the merger of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the ruling party of mainland Tanganyika and the Shirazi Party (ASP), the ruling party of Zanzibar and Pemba islands.

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UJAMAA POLICY**

### **Reference questions:**

- a. How successful was the Arusha Declaration in the socio-economic and political development of Tanzania?

- b. How far was the ujamaa system in fulfilling the objectives of African socialism in Tanzania?
- c. Assess the achievements of socialism in Tanzania between 1967 and 1985
- d. Examine the impact of African socialism on the people of Tanzania

### ***Political***

- The Ujamaa policy led to the creation of a strong national and people's army, the Tanzanian Peoples Defence Force (TPDF). The army was made a national institution which was re-equipped and re-associated with national values. The army officers were both soldiers and politicians on the side of government. It was a people's army more than a professional army since it was trained for not only wars but also for use in the development program. The national army has been loyal to any elected leader in Tanzania, serving the interests of the nation. The TDPF army therefore made Tanzania an oasis of peace and stability, which explains why Tanzania has never experienced a civil war or military coup.
- Socialism in Tanzania consolidated nationalism among the masses. The policy encouraged mass participation in the affairs of the country without restrictions. To achieve this, political education was introduced in schools, colleges and other institutions of education. It was given emphasis in the national service and in the Tanzanian people's defense force (TPDF). Much emphasis was also put on improving the behaviour of the socialist leaders so that people could learn from them. Political education was also-emphasised in ujamaa villages as a basis for promoting nationalism and patriotic feelings among Tanzanians towards their nation. Tanzanians were called upon to work together to promote the interests of their nation. A case in point, Tanzanians greatly supported their government and the TPDF in the war against Amin of Uganda (1978-79) after the Amin attacked the Tanzanian Kagera province.
- The Arusha declaration therefore introduced a leadership **CODE** which was observed by socialist officials and all the CCM leaders in Tanzania. Socialism, in Tanzania gave the masses relative democracy, in the ujamaa villages, local leaders were elected by the grass roots people through universal suffrage (secret ballot). This meant that leaders would serve the interests of masses. Tanzania has since had efficient leaders produced by the CCM, the party that has managed state affairs in Tanzania since its inception in 1967.
- The Arusha Declaration made Tanzania a popular nation not only in Africa but the world over. After 1976, Tanzania became a "political Mecca" where socialists from all over the world flocked the country to see the African challenge to capitalism. Martin Meredith, in his book "The State of Africa" quotes Professor Goran Hyden, an academic at the University of Dar es Salaam to have written that "**Tanzania became a political Mecca for liberal and socialist progressives from all over the world, anxious to see a challenge to neo-capitalism.**"

### ***Social***

- The policy succeeded in establishing ujamaa villages. By 1976 about 7000 ujamaa villages were established with over 13.5mition people in population especially in Mwenge and Lindi villages.
- Consequently, as a result of the villagisation policy, labour productivity increased. Much of the work was done on communal basis where people worked harder. This later led to increased food production in an attempt to ensure food security in Tanzania. Nyerere stressed that Ujamaa villages would be introduced only on a voluntary basis. He was adamant that neither compulsion nor coercion would be used to establish them. A ujamaa village is

a voluntary association of people who decide on their own free will to live together and work together for their common good.

- The Ujamaa policy led to the growth of urban centers. Many of the ujamaa villages later developed into mass towns. Socialism in Tanzania had aimed at promoting rural development. The resettlement of Tanzanians in Ujamaa villages and the transformation of rural areas became the basis of socialism, as members of Ujamaa villages engaged in communal production, marketing of farm products and provision of health and education services. Urbanizing ujamaa villages reduced on the problem of rural-urban migration.
- Socialism in Tanzania led to government commitment to provision of social services. In the countryside, attempts were made to provide social services to peasants in the ujamaa villages. The services included clean water in rural areas, schools, feeder roads, health centers, to mention but a few. These services helped to improve on the living standards of the masses in Tanzania especially in ujamaa villages.
- Through ujamaa, literacy campaigns were launched. There was increased state funding in form of schools, books, strategic reference libraries, etcetera, from primary to university level. Public libraries and school books were accessible to everybody. In 1973, school fees in primary schools were abolished. This led to the introduction of universal primary education designed to meet national interests. The scheme also enabled many people in Tanzania to acquire advanced skills in production. In the ujamaa villages, people were trained in carpentry, brick laying, bridge construction and other vocational skills. Agricultural and adult education was also encouraged. Therefore the policy helped to reduce on the unemployment levels, improved the quality of life of the rural population and promoted self-reliance.
- Socialism led to a socio-cultural revolution in Tanzania as the country was transformed culturally. Ujamaa villages facilitated the spread and use of Kiswahili as a national language. These villages prompted cultural fusion and were ideal for programs of political sensitization. The result was greater national unity and stability. Thus socialism in Tanzania cemented national unity. Kiswahili adopted and used in Ujamaa villages united over 130 ethnic groups in Tanzania. National unity reduced ethnic clashes and encouraged national identification.

### **Economic**

- The policy achieved self-reliance in Tanzania in the initial years of its operation as Nyerere attempted to check on neocolonial influence. His government tried achieving economic planning and development by utilizing local resources without foreign assistance. Besides, Jarnaa represented a radical attempt to forge an African ideology. As the dreams and expectations of independence faded, Julius Nyerere's socialist experiment in Tanzania stood it as a beacon of hope that Africa might yet find a route to find the kind of new society that nationalist leaders once imagined. The need for self-reliance meant that Tanzania would have to rely less on foreign aid. Nyerere claimed, **it is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through financial assistance rather than our financial resources... Firstly, we shall not get the money. There is no country in the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish industries, to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets...**
- Land was nationalized and redistributed to the peasants, which reduced land

anger. The government embarked on a resettlement policy where land was nationalised and redistributed to peasants in the newly created Ujamaa villages like in mwenge and Lindi, thus putting more land under cultivation. Many islanders were also relocated to new settlements on the mainland. However, there was limited private ownership of some plots allowed.

- The policy led to increased agricultural production through Ujamaa villages as the country's production units. Government encouraged the production of cassava, maize, groundnuts, rice, beans, soya and other food crops with aim of attaining food security. This was as a result of co-operative farming and communal agriculture. The government unleashed agricultural technocrats who taught peasants better farming methods. By 1978, the country was exporting maize grain to her neighbours and beyond due to the agricultural boom.
- The policy led to the establishment of the cooperative societies through which the government assisted farmers with incentives like fertilizers, pesticides and improved seeds. The government fully supported the formations of cooperative societies through which rural farmers marketed their agricultural produce to avoid exploitation and cheating of individual farmers. The policy later led to nationalization of all major means of production. In 1976, the state nationalized cooperatives and set up state corporations like the National milling co-operation for food crops and the National coffee board.
- The Arusha Declaration condemned laziness and encouraged hard work in the Ujamaa villages. The Ujamaa policy emphasized the traditional African value of communal work. It emphasized the view that everyone was a worker and discouraged idleness and laziness. President Nyerere emphasized that Tanzania was at war with poverty, disease and ignorance and that in order to rid Tanzania of backwardness, there was need for collective effort from all sections of Tanzanian masses. Consequently, the policy led to creation of employment and taught the locals how to manage their own affairs. This in turn led to 3 spirit of self-reliance in the country.
- The Ujamaa policy increased employment opportunities for the people. Through the encouragement of self-help projects, government was able to provide employment opportunities to all. The Ujamaa policy emphasized the traditional African value of communal work. It emphasized the view that everybody was a worker and discouraged idleness, hence employment for all. The government emphasised proper and maximum utilization of resource utilization as a means of minimising on unemployment levels in Tanzania. The policy encouraged masses to engage in agriculture as a solution to lack of jobs by farming all idle but cultivable land in the country.
- The Ujamaa policy promoted relative industrialization in Tanzania. Small scale industries emerged using agriculture products as raw materials, producing highly demanded for items in the ujamaa villages like hoes, fertilizers, and pesticides. These industries also provided employment opportunities to the people of Tanzania. Consequently, the socialist policy in Tanzania led to the improvement and promotion of infrastructure development in the country for instance feeder roads were created and developed in the Ujamaa villages. Railway lines are also extended to different parts of the country. As a result agriculture production was encouraged due to the improved transport networks.
- The Ujamaa policy led to the construction and completion of the Tazara railway. Even before 1967, the need for another outlet for the Zambian copper was seen as a necessity. Only China however was willing to undertake the building of the railway to link Dar-es-salaam with the Ismbian copper belt. The

railway line had the potential of opening up southern Tanzania for agricultural expansion and the exploitation of valuable minerals such as coal.

- The Arusha declaration attempted to reduce income inequality in Tanzania. Following the Arusha declaration, TANU leaders were not allowed to earn more than one salary, neither could they hold shares in any private business nor to employ workers and have houses to be rented. This reduced the gap between the rich and the poor and encouraged equality of masses as desired by Nyerere. A progressive taxation system was also established by Nyerere's government with tax exceptions extended to low income earners.
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## FAILURES AND SHORTCOMINGS OF SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA

### *Economic*

- In a short time, Tanzania failed to maintain self-reliance. The country was very poor and continued to heavily rely on foreign aid agencies, which promoted dependence syndrome in Tanzania. The Americans and later the World Bank extended loans for national development Programs by the Tanzanian government. As a consequence, the debt burden escalated worsened, which undermined the economic and political independence of Tanzania leading perpetuation of neo-colonialism.
- Consequently, the policy strained the budget of Tanzania. With the vigorous villagisation Program of 1973-76, virtually a large population of Tanzania of almost 13.5 million was moved into nearly 8000 ujamaa villages. Even though the intention of villagisation was to give everyone access to social services like schools and dispensaries, in reality, the state used all the available resources to finance this ambitious project. The weak economic stand of Tanzania made the government unable to sustain the project, which led to bankruptcy and leading to provision of poor services.
- Nationalization of private estates and plantations was counter-offensive. It caused imbalances in production leading to a tremendous fall in agricultural output. Production of agricultural goods declined as the peasants took long too meet the modern development demands. The peasants concentrated on production of food crops to avert (solve) famine thus leaving little time to grow cotton, tobacco, sisai and other cash crops. The dwindling levels of agricultural production were worsened by the outbreak of drought between 1974 and 1975. Government intervention during drought never saved the situation as quantities harvested remained low.
- Within the government and Chama Cha Mapinduzi (the ruling party for Tanzania), the evils of corruption and smuggling became deep-rooted. These economic problems coupled with poor planning by the government worked to discredit the ujamaa policy. Consequently, the government officials and socialist leaders became completely ineffective in the process of consolidating socialism in Tanzania as they concentrated much on accumulating wealth through dubious means. They lived luxurious life, became very arrogant and drove expensive Benz cars that the people referred to them as "**Wabenzi**." in the long run, the ujamaa policy became irrelevant.
- Ujamaa failed to uproot capitalism from Tanzania. The policy left communal

farming to exist side by side with some private household plots. Some of the holders of private plots of land became petty bourgeoisies (capitalists) at the expense of colleagues who accepted to settle in Ujamaa villages. Tanzania was also surrounded by capitalist neighbours i.e. Kenya and Uganda therefore capitalist influence frustrated socialist experiment in Tanzania.

- African socialism retarded the economic progress of Tanzania. The policy failed to eradicate poverty as the economy shrunk at an average rate of 5% per annum between 1970 and 1985. By 1974, the government had failed to control the declining prices of agriculture at 30%, which greatly demoralized communal farmers. Throughout the country, there was acute shortage of spare parts for agricultural and industrial equipment well as the transport-infrastructure had also started to decay. Within a decade after 1967, more than half of the 330 state owned enterprises were in scandalously inefficient. By 1980, Tanzania was massively in debts.
- Industrialization remained on small scale with poor management. The industries established were mainly agro-based and many produced items for domestic consumption in ujamaa village. The government paid less attention to industrial production for external markets. By 1976, there was shortage of spare parts for industry which continued to hamper industrial production. The government allocated a small percentage of funds to develop the industrial sector since her major effort was put on agriculture. Tanzania therefore, remained backward, largely depending on imported industrial production.

### **Social**

- The ujamaa scheme failed to ensure food sufficiency in Tanzania. With the creation of ujamaa villages as production units, the overall output of food crops rose only by 2.1% between 1970 and 1982. However, this rate was very low compared to the high population growth rate of 3.5% per annum. As such, the Tanzanian population suffered from food shortage with in the long run which resulted into famine. Famine catastrophe could mostly be a result of establishing ujamaa settlements in mostly climatically harsh areas yet the government relied on them as the major food production units of the country.
- The policy promoted laziness among Tanzanians. This was because communal farming, communal ownership of land and the villagisation policy reduced on the people's initiative to work. As such, the government was strained to cater for the idle population through provision of the basic necessities. **In a candid speech in 1977 entitled 'The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After, Nyerere complained bitterly of the inefficiency, indifference and laziness of managers and workers in state-run enterprises. He stated, 'It is essential that we should tighten up our industrial discipline. Slackness at work, and failure to give a hard day's effort in return for wages paid, is a form of exploitation...'.**
- Owing to its inbuilt contradictions, the Arusha Declaration ignored the people's will since the masses were not consulted in the drafting and implementation of the socialist policy. In the same way, settlers in the ujamaa villages were never involved in decision making. The policy was thus dictated and imposed on the Tanzanians from authorities above. It was unwise for the government and party officials to regard peasants as completely ignorant and backward in the wake of introducing and sustaining the ujamaa ideology. In the more productive areas like the Chagga region on the foothills of Mt Kilimanjaro, the policy was very unpopular. Farmers in the more productive areas felt they would earn more on their own than the Ujamaa villages.
- The Arusha Declaration exposed the government's ineffectiveness in providing adequate social services to the Tanzanians living in Ujamaa villages.

Many of the ujamaa villages were overcrowded and hence fertile grounds for diseases, overgrazing, soil erosion and other related problems. There were poor services. Most rural areas in Tanzania were not easily accessible. The roads were poor, markets and public welfare facilities were not available in Ujamaa villages. Basic commodities like paraffin, salt, soap and sugar were often short in supply. Thus socialism led to human suffering.

- The policy of villagisation was new and poorly implemented. Initially the peasants were reluctant to leave their ancestral land for cultural reasons. Many detested the ideal of abandoning private plots for communal settlement. Compulsory villagisation adopted between 1973 and 1976 was more unpleasant to the peasants. Apart from the strained property, some peasants were made to abandon more fertile areas for poor settlement. This also caused disastrous effects on agricultural output for several years. Among the youths, ujamaa villages were not attractive thus they flocked to towns in large numbers. Many foreign observers believed that the villagisation programme was pushed too quickly and forcefully.
- Forceful villagisation adopted by the government of Nyerere proved to be an ecological disaster. Forests were reclaimed to establish the ujamaa villages. The UN agencies estimated that about a third of Tanzania was threatened by desertification due to the high levels of deforestation, as the government cleared forests to create more ujamaa settlements. Many of the small forests in Kigoma and Sougeza were cut down to establish ujamaa villages. This affected the environment in Tanzania.
- Socialism diluted the education system of Tanzania. It mostly stressed elementary education at the expense of higher education; secondary and university education was almost ignored. The elementary syllabus put much emphasis on agricultural education with less concentration on other vocations. The introduction of universal education compromised the quality of education as the government failed to establish more facilities to decongest the overwhelming numbers in classrooms. Education materials were inadequate; the welfare in ujamaa schools was appalling as poverty enveloped the Muwalimus (teachers). Many Tanzanians decided to retain their children of school going-age at home to provide labour on communal farms.
- The Arusha Declaration led to loss of security over their land by the Tanzanians. Many Tanzanians were forced to abandon their original settlements that had fertile lands as the government shifted them to ujamaa villages. The resistance against the government policy of villagisation was an anticipation by the masses of loss of land. Land in the ujamaa villages was communally owned as contrary to private ownership. Besides, land in ujamaa villages like Mwenge was very unproductive and congested. Many of the landless youths detested communism and left the communal villages for towns.

### ***Political***

- The adoption of a single party political system through Chama Cha Mapinduzi destroyed the pillars of democracy in Tanzania. Nyerere exhibited features of an autocratic leader when he abolished the operation of all political parties apart from the CCM. The administration of Nyerere arrested and detained all those that either opposed the ujamaa policy or criticized the government for implementing socialism. By 1985, the CCM government held more political prisoners than the apartheid regime in South Africa.

### **Assignment:**

1. Assess the impact of the Arusha Declaration on the political, social and economic development of Tanzania
2. Describe the features of Nyerere's socialism
3. Examine the challenges to socialism in Tanzania
4. Account for the failure of the Ujamaa scheme in Tanzania by 1985

### **THE 1964 ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION**

The Zanzibar revolution was one of the most dramatic events in the history of Africa. The event was born out of the increased upheavals on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, adjacent to the coastal boundary of mainland Tanganyika. The two islands share many things in common as their history and political set up are intertwined. Both were once colonised by the Persian-Arabs, the Portuguese, the Oman-Arabs and later the British.

The British who were the last colonial masters of the islands granted independence to Zanzibar on December 10, 1963, two days before the decolonization of Kenya. At the 1962 constitutional congress in London, an agreement was reached that the Sultan would assume the role of a constitutional monarch though, with powers to appoint and dismiss ministers. The 1962 constitutional conference in London was held in the month of March. During the conference, the main parties i.e. the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) and the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) asked for independence for September and October respectively. The difference was that the ZNP anted independence with the government already in power, the (ZNP-ZPPP coalition Government). During the same conference, members of opposition led by Shei-ch Abeia arume of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) accepted that constitutional articles to protect the "inorities of the country would be dealt with towards independence.

The rise of an inexperienced 33years old Sultan, Seyyid Jamshid Bin Abdullah, who succeeded his father Sultan Seyyid Abdullah Bin Khalifa made it impossible for the government to fulfill the promises made at the 1962 London Conference. Khalifa had been sickly and weak during the institutional conference in London and later died on July 1, 1963.

The ZNP-ZPPP government came to power after the general election of 1961. The constitution was drawn by Sir Hillary Blood; it provided for majority seats in the Legislative Assembly by election, and a ministerial system for the Executive Council. Out of the twenty-two (22) elective seats that were competed for in the 1961 election, the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) attained nine (9) seats; the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party (ZPPP) won three (3) seats while the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) won ten (10) seats. The (ZPPP) later split with two seats going to the (ZNP) Bid one seat to the (ASP), leading to an eleven-to-eleven (11:11) seats acquisition for the (ASP) and the (ZNP). A seat for Pemba was created but the Arabs of the (ZNP) allegedly rigged the election to win the Pemba seat,

The increased political conflicts in Zanzibar led to the breakaway of Sheikh Abdul Rahman Mohammed (Babu) from the ZNP party and formed his own UMMA party. Babu had political disagreements and conflicting ideologies with Sheikh Ali Muhsin Barwani, the leader of the ZNP. Babu was a strong supporter of communism while Muhsin was anti-communism. In the same case, Abed Karume of the ASP blamed Sultan Jamshid for actively participating in politics by supporting the Arab dominated the ZNP.

The cooperation between Sultan Jamshid and the Arabs of the ZNP awakened nationalism of the Afro-Shirazi people. Under their ASP, the Afro-Shirazi condemned the ZNP-ZPPP government that had assumed power through a second coalition that made them receive the independence of Zanzibar from the British. The coalition of the ZNP-ZPPP was established following the 1963 independence elections of July 8-15, 1963 that saw the ASP attained eleven (11) seats from Zanzibar and two (2) from Pemba: the ZNP won eleven (11) seats in Zanzibar while the ZPPP attained six (6) seats from Pemba. The ZNP and the ZPPP combined to assume a total of eighteen. (18) Seats out of 31 that were contested in the legislative assembly, thus increasing the grievances of Afro-Shirazi.

Therefore, the Zanzibar revolution was an uprising of the Afro-shirazi. It led to the overthrow of the Arab dominated government of Sultan Seyyid Jamshid Bin Abdullah. The uprising occurred between January 11 and 12, 1964 and was spearheaded by a shrewd Ugandan of Langi origin, field-marshal John Okello. Okello had gone to the islands as a casual labourer in 1952 at the age of 21. Shortly, he joined the police forces in Pemba and was one of the victims of the retrenchment policy of the ZNP government under Sheikh Mohammed Shamte and Sheikh Ali Vuhsin Barwani. John Okello organised a group of patriotic islanders who were predominantly ex-policemen armed with stones, sticks, arrows and bows, and led a bloodless revolution against the Arab dominated government of Zanzibar. The revolutionaries attacked and captured Ziwan armoury, which gave them possession of firearms. They later attacked and captured Mtoni police post, and released all the prisoners in the cells. With the acquisition of arms, the bloodless revolution escalated into violence comprising massacring of Arabs, and looting and destruction of all their property and businesses.

**The causes of the revolution therefore are to be found in historical, political and socio-economic factors, which included the following:**

**Reference Questions:**

1. Account for the outbreak of the Zanzibar uprising in 1964
2. "Racism was primarily responsible for the Zanzibar uprising." Discuss
3. To what extent was Sultan Jamshid Seyyid responsible for the 1964 Zanzibar revolution?
4. Discuss the causes of the 1964 Zanzibar revolution
5. How far was British colonial legacy responsible for the 1964 uprising in Zanzibar?

- The conflicting history on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba made the revolution inevitable. Zanzibar and Pemba were inhabited by people of diverse origins and cultures. The majority were Africans (Afro-Shirazi) totaling to two hundred and fifty thousands (250,000). They settled on the islands partly due to slave trade carried out by the Arabs. On the other part, the Arabs were over fifty thousands (50,000) and were considered foreigners. They had assumed the status of master-hood and imposed their domination on Africans. The islands had the Shirazi people who claimed to be the original inhabitants of the islands. They were descendants of intermarriages between the Persian-Arabs and Africans at the East African Coast. It were therefore, the conflicts in values, customs and traditions which existed between the Africans (Afro-Shirazi) and Arabs that caused the Zanzibar uprising.
- Consequently, the historical inferiority of Africans labeled on them by the Arabs haunted them and hence they desired for a fundamental change. The

Africans were still aggrieved by the slavery and slave trade practices against them by Arabs. Worse yet, the Arabs and Asians continued to disguise the Africans and S'hirazi; as descendants of slavery. The Afro-Sirazi were mistreated and despised by the foreigners of the Middle East whose pride and arrogance influenced them to turn the tables against the government. The Afro-Arab relations were injured from the old days of slavery when African personality was subjected to humiliation by the Arab slave-lords. Until independence, Africans still craved to restore their taunted dignity.

- The long period of political domination under minority Arab rule made the Zanzibari revolution inevitable. Zanzibari and Pemba islands were under Arab aristocracy since the days of the establishment of Oman rule by Seyyid Saidi in the 1840s. The Arab aristocracy (Arab dominance) was maintained by the British colonialists with their policy of indirect rule. The British used the Busaidi Arabs as colonial agents in on the Zanzibar and Pemba islands. This reinforced the master-servant situation between the Arabs and the Afro-Shirazi. This was experienced in political administration, in the parliament and the police forces. Such political domination aroused anti-Arab sentiments in Zanzibar. The Arab political domination in Zanzibar convinced Africans that establishment of an African state by constitutional means was by all means a dream, thus they overthrew the ZNP-ZPPP coalition government.
- Racism was another factor behind the Afro-Shirazi uprising on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The Arabs in Zanzibar considered themselves a superior race compared to the African and the Shirazi, This feeling was strengthened by the historical masterdom of the Arabs over the non-Arabs. The Arabs discouraged close integration with the African population although one married across races. Political affiliations related to racial identification caused the major political problems that affected human relations in Zanzibar. The African population was made feel inferior and discriminated; Africans were denied education and access to high-ranking positions in government/public service and the police. The revolution was therefore aimed at breaking the superiority complex of the Arabs.
- The Arab rule was oppressive and arbitrary in conduct. In a bid to maintain strong grip over the government, the Arabs applied ruthless measures and used harsh laws to govern the Islands. On the eve of the revolution, the ruling regime led by the ZNP under Mohammed Shamte and Ali Muhsin denied political opponents the rights to travel outside the country. Those that were targeted were mainly the Afro-Shirazi party members especially Abed Karume. The Arab treatment of Africans was therefore not conducive to the creation of friendship between the two races. This high-hardened conduct made the revolution inevitable.
- The formation of political parties exhibited the political differences in Zanzibar leading to the events that caused the revolution. Due to the racial and economic conflicts, the Arabs, Africans and Shirazi established political movements like the Arab association, the Shirazi association and the African Association. In December 1955, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party was formed with -embers from the Arab Association and a few of the Shirazi. The party was founded by Sheikh Ali Muhsin Barwani. Due to the threat of the ZNP (Arab) dominance in politics, the African and Shirazi Associations united in early 1957 to form the Afro-Shirazi Union (ASU) led by Sheikh -oied Karume of Zanzibar. In Pemba the ASU was represented by was Sheikh Mohammed Shamte Hamadi.
- Due to political difference however, the ASU split with Sheikh Mohammed shamte Hamadi forming the Zanzibar and Pemba People Party (ZPPP)

together with Sheikh Ali Shariff in December 1959. In the same year and month, Sheikh Abed Karume and Sheikh Daudi Mohamoud formed the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). The new parities led to increased political hostility on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. In the 1961 general election, the ASP won ten seats, the ZNP nine seats and the ZPPP only three seats. This was followed by a split in the ZPPP with one seat going to the ASP and two seats to the ZNP. The rivalry between the ZNP and the –ASP became bitter when the ZNP allegedly conspired with Sultan Seyyid Jamshid to take the Pemba seat and assume a clear majority in parliament. This later paved way for political confusion and violence in Zanzibar shortly before independence, which prepared ground for a revolution.

- The land grievances influenced Africans to rise up against the Arabs. Land in Zanzibar and Pemba was unfairly distributed. The Arab minority alienated land in the most productive areas where they established large plantations of cloves and cocoanut. On the other hand, the Africans were confined in semi-Arid regions with poor soils and low rainfall. Many Africans became squatters as the Arabs scrambled for more land to establish plantations on which Africans were forced to offer their labour. The land grievances were strong among the Zanzibaris who lost their ancestral areas to the Arabs. The land conflict was worsened by the eviction of African squatters in Zanzibar by Arab landlords because they never supported the ZNP.
- The policy of the Arab settlers extracting labour from the African population in Zanzibar led to the Zanzibari uprising. For more than a century, the Africans laboured for the Arabs under inhuman conditions, The political feelings of Africans against the Arabs were partly influenced by their desire to bring to an end forced labour under which they suffered from the colonization of Zanzibar by the Oman Arabs under Seyyid Said bin Sultan. As the Hadimu-Shirazi lost their land to the advancing Arabs, the Africans were forced to hoe and harvest labour on plantations established by the Arabs. Hence, the Africans and Shirazi united against the Arab minority government.
- Economic grievances contributed to the spirit of rebellion in Zanzibar, which was an Island of inequality. The socio-economic pyramid of Zanzibar had majority Africans at the bottom, the Indo-Pakistani in the middle and the minority Arabs at the top. The Africans were economically marginalised and exploited; they suffered at the hands of the Arabs and Asians who enjoyed a privileged position on the islands. The Asians controlled commerce and finance, key positions in the civil service and a relative quantity of the country's wealth. Vast wealth was however, owned by the Arabs who also controlled the biggest share of land. The Africans were kept at the bottom, the majority of whom overburdened by the sub-serviette role they played for their Arab masters and Asians. It should be noted that while the Shirazi were mainly peasants and fishermen, the majority of the Africans were porters, labourers and domestic servants. The inferior economic position of the Afro-Shirazi caused their rebellion against the Sultan's government.
- The fall in the price of cloves on the world market increased the racial conflict between the Afro-Shirazi and Arabs. The economic conditions on the Island were not good from the eve of the revolution due to the fall in the price of cloves on the world market. With reduced revenues, the government cut down expenditures on social services, increased taxes, while some schools were closed. Many civil servants that included teachers and police officers were laid off (retrenched) and those who remained working, their payments were reduced. The drastic fall in the price of cloves, the chief export for Zanzibar worsened the unemployment problem among the Afro-Shirazi and hence

affected their welfare.

- The dismissal of Africans from the police was another blunder made by the ZNP-ZPPF government led by Prime Minister Mohammed Shamte. The government discharged the police officers for fear that they were sympathetic to the opposition. The government dismissal of African police officers was also aimed at establishing a politically loyal police force. The retrenched African officials became unemployed, frustrated and their grievances against the Arab dominated government increased. They became sympathetic to the revolutionaries an out of this context, John Okello recruited many of them in the revolutionary force. The retrenchment of African police officers came at the time when a faction of the ZNP led by Sheikh Muhammed Abdul Rahman (Babu) broke away to form the Umma Party.
- Political frustration of the Africans was another factor that led to the 1964 Zanzibari revolution following the 1961 elections to the legislative assembly, no party attained majority seats in parliament. Another election was organised in June the same year, where the ASP and the ZNP won ten (10) seats each and the ZPPP only three (3) seats. The Arab dominated parties (ZPPP and ZNP) formed a coalition and were invited to establish a government. The Arab coalition also won the 1963 independence elections with eighteen seats of a possible thirty-one, twelve for the ZNP and six for the ZPPP. In this case, the Arabs retained political power and privileges at the expenses of Africans. The ASP supporters got scared of the ZNP-ZPPP coalition government that took over after independence. The failure by the ASP to achieve political power by constitutional means made the revolution inevitable. The Canadian legal adviser to the ASP Thomas Frank supported Afro-Shirazi choice for violence on ground that the constitutional means is the best option to achieve political freedoms but where there is no opportunity, it is justifiable to overthrow the law.
- Mistrust and suspicion of Africans against the democratic measures of the Arab minority government forced them to effect a revolution. The Africans feared protection from the ZNP-ZPPP coalition government. They had not supported the ZNP for so long and therefore, suspected harsh treatment like arbitrary imprisonment and political assassinations by the ZNP-ZPPP coalition government. The Arab government in the same way feared retaliation from Africans if they were to acquire political power in Zanzibar. On the other hand, the African leaders were afraid of the possible restrictive measures to which the ZNP-ZPPP coalition government would resort to in its effort to suppress the ASP members and supporters. Consequently, Sultan Jamshid immediately began importing military hardware to the suspicion of Africans, and resorted to authoritarian measures of suppressing African opposition as a means to maintain him in power. The Afro-Shirazi were only sure of security only if they threw away the Arab government and established an Afro-Shirazi Party government.
- The British colonial legacy indirectly contributed to the Zanzibar revolution. During the colonial period, the British regarded the Arabs as the traditional rulers of Eastern Coastal islands, remained insensitive to popular demands for political reforms, and ignored the need for positive changes in the land tenure system. This British gesture preserved the powers and wealth of Arabs at the expenses of Africans. Even at the time of decolonisation, the British exhibited racial insensitivity when they handed over the instruments of power to the ZNP-ZPPP coalition. John Okello identified that the British granted independence to Tanganyika under their great president Mwalimu Julius Nyerere but to the islands of Pemba and Unguja (Zanzibar), their

independence was a mere exchange from British rule to Arab dominance. The British went ahead to protect the Arab minority government.

- Consequently, the premature handing over of independence and poor political planning by the British and the Arabs led to the Zanzibari uprising. The British and Arabs wanted to transform the administrative system of the islands into constitutional monarchism. The independence of December 10, 1963 was characterised by the recognition of Zanzibar as an Arab state which majority Africans opposed. The ASP members had resented immediate independence basing on claim that the Afro-Shirazi were politically weak to receive independence. The revolution therefore, aimed at acquisition of genuine independence. The Africans made it clear that they never wanted self-government for Zanzibar but a purely African self-government.
- Religious conflicts also influenced a desire for change on Zanzibar and Pemba islands. The ZNP-ZPPP Arabs blamed members of the ASP for being agents of Christianity, and called the party a Christian organisation whose major aim was to conscript Muslims into Christianity. Members of the ASP on their part blamed the Arabs for imposing Islam on Africans against their wish. This is one reason why John Okello organised an African force against the Arab minority government.
- The arabisation policy of the Arabs on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba caused African grievances to stage up a revolution. The policy involved making all sectors like the civil service and the police force Arab-oriented, where all posts of influence, ranks and promotions were reserved for Arabs. The policy of Arabisation led to the discrimination of Africans in employment and politics. The effectiveness of the policy was further witnessed when the Arabs imposed Arabic on the islanders, which caused much discontent amongst the Afro-Shirazi, who looked at the policy as complete elimination of African cultural and customary values.
- The poor taxation system, which heavily squeezed or creamed off the meager resources of the islanders increased African grievances. The Arabs and the Asians who enjoyed an economic upper hand were less taxed and others were exempted from paying tax dues, in commerce, the Africans were unable to compete with foreign importers because they enjoyed tax breaks and subsidies from government. The deprival of economic power through dubious taxation made Africans to desire for immediate change.
- The Afro-Shirazi organised a resolution to access social services. The Arabs and the British totally neglected Africans and intentionally deprived them of the necessary social services, which included education, sanitary and housing facilities. The islanders were denied education because it would make them conscious of their socio-economic and political needs. Education was made too expensive for Africans to afford. Due to poor sanitary and health, an estimated thirteen thousand Africans had died by 1964. This made the Zanzibar revolution inevitable.
- External forces inspired the nationalists in Zanzibar to rebel. By 1964, many African states had acquired self-rule and independence. The Africans in Zanzibar considered the 1963 independence as a sham (Uhuru wa waarabu) because they believed they had not yet regained their freedom. It is also true to say that the Zanzibaris boosted by sympathy and support from the Africans in Tanganyika and their leader Julius Kambarage Nyerere. On achieving independence, Tanganyika experienced rapid political transformations and constitutional changes that favoured the interests of masses. Such reform were lacking in Zanzibar and Pemba. Nyerere ideally supported the Zanzibaris to revolt as he looked forward to establishing a union between mainland

Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba into a supra nation.

- The Zanzibari uprising was influenced by forces of socialism. Because of British influence, the Arabs practiced capitalism based on individual motives, where they and the Asians dominated resources like land and all the economic activities, yet they were the minority. The people of Zanzibar and Pemba hence preferred to reverse the trend by eradicating racial inequalities, promote prosperity for all and ensure a progressive taxation system. Such ideas were influenced by socialism and were encouraged by leaders like Mohammed Babu of the UMMA party.
- The leadership of John Okello, an ex-police officer in Pemba contributed to the 1964 revolution. John Okello was a Ugandan immigrant who settled in Pemba in mid-1950. He was attracted by the ASP and later became a minor ASP-official in a small village of Vitongozi. His suffering at the hands of the Arabs contributed to the hatred against them. In 1963, Okello moved to Zanzibar where he recruited a group of militant ASP supporters and ex-policemen into his revolutionary force. Armed with stones, pangas, spears, sticks, arrows and bows, the revolutionaries moved with determination to cause a fundamental change. He capitalized on the grievances on the Islands and the conflicts among political parties to launch a successful revolution.

### **Factors that favoured the success of revolution**

**Reference questions:**

1. Account for the success of the Zanzibar revolution of 1964
2. Examine the factors that led to the success of nationalists in the 1964 Zanzibar revolution
3. Assess the contribution of John Okello to the success of the Zanzibar uprising

- The isolation of the Arab government based in Zanzibar town contributed to the success of the revolution. In the moment of the crisis, the Zanzibar government did not easily rally its supporters for self-defense. The British advisors who were its allies in Zanzibar were too few and did not offer any immediate assistance. From the early plans of the revolution, the Arab government in Zanzibar was not aware of John Okello's arrangements in Pemba. Even when the revolutionaries crossed to Zanzibar in 1963; they assembled at a prearranged place in the African quarter unnoticed by the authority. The ZNP-ZPPP government was therefore taken by surprise. The government considered the ASP leadership as the strongest political opponent. Thus the Arab government failed to uncover the strategies of Okello's revolution, which he secretly organized. When the revolutionaries moved out for action, the government was unaware.
- Okello's revolutionary leadership, physical courage and mental ability contributed to the success of the Zanzibar's nationalists. Okello was able to plan, organise and lead the revolutionary forces because he kept the ASP leadership ignorant. Okello succeeded in mobilizing a number of Zanzibari nationalists, mostly the retrenched police officers, and initiated them against the Arab aristocracy. Consequently, the people of Zanzibar did not reject Okello and instead looked at him as their saviour. They gave him the chance to exploit their racial sentiments against the Arabs. John Okello did what the Zanzibaris failed to do; he became a foreign liberator in a foreign land. However, in terms of race, Okello was more of a Zanzibari national than the Sultan was. He symbolised the purity of African cause unlike many other Zanzibaris. The Africans and Arabs on the Islands had divergent cultures and religions. In all, Okello was an ideal personality to lead a struggle for social and political sovereignty of the islanders.

- The choice of the day of the revolution favoured its success. January 11, 1964 was a day of celebrating Ramadhan (Eid-day): as the Arabs were busy with festive celebrations, the revolutionaries assembled in a pre-arranged place in the African quarters, before they affected a successful revolution. The security in Zanzibar was not on alert while the revolutionaries took advantage of the efficient pre-arranged means of transport (Arab buses and Lorries) to move swiftly and overthrow the Sultan administration. Thus, the timing of the revolution for the night of January 11-12, a week before the anticipated date for Abeid Karume's revolution plot worked in favour of Okello and his men.
- The capture of Ziwani armoury and Mtoni police post by Okello and his men gave the nationalists chance to rearm and secure modern weapons. Thus by the morning of January 12, 1964, the rag-tag army of Okello previously armed with bows and arrows, spears, pangas and sticks were then better equipped, more organised and confident. This tilted the balance of military power in favour of Africans. The attack of the government armoury and the seizure of weapons was thus, the most crucial factor in the success of the confrontation and overthrow of the old Zanzibari Sultanate.
- The massive support enjoyed by the revolutionaries in Zanzibar and Pemba favoured the success of the revolution. The islanders were bitter, ready to smash and grab. Most of them were economically discontented. This explains why Okello was able to mobilise them into a rebellion. When his revolutionary army attacked the Mtoni police station, many Africans were attracted to swell its ranks. When news of the revolution reached the ASP supporters, they broke into jubilations. They went on rampage, threw their weight behind the revolution, embarked on looting Arab and Asian homes and businesses, and murdered some of them, general, the revolution succeeded partly because the Arab minority regime under the ZNP-ZPPP coalition was unpopular to the majority of the islanders.
- The African grievances and hatred against Arab exploitation and oppression had reached a boiling point. The Afro-Shirazi were longing for absolute freedom and self-determination from the Arabs. Their grievances included ruthlessness of the Arab government land alienation and foreign monopoly in the civil service. The grievances provided fertile grounds for African determination to oust the Arab dominated government at all cost. Okello in his words mentioned that he gave much thought of the political problems of the black Africans in Zanzibar and by the end of 1962; he had decided that revolution was the only solution.
- The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were small while the Afro-Shirazi population was reasonable identical. The Africans were all known to each other and this facilitated communication and cooperation for the effectiveness of the revolution. Henceforth, Okello easily identified potential militants among the villagers and the ex-police officers who later formed the core of his revolutionary army.
- The numerical (population) advantage made the success of the revolution inevitable. The Africans outnumbered the Arabs and Indo-Pakistani in summation, and this population advantage of the Afro-Shirazi over the foreigners and their common grievances made the revolution a success. The Africans totaled between two hundred and fifty thousands and two hundred and seventy thousands (250,000-270,000) compared to the fifty thousand (50,000) Arabs and twenty thousand (20,000) Indo-Pakistanis.
- The use of retrenched police officers enabled the success of the revolution. Due to their great hatred for the Arabs and had the desire to revenge against them. The retrenched police officers had military skills and experience,

were aware of the security matters of Zanzibar and above all knew the weaknesses of the Arab regime. They hence formed a pillar of Okello's evolutionary force and enabled Okello to raid and capture Ziwan armoury and Mtoni police post. To note is that Okello was also an ex-police officer from Pemba.

- The escape of Sultan Seyid Jamshid Bin Abdullah together with his Prime Minister Sheikh Mohammed Shamte and Muhsin enabled the success of the revolution. The Arab leaders fled to Britain through Tanganyika in fear of falling in the hands of radical revolutionaries. Their flight discouraged and demoralised Arab resistance due to lack of top leadership. This power was an advantage to Okello's men to score success against the Arabs.
- The weak intelligence network of the Arabs rendered the revolution a success. The Arab administration could not detect Okello's movement from Pemba to Zanzibar. Okello continued attending the Arab meetings and sometimes prayers unnoticed. The Arab intelligence was not conscious of the underground African activities and only concentrated on popular political organizations especially the ASP and the UMMA party, it was therefore a clear atmosphere to mobilize and carryout revolutionary activities unnoticed.
- The secret planning by John Okello made the revolution a success. Okello organized the revolution independently, without involving the leadership of popular political parties, ASP and -nra Party. He took the ASP leadership by surprise; he secretly organised the revolution away 3m their sight. Okello was aware of the ASP activities and bitterness that created government spicions. He therefore, never involved the ASP in his revolutionary plans, which kept the revolutionary activities away from the government scene.
- The Zanzibar uprising partly succeeded due to support from the mainland Tanganyika. Nyerere's moral support to the Zanzibari revolutionaries was influenced by his socialist ideas. He was driven by the desire to establish a union between mainland Tanganyika and the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. Zanzibar nationalists were further strengthened by foreign sympathy from Uganda and Mozambique. External support mainly helped to sustain the revolutionary government from the time Okello involved the ASP leadership. To note is that the ASP had also plotted to overthrow the government of Sultan Jamshid and Mohammed Shamte and had solicited for support from among other sources mainland Tanganyika. When violence escalated shortly after Okello was sidelined from leadership, Karume received about a hundred policemen from Tanganyika to help restore law and order on the island.
- Consequently, the recognition of the ASP revolutionary government in Zanzibar sustained the success of the Zanzibaris. Shortly after sanity was restored in Zanzibar and Pemba, the ASP leadership embarked on socialist policies that drew the attention of the communist world. In March 1964, the new Zanzibari government announced nationalization of major factors of land, but especially land and declared Zanzibar and Pemba a one party state. In response, the USSR, China and East Germany proclaimed recognition of the ASP government, which attracted the Western powers, the USA and Britain to follow suit.
- The incompetence and instability of the post independent Arab government facilitated the success of the revolution. The ZNP-ZPPP coalition government was dominated by minority Arabs and never involved the Afro-Shirazi. They ignored the popularity of the ASP that had won the independence elections by more than 54%. The weak intelligence network and the ineffective police force betrayed the government. The Arab aristocracy was too conservative and narrow-minded and thus took the African potential for granted. The Arabs

were also over-confident and forcefully believed that a master-servant situation in Zanzibar could continue unchallenged. They were shocked when the Afro-Shirazi organized a revolution shortly after independence from the British.

## THE ROLE OF JOHN OKELLO

### Reference Questions:

1. Assess the role of John Okello in the success of the 1964 Zanzibari uprising
2. "John Okello was primarily responsible for the success of Zanzibar revolution."

### Discuss

- Okello formed and organised a revolutionary force that effected a revolution to overthrow the Arab aristocratic rule. He was certain that an African self-government was only possible through a revolution.
- He gave shrewd and courageous leadership and determination to the revolutionary command armed with rudimentary equipment such as spears, sticks, arrows and bows, which motivated them to effect a change.
- Okello led a successful expedition on the government armoury at Ziwani. This enabled the revolutionaries to obtain and control weapons that enabled the successful capture of the Mtoni police post.
- John Okello commanded respect and popularity from his former Zanzibar and Pemba Painter's Union, some of whom were recruited into the revolutionary force.
- Even among the masses, Okelio's revolution was popular. He capitalised on the common grievances on the islands and this attracted majority of the Afro-Shirazi to welcome the revolution.
- He was popular among the Afro-Shirazi Party members, and the Youth League. Thus, the revolution received political recognition from the popular political organisations. The ASP members carried much hatred against the Arab minority rule on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.
- Okello managed to organise the revolution away from the ASP leadership, which partly took the Arab Government by surprise. He organised the revolution without causing alarm and suspicion from the Arab government that concentrated on the bitter activities of the ASP leaders.
- He effectively used the ex-servicemen of World War II like General Mohammed who still harboured dissatisfaction against the Arabs and the British.
- Okello was an ex-police officer from Pemba, who recruited and made great use of his fellow retrenched police officers that had strong hatred against the racist Arab Government. The ex-police officers formed the backbone of Okello's revolutionary force.
- His physical prowess and ambition carried him to liberate the oppressed islanders of Zanzibar and Pemba. He was determined to restore the dignity of Africans, their economic status and achieve an African self-government. The governments in the region detained him for fear of his revolutionary prowess. Elsewhere, the rest of the political parties including the ZNP and the ZPPP were banned.
- The Arabs and Asians lost their lives and a lot of property during the chaos that followed the overthrow of the ZNP-ZPPP coalition government. In the city of Zanzibar, many ASP supporters went on rampage, murdering, looting and destroying Arab and Asian businesses and shops.
- Many Arabs and Asians were killed during the chaos: they died in thousands. The ASP supporters mainly carried out the brutal acts of revenge against the

Arab minority and the Indo-Pakistanis. Some of the prominent ZNP-ZPPP politicians were arrested and detained. The acts of violence by Africans scared the Arabs and a considerable number of them fled to exile while others became fugitives. Consequently, due to fear for their lives, many of the Asians and Arabs left the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and sought refuge in the neighbouring countries especially Kenya while others went back to their cradle land.

- Socially, Kiswahili replaced Arabic as the national and official language, while religious liberalism was enhanced. The ASP government allowed Islam and Christianity to coexist. However, Islam remained the main religion practiced. To note is that John Okello was partly sidelined from the Zanzibari leadership because of Christian background.
- Consequently, racial discrimination escalated. The acts of revenge by the Afro-Shirazi against the Arabs and Indo-Pakistani were driven by racism. However, the new ASP government tried to minimise racial prejudice by establishing a multi-social system in the socio-economic set up that embraced all races on the Zanzibar and Pemba islands. The Arabs were fairly represented.
- The new Afro-Shirazi government took a rapid step to Africanise the civil service and the armed forces. The Africanisation policy aimed at counter-playing the arabisation policy by the old Arab monarchical regime. It helped to reduce on the levels of unemployment among the Afro-Shirazi.
- The revolution received international recognition from the socialist countries of the Soviet Union and China and later the USA and Britain reluctantly acknowledged the revolutionary government of Abeid Karume and the ASP.
- The revolution paved way for the union (federation) between mainland Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Thus, the United Republic of Tanzania was born on April 24, 1964. This was an attempt to fulfill the attempts of Julius Nyerere to form closer political union among African states in the spirit of Pan Afrianism, Nyerere became the president of the Federation with Sheikh Abeid Karume as first vice president and Rashidi Kawawa second vice president. In the aftermath of the union, Tanzania came under socialist influence promoted by Julius Nyerere. Radical measures were adopted to reduce class differences, which existed in Zanzibar and mainland Tanganyika.
- Free compulsory primary education was instituted to reduce the levels of illiteracy in Zanzibar and Pemba. Illiteracy had been one of the social menaces that affected the zanzibaris to the extent of staging a revolution. Tanganyika became a springboard for the provision of modern education to the Zanzibaris.
- There was an influx of islanders to mainland Tanganyika either due to the land pressure on the stands, or in search for job opportunities. It could also have, been a deliberate government policy to integrate mainlanders and islanders as a means of nation building through national unity.
- The Zanzibar revolution consolidated African militarism in the politics of Zanzibar, it strengthened the position of Africans in politics, who kept to the barrel of guns as a means to safeguard their rights and freedoms.

### **RWANDA REVOLUTION OF 1959**

Rwanda was **first a German colony** but was **handed over to the Belgians** after German defeat in World War I. Rwanda therefore became a **mandated territory** for the League of Nations but under the supervision of Belgium.

Belgium therefore extended her rule in Rwanda up-to **1962** and propagated the oppression of the **majority Hutu** who formed **85%** of the population by the **minority**

**Tutsi** who formed 14% of the population. In 1959, the oppressed Hutu raise up in a rebellion against the minority Tutsi oppressors and their Belgium counterparts.

### **CAUSES OF RWANDA REVOLUTION OF 1959**

- **Long Tutsi domination of Rwanda's politics.** For a long time even before colonial rule Rwanda was dominated by a Tutsi aristocracy headed by a King with the title of "Mwami" and under him were chiefs and sub chiefs who were all Tutsi. All the administrative jobs and privileges belonged to the Tutsi and the 1959 revolutions was intended to remove Tutsi domination in politics and ensure equal participation of all ethnic groups in Rwanda.
- **Grievances over land allocation** in Rwanda was unfair to the Hutu during colonial time even before, land was responsibility of the Tutsi they grabbed good land from the Hutu and made the Hutu to pay taxes for the land and in some cases the Tutsi who were pastoralists grazed their animals on Hutu fields and crops. Such suffering of the Hutu sparked off the Rwanda revolution 1959.
- **Belgium colonial legacy.** During colonial rule of Belgian's the policy of conquer, divide and rule was used in which the minority Tutsi were elevated at the expense of the majority Hutu. The Tutsi were used by the Belgium colonial counterparts / partners as chiefs at all levels. They implemented the unfair colonial policies like tax collection and labour mobilization, occupied 83% of all posts in judiciary, civil services of other departments. As a result, the Tutu became discontented thus the 1959 revolution Rwanda was intended to establish a new government in which the Hutu would also benefit.
- **The use of forced labour against the Hutu by the Tutsi** also caused the 1959 Rwanda Revolution. During colonial rule and even before, the Tutsi used to force the Hutu to supply free labour on both private and government projects like road construction and another public works. The supervision of labour was ruthless and in some cases Hutu pregnant women would even have miscarriages while carrying out forced labour. This caused a lot of discontent among the Hutu making them to carry out a revolution 1959.
- **The imposition of high taxes** by the Tutsi administrators and their Belgium counterparts towards the Hutu, also caused the Hutu to stage an uprising in 1959. The Hutu had to pay high taxes to the Tutsi and the Belgium yet the methods of collection were always ruthless and in some cases people's property got destroyed and confiscated for non-payment and those who totally failed to pay had to supply labour for a long time. It was such economic exploitation of the Hutu that instigated them to join a revolution of 1959.
- **The cultural arrogance** of the Tutsi also caused the 1959 Rwanda revolution. The Tutsi took themselves to be more superior to the Hutu and claimed that they were descendants of King Solomon with the connections to Queen Sheba of Ethiopia. At the same time they claimed a connection to the Chwezi and batembuzi who had ruled the interclaustine regime before 1500. The Tutsi discouraged intermarriages with the Hutu and refused to eat the same staple food and claimed that they had a God given right to rule Rwanda with the Hutu as their servants. This type of ethnic arrogance of the Tutsi made the 1959 Rwanda revolution inevitable.
- **The death of Mwami Mutara III** in July 1959 also caused the Rwanda revolution King Matara III a Tutsi who died in July 1959 had no heir. The Belgians and the

Hutu had agreed that this would be an opportunity to transform Rwanda from a monarchy to a republic but during the burial of the king, the Tutsi forced the Belgian president general to declare Mutara's half-brother Kigezi as the new king to Rwanda. The Hutu who were tried of the Tutsi dominated monarchy demonstrated and they were killed. This forced the Hutu to take up arms against the Tutsi.

- **The role of the Catholic Church** in Rwanda. The Catholic Church played a role in arising Hutu nationalism in Rwanda. In 1959, a group of catholic priests led by Archbishop who wrote a pastoral letter demanding for fair treatment to be accorded to the Hutu. Besides they condemned inequalities that existed between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Thus the influence of the Catholic Church helped to arouse Hutu awareness about their rights who were then encouraged to rebel against the Tutsi in 1959.
- **The emergence of Hutu elites.** By 1959 when the Rwanda revolution broke out the Hutu had been mobilized by some elites like Gregory kaibanda and Juvenale Habyarimana. They came to realized that the only way they could save themselves from the Tutsi domination was by carrying out a rebellion. They also formed Hutu political organizations like the Muhutu society to advocate for Hutu rights. Besides Hutu elites presented manifesto to the UN visiting mission to Rwanda in which they demanded for fair treatment and once such demands weren't met by the Tutsi and Belgians. They mobilized fellow Hutu to rebel against the Tutsi 1959.
- The **role of the Nyabingi culture** also contributed to the outbreak of the 1959 Rwanda revolution. The Nyabingi culture which was specifically strong among the Hutu in Northern Rwanda and was a religio-political protest movement which had always instigated the Hutu to rebel against foreign influence and oppression. The 1959 Rwanda revolution was therefore influenced in its outbreak by the cultural and spiritual movement of the Nyabingi culture.
- The **role in the Gitarama massacres** of the 1959 Rwanda Revolution. In this particular incident, a group Tutsi ethnic minorities assisted by two commandants attacked Hutu homesteads, destroying property and killing scores of the Hutu tribesmen at Gitarama. The Hutu in self defence and in the retaliation against the Tutsi and their Belgian counterparts.
- There was also the **outbreak of famine** in Rwanda in the 1940's. In the 1940's Rwanda was hit by six seasons of famine. This was brought about by the fact that the Hutu were the ones being forced to grow cash crops like coffee meaning they spent their valuable time in cash crops growing at the expense of growing food crops moreover the Belgian colonial government and the Tutsi aristocracy seemed not bothered to solve the famine problem in Rwanda thus making the 1959 revolution in Rwanda inevitable.
- The **role of the UNO in 1957.** The UN sent a commission to Rwanda as a mandated territory under Belgium. The UN visiting mission was then presented with a manifesto by a group of Hutu elites led by Gregory Kayibanda. They demanded equal opportunity in education public office, administration and called for improvement in their social economic conditions. The UN then made recommendations which condemned colonialism and called upon colonial masters like Belgium to carry out reforms and once such reforms were not carried out the Hutu uprising became inevitable.

- **Social segregation** against the Hutu by the Tutsi also led to outbreak of the 1959 Rwanda revolution. The Belgians gave the best hospitals, houses and schools, to the Tutsi and only a few children of the Hutu went to school and in some cases dropped out because of lack of fees. The Belgian government never bothered to educate the Hutu because they were seen as mere laborers. Thus the desire by the Hutu to have equality in social services like education and health sparked off the Hutu uprising of 1959.

### **EFFECTS OF THE RWANDA REVOLUTION**

- The revolution managed to end the long Tutsi domination at Rwanda politics. Thus the occurrence of the 1959 Rwanda revolt brought to an end of the Tutsi aristocracy under Mwami Kigani II the Hutu also got chance to control Rwanda's politics first under president Gregory Kayibanda (1962 – 1973) and when later Juvenal Habyarimana who ruled Rwanda as president.
- The revolt ended with a popular feudal system that existed in Rwanda for so long. Accordingly, land was re-distributed with Hutu also got chance to own land for the first time. The social, political and economic structures were replaced by democratic institutions.
- The revolution paved way for Rwanda's independence which was granted on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1962 by Belgium. After the revolution the Belgians started granting political concessions (reforms) to the Hutu. For instance in 1960, the Belgians organized elections which forced out the Tutsi monarchy chiefly positions and posts in administration were also extended to the Hutu subsequently Rwanda got their independence as a republic. Gregory Kayibanda as Rwanda's first president.
- The revolution also uplifted the social economic status of the Hutu, socially they became emancipated as they became their own masters other than the slave of the Tutsi. During the regime of Habyarimana 1973 – 1994, the government concentrated on social services like education and health expanded and were promoted. Efforts were made to combat famine through agricultural reforms which increased food production.

### **Negative effects**

- The revolution increased the refugee crisis in neighbouring countries like Uganda, Congo, Burundi and Tanganyika to the extent that by 1994, there were about three million Tutsi refugees in the great lakes region. A part from becoming a burden to the host countries, these refugees became a source of political instability wherever they settled like the enterahamwe of Congo.
- The revolution also led to massive loss of lives due to calculated and deliberate massive massacre of the Tutsi. They were butchered and hunted down from camps where they were living which introduced politics of genocide in Rwanda.
- The revolution led to the formation of guerilla groups / organisations in neighboring countries for instance the Tutsi who fled to **Burundi** formed a **guerrilla group** known as the **cockroach**, and also **RPF** which occasionally launched attacks on the Hutu led government back home.
- It led to the perpetuation of dictatorship in Rwanda from the very start of Gregory Kayibanda's rule in 1962. Dictatorship revealed itself in press

censorship and when Kayibanda declared himself as the only candidate to run for president in an election. He also arrested a number of journalists who negotiated the famine situation in Rwanda when Juvenal came to power in 1973, he also banned all opposition political parties and this was dictatorship at its worst.

- The revolution worsened tribal tension and hatred between the Tutsi and the Hutu. This even manifested itself in neighbouring countries like Burundi where soldiers overthrew the Hutu, killing a number of them in the process. In 1972 in turn made the Hutu in Rwanda to kill the Tutsi.
- The revolt led to introduction of politics of genocide in Rwanda. The Hutu who assumed political power after the revolt embarked on a programme of prosecuting the Tutsi and this continued for a long time all moving in the Rwanda genocide of 1994
- The revolt – promoted neo – colonialism in Rwanda. The Belgium who were the former colonial masters at Rwanda and the French took advantage of the political crisis in Rwanda and they continued influencing the social, economic and politics of the country under the pretext of pacifying the country.

### **THE 1990 – 1994 GENOCIDE IN RWANDA / REVOLUTION / INVASION**

The Rwanda Invasion began in 1990 October, when the RPAC (Rwandese People's Army Front) launched an invasion from Uganda under the leadership of Fred Rwigema although he was killed later. A peace agreement was reached between Habyarimana and RPA in August 1992, but it was short lived since Habyarimana blocked the return of Tutsi in the military action and on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1994, Habyarimana and Cyprian Ntaryamira and president of Burundi died in a plane crash. Subsequently wide spread violent actions were organized by the Hutu against the Tutsi which ushered in genocide and this was followed by the victory of the RPF in July 1994.

### **CAUSES OF THE RWANDA GENOCIDE**

- Formation of the Cockroach movement in the RPF. This was a guerilla group of the Tutsi refugees in Burundi who detested the new Hutu leadership. It laid a foundation for the formation of the RPF which made the Rwanda invasion of 1990 – 1994 inevitable.
- Long term traditional hatred between the Tutsi and Hutu. This hatred was evidenced in Nyabingi culture, the religious protest movement among the Hutu was a sign that the two tribes were opposed to each other. This made the Hutu to begin hunting down the Tutsi in what was referred to as the Rwanda genocide.
- Tutsi cultural arrogance, it should be noted that the Tutsi always carried themselves as superior, believing themselves as having divine powers to rule over the Hutu refusing to eat the same staple food as the Hutu and prohibiting any form of inter marriage between the two tribes. This made the Hutu to defer to the Tutsi leading to the genocide of 1990 – 94.
- The dictatorship of Hutu leaders. Kayibanda who was the first president of Rwanda practiced tribal injustices against the Tutsi minorities. Later in 1973 when Habyarimana came to power, he consoled the press, arrested and detained Tutsi who were suspected to be anti – Hutu leadership through the

Tutsi had also governed Rwanda in a similar way. They called for constitutional and democratic reforms causing the Rwanda invasion of 1990 – 94.

- The massive massacre of the Tutsi by Habyarima. The wars of Hutu leadership were characterized by revenge against the Tutsi – Hutu leaders called for the ex-termination of the Tutsi in the 1970, 80s and nearly 1990's to the Tutsi the art of deliberate extermination of their race forced them to pick up arms against the Hutu in 1990.
- Habyarimana refused to allow the Tutsi to return home. He claimed that Rwanda was over populated and there was no room for Tutsi refugees from exile. This caused resentment among the Tutsi exiles and compelled them to pursue a militaristic approach against the Hutu between 1990 – 94.
- The death of Habyarimana in 1994 was what sparked off the genocide. When Habyarimana and Burundi's president Cyprian Ntaryamira died in a plane crush, Habyarimana, death therefore served as a terrible blow to the Hutu who for fear of their own lives began killing ethnic Tutsi. However, it also facilitated the victory of the R.P.F who took control of Kigali.
- The weaknesses of the O.A.U. It failed to end the rivalries that existed between the tribal groups and to wipe out the rebel activities breezed in some of the member countries like Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire (DRC) (Panic) / a blind eye to the missionaries yet it was formed to ensure that there were no civil wars, it was a weak body).
- Failure by the UNO to diffuse ethnic tension between the Hutu and Tutsi. Hardly did the UNO interfere in the political crisis in Rwanda. It therefore just watched on as the Hutu and Tutsi killed each other.
- Political harassment of the Tutsi in most countries. Many Tutsi refugees who fled to neighboring state like Uganda, DRC were regarded as a security threat. President Obote even called for their repatriation in Zaire, they were regarded as wealth plunders. It forced them to seek to return home hence the revolution.
- Economic and social hardship suffered by the Tutsi in exile. They were employed in low esteem jobs as toilet cleaners, tillers of land and herdsman. Thus the desire to end this suffering and revive their precious status made the 1990 – 94 revolution inevitable.
- The rise of charismatic Tutsi leaders elites like Rugyema Fred, Paul Kagame and Bihenyezi etc. who had acquired military training and who appear headed the formation of R.P.F made the Rwanda revolution of 1990 – 94 inevitable.

### **CONSEQUENCES / EFFECTS OF THE GENOCIDES**

- The Tutsi regained political powers in Rwanda. The R.P.F then took over power, first under president Pasteur Bizimungu later Paul Kagame.
- President Juvenel Habyarimana died in the plane crash attack Karambe airport this left a power vacuum which was exploited by the R.P.F to people who went through the Hutu regime from power.

- It intensified the refugee crisis in neighbouring countries like Uganda, Zaire (DRC) while others sought protection in U.S.A and Western Europe.
- It intensified neo-colonialism in Rwanda to reign government like Belgium, France and USA began interfering directly in the internal affairs of Rwanda under the pretext of extending relief and humanitarian aid in order to pacify Rwanda.
- The crisis exposed the weaknesses of the UNO and its double standards. This world peace keeping body portrayed a lukewarm attitude as fighting and genocide unfolded in Rwanda.
- It also exposed the weakness of the OAU as a member state of the body took side with the ethnic differences and activities of respective tribes.
- A UN tribunal was established based in Austria, Tanzania, in 1966 several persons responsible for masterminding the genocide were tried in courts and others were sentenced to death.
- A truth and reconciliation commission was established in Rwanda to help bring harmony between the Tutsi and the Hutus and to help the two groups of people to forget the past and move forward.
- It caused a lot of political instabilities in the great lakes region for instance the R.P.F supported Anti Movement forces in D.R.C.

### **THE 1969 LIBYAN COUP**

Libya attained her independence in 1951 from Italy. It was given independence partly because of influence of the UNO but also partly because of Pro-Western king could keep the Soviet Union out of Libya had been found in the names of King Idris

The Libyan coup of 1969 was planned and carried out by the Free Unionist Organizations (FUOs) on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1969 and it was led by a 29 year old major Muammar Gadaffi. The coup took place 10 years after they had begun to plan for it while Gadaffi was still a secondary school student in the desert town of Sebha in which the Free Unionist Organizations (FUOs) overthrew the Libyan Monarchy under King Idris I.

### **CAUSES OF THE COUP**

- King Idris was pro-western and Pro-USA when he became head of state, he continued to allow the Americans to use Wheelus airfield on the outskirts of Tripoli which the Africans had developed during the World War II. He also approved when it became a training ground for NATO and in particular for American long range bombers. Students protest then erupted in opposition to the exploitation of Wheelus. They had been empowered by the Nasserism & Pan Arabism which forced them to question Idris' close ties with the west.
- The Libyan coup of 1969 was also a result of King Idris' misguided economic policies. For instance in 1967 his government attempted to modernize its operations by bringing in foreign technocrats into the cabinet and civil servants, attempts were also made to enlarge and equip the army. However, these reforms were minor and too late to meet the people's expectations hence making Libyan coup of 1969 inevitable.

- By 1961. King Idris' government had developed symptoms of corruption and bribery especially after the discovery of oil in Libya in the 1950's this corruption had been prompted by an emerging middle class which abused its high office placement for business fortunes, they invested their ill-gotten wealth in property and large estates and nothing was done to improve on the industrial sector of Libya. Consequently socialism began to develop on the Industrial sector of Libyan consequently colonialism began to develop which then took the form of a coup by Gadhafi's free unionist officers in 1969.
- The influence of socialism among Libyan students and junior army officers. They wanted Libyan resources like all to be shared to the benefit of Libyans as a whole, thus the Libyan coup notes under Gadhafi intended to create a socialist society based on the Quran and in line with the 1952 socialist revolt in Egypt started by Nasser.
- The exploitation of Libya's oil resources foreigners was also another cause of the 1969 Libyan case. This was neo-colonialism at its worst and was resented by the free unionist officers led by Gadhafi. After the discovery of oil in Libya in the 1950's there was an influx of Americans and British who came to Libya to take advantage of these new discoveries, King Idris did nothing to stop the exploitation of Libyan oil resources by foreign companies. Socialist agitators therefore emerged in Libya who wanted their oil resources to be for the benefit of the Libyan population as a whole. Thus failure by the Idris administration to prevent exploitation of Libyan oil resources by foreigners led to the Libyan coup of 1969.
- Gadhafi's ambition for power also encouraged him to stage a coup in Libya in 1969. His ambition had started during his secondary school days while studying in the desert town of Sebha. He even abandoned his university studies and joined a military skills to enable him stage a successful coup. Gadhafi's reasoned that the military war was the best way to achieve a revolution, he therefore spent 10 years planning on how to overthrow the Idris government in Libya.
- The Libyan monarchy was automatic and ruled by the dictatorship of King Idris I who ruled by clique of despots. The government became dominated by a tribunal clique of nobles and family friends. The king only controlled the cabinet through the help of the prime minister and within a year after independence the government banned the progressive National Congress Party for the alleged crime of winning an election this was dictatorship at its worst, a situation which Gadhafi capitalized and staged a coup against the Idris government in 1969.
- The influence of Nassaism and the Arabism among young educated Libyans. They wanted Libya to take in its rightful place among the Arab countries and to achieve this Nasser trained Gadaffi as a revolutionist. This made Gadaffi want to bring a social change in Libya like that brought to Egypt by the Egyptian coup of 1952.
- The influence of Islamic fundamentalism also crushed the 1969 Libyan coup through Libyan officers who staged the 1969 Libyan coup had been influenced by the wave of Islamic purification that was sweeping across the Arab world at the time. Thus Gadaffi far more than Nasser of Egypt intended to create a fully-fledged Islamic state founded on the strict principles of the

Quran, hence leading to the Libyan coup of 1969.

- The Libyan coup of 1969 was also staged with the purpose of bringing about modernization and transformation of the Libyan society by battering of the lives of Libyans as Gadhafi himself wrote; **"Our souls were in result against the backwardness enveloping our society its land where best gifts and riches and were being lost through plunder and against the isolation imposed on our people in attempt to hold it back from the path of Arab people..."**
- The influence of earlier coups in Africa also influenced the outbreak of the 1959 Libyan coup i.e. the 1963 coup in Togo, 1965 coup in Algeria and Congo, 1966 coup in Nigeria and Ghana. The coup provided a powerful inspiration to the Unionist Officer Libya and came to realize that the only way they could cause a social change in Libya was through a coup.
- Gadhafi also stayed a coup in 1969 with the aim of correcting National Unity. Gadaffi was born in Sirte and Jalloud came from Oasis area of Fezzan. They were therefore determined to bring all Libyans together to strive for National Unity. This would enable full utilization of Libya's resources by all people including those in desert areas.
- The physical weakness of King Idris served to encourage a coup in Libya in 1969. Because of his physical weakness power had shifted to his younger brother Abdul Aziz who also did nothing to contain the activities of the free unionist officers. The FUOs were even able to capture radio station of Benghazi and the military coup of Gurnade with very little resistance from the Idris army.

#### **REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE 1969 LIBYAN COUP**

- The long period of strategic planning which was started by Gadhafi 19 years before the coup took place, after secondary school, Gadhafi joined a military academic purposely to equip himself with the necessary skills to stage a successful coup. A significant number of Gadhafi's classmate at the military academy, the class that graduated in 1963 like Major Jalloud were key in planning for the coup leading to its success in 1969.
- There was also the role of the fragile military strength of the Libyan army officers who had just emerged from defeat during the Israel invasion in 1967. Commonly known as the six day's war. Such military weakness of Libyan forces was a blessing to the free unionist officers who then succeeded in their coup in 1969.
- The strategic day of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1969 that was closer for the staging of the Libyan coup and it led to its success. It was a day well known by the FUO's when King Idris was out of the country and reportedly hospitalized in Turkey. Besides 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1967 was when Libya Junior Army officers were to be posted for courses in Britain thus the coup plotters and little resistance leading to their success.
- The high degree of secrecy exhibited by the free unionist officers also helped for the success in their coup. They formed a cell organization to maintain secrecy and besides, they denied themselves certain entertainment like night club and alcohol but conducted themselves in such a way that they did not

attract attention of suspension and frustrate their coup plans.

- The assistance offered by Nasser to the Libyan coup plotters also led to their success. Nasser of Egypt started influencing Gadhafi and his followers to carry out the revolution and gave them substantial support.

### **EFFECTS OF THE LIBYAN COUP**

- It led to the introduction of a guiding philosophy of the 3<sup>rd</sup> universal theory (Islamic socialism) which replaced what Gadhafi referred to as discredited doctrines of captain and communication. In the effect of the theory adopted forms of cultural political and economic nationalism in Libya.
- The coup ushered in an industrial revolution in Libya. This was achieved through a five year plan in 1976. In 1980 when emphasis was put on industrial development in heavy and light industries. Though the population of Libya was a low thousand of foreign managers and technorats were recruited from the west and Islamic countries and others from neighbouring countries like Tunisia and Egypt all refineries, chemical, aluminum, plastic, cement and food processing industries were successfully established. Most of them were run by state agencies almost entirely excluding the private sector.
- The revolution also led to increase in oil production in Libya. In fact Libya became the 5<sup>th</sup> leading oil producer in the OPEC oil. Production hit its peak in the early 1970's in Libya's oil reserve quadrupled. By 1980 production capacity was 2.5 million barrels per day and by 1973 Libya had become every influential member of the OPEC. The oil sector alone accounted for about 50% of Libya G.D.P
- The Libyan coup ushered in a transport revolution. Roads from different parts were improved as a result of the coup. This impacted positively on other infrastructure like school and hospitals. This improved on the infrastructure of local Libyan making Libya model of all 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries.
- Libya also registered success in food security. This was due to the fact that a lot of emphasis was put on the agricultural sector. By 1980 Libya was already self-sufficient and was not importing food stuffs. This was a great factor for economic and political independence for example cereal production jumped from 40,000 metric tones in 1969 to 200,000 metric tones by 1978.
- The Libyan coup also ushered in land reform policy in Libya. The form of land reclamation. This was through irrigation around the Jaffara Plains. Afforestation was also undertaken to provide wind breaks and reduce soil erosion. Besides livestock improvement skills were also undertaken. Due to such development small holding and co-operatives benefited from all the development as they carried out marketing on providing fertilizers.
- There was transformation and improvement in Libya's social services like health and education for example free medicine was provided to all Libyans. Eventually TB cases dropped by more than 80%. In 1971 education in Libya was made free and compulsory and this increased on the number of school going children.
- The 1969 Libyan coup also resulted into women emancipation Libya more than Arab state elevated women to leadership positions. Actually women

became more preferred to manage the inner presidential guard of Gadhafi and dominated the Libyan civil services. This was unheard of in other Arab countries.

- The Libyan coup also led to reduction of illiteracy rates of the country. This was made possible due to the provision of free education from primary to university. This was achieved due to centralized planning and management of oil resources. The proceeds from oil were then used to provide education requirement for the citizen of the country.
- The Libyan coup also led to ushering in a cultural revival. From 1969 a process of cultural revival was embarked on which involved destroying all forms of imported ideology from the west and east. The Islamic was widely adapted. Alcohol was seriously prohibited the Roman script was banned.
- The 1969 Libyan coup led to the rise of new ideology of Jamahiriya (a form of Islamic socialism) Jamahiriya came to mean the state of the masses where people were directly answerable to the aspect of their country. The government then recognized law administration of Libya was then restructured and was pyramidal in nature of leadership where power was concentrated in the hands of the local people and not the central government. All the years were involved in Libya's constitution.
- The coup also promoted dictatorship during the reign of Gadhafi. All political powers were rested in him by Libya's constitution. Therefore Gadhafi became Libya and Libya became Gadhafi to the extent that Libyans believed that they couldn't survive beyond Gadhafi.
- Gadhafi's rule became controversial in supporting rebel activities in countries like Chad where he supported the FRONLINAT rebels against the Tombalboyé and The NRA rebels under Museveni.

## **NATIONALISM IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA**

Portugal was the earliest colonial master in Africa but the last to leave. Portuguese colonies included Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe. The Portuguese used repressive methods to administer these colonies, which partly delayed their independence. Africans used peaceful means to demand for their independence but failed. They therefore resorted to armed resistances against Portuguese colonies.

**The factors that delayed independence in the Portuguese colonies included;**

### **Reference Question**

1. Account for the delayed independence of Guinea Bissau / Mozambique / Angola
2. Examine the challenges faced by nationalists in Guinea Bissau / Mozambique / Angola in the struggle for independence
3. Discuss the problems affected by the PAIGC/ FRELIMO / MPLA in the struggle against Portuguese administration

- The Portuguese treated their colonies as overseas territories, which delayed their independence. In 1951, the Portuguese leader Don Salazar smuggled this issue of African colonies, to be regarded as 'overseas territories' into the Portuguese constitution. It therefore, became illegal to grant these provinces independence without amending the constitution.

- The presence of a strong spy network in the Portuguese colonies delayed their independence. Portugal had a strong efficient and coercive secret police known as PIDE that penetrated the anti-Portuguese activities. The PIDE arrested and detained, tortured and sometimes assassinated African leaders; Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique was eliminated in 1968 while Amilcar Cabral of Bissau in 1973. Such activities of the PIDE affected the independence struggles in Portuguese colonies.
- The military superiority of the Portuguese contributed to the delayed independence of Portuguese Africa. Portugal was militarily powerful in her organisation, training and equipment compared to the liberation movements in her colonies. It was therefore, difficult for Africans to have a fast military victory over the Portuguese colonial administration.
- Portugal possessed a few colonies in Africa, which she was capable of controlling, unlike other colonial masters like Britain and France. At the same time due to possession of a few colonies, Portugal was not willing to surrender any of them for majorly economic motives, and this delayed independence of these colonies.
- The support received by Portugal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was a setback to independence attainment in Portuguese colonies. Due to fear of communist oriented liberation movements i.e. the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African Independence Party for Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the NATO supported Portugal in form of moral, financial and military aid. This weakened African resistance whereas Portuguese rule was strengthened.
- Lack of exposure to nationalistic ideas among the Africans in Portuguese colonies delayed their independence. Africans were denied any external contacts; liberal press reports and literature that appeared anti-colonial were banned while external journeys by nationalist leaders were limited. The Portuguese had access to African mails and telegrams that left the Africans at the mercy of the colonial masters.
- Lack of constitutional avenues to enable independence attainment contributed to the late decolonisation of Portuguese Africa. Africans were not given any chance to participate in political affairs, there was no African parliamentary representation and yet African political organisations were outlawed. All these hindered the development of nationalism in Portuguese Africa.
- The conservative rule of Dr. Don Salazar (1928-68) delayed the independence of Portuguese colonies, Don Salazar was not prepared to grant any freedom to Africans in Portuguese colonies, and was opposed to any liberal ideas, which would favour majority rule in Portuguese Africa. His regime worked against African independence.
- The ruthless policies of Portuguese administrators were another factor that delayed decolonisation of Portuguese colonies in Africa. The colonial authority mercilessly suppressed non-violent- demonstrations, protests and strikes by Africans. About forty-nine Lourenco Marques dock workers were shot dead during a strike in Mozambique, fifty Bissau dock workers were also shot dead in a strike in Guinea Bissau while about two hundred Angolans were killed indiscriminately for protesting against the arrest and public flogging of Agustinho Neto. Such measures discouraged Africans from engaging in nationalistic activities.
- Introduction of rehabilitation centers (reserves) by the Portuguese; these later became concentration camps where nationalists and other people suspected

of supporting nationalistic activities were taken, interrogated, tortured and sometimes killed. These fortified villages included one in the Zambezi valley where Mozambicans were curtailed in large numbers. The Portuguese colonial administrators forcefully moved Africans to fortified villages as their homes arid-gardens were destroyed. This scotched earth policy denied African freedom fighters access to shelter, food, information and any other assistance.

- The increased deployment of Portuguese troops at a time African in Portuguese colonies expected independence; Portugal, in her counter-revolutionary approach deployed more troops in Africa, to strengthen her hold unto these colonies, as well as contain African nationalist activities. Therefore, the presence of large numbers of Portuguese soldiers threatened African nationalism. By 1970, Portugal had about two hundred thousand soldiers in Africa.
- The economic advantage of African colonies to Portugal delayed their independence. The attainment of independence by these colonies could deprive Portugal of a source of economic power and she would lose her middleman-ship role between the products of these colonies and the multinationals in Europe. It was because of this economic advantage that Portugal maintained her colonies.
- Consequently, the economic weakness of Portugal delayed independence attainment in Portuguese colonies. Portugal, due to her economic disability could not look forward to the prospect of maintaining a neo-colonial influence in case she granted independence to her colonies. Her economic situation thus made Portugal to continue controlling her African colonies directly.
- The nature of the Portuguese education system was a disadvantage to Africans. The system provided an inferior education that only prepared Africans to accept the work of Portuguese. The Portuguese culture indoctrinated Africans to believe that any form of resistance was an act against government. This education never gave Africans technical skills and intellectual abilities and thus, did not create political awareness. The presence of a large illiterate African population that was politically asleep and ignorant to condemn and fight against colonialism delayed African liberation.
- The divide and rule policy of the Portuguese affected nationalism in her colonies. The colonial authorities tried very hard to destroy national unity within the respective colonies; in Angola, the Portuguese recruited the (Ovimbundu) in the south against the (Bakongo) in north. In Guinea Bissau, the Portuguese worsened ethnic rivalry between the Fula and the Balante. In Mozambique, the Portuguese influenced the anti-Makonde ethnicism. This colonial policy retarded African liberation.
- Consequently, the presence of ethnic nationalism in Portuguese Africa favoured Portuguese rule in Africa. Major tribal groups in Angola for instance, the Bakongo, Ovimbundu and Mbundu could not reconcile among themselves. From Guinea Bissau, the Fula could not unite with the Balante while in Mozambique, the Makua were hostile to the Makonde. Such ethnic conflicts worked in favour of Portuguese colonialism.
- The role of the Catholic Church discouraged African nationalism in Portuguese colonies. The Catholic Church had anti-nationalistic sentiments and regarded the liberation movements as terrorist groups. The Catholic Church therefore, preached against nationalism, which affected in the process of decolonisation.
- The use of peaceful means by Africans and the delayed military approach maintained Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Africans took long to resort to

armed resistance, the only language the Portuguese could seemingly understand. The Africans in Portuguese colonies employed non-violent methods like demonstration and strikes, which could not effectively yield immediate results. On many occasions, the Portuguese responded to the African non-violent rather ruthlessly, which delayed independence.

- Absence of capable nationalist leaders at the initial stages; Portuguese colonies lacked capable, visionary, charismatic and courageous leaders who could drive their countries to independence. It was only possible in mid-1950s when men like Agustinho Neto of Angola, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau and Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique rose to the political scene that progressive efforts towards independence were realised.
- Lack of effective internal bases for the liberation movements delayed African independence. The liberation movements operated mainly from exile, the MPLA had its bases in Congo Zaire and Congo Brazzaville, the PAIGC operated from French Guinea while the FRELIMO operated from Tanzania and Malawi. The nationalist movements therefore, had less impact on colonial authorities especially at their initial stages.
- The weakness of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) affected nationalism in Portuguese Africa. Since the OAU formed its liberation committee to support independence attainment in Africa, the committee only remained theoretical as it made resolutions to condemn colonial domination but took long to take action against European colonialism. This delayed independence in Portuguese colonies.
- The double standards of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) frustrated African efforts towards self-rule in Portuguese colonies. The UNO verbally reacted and imposed sanctions on Portugal but took long to take action. Member-states of the UNO; who were also members of the NATO extended financial and military support to Portugal against the African liberation movements. This weakened the struggle for independence in Portuguese Africa.
- The formation of the "triumvirate alliance" strengthened Portuguese administration in Africa against majority rule. The alliance comprised of Don Salazar of Portugal, Verwoerd of Apartheid South Africa and Ian Smith of the UDI government in Southern Rhodesia. The partners pledged assistance to each other, to share strategies and resources to suppress African nationalism in their respective colonies, in a way of consolidating white minority rule.

## **CAUSES OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES**

### **Reference Questions:**

1. Discuss the factors for the outbreak of the liberation war in Guinea Bissau / Mozambique /Angola
  2. Account for the outbreak of the armed resistance in Guinea Bissau / Mozambique / Angola
  3. Why did the PAIGC / FRELIMO / MPLA declare war against Portuguese rule in 1963 / 1964/1961 respectively
- After Africans in Portuguese colonies failed to achieve independence through peaceful means, they resorted to militarism. In Angola, the armed resistance was led by the MPLA under Agustinho Neto (1961-75), in Guinea Bissau, Amilcar Cabral and the PAIGC led the liberation war (1963-74), and in Mozambique, the war was launched by the FRELIMO under Edwardo Mondlane (1964-75). Several factors accounted for the outbreak of liberation wars in Portuguese colonies and these included;
  - The Portuguese preferred to maintain their colonies as overseas provinces,

which caused the liberation wars. The 1951 constitution of Portugal confirmed Portuguese colonies in Africa as overseas colonies and thus, independence in these territories would be a violation of the Portuguese constitution. Africans employed violence against the Portuguese colonialists in order to break the colonial umbilical cord.

- The brutal suppression of African non-violence protests contributed to the outbreak of Liberation wars in Portuguese. In 1956, over two hundred Angolans were killed or wounded for protesting against the arrest and public flogging of Agustinho Neto; in the same year about forty-nine dock workers at Lourenco Marques were shot dead during a strike, and in 1958, fifty Bissau dock workers were also shot dead during their strike. This brutal response to peaceful actions incited Africans into violent resistances.
- Lack of constitutional avenues of achieving independence forced Africans to declare war on the Portuguese administrators. Africans in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau were denied participation in political affairs and yet the Portuguese constitution did not provide for African majority rule in their respective colonies. The Portuguese never gave Africans parliamentary participation to enable them present their grievances. It was therefore, necessary for Africans to resort to armed resistance.
- Portuguese colonial dictatorship convinced Africans in Portuguese colonies to fight for their independence. The Portuguese colonial authorities in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau suppressed freedoms of press and assembly and banned Africans from engaging in any political activities. The Africans were aggrieved so much that their anti-colonial sentiments led to the emergence of militant nationalism.
- The activities of the Portuguese secret police (PIDE) contributed to the outbreak of liberation wars in Portuguese colonies. The PIDE carried out inhuman actions against Africans, which included arbitrary arrest and humiliation of African leaders through public flogging. Agustinho Neto was tortured and flogged by the PIDE accomplices. The Portuguese secret policy was commissioned to kill Africans suspected of causing security threats to the colonial administration. The operations of PIDE increased African sentiments to Portuguese colonial rule, which provoked armed resistances.
- Increased deployment of Portuguese troops in Africa at a time when independence was expected caused the liberation wars in the Portuguese colonies. In 1960, the Portuguese deployed about 60,000 soldiers in Angola and over 70,000 in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau respectively. This convinced Africans that independence could not be granted to them on a silver platter. Hence, Africans were inspired into armed resistance.
- The establishment of rehabilitation centers in Portuguese Africa caused armed resistances against the Portuguese. The Portuguese colonial authorities established rehabilitation centers as preventive measure against masses extending assistance to nationalists. The centers later became concentration camps where all sorts of brutal treatments, torture, interrogation and sometimes assassinations were administered against Africans in these camps. Africans hated Portuguese brutality hence, their rebellion against the Portuguese colonial administrators.
- The formation of liberation movements by Africans in Portuguese Africa prepared grounds for armed struggles. The formation of the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau in 1954, the MPLA in Angola 1956 and the FRELIMO in Mozambique in 1962 enabled the nationalists to mobilise the masses and thus, declared the guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese colonial governments.
- The desire for political independence caused the outbreak of liberation wars

in Portuguese Africa. Due to unrealistic colonial policies and failure to achieve political participation, Africans developed a great sense of nationalism, which forced them to take up arms against the Portuguese colonial masters.

- Influence of the Marxist ideology (socialism) in Portuguese Africa caused the liberation wars. The ideology was anti-imperialism and spread militarism as a strategy against foreign domination. This inspired Africans to use force to liberate themselves hence liberation wars. Later, the African liberation movements received support from communist states.
- Influence of the independent neighbouring states contributed to the outbreak of liberation wars in Portuguese Africa. The independence of Congo Zaire and Brazzaville inspired Angola, Guinea Conakry and Senegal inspired Guinea Bissau while Tanzania and Zambia had an impact on Mozambique. The independent neighbouring states provided morale and financial plus military support; and gave external bases to Africans in Portuguese Africa that inspired them to fight for independence.
- The role of nationalistic leaders was another factor for the liberation wars in Portuguese colonies. Agustinho Neto of Angola, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau and Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique mobilised the people, provided courageous and visionary leadership and declared guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese colonial authorities.
- The policy of forced labour was another cause for the outbreak of the liberation wars. African workers in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique were forced to offer labour on public works like roads and infrastructure as well as on settler plantations with meager or no payment at all. The oppressive Portuguese labour policy was much resented by Africans and thus forced them to wage wars of liberation against the colonial authorities.
- The colonial taxation system contributed to the outbreak of liberation wars in Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese colonial authorities heavily taxed Africans yet the methods of tax collection were cruel. Tax defaulters were arrested and publicly flogged. The exploitative Portuguese fiscal policy forced Africans to declare war on Portuguese authorities.
- High levels of poverty among Africans contributed to the outbreak of liberation wars in African Portuguese colonies. Poverty resulted from lack of employment opportunities, low prices of African produce, low wages and the poor agrarian and fiscal policies employed by the Portuguese colonial authorities. Africans blamed the Portuguese colonialists for impoverishing them hence, contributing to the rise of militant nationalism in Portuguese Africa.
- High levels of corruption among the Portuguese colonial administrators contributed to the outbreak of liberation wars. The Portuguese colonial officials were too corrupt in tax collection and provision of civil services. They asked for bribes from African subjects, sometimes coercively. Corruption and misuse of colonial administrative offices provoked militant nationalism in Portuguese Africa.
- Lack of employment opportunities for Africans led to the outbreak of armed resistances in Portuguese colonies. All jobs including taxi driving and office clerks and messengers were reserved for the Portuguese only. Africans were only forced to work on plantations; the land tenure system worsened the unemployment problem since Africans lacked land to practice agriculture. Unemployment frustrated Africans and caused their resentment against Portuguese colonialism, leading to the outbreak of liberation wars.
- The education system in the Portuguese colonies convinced Africans to plot for a change. Africans hated the education system that denied them

intellectual advancement and technical skills but only made encouraged them to appreciate Portuguese cultures. Thus, influencing Africans to wage war against colonialism so as to improve on the education system. All the good schools ran by the government were reserved for white children while Africans attended the few missionary schools that were scattered in rural areas.

- The racial arrogance (racism) of the Portuguese provoked militant nationalism among Africans. The Portuguese considered themselves superior humans compared to their African subjects. This explains why they tried to impose on Africans the policy of assimilator (assimilation). The assimilados were favoured more and accorded the same privileges as the Portuguese settlers. The Portuguese settlers in particular resented any plans for African advancement. Racial discrimination by the Portuguese forced Africans to fight for independence.
- The Portuguese policy of forcing Africans to grow cash crops caused African resistances against the Portuguese. The economic motives of the Portuguese made them force Africans to grow cash crops on their small estates at the expense of food crops. The Portuguese influenced Africans to clear their food gardens and plant cotton, coffee and tobacco. At the same time, the Portuguese colonialists fixed prices for cotton produced by their African subjects. This unpopular cotton policy influenced the (Malange) rebellion in Angola, which later spread to other parts of the country. The Africans expressed their dissatisfaction to the Portuguese by fighting for their independence.
- Presence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in the Portuguese colonies aggrieved Africans to fight for independence. Portugal being a member of the NATO allowed members of the NATO to establish military bases and investments in her African colonies. Therefore, Africans were not only subjected to Portuguese colonialism but also to imperialism of the NATO powers. Hence, the NATO powers of Britain, Belgium and France turned the Portuguese colonies into dumping areas for their goods. They charged Africans exorbitantly, forcing them to rebel.
- The land alienation policy by the Portuguese contributed to the outbreak of liberation wars in their colonies. The Portuguese embarked on a systematic land grabbing policy aimed at establishing plantation agriculture. The Africans were left landless while others were made squatters on white owned estates. The landless Africans wanted to regain their lost land hence they engaged in armed struggles.

## **FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA**

### **Reference Questions**

1. Account for the defeat of Portuguese administration by PAIGC/ FRELIMO / MPLA
2. Examine the factors for the success of independence struggle in Guinea Bissau / Mozambique /Angola
- The formation of liberation movements and use of armed resistance against the Portuguese administration enabled the decolonisation of Portuguese colonies. The liberation movements i.e. the PAIGC (established in 1954), the MPLA (established in 1956) and the FRELIMO (established in 1962) resorted to use of militarism against the Portuguese after failure of peaceful means. Such military approach scored significant achievements against the

Portuguese both militarily and politically.

- The effective military strategies adopted by liberation movements led to the success of the independence struggles. The liberation movements always attacked the Portuguese simultaneously in several places and on many fronts. The Portuguese troops were constantly on the move due to African attacks. The African guerrilla movements used surprise guerrilla attacks and ambushes against the Portuguese government installations, administrative posts, military bases and white settlements and plantations.
- The liberation movements carried out mass mobilisation and recruitment. It is for this case that thousands joined the movement and strengthened the military combats. Mass recruitment popularised the independence struggles and enabled the movements to match the Portuguese increased military troops in their respective colonies.
- The movements recruited women who played a significant role in the struggle against the Portuguese. Women were recognised and given positions of responsibility in the civil, political and military service. They acted as nurses to the wounded, gave espionage information on the Portuguese strategies and provided food and other supplies during the wars.
- The military gains scored by the liberation movements' favoured independence in Portuguese Africa. By 1974, the PAIGC was controlling two third of Guinea Bissau, the MPLA controlled one third of Angola while the UNITA and the FNLA had both scored some little success in Angola. The FRELIMO had also secured a third of Mozambique by the time of the Lisbon Coup. Such military victories had weakened the Portuguese in favour of freedom fighters.
- The reforms instituted by the liberation movements in their respective territories enabled the success of liberation wars. The movements established liberated zones in which masses were involved in decision-making and leadership at grassroots. The movements established elementary schools and health centers to provide free education and health services respectively. Such reforms won thousands of masses to support the independence struggles.
- The continuous repressive methods of the Portuguese hardened Africans and raised their determination to achieve self-rule. The Portuguese established fortified villages and concentration camps where masses were pushed. African homes and gardens were destroyed. Africans were also interrogated, tortured and sometimes killed. All these cost the Portuguese their popularity and instead popularised the liberation struggles.
- The formation of the CONCP alliance by the liberation movements in Portuguese Africa strengthened their struggle against colonial rule. The MPLA, PAIGC and the FRELIMO formed the CONCP alliance through which liberation leaders discussed and shared ideas and strategies, which they employed against the Portuguese colonial administration. The co-operation of these liberation movements against the Portuguese colonial administrators helped to weaken the pillars of colonialism in their respective countries.
- The simultaneous occurrence of liberation wars contributed to the liberation of Portuguese Africa. The Angolan war started in 1961; in Guinea Bissau, the war began in 1963 while the FRELIMO launched the Mozambican war in 1964. The fact that these wars broke out almost at the same time tremendously weakened the Portuguese administration economically and militarily. It was hard for the Portuguese colonial governments to effectively fight and defeat Africans on three fronts.
- The withdrawal of the NATO from Portuguese colonial territories weakened

the colonial administration. Portugal could no longer access financial and military assistance, which had kept her strong against the Africans. The withdrawal of the NATO therefore exposed the Portuguese inability to sustain African revolutionary strategies.

- The Lisbon coup of 1974 was a final blow to Portuguese leadership in Africa. The coup later brought in a young socialist military government led by Antonio de Spinola, who replaced conservative Caetano. The new military government engaged the PAIGC, MPLA and the FRELIMO in peace talks. The independence discussions in Lisbon led to independence of Guinea Bissau in 1974, Angola and Mozambique in 1975 respectively.
- The collapse of the triumvirate alliance was to the advantage of Africans. This gang of three had the Portuguese colonial regime under Don Salazar, apartheid government of Verwoerd and the UDI government of Ian Smith. The alliance had strengthened minority rule in Southern Africa and hindered the progress of African nationalism in the region. The collapse of the triumvirate alliance (the gang of three) weakened the Portuguese colonial administration in favour of African independence.
- Africans in Portuguese colonies minimised ethnic rivalries and encouraged national unity against the Portuguese colonial administration. The MPLA in Angola, the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau and the FRELIMO in Mozambique were the key movements in ensuring national unity in their respective states. They were able to recruit freedom fighters across all tribes and this weakened the Portuguese military strategies against the Africans.
- The independence of neighbouring states respectively brought independence to Portuguese colonies. Senegal and Guinea Conakry assisted the PAIGC of Guinea Bissau, Congo Zaire and Congo Brazzaville supported the MPLA of Angola, while Tanzania and Zambia supported Mozambique's FRELIMO. These independent neighbouring states allowed liberation movements of Portuguese Africa to establish external bases and headquarters in their countries; and extended assistance to the freedom fighters.
- The favourable geographical settings were an advantage to the success of independence struggles in Portuguese Africa. Guinea Bissau was covered with mangrove swamps and thick Bamboo forests, Mozambique had a good thick forest-cover especially near Niassa and Ntete while Angola was advantaged with a coastal-line. This geographical setting protected the guerrillas from the Portuguese heavy guns and armoured vehicles and at the same time enabled freedom fighters to launch guerrilla warfare attacks and ambushes.
- The role of the Organisation of African Unity enabled the attainment of independence in Portuguese Africa. From the time of its establishment in 1963, the OAU took a radical approach against the continued existence of foreign rule on the continent. Through her liberation committee in Tanzania, the OAU recognized and sent financial, moral and military assistance to the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA. The OAU went ahead to call for sanctions against Portugal for her failure to decolonise Africa.
- The contribution of the United Nations enabled the African success against the Portuguese. The United Nations Security Council condemned the continued colonial domination in Portuguese Africa, imposed economic and political sanctions against the Portuguese colonial regime and threatened to throw Portugal out of the general assembly if she failed to decolonise Africa. The United Nations also recognised the liberation movements in Portuguese Africa as national movements.
- The support from the communist world enabled the success of independence

in Portuguese colonies. The communist support came from China, the USSR, and Cuba, it included military training, military logistics, financial assistance and the socialist ideology against imperialism. The communist assistance enabled the decolonisation of Portuguese colonies in Africa.

- Able leadership during the struggle for independence led to the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, in Mozambique, the FRELIMO was first led by Edwardo Mondiane and after his assassination in February 1969, and Samora Micheal took over. In Guinea Bissau the PAIGC, was first led by Amilcar Cabral and after his assassination in 1973 his brother Luiz Cabral took over. In Angola, the MPLA was under Agustinho Neto. The nationalist leadership to the liberation movements secured both internal and external support to sustain the liberation wars. The leaders were also influential in giving courage and determination to the independence struggle.

## THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA (1961-74)

### The role of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)

#### Reference Questions:

1. "The MPLA was primarily responsible for the decolonisation of Angola." Discuss
2. Assess the role of the MPLA in the Angolan struggle against Portuguese rule

The MPLA was formed in 1956 with Ilídio Tom Alves Machado as the first president. Later in 1958, Agustinho Neto took over as the leader of the movement. There were other movements that fought for Angolan independence, The National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) founded in 1966 with Jonas Savimbi as its leader, and The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FLNA) under Holden Roberto. It was however, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) that played a leading role in the liberation of Angola.

- The movement provided the necessary leadership against the Portuguese colonial rule in Angola. Through Agustinho Neto, the MPLA gave charismatic, respectable, courageous and dependable leadership. The MPLA had a clear vision on how to achieve Angolan independence, which attracted mass popularity.
- The MPLA was broad-based movement and this facilitated the success of the war. The movement cut across ethnic barriers and social division that increased her popularity and strength over other movements. The MPLA became popular among the Mbundu, Ovimbundu and Bakongo.
- The MPLA was able to establish external bases in the neighbouring states of Congo Zaire, Conge Brazzaville, Zambia and Namibia. From these bases, the MPLA launched attacks and expeditions against the Portuguese colonial rule.
- The movement was able to unite and coordinate the political and military wings. This led to more commitment during the struggle for independence.
- It appealed to the United Nations (UN) for support and sympathy towards the Angolan cause against the Portuguese imperialism. The UN responded by imposing sanctions against Portugal, aiming at weakening her hold on to Angola.
- The MPLA won recognition of the Organisation African Unity (OAU) and through its liberation committee, the OAU extended financial and military support to facilitate the activities of the MPLA against the Portuguese.
- The movement adopted socialism, which enabled her to get support from the communist world. Communist states like the Soviet Union and China extended support the Angolans in form of military arms and training. The support from the communist world strengthened the activities of the MPLA against the Portuguese.
- The MPLA co-operated with the PAIGC of Guinea Bissau and the FRELIMO of Mozambique to form the CONCP alliance. Through the CONCP alliance, the liberation movements shared strategies and logistics against their colonial master. The CONCP reduced the Portuguese colonial influence in Africa.

- The MPLA leadership provided education to the Angolans. The movement supported the Angolans to go for further studies in Europe especially Russia and Portugal. This made MPLA more popular among the masses.
- It encouraged unity not only within the movement but also throughout Angola. Unity was quite significant in the liberation war against Portuguese imperialism.
- The MPLA exhibited a clear political program, which won her support at home as well as international sympathy. The political program of the MPLA was significant in facilitating the war against the Portuguese.
- The MPLA leadership recruited and trained Angolans in guerrilla warfare tactics. The recruits increased activities of sabotage against Portuguese programs and strategies.
- Consequently, the movement enrolled women in her ranks. Women were given positions of influence, and worked as nurses, cooks and informers to the freedom fighters. They also provided freedom fighters with essential supplies, which were important to run both the military and political wings.
- The MPLA organised and launched successful guerrilla warfare attacks against the Portuguese colonial administration. By 1974, the movement had scored military gains, with a third of the nation in her possession.
- The MPLA leadership sensitised the masses of Angola on the colonial evils of the Portuguese administration and the benefits of independence. The sensitisation led to increased mass recruitment into the liberation struggle.
- Consequently, the movement condemned and exposed the evils and atrocities of the Portuguese colonial administration. In the process, the Portuguese were discredited in Angola and outside.

## **CONTRIBUTIONS OF AGUSTINHO NETO**

### **Reference Questions:**

1. Examine the role of Agustinho Neto in the struggle for Angolan independence
2. What was the contribution of Agustinho Neto to the decolonisation of Angola?

Agustinho Neto was born an Angolan nationalist in 1922 to a Methodist priest in Bengo, a small village in rural Angola. He was a graduate of medicine in the University of Lisbon and joined the ranks of the MPLA in 1958. Dr. Neto played a great role in the liberation of Angola.

- Agustinho Neto provided the necessary leadership during the liberation struggle. His character was that of courage, vision, charisma and dedication, and this won him support from the freedom fighters.
- Dr. Neto wrote poems and articles about the suffering and hopes of Angolans. The poems created political awareness among the Angolans and thus, they rebelled against Portuguese colonial rule.
- Neto led the Angolan cause with a delegation to Lisbon where he presented a petition to the Portuguese government appealing for a peaceful solution to the Angolan demand for political reforms and independence.
- Dr. Neto organised demonstrations and strikes against Portuguese imperialism in Angola. He and Antonio were behind the Angolan cotton workers' strike in Malange. The effects of the Malange strike groomed violence among the Angolans against the Portuguese.
- Dr. Agustinho Neto provided a clear political program for independence, which attracted both domestic and foreign support for the Angolan cause.
- Agustinho Neto represented the Angolan cause to the OAU and won recognition of the African governments. The OAU went ahead to provide moral, financial and military assistance to the MPLA against the Portuguese.

- Dr. Neto appealed to the United Nations to intervene in favour of the Angolan cause. Members of the UN general Assembly went ahead and condemned the Portuguese continued existence in Angola, while the Security Council imposed sanctions on Portugal.
- Agustinho Neto was a unifying factor in Angola. He promoted unity of all the groups and overcame ethnic barriers that would hinder independence attainment in Angola.
- He led the MPLA to establish external guerrilla bases in the neighbouring countries. The MPLA established bases in Congo Zaire from where they launched expeditions against the Portuguese colonial administration.
- Agustinho solicited for support from the communist world. Through his effort, the USSR and China extended assistance to Angola in form of military equipment and training which sustained Angolan struggle for independence.
- Neto led the recruitment and training of Angolan masses in guerrilla warfare tactics, to strengthen the struggle against the Portuguese.
- He successfully organised and launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial rule in Angola through the MPLA.
- Neto realised the role of women and hence recruited them in both the military and political wings of the MPLA as fighters, nurses, cooks and spies (informers).
- Neto led the MPLA to form the CONCP alliance with the PAIGC of Guinea Bissau and the FRELIMO of Mozambique. The alliance enabled the partners to share strategies and logistics against the Poetuguese.
- Dr. Neto led the MPLA to discussions with the new Portuguese socialist government of Antonio de Spinola. The Lisbon discussions led to the final independence of Angola on November 11, 1975.
- Neto received the instruments of independence from the Portuguese and established the first independent government of majority Africans in Angola.

### **THE LIBERATION WAR IN GUINEA BISSAU (1983-74)**

#### **The role of the African Independence Party for Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC)**

##### **Reference Questions:**

1. Assess the contribution of the PAIGC to the decolonisation of Guinea Bissau
2. To what extent did the PAIGC influence the Guinean struggle against Portuguese imperialism?

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) was a nationalist movement formed in 1954 by Amilcar Cabral. Its main agenda was to achieve independence for Guinea Bissau and the islands of Cape Verde. The PAIGC played the following role:

- The PAIGC appealed to the urban working class, the petty rich traders and primary teachers who formed the pillar of the liberation struggle. This middle class provided leadership and financial assistance.
- The PAIGC undertook careful planning and preparation for the war to ensure its success. It recruited freedom fighters and trained them in guerrilla warfare.
- The organization established external bases in Guinea Conakry from where attacks were made on the Portuguese colonial government in Guinea Bissau.
- The PAIGC launched a successful armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial administration from 1963. The armed struggle weakened the Portuguese economically and militarily and paved way for independence.

- The PAIGC leadership organized and involved in demonstration and strikes, which were aimed at opposing the oppressive Portuguese colonial policies for example, the 1959 dockworkers strike in Bissau.
- The PAIGC leadership mobilized peasantry support towards the struggle for independence. The party opened up bases in Balante and Fula regions. This increased mass support towards the struggle for liberation.
- Through Arnilcar Cabral and later Luiz Cabral, the PAIGC provided charismatic leadership to the struggle for independence. The leaders dedicated their lives and career for the national cause.
- The movement effectively co-ordinated the political and military wings; even after the assassination of Amilcar Cabral in 1973, the movement remained intact and led Guinea Bissau to independence in the following year.
- The PAIGC solicited for military support from the communist world. Communist powers like the USSR and China appreciated the socialist outlook of the PAIGC and thus, gave military equipment and training to the freedom fighters. The assistance from the communist bloc was instrumental for the success of the war.
- The movement recorded military success against the Portuguese: by 1974, the movement controlled two thirds of Guinea Bissau. In May 1973, the PAIGC ambushed and captured the Portuguese strongest military base of Guilder. The PAIGC military victories greatly weakened the fighting spirit of the Portuguese troops.
- The PAIGC leadership effectively established and organised liberated zones within Guinea Bissau. The party leadership provided grassroots democracy, free universal primary education and free medical care through constructions of schools and health centres respectively. The reforms liberated zones won popularity of the masses towards the struggle.
- The PAIGC leadership recruited women into its ranks. The women worked as informers, fighters, nurses and providers of essential supplies. The role of women was significant in the success of independence attainment in Bissau.
- The organisation sent the youth wing members abroad for further studies in military and technical education. Most of them were sent to Soviet Union and Algeria. All this was aimed at strengthening the military organisation of the PAIGC.
- The PAIGC leadership entered into the CONCP alliance with the MPLA of Angola and the FRELIMO of Mozambique. The CONCP alliance enabled the PAIGC to acquire liberation strategies and other logistics to destroy Portuguese colonialism.
- The party enabled the acquisition of independence through encouraging unity during the struggle for independence. The PAIGC played a leading role in minimizing ethnic rivalry between the Balante and the Fula. National unity worked in favour of the independence of Bissau.
- The party also participated in discussions with the new socialist military government in Portugal led by Antonio de Spinola. The independence discussions inevitably led to the independence of Bissau in September 1974.
- The PAIGC won support and recognition of the OAU. Through its liberation committee, the OAU extended financial and moral assistance to the struggle for the independence of Guinea Bissau.
- It petitioned the Portuguese colonial administration to the UN Security Council and won recognition from the UN General Assembly.

## **THE ROLE OF AMILCAR CABRAL IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF GUINEA**

## **BISSAU**

### **Reference Questions:**

- 1. Assess the contribution of Amilcar Cabral to the decolonization of Guinea Bissau.**
- 2. Discuss the role of Amilcar Cabral in the struggle for independence in Guinea Bissau.**

Amilcar Cabral was an agronomist by profession; he was born in Cape Verde, studied and worked in Lisbon before returning to lead the independence struggle in Guinea Bissau. His role in the struggle for independence was as follows:

- As an agronomist, Cabral was involved in an agricultural census conducted by the colonial administration. The census exposed him to the miserable conditions of his people, and forced him to condemn colonialism.
- Cabral mobilised masses to form the PAIGC; a movement that led the armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists.
- He mobilised the small working class and petty traders to give financial and moral assistance to the PAIGC against the Portuguese colonial oppressors.
- Amilcar Cabral influenced the establishment of the PAIGC headquarters in Guinea Conakry where the movement received considerable support from the Guinean leader Sekou Toure.
- Cabral won loyalty from the communist world from the start of the liberation struggle in 1963. This enabled the PAIGC to receive considerable assistance from China, Cuba and the Soviet Union in form of military weapons and training which strengthened the freedom fighters against the Portuguese.
- Cabral sent the PAIGC members of the political and youth wings to the USSR and China to be educated in Marxist ideology and technical skills. On their return, the political trainees improved on the strategies of the PAIGC against the colonialists.
- Amilcar Cabral appealed to the UNO to impose sanctions against the Portuguese colonial administrators for failure to grant Guinea Bissau independence.
- He won the support and recognition of the OAU and through its liberation committee, the continental body extended financial and military support to the PAIGC.
- Amilcar Cabral gave the liberation movement charismatic leadership, which was influential in motivating and instilling fighting spirit in the Bissau nationalists.
- Cabral recruited women into the ranks of the PAIGC. Women worked as informers, fighters and providers of basic supplies such as food and medical care.
- He encouraged unity of the Balante and the Fula, which unity was instrumental in weakening Portuguese colonial administration.
- Amilcar Cabral effectively mobilised the liberated zones in Guinea Bissau through establishing schools, health centers, roads and co-operative societies, which increased popular support for the PAIGC.
- He effectively co-ordinated the military and political wings of the PAIGC, which were influential in the success of the independence struggle. Even after his assassination earlier on in 1973, his presence could still be felt amongst the freedom fighters.
- Cabral led the PAIGC into the CONCP alliance. The alliance enabled Guinea Bissau to get reasonable motivation and strategies from her counter-parts, Angola and Mozambique. The activities of the CONCP helped to weaken the activities of the Portuguese colonialists in Guinea Bissau.

## **THE LIBERATION WAR IN MOZAMBIQUE (1964-74)**

### **The role of the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO)**

#### **Reference Questions;**

1. Examine the contribution of the FRELIMO to the struggle for independence in Mozambique.

2. How far was the FRELIMO responsible for the decolonization of Mozambique?

The FRELIMO was formed in 1962 in Dar-es-salaam under the influence of Edwardo Chivambo Mondlane. It was a coalition of Mozambican political movements in exile.

In 1964, the FRELIMO waged an armed resistance against the Portuguese colonial administrators in Mozambique. The contribution of the FRELIMO towards the attainment of independence in Mozambique was as follows:

- The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) established its headquarters in Tanzania at Bagamoyo where Mozambican freedom fighters were trained.
- Consequently, the FRELIMO led a mass recruitment of freedom fighters that were trained in guerrilla warfare tactics.
- The FRELIMO mobilised and sensitized Mozambican nationals who gave full support to the movement against the Portuguese administrators.
- The movement managed to beat the spy net work of the Portuguese and opened up guerrilla bases deep inside Mozambique in Ntete and Niassa. The bases were used to launch surprise attacks on the administrative and military posts of the Portuguese.
- With mondlane as president, the FRELIMO provided charismatic and influential leadership necessary for the struggle against the Portuguese.
- The FRELIMO won support of the communist powers like the Soviet Union, China and Cuba, who extended moral and military aid in form of training and equipment.
- Apart from Tanzania, the FRELIMO opened up other external bases in Zambia and Malawi. The movement used these bases to wage attacks on the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique from different external posts.
- The movement established liberated zones where Mozambicans were empowered politically to engage in decision making at the grassroots. The FRELIMO established health centers and elementary schools in these liberated villages where masses enjoyed exemptions from compulsory taxes and other socio-economic benefits.
- The organisation did much to weaken ethnicism during the struggle against the Portuguese. The FRELIMO instead promoted national unity. It reconciled the famous Makonde with other groups in the central and southern regions like the Makua. The unity of Mozambicans led to their success against the Portuguese.
- In September 1964, the FRELIMO waged an armed resistance against the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique. The Mozambican resistance through militarism weakened the Portuguese economically and militarily.
- The FRELIMO won recognition from the UNO as a national movement representing the Mozambican national cause. Hence, members of the UNO gave moral and financial support to the FRELIMO and imposed sanctions on Portugal.

- Despite the presence of other movements like the COREMO, the FRELIMO was outstanding and therefore, won recognition of the OAU. Through the liberation committee, the OAU extended moral and financial assistance to the FRELIMO to fund the liberation struggle.
- The FRELIMO entered into the CONCP alliance with the MPLA of Angola and the PAIGC of Guinea Bissau. The CONCP enabled the liberation movements to share military strategies and logistics that weakened the Portuguese.
- The movement scored military success against the Portuguese colonial administration. In December 1972, the FRELIMO murdered around four hundred Portuguese soldiers of African origin and around nineteen planes were destroyed at Mueda, The military causalties scored by the FRELIMO weakened the Portuguese militarily.
- The FRELIMO recognised the role of women and recruitment many of them in the political and military ranks. Women served as spies, fighters and nurses during the liberation struggle.
- The movement held discussions with the new socialist military government in Portugal of Antonio de Spinola and an agreement was reached for Mozambique to attain independence on June 25, 1975.
- The FRELIMO led by Samora Machel accepted the instruments of independence from the Portuguese and established the first independent government of majority Africans.

## **THE ROLE OF EDWARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE**

### **Reference Questions:**

1. Assess the role of Edwardo Chivambo Mondlane in the Mozambican liberation struggle.
2. Explain the influence of Edwardo Mondlane on the deolonisation of Mozambique
  - Edwardo Mondlane influenced the establishment of the FRELIMO, which was a merger of the different political movements in exile. He became the first president of the FRELIMO.
  - He consequently, ied to the establishment of external bases in Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi from where attacks were launched against the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique.
  - Mondlane led the FRELIMO to establish internal bases in Mozambique behind the intelligence network of the Portuguese. The internal bases were used to sabotage the Portuguese colonial installations and military posts like at Mueda.
  - He gave charismatic leadership to the liberation struggle at the initial stage especially between 1964 and 1969.
  - He successfully launched an armed resistance through the FRELIMO against the Portuguese in September 1964.
  - He gave a clear political program for the liberation struggle, such that even after his assassination, the FRELIMO leadership remained focused to the struggle for independence.
  - Edwardo successfully mobilised and recruited Mozambican masses who were trained in guerrilla warfare tactics to fight for independence.
  - Mondlane sought intervention of the UNO in Mozambique following the delayed decolonisation by the Portuguese. The UN went ahead to impose sanctions on Portugal, which weakened the colonial master economically.

- Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane commanded respect from the leaders of independent African states and through the OAU's liberation committee; they extended support to the FRELIMO against the Portuguese.
- Eduardo mobilized the small bourgeoisie class of petty traders. Workers and the educated to support the liberation struggle against the Portuguese.
- Mondlane called for unity among the different ethnic groups Mozambique in order to defeat the Portuguese. The major ethnic groups were the Makonde, Vai, Kua and Tsonga.

## **ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR SINCE 1976**

### **Revision questions:**

1. Examine the causes and effects of the civil war in Angola in 1975
2. Discuss the factors that led to the collapse of mass nationalism in Angola in 1975
3. Account for the civil war in Angola by 1975

As soon as Angola regained her independence from Portugal on November 11, 1975, her jubilation was short lived. The new African led government of mainly the MPLA was plunged into war with the UNITA-FNLA alliance. Since then, chaos reigned in the country.

The MPLA government at Luanda first under Agostinho Neto and later Dos Santos battled with the UNITA dominated rebels led by Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto from 1976. The origin of this civil war and the factors that prolonged it included the following:

- The colonial history of Angola led to the outbreak of the civil war. Angola during the Portuguese rule was fractured by the colonial policy of divide and rule which planted the seed of ethnicity and micro nationalism. The policy heightened the pre-colonial hatred among the tribes i.e. the Bakongo, Mbundu and Ovimbundu. Angolans became tied to their tribal loyalties than the country. This explains why they fought along tribal lines during the war of independence. It later influenced the civil war.
- Angola was inadequately prepared for independence. After the 1974 coup in Lisbon, the Portuguese government was in a hurry to withdraw from Africa and turn her attention to domestic problems. At the time, Angola was in urgent need of a well-organised police, national army and civil service to ensure a smooth transition from colonial rule to independence. Nothing was done by the Portuguese to achieve this however. Consequently, the MPLA, the FNLA and the UNITA declared independence separately and retained their regional armies.
- Militarization of the Angolan politics led to the civil war. On the eve of independence, the former guerilla groups had established large armies that were strongly equipped and battle hardened. Nothing was done to disarm them as agreed earlier in Ivory Coast in 1974. Consequently, the MPLA remained with an armed force of 1.5 million troops mainly in the central region. In the north, the FNLA retained over seven hundred thousand troops while the UNITA would mobilise about two million especially in the southern region. Failure to disarm the liberation movements made it easier for the country to break into a civil war.
- Ethnic differences fanned the ground for the Angolan civil war. As noted before, ethnocentrism started long before colonial rule and was worsened by the Portuguese as a strategy to govern their Angolan subjects and destroy national harmony. Ethnicity created suspicions, mistrust and therefore compromised national unity. The MPLA and her leadership were predominantly supported by the Mbundu; the Ovimbundu backed UNITA while the Bakongo were behind FNLA. Therefore,

ethnic rivalry facilitated the civil war.

- Ideological differences further divided Angolans and prepared ground for a civil strife. Soon after independence, Angola was caught up in cold war politics. The MPLA as a party and government were under communist influence, patronised and supported by the communist states of the Soviet Union and Cuba. On the other hand, the UNITA and FNLA were inclined towards the capitalist western powers. This created ideological conflicts, which favoured the civil war. The Angolan civil war therefore, was a proxy war (fought on behalf of cold war powers).
- Personal ambitions contributed to the Angolan civil war. This was evident long before independence. At the centre of this was greed for power and clash of personalities. Agustinho Neto, Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi were unwilling to compromise for the sake of national interest and unity. Instead, the political leaders were driven by micro-nationalism and militarism in a bid to retain political office.
- The character and personality of Jonas Savimbi led to the civil war in Angola. Savimbi was uncompromising and power hungry, he rejected the pre-independence elections and the subsequent elections that followed. Savimbi preferred a military approach to a political solution to the Angolan problem. As a warlord, he had accumulated massive wealth courtesy of the civil war. No wonder he never respected the call from the United Nations and the OAU for peace talks with the MPLA government.
- The indiscriminative policy and character of Agustinho Neto made the civil war inevitable. He was arrogant and egoistic; he preferred not to share the political cake with leaders of the FNLA and the UNITA who had partly helped to weaken the Portuguese colonial government during the liberation war. No wonder that Neto was reluctant for a power sharing agreement and never concentrated during the peace talks with Jonas Savimbi.
- Weakness and double standards of the OAU escalated the civil war. Among the principles of the OAU was the non-interference in the affairs of a member states; hence the continental body was reluctant to intervene in the Angolan question. Consequently, some members of the OAU like Mobutu of Congo Zaire supported the UNITA forces against the Angolan MPLA government. On the eve of independence, the OAU supported a coalition government of all the liberation movements but later turned out to support the MPLA government, which annoyed the FNLA and the UNITA.
- Failure of the Nakuru peace accord (protocol) of 1974 worsened politics in Angola. The peace agreement in Kenya was supported by the OAU under the chairmanship of Kenyan president Daniel Arap Moi; according to the Nakuru Peace Accord, the FNLA, MPLA and the UNITA were to agree on a coalition government before democratic elections were organised shortly after independence. The coalition government was however, short-lived due to the divergence in interests among the liberation leaders. The failure of the proposed coalision government laid ground for a civil war.
- The economic wealth of Angola led to the civil war: Angola is endowed with natural minerals like diamonds and oil that were distributed in the different regions of the country. The liberation movements controlled areas with mineral deposits and this hindered negotiations for a political settlement to the Angolan conflict. The UNITA controlled diamond deposits in Kabinda, which made Savimbi a warlord. Consequently, the MPLA government led by Agustinho Neto made a controversial mining deal with European mining companies where the mineral returns would benefit the MPLA as a party than the entire nation of Angola. Other leaders like Savimbi condemned the MPLA agreement with European mining

companies, which caused the civil war.

- The double standards of the United Nations Organisation facilitated the civil war in Angola. The UN Security Council condemned militarism in Angola after independence but member states of the UN went ahead and sold military equipment to different military groups involved in the civil war. The USA closely related with Jonas Savimbi through mineral and arms deals, which facilitated the strength of the UNITA.
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## **The effects of the civil war in ANGOLA**

### **Reference Question**

#### **1. Assess the impact of the civil war in Angola**

#### **2. How did the civil strife of 1975 to 2002 affect the people of Angola?**

- The Angolan civil war prolonged human suffering. The hope of Angolans enjoying the fruits of independence was destroyed. Instead, the war caused untold suffering, misery, insecurity, fear and other related effects.
- A reasonable number of people lost their lives in the war while others were left with amputated and maimed bodies. Consequently, there was massive destruction of property that included homesteads, gardens and other infrastructures.
- The economic life in Angola was left in shambles. In the war-affected areas, agriculture came to a standstill, trade was disrupted and in the end, rampant poverty and scarcity of essential commodities were experienced. The disruption of agriculture led to severe food shortage in some regions of Angola especially in the central and northern regions.
- The civil war caused heavy government expenditure: the MPLA wasted much of the government revenues on military hardware to the disadvantage of other government departments. This antagonized national planning and development.
- The Angolan civil war led to mass displacement of the people internally and externally. Many of the Angolan people moved and settled in the neighboring states especially Congo Zaire and Namibia, thus, worsening the refugee crisis in the region. By the time of the cease-fire in the late 1990's, there were over four million Angolan refugees settled in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, and Namibia.
- During the cold war period, Angola became a theatre of the ideological war of the super powers. The UNITA came under the influence of capitalism and received aid from the USA and South Africa while the MPLA had influence of the Soviet Union and Cuba. Therefore, the civil war in Angola was a proxy war fought on behalf of the super powers.
- Angola during the civil war suffered from external interference, which later promoted neo-colonialism in the country. Apart from cold war powers, Portugal the former colonial mother to Angola took advantage of civil war to contain her influence in the country. Angola was forced to sell her diamonds and oil to big powers in exchange for military equipment.
- The war caused militarization of politics in the country. The culture of the gun became deeply appreciated in the politics of Angola. This compromised national security since the countryside was left at the mercy of MPLA soldiers and UNITA rebels.
- The civil war in Angola divided the country further. The unrest escalated the ethnic tension, which affected national unity and facilitated the MPLA dictatorship. The MPLA government tried to forge unity through promoting democracy but all in vain. Dos Santos organized elections in 1992 which results were rejected by Savirnbi on grounds of tribal hatred. Failure of constitutional democracy forced Dos Santos' government to use coercive means in the guise of ensuring national harmony in the country.
- The Angolan civil war divided the OAU and became an obstacle to the concept of Pan Africanism. Outside Angola, members of the OAU became divided as African governments like the Mobutu administration supported the civil war through the aiding the UNITA rebels while others condemned such conspiracy.
- The Angolan civil war delayed the independence of other states in Southern Africa especially South West Africa (Namibia) and South Africa. Apartheid South Africa maintained herself in South West Africa on claims of preventing the

spread of communism from Angola. Consequently, Namibia received independence in 1990 while South Africa gained freedom from apartheid domination in 1994.

- The civil war exposed the double standards of the United Nations and this discredited the international custodian of world peace. The Angolan civil war became a personal issue on the UN agenda than an international problem to be solved. Many of the UN members of Western Europe supported the UNITA rebels through the NATO.
- Positively, the war drew the attention of international agencies like the International Committee of the Red Cross, the UNICEF, and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. The agencies came in due to the humanitarian problems hence, gave assistance in form of food, medicine and clothes to the victims of war.

### **THE MOZAMBICAN CIVIL WAR (1977-1994)**

Mozambique just like Angola succumbed to civil unrest after regaining her independence from Portugal in 1975. The civil war broke out between the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) government under Samora Machel and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) rebels of Alfonso Dhlakama.

#### **Causes**

##### **Reference Questions:**

1. Account for the outbreak of the civil war in Mozambique in 1977
  2. Examine the causes and consequences of the Mozambican civil war
  3. Account for the collapse of mass nationalism in Mozambique by 1977
  4. To what extent was colonial legacy responsible for the outbreak of civil unrest in Mozambique in 1977?
  5. How far was the FRELIMO government responsible for the Mozambican civil war of 1977?
- The Portuguese used divide and rule policy in Mozambique. They encouraged tribalism in the country by allying with minority tribes against the Makonde. By doing so, the Portuguese aimed at weakening mass nationalism and isolating the FRELIMO, which was led and dominated by the Makonde. The Portuguese divide and rule policy left no room for a united country at independence.
  - The unfair representation in the new independent government caused the civil unrest in Mozambique. On the eve of independence, the new military regime of Portugal signed a treaty with the FRELIMO in September 1974. The treaty excluded other minor nationalists groups like the Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO) from the political settlement. This was further reinforced by the unfair representation of the various liberation groups in the new Angolan government. The defeated Mozambican groups in the 1975 elections formed the RENAMO to fight against the FRELIMO government.
  - The FRELIMO government policy of banning other Mozambican political parties in 1977 caused political grievances that escalated into war. After independence, Samora's administration turned Mozambique into a one party Marxist state. Other political groups like COREMO were eliminated from the politics of Mozambique. This political elimination aroused sentiments among masses especially those who wanted a multi-party system of governance. In an attempt to fight for their rights, the Mozambicans resorted to violence and bloodshed through the activities of the RENAMO.
  - Authoritarianism and dictatorship of the FRELIMO contributed to the civil unrest. Despotism was practiced first by Samora Machel and later sustained by Joachim

Chissano. The FRELIMO administration censored the press and persecuted liberties of Mozambicans. The authoritarian policies of the independent government annoyed the Mozambicans who cherished democracy. Many others were of the Catholic Church, which the FRELIMO government regarded, as hostile to her communist policies.

- Militarism in the country furnished grounds for political chaos in Mozambique. The Mozambican war of independence exposed the masses to militarism and the culture of the gun. It was therefore easy to mobilize masses into a rebellion. This explains why the RENAMO was able to establish bases in the countryside very quickly.
- The ambitions and greed for power by political leaders like Alfonso Dhlakama was an additional factor in causing the Mozambican civil war. Alfonso exploited the discontentment of the people and wanted to use military means to achieve political and material benefits. He therefore, organised the RENAMO forces and launched a war against the FRELIMO government.
- Economic factors occasioned instability in the country. Independence in Mozambique failed to bring any tangible benefits to the masses. The country suffered from wide spread poverty and other related problems like unemployment. The liberation war veterans were dissatisfied with the land distribution and the agrarian policies pursued by the government. Out of frustrations, some joined the RENAMO forces. There is no doubt that biting poverty and unemployment prepared fertile grounds for a rebellion.
- Ethnic differences among Mozambicans frustrated national unity. Most of the people loved their tribes more than their country. Many sub groups were against the Makonde who dominated the government. These ethnic differences were reinforced by religious conflicts and colonial history.
- Conflicts in political ideology divided the country further. The FRELIMO was Marxist (communist) and denounced capitalism in all its forms. In their dream of building a socialist state, the FRELIMO adopted radical measures like nationalisation of the major capital ventures. This influenced many property owners and the rich to support the RENAMO who was sympathetic to capitalism.
- South Africa played a prominent role in destabilising the Maputo government. Apart from the fear of communism, the apartheid government in Pretoria was alarmed by Mozambican role as a frontline state and her support to the ANC. Thus, South Africa gave the RENAMO financial and military assistance as a counter measure against the FRELIMO government.
- Neo-colonialism had a hand in the civil war in Mozambique. Although the Portuguese pulled out of Mozambique in 1975, Portugal continued to search for influence in Mozambique. Some of the Portuguese lost their capital at the expense of the Marxist Mozambican government. Many others dreamt of regaining their privileges during the colonial period. Besides, the Portuguese government wanted to establish a neo-colonial influence in Mozambique but had no connection with Samora. This forced the Portuguese to support the RENAMO.
- The war was favoured by the weakness of the OAU that was itself divided by ideological conflicts. The OAU was inactive partly due to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of the member country. This attitude was also found among neighbouring states of Mozambique. Therefore, the ineffectiveness of the OAU prolonged the Mozambican civil war.
- The double standard of the United Nations contributed to the civil war in Mozambique. Though the UN Security Council condemned the unrest in Mozambique, and pledged to solve the conflict, no meaningful results were achieved until 1994. To note is that some of the major powers of UN like the USA, the USSR and Britain had political and economic interests in Mozambique, which

contributed to the civil anarchy.

- It is also argued that the civil war in Angola had an impact on Mozambique. Since the two shared similar colonial experience, the rebellion of Savimbi and the UNITA against the MPLA government could have inspired the RENAMO under Dhlakama to fight against the FRELIMO government.

## **Effects of the civil war**

### **Reference Questions:**

- 1. Assess the impact of the civil war in Mozambique**
- 2. How did the civil strife of 1977 to 1994 affect the people of Mozambique?**
  - The war led to massive loss of lives and destruction of property. About 1.5 million people perished in the war due to fighting, famine and other related problems. A lot of property both government and private was either destroyed or damaged.
  - There was economic retardation. The war hindered agriculture, industrialisation and scared away potential foreign investors. The FRELIMO government diverted national resources to sustain the war: the military budget more than tripled at the expense of social and economic needs.
  - During the war, Samora Machel was assassinated in a plane crash in 1986 October at the border of Mozambique and South Africa. Though the cause still remains a mystery, the blame goes to the government of Pretoria that supported the RENAMO rebels.
  - The civil war in Mozambique forced the FRELIMO government into heavy borrowing to compensate economic and social retardation. The external borrowing increased the debt burden of Mozambique and left the country at the mercy of the international community
  - The civil war delayed the consolidation of national unity and independence in Mozambique. This is because the country was increasingly dependent on foreign powers for assistance, and this worsened the neo-colonial problem.
  - The Mozambican civil war strained relations between the government of Mozambique and apartheid South Africa. Whereas the apartheid regime gave intensive support to RENAMO, the Maputo government complied through aid to the ANC. Hence, counter blames were directed to either government.
  - Consequently, the Mozambican civil war delayed the liberation of South Africa. The Maputo and Pretoria governments played a blame game that made the apartheid regime to consolidate her support to the RENAMO as a preventive measure to the support received by the ANC from the FRELIMO government.
  - The civil strife led to the militarisation of Mozambican politics. Between 1977 and 1994, the FRELIMO and the RENAMO used the power of the gun to achieve their interests at the expense of the national cause.
  - The civil war compromised national unity. The country became increasingly fractured due to ethnic, political and ideological differences.
  - Cold war politics was promoted in the country because of the civil war. The USSR and the USA supported the FRELIMO and the RENAMO respectively in order to satisfy their ideological interests. This was a setback to African nationalism and political development in Mozambique since the civil strife became a proxy war.
  - The war created a refugee crisis in Southern Africa. Thousands of people mainly women and children moved to neighbouring countries of Zambia and South Africa for security purpose and survival. Others became internally displaced.
  - Positively, the Mozambican civil war made the people of Mozambique to realize their identity and the importance of national unity at the expense of ethnic nationalism. After a lot of suffering, the people put pressure on the government

- to seek for a political solution with the RENAMO rebels.
- Consequently, the war led to international intervention. Organizations like the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Organisation of African Unity and the Southern African Development Community intervened with the hope of solving the Mozambican problem amicably. This international pressure led to peace talks between the FRELIMO government of Joachim Chissano and the RENAMO rebel group of Dhiakama. A peaceful solution and a cease-fire agreement were reached at in 1994, which ended the civil war.
  - The RENAMO was transformed into a political party and has participated in the last three presidential elections though losing all the attempts. Consequently, the RENAMO fighters were integrated into the Mozambican national army. Consequently, the RENAMO rebels were intergrated into the national forces and thus, the Mozambican civil war was the first successfully settled civil conflict in Africa.
  - The civil war exposed the weaknesses of the OAU in its efforts to find a lasting solution to the rampant civil wars on the continent.
  - The Mozambican civil war exposed the double standards of the UN, Most members of the international peace keeping body condemned the activities of the RENAMO in sabotaging peace and stability in the country but never took any meaningful steps to intervene. In particular, members of the UN from Western Europe, who co-operated under the NATO supported the RENAMO rebels against the Marxist government of Mozambique.

**Class assignment:**

**Discuss the factors that facilitated the end of the civil war in Mozambique by 1994**

### **NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL AFRICA**

#### **THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION 1953-63**

Central Africa was dominated by Great Britain in her colonies of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia since 1964), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe since 1980) and Nyasaland (Malawi since 1963). Like other parts of Africa, the region was significantly affected by the wind of change which swept across the continent following the end of World War II in 1945. Among the events that occurred in the period was the formation of the Central African Federation (CAF).

The Central African Federation (CAF) was a constitutional arrangement of the British Central African territories (protectorates) of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. It was a loose union of the three British colonies in Central Africa initiated by the British Labour Party government under Prime Minister Clement Atlee. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were predominantly African while Southern Rhodesia was effectively under white settlers since 1891.

The proposal for the establishment of the CAF was passed at a London Conference of 1950. Some Labour parliamentarians were however, opposed to the federation but, unfortunately, the Labour government lost to the Conservative Party who came to power in October 1951. The idea of federating British Central Africa was hence, implemented by the regime of Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the Conservative Government, and his Colonial Secretary Lyttleton Oliver.

The amalgamation of the three British Central African Protectorates was proposed by the whites in Salisbury, led by Muggins, and eagerly supported by their counterparts in Northern Rhodesia led by Welensky. This was a clear indication that

the idea of the federation was purely a racist attribute.

The reasons behind the formation of the Central African Federation evolved around the political and economic interests of the British Government on one hand and the white settlers in Central Africa on the other. They included the following:

**Reference Questions:**

1. **Account for the formation of the Central African Federation**
  2. **Why did the whites of Southern Rhodesia propose a union with Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia?**
- The desire by the colonial government to reduce on the costs of colonial administration in the central African region led to the formation of the federation. The colonial office in Britain believed that a federation in central Africa would facilitate easy administration in the region. They looked at the balkanisation (division) of the three territories as unwise because it increased the costs of administration. At the same time, the white settlers would assist in the administration of Central Africa than recruiting administrative officials from Britain. The federation was hence an attempt to not only overcome the balkanisation of Africa but also to reduce on the administrative costs by the colonial office.
  - Consequently, the merger (amalgamation) of the three territories into a federation was designed to forge unity between the white settlers and the African natives. The colonial government felt that the racial conflict between whites and the African natives in central region could be brought to an end through a federation. The view was that, with time, African political rights and power would gradually evolve until they were politically equal to Europeans, to share in the government of the federation. The British government was also to act as the watchdog of African interests, and ensure that African political power was advanced in stages. Therefore, the CAP was aimed at promoting racial integration of white settlers and the Africans in British Central Africa.
  - The fear of the growing tide of African nationalism led to the creation of the federation. The Africans in the region like their fellows on the continent were increasingly restless after World War II. The elites and the ex-servicemen of World War II were impatiently demanding for civil rights and freedoms. Their agitations threatened to undermine peace and stability in the region. The British government at home hoped to contain militant nationalism of Africans through the federation. The British settlers in the region also supported the amalgamation as a deliberate attempt to pre-empt the emergence of an African independence movement. They realized that the natural and human resources available would make them economically powerful (like whites in South Africa) to resist all moves towards African majority rule. The federation would therefore, contain African nationalism in Southern Rhodesia and prevent the impending independence of the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, -which was perceived as being influenced by communist forces.
  - Consequently, the aftermath (impact) of World War II influenced the formation of a federation. To note is that the idea of a federation was conceived before the wartime (1939-1945) and during this period, an inter-territorial secretariat was established in 1941 to encourage cooperation between the three territories of British Central Africa. The secretariat was later replaced with a stronger Central African Council in June 1945. The council would meet twice a year to coordinate affairs like migrant labour (movement of workers had been restricted by the rigid Pass Laws). The council consisted of the three

governors and a leading politician each. World War II changed the policy of the British government and influenced them to support the debate for a federation in Central Africa.

- The threat posed by the 1938 Hilton Young Commission created an impact, which made the, federation of British Central African territories inevitable. This commission headed by Hilton Young recommended a closer cooperation between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with the British East African territories in the north. The commission sighted great opportunities in this cooperation for majority Africans of the two British Central African protectorates. Such linkup between the 'black colonies' to (British East Africa) in the north was viewed by the settlers in Southern Rhodesia as dangerous. Instead, they supported the idea of a Central African federation.
- The political and economic status acquired by the white settlers in the region influenced the creation of the Central African Federation. The white settlers throughout the colonial period had acquired a mastery position, which was now being threatened by the native Africans. In a bid to preserve their mastery status, the settlers supported a federation with hope that it would postpone the emergence of an African led government. This racist view was championed by Sir Roy Welensky in Northern Rhodesia and Sir Godfrey Muggins in Southern Rhodesia.
- The victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948 in South Africa influenced the formation of the Central African Federation. The Nationalist Party victory brought to power the Boers and their policy of Apartheid. Apartheid scared the whites in Central Africa who were of British origin. They were aware of the Dutch hatred towards the British especially after the Anglo-Boer wars. To contain the Beer influence from spreading northwards the British settlers supported the formation of the CAF.
- In a related view, the creation of the apartheid system in South Africa could have had a positive influence on the creation of the Central African Federation. The British settlers in Central Africa could have been influenced to support the Central African Federation after the successful creation of the white minority government in South Africa. This South African racist government gave hope to settlers in Central Africa of a possible white racist government in the region.
- The British government wanted to counter the anti-British sentiments posed by the Afrikaners in South Africa. The Afrikaners in South Africa had wanted to establish cooperation with settlers in Southern Rhodesia and encourage them to cut ties with England. Great Britain therefore, approved the formation of the Central African Federation (CAF) in the neighborhood of South Africa as a multiracial society that was supportive of British government interests. The idea of a federation in the central region was hence perceived after the white settlers declined (rejected) the possibility to join Afrikaner dominated South Africa. To note is that liberals in both Britain and Southern Rhodesia strongly opposed the racist (Apartheid) system in South Africa. Settlers like Muggins got strong momentum to show themselves as strong liberals against the racist policy of South Africa with hope that in return the British government would acknowledge the idea of the Central African Federation.
- The rapid economic growth of South Africa scared the Rhodesians in Salisbury to push for a federation. The slow growth of Southern Rhodesia's economy (revenues) created a threat for a possible economic influence in British Central Africa from a powerful South Africa. The Rhodesians hence argued that the copper revenues in Northern Rhodesia would give them a commendable boost to shun away (block) South African influence. By 1951, Rhodesian revenues stood at sixteen and a half million pounds (16.5m), five

and a half million pounds (5.5m) more than Northern Rhodesia at eleven million pounds; but Northern Rhodesia would annually save a revenue surplus of five hundred thousand pounds. The settlers of Rhodesia would only access this revenue surplus through an amalgamation and this would give them economic confidence against South African economic threat.

- The economic interdependence of the three British colonies in Central Africa influenced the emergence of the Central African Federation. Southern Rhodesia was leading in industrial and commercial activities while Northern Rhodesia was productive in cocoa and copper mining. Both colonies desired to exploit the cheap labour in Nyasaland. The settlers wished to use the federation to exploit the market in Britain; attract foreign investments and more so, that the labour force in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia would work in the Zambian copper mines and Rhodesian industries. The enlarged state (federation) would hence encourage British investments in the region, which would strengthen the white dominated state. This economic prospective made the federation inevitable.
- The other argument for the formation of the federation was based on the racist attitude of the white settlers. The British government in 1938 issued the 'Bledisloe Commission' which spent about three weeks in Central Africa, drawing findings about the possibility of a federation. The findings of the commission favoured the African position against the federation sighting limited number of whites in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, different political operating systems, and sighting racial segregation, which could be applied against Africans. Nonetheless, the racist settlers pushed for a federation to the dismay of Africans. The 'Bledisloe Commission' had instead proposed that cooperation could only be possible between Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia who had majority Africans and less settlers.
- The need to create an alternative area of investment led to the formation of the Central African Federation. The British and South African international capitalists wanted the federation as an alternative area of investment to escape possible nationalisation by the Afrikaners after their success in the 1948 elections. These (British) investors were scared of losing their investments and capital in South Africa. They therefore supported the formation of a federation in Central Africa to enable them transfer their capital and investments to a new atmosphere.
- The desire by the white settlers to shade off competition of the Africans influenced them to support the formation of a federation. The Africans posed an economic threat other than political through their opinions. This motivated them to form trade unions like the African Mineworkers Union who together with other associations like the Liberal Rhodesian Selection Trust worked against the ambitious labour and economic policies of the settlers. In Northern Rhodesia, the settlers led by Roy Welensky favoured the amalgamation (federation) to safeguard the industrial colour bar (i.e. racial discrimination in the industries) and the position of white minors as a labour aristocracy (labour monopoly); and as the economic activities boomed, competition emerged between whites and Africans over the employment opportunities available in the mining and commercial sectors. To exclude the blacks, the racist whites promoted the idea of the federation.
- The need to exploit the economies of scale in the region favoured the amalgamation of the three British territories in Central Africa. To the whites, the federation was looked at as an avenue to enjoy the economic benefits of the region. In Salisbury, there was a desire to enlarge the market for their industrial commodities which in turn would increase revenue and promote

commercial and industrial production. The federation was also designed to open the copper belt in Northern Rhodesia for the whites in Southern Rhodesia, many of whom were suffering from unemployment and economic hardships.

- Consequently, there was a need to promote economic infrastructures in the region. The federation would enable pull resources (capital) to expand transport and communication lines, to boost trade and other economic activities. The transport-communication system was inadequate with only single-track railways to Cape, Beira and Lobito Bay. The authorities in Southern Rhodesia wished to build a line from Salisbury to Lourenco Marques (on Mozambican coastline). Indeed this development was finalised in the years of the federation with positive negotiations for cheaper transport rates with Belgian and Portuguese governments in Congo and Mozambique respectively.
- There was an urgent need to construct H.E.P. stations to boast the industrial potential of the region, and this would easily be facilitated through creation of a federation. The three colonies lacked hydroelectric power because it was expensive to harness (produce). Between 1940 and 1950, power consumption especially in Southern Rhodesia had increased by five folds (5 times). Consequently, of the 80,000 tons of coal needed for the copper belt in Northern Rhodesia, only 54,000 tons would be realised. This forced the authorities to pay more for South African and American coal; and sometimes pay for firewood three times (3 times) the price of coal. Therefore, there was need to replace coal with hydroelectric power, which was also necessary for domestic use. Fortunately, R. Zambezi and her tributaries were indulged with the potential in form of waterfalls. Only a federation could attract the necessary funds for H.E.P. stations.
- The increased influx (exodus) of foreign settlers from Britain created the desire to secure more land for settlement, which led to the creation of the Central African Federation. The federation would provide an opportunity for acquiring settler land for increasing British settlers in the region. Over 16,000 white immigrants settled in Southern Rhodesia every year and a federation would be a great opportunity to acquire for them enough land for settlement. Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia looked at a federation as a means of securing the much desired revenues to cater for the welfare of the rapidly increasing white settlement in the south.
- The white settlers in the central region also dreamt of a political independence from metropolitan (mother) Britain, thus, they pushed for a federation. In 1923, the whites in Salisbury acquired an internal autonomous status from the British colonial secretariat in London. They were allowed to have an independent legislature, police, army and a fiscal system. These settlers went further to scheme for a federation in order to challenge the British imperial authority over the region. Their counterpart in Northern Rhodesia had also realised the need to acquire political freedom from the British colonial office, which was possible through a union with their fellows in the south.
- The role played by Andrew Cohen facilitated the formation of the CAP, Cohen was the most influential and powerful liberal in the British colonial office and was very influential at the 1950 London Conference where the idea of a federation of British Central Africa was conceived. The conference was attended by colonial officials and civil servants from British protectorates of Central Africa, Cohen supported the idea of 'multiracialism/ which was a partnership between Africans and white settlers. Cohen strongly advocated

for the federation of colonial territories and that in British Central Africa, the federation would combine unity and the economic progress of both Africans and whites in the region.

### **The nature of the federal government in British Central Africa**

The Central African Federation was governed under the 1953 federal constitution. Practically, the three federal states were headed by a Prime Minister who sat at the headquarters in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. During its existence, the CAP had two regimes, between 1953 and 1956 and from 1956 to 1963. Between 1953 and 1956, the federal government was headed by Premier Sir Godfrey Huggins (from Southern Rhodesia) and from 1956 to 1963, the federation was headed by Sir Roy Welensky (from Northern Rhodesia).

The capital (headquarters) of the federation was established at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. It is here that the affairs of the federation were coordinated.

Each federal state had an assembly (parliament), but the federation had an overall assembly in Salisbury. In the south, the assembly was composed of thirty-five members eight of whom were Africans. Some of these Africans were appointed by the CAP government while others were elected by the white settlers.

### **Effects of Central African Federation**

#### **Reference questions:**

- 1. Assess the impact of the Central African Federation on Africans**
- 2. Examine the achievements of the Central African federation between 1953 and 1963**

*The federation* had both achievements (positive effects) and weaknesses (negative effects).

#### ***Achievements (positive effects)***

The federation brought economic benefits to the region, it created a large market, which in turn boosted industrial and agricultural output. This economic progress was mainly beneficial to the settlers in Southern Rhodesia who were assured of ready market from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

The federation motivated the domestic income, which jumped to three hundred sixty nine (369) million pounds in 1956 from twenty six (26) million pounds in 1953. Economic boom was partly helped by the improved price of copper, which consequently, remained high on the world market.

The federation led to African settlement among major mining, commercial and industrial centers. It was an advantage for Africans to exploit the settler market. African settlement led to increased African production in maize, groundnuts and other produce. In Northern Rhodesia, the African farmers enjoyed benefits of improved transport and communication, which led to the extension of modern agricultural services.

"The formation of the CAP led to creation of employment opportunities. Africans who worked in mines and white commercial ventures reaped increased wages and salaries. Employment of Africans raised their standards of living.

To harness industrial potential, the CAF government constructed Kariba dam on River Zambezi between 1955 and 1959. The dam generated hydroelectricity power and consequently boosted industrial mining and other economic activities in the region.

Consequently, the construction of Kariba dam on River Zambezi created the largest manmade lake in the world, which became a tourist attraction. Thousands of tourists from Europe flocked the region to see Lake Kariba which, together with Victoria Falls fetched extra revenues for the federal government.

The federation occasioned rapid growth in terms of improved transport, communication and urbanization. The improvement development was due to massive economic boom and white settlement. Salisbury expanded and resulted into a modern multi-racial urban settlement. Large hotels, theatres, recreation centers and universities were also established with many skyscrapers erected.

The CAF government embarked on promoting education in the region with more money allocated to the education sector. Apart from establishing schools in the federal states, the government established a multi-racial university at Salisbury. The education policy by the CAF increased the number of African elites who were to champion the struggle for African freedom.

Politically, the federal government allowed African representation in the legislative assembly. In the Southern Rhodesia Africans like Joshua Nkomo and Stanley Samkange were appointed to the parliament. Orton Chirwa and Nkumbirano (Nyasaland), and Harry Nkumbula of Northern Rhodesia were members of the federal assembly. Discrimination in decision making in the federal parliaments increased African sentiment against the federation.

The federation led to the rise of modern African nationalism. In the northern protectorates (Zambia and Nyasaland), African nationalists led by Kamuzu Banda and Harry Nkumbula protested vigorously against the proposed federation. They cited a master-slave relationship between settlers and Africans in the federation. Political activities like strikes and protests became widespread led by political groups like the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia (1948), the Nyasaland African Congress (1944), and the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (1957). Such political protects included the Copper-belt mineworkers strike of 1956.

## **Negative effects (shortcomings)**

### **Reference questions:**

- 1. Account for the collapse of the CAF in 1963**
- 2. Why was the Central African Federation dissolved in 1963?**
- 3. How far were the economic factors responsible for the collapse of the CAF?**

The Central African Federation was short-lived due to a number of shortcomings. The failures (shortcomings) of the federal government contributed to the collapse of the federation. The weaknesses of the federal government are the main reasons the federal state could not exist beyond ten years (1953-63).

- The federation ignored the forces of nationalism in Central Africa. The proponents of the Central African Federation were shortsighted, they failed to realise the strong wind of change that swept across Africa influenced by the end of World War II. Going by their intentions, the settlers failed to consider the negative position of Africans towards the federation, hence did not reconcile the African fears and hopes. Therefore, the federal government encountered strong African resistance especially in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It therefore awakened rather than cooled down the growing tide of African nationalism during the period. Demonstrations and boycotts became the order of the day led by African parties. In 1959, riots emerged in Nyasaland led by Hastings Kamuzu Banda, and spread to Northern Rhodesia championed by Kenneth Kaunda.
- The whites adamantly denied Africans meaningful participation in the federal affairs. They committed a political blunder when they ignored consultations with their African counterparts in the process of decision making, and this exposed the weakness of the federation in encouraging multi-racial partnership. In Northern Rhodesia, the whites allocated themselves fourteen seats out of twenty-two in the legislative assembly; in the south, they increased their representation to forty-four seats out of fifty-nine in 1957. This privileged position of the white minority was unwise at a time when Africans expected freedom.
- Economically, the federation increased the gap between the whites and the blacks. The economic boom of the earlier years benefited the whites more than the blacks. Even in the countryside, the white farmers who had more capital and land out-competed the African peasants. The colour bar in mining and industrial sectors discriminated Africans from gainful employment. This was the case especially in the copper belt.
- The creation of a federation worsened the land question in British Central Africa. The land problem therefore, became critical due to the establishment of the "poor land ownership system" issued by the federal government that affected Africans grossly. The creation of Kariba dam and the manmade lake displaced over 30,000 Africans from the northern bank of River Zambezi. Elsewhere, the heavy influx of white settlers into the region and the resultant economic boom led to further loss of land by Africans to the whites. This increased (escalated) the land conflict between Africans and the settlers.
- There was unequal distribution of benefits among the federal states. Southern Rhodesia gained much more from the federation than Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Apart from harbouring Salisbury the headquarters of the CAF government, the south enjoyed more investments from the revenues collected to develop the industrial and infrastructural ventures. Close to a hundred million pounds of copper revenues were transferred from Northern Rhodesia to boost the industry in Salisbury. Kariba dam was also more beneficial to the south that had a heavier population of white settlers.

- The creation of a federation in the British Central Africa sharpened the colour bar differences. The federation attracted renewed racism as more whites settled in the region, which worsened contacts between Africans and settlers. The white settlers were more arrogant, intolerant and racist to the blacks compared to their colleagues who had stayed in Central Africa for so long. This antagonised the creation of a peaceful multi-racial society. In major cities like Salisbury, public places like hotels, theatres, restaurants and bars, Africans were prohibited entrance. Federal leaders Godfrey Huggins, Roy Welensky and Malven were even more proud and boastful of their control over Africans especially their military strength.
- The Central African Federation denied Africans advanced and meaningful education. By the time of independence in 1964, Zambia produced only nine hundred and sixty (960) school leavers annually. In the south, a pro-African Prime Minister Garfield Todd was removed and replaced by Edgar Whitehead who quickly abandoned the attempt to enlarge African schools. This meant that very few Africans attained meaningful education qualifications.
- The Central African Federation employed political suppression against Africans. Political activists like Kamuzu, Kaunda and Nkumbula were arrested and imprisoned after attending the All African Peoples Conference (AAPC) in Ghana in 1958. The arrest of nationalists and banning of political organizations like the Nyasaland African Congress and Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, however, did not kill the spirit of resistance but instead African nationalism went underground for some time. Political suppressions were consolidated by the passing of two bills, 'the Unlawful Organizations bill' and the Preventive Detention bill'. The bill empowered the federal government to detain African political activists without trial and declares their activities unlawful. These bills provoked opposition from politicians and the church.
- Apart from banning of political parties and arrest of politicians, the colonial government used the reactive measures against African activists. In 1959, the federal government employed federal troops who harassed and arbitrarily treated Africans in Nyasaland for opposing the rigid and unrealistic federal laws, which prohibited African workers from moving to towns and reserved all well-paying jobs for whites. Over six hundred Africans were arrested and detained including Kamuzu Banda. The arrests were followed by a state of emergency that escalated African violence in Nyasaland in which the federal government murdered about twenty demonstrators in the Nkata Bay. This brutal conduct attracted criticism and condemnation towards the CAF from the public in England.
- The federal constitution disenfranchised majority of Africans that is, they were denied the voting rights, it was also unwise to entrust the whites with the mandate to choose the African members to the legislative assembly. Instead, the political marginalisation only strengthened African political agitations within the federation.
- Consequently, the Africans reacted negatively towards the federation, in Nyasaland political organisations were set up to organise Africans towards political freedom. Among them was the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) led by Dr. Kamuzu Banda. Similarly, in the south, Harry Nkumbula founded Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (ANC) while Paul Kalichini and Solomon Kalulu set up the United Independence party (UNIP) in Northern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia, the City Youth League was also set up to fight for independence.

***Other factors for the collapse of the federation apart from its failures included;***

- The CAF encountered constant attacks from (outside) Central Africa. The federation was strongly criticized at various Pan African Conferences, the Afro-Asia Conferences and the United Nations General Assembly. This attack was indirectly a criticism against the British colonial policy in the Central African region. Thus besieged at home and abroad, Britain opted to terminate the experiment by disbanding the federation.
- Pressure (public opinion) from the United Kingdom made the collapse of the Central African Federation inevitable. The opposition to the federation in Central Africa was spearheaded by the Labour Party that lost to the Conservative Party in the 1951 general elections, in the House of Commons, the Labour Members criticised the injustices of the federal government towards Africans and suggested motions to dismantle the CAP. The position of the Labour Party was supported by the English citizens who condemned the creation of the Central African Federation as a selfish move by English settlers in the region to dominate the native Africans. The public opinion in Great Britain sighted a decline in the image of their Great democratic Kingdom on the world scene if the CAP was not disintegrated.
- In Africa, the growing tide of nationalism and its success in achieving independence for many African states negatively affected the federation. The federal government sabotaged nationalism in the region at a time when the rest of Africa was in the mood of independence. In British West Africa, the Africans in Ghana and Nigeria attained independence in 1957 and 1960 respectively. In British East Africa, Kenya engaged in military nationalism against the colonial master between 1952 and 1956 in the quest for independence. Consequently, by 1963, East Africa was free from British colonial domination. It was however the independence of Ghana (1957) and the Mau Mau movement (1952-56) that had a profound impact on Africans in British Central Africa to rise up against the settler dominant position in the region.
- The rise to power of Harold Macmillan made the collapse of the Central African Federation inevitable. The change in policy towards the federation was effected by Prime Minister Harold Macmillan who was aware of the sweeping 'wind of change' in Africa. In Northern Rhodesia, his government issued a new constitution in 1959 leading to increased African participation. Later in 1960, the government of Macmillan released the imprisoned nationalists like Kamuzu Banda (Malawi) and Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia). They returned home with more heroism and popularity that fanned African nationalism. In 1962, Harold accorded Trinidad and Jamaica autonomy from the federation of West Indies, which was a sign that the CAP was on the verge of collapse. The liberal policy of Macmillian was to facilitate majority rule in the British Central African colonies.
- Consequently, the constitutional changes initiated by Britain led to the collapse of the Central African Federation. The British government set up the Monckton commission, which recommended the revision of the federal constitution and the right of each member-state to secede from the federation. In December 1962, Nyasaland broke away followed by Northern Rhodesia in February 1963. Thereafter, the federal assets were shared out. Nyasaland became Malawi after independence in 1964.
- The whites in Southern Rhodesia however resolved not to grant independence to their African counterparts. The British government also left Africans at the mercy of minority whites. In 1965, the whites in Southern Rhodesia issued the

Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UD1) as a means to perpetuate (consolidate) white rule over the Africans in the country.

- **Survival of the federation and the delayed independence in British Central Africa**

**Reference questions:**

**1. Account for the survival of the CAF up to 1963**

**2. To what was the CAF an obstacle to the decolonization of British Central Africa?**

- The federal government used repressive measures against African political activists and this sabotaged African political agitations. Many African political leaders were arrested and detained while others were brutally tortured and killed for opposing the stupid federal arrangement In Nyasaland, over six hundred Africans were arrested and detained including Kamuzu Banda while about twenty were killed by the federal troops in 1959 for opposing the rigid and unrealistic federal laws, which discriminated against Africans. This government harassment and the declaration of the state of emergency threatened African demand for equal opportunities.
- Consequently, Africans were denied participation in the federal affairs, which favoured the survival of the federation, the federal government facilitated white domination over African natives in the region. Africans were denied voting rights while those appointed by the federal authority to the legislative assembly had no say in decision-making. In Northern Rhodesia, the whites allocated themselves fourteen seats out of twenty-two in the legislative assembly; in the south, white representation was increased to forty-four seats out of fifty-nine in 1957. This privileged position of the white minority was unwise at a time when Africans expected freedom.
- The federal government sabotaged African coalitions against white minority rule in British Central Africa. The settlers aimed at preventing Africans from uniting against the federation. Before 1953, Africans had created welfare associations and political movements to agitate for equal opportunities in the federation. These included trade unions like the African Mineworkers Union in Northern Rhodesia and parties like the Nyasaland African Congress (1944) and the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress (1948). In 1951, the All African Convention was created in Southern Rhodesia as an African initiative against the federation. With the creation of the CAP, most of the trade unions and political organisations like the mineworkers Union and the NAC were either disintegrated or banned from operation. This undermined African political development and denies Africans the chance to establish a united political movement against the white dominated federation.
- Racial discrimination practiced by the federal government denied Africans in the region majority rule. In the field of education, the Africans were denied meaningful education, which discriminative policy was transferred to the employment sector. The whites created ambitious labour and economic policies in the mines and industries, which favoured settler monopoly. To note is that the federation of British Central African territories was aimed at excluding blacks in all the affairs of the region. The racist system of the federation frustrated African economic status and kept them in an impoverished state.
- The federal government perpetuated increased influx (exodus) of English settlers. Over 16,000 white immigrants were settled in Southern Rhodesia every year and these increased the support base of the federation against African majority. They were given land and other economic and political privileges in exchange for their loyalty towards the federal authority. Sir Godfrey Huggins, first Prime Minister of the CAP assured the English settlers

that their population was a means of securing white dominance in the region, which was under threat from African majority. The increased white settlement in Central Africa hence affected the welfare of Africans and made them unable to defeat the federation.

- The determination of the federal government to maintain the independence of the White settler community delayed majority rule in British Central Africa. The federal government leaders were scared of an African majority rule promoted by Macmillan government, which would make white settlers lose their superior status to the native Africans. This position was maintained by radical whites like Roy Welensky at the Lancaster Conference of December 1960 during which the representatives of the CAP government rejected the proposal by the British imperial office for an African share in the affairs of the federation and later paved way for an African majority rule in British Central Africa.
- The conservative white settlers exploited the weakness of some African nationalists who cooperated with the federal government. The radical Africans like Harry Nkumbula and Orion Chirwa accepted appointments to the federal assembly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland respectively and this instead made the federation to look credible. In Southern Rhodesia, Joshua Nkomo was later appointed to the parliament in Salisbury, which made him politically incompetent to criticise the federal government. The Africans in the federal assembly hoped to use constitutional agitations in parliament against white supremacy but they otherwise became part of the system they criticised.

**Class assignment:**

The above are a few of the factors that facilitated the survival of the CAF and delayed independence in British Central Africa, in your respective groups, identify and discuss more on this subject, present your work to the teacher for guidance.

**FROM NYASALAND TO MALAWI**

**(NYASALAND ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE 1944-1964)**

Nyasaland (Malawi since independence) was a British colony and was federated to a white dominated Central African Federation on October 1, 1953. The other colonies in the federation were Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe at independence).

Nyasaland was the first territory within the Central African Federation to achieve self-determination under an all-African administration. The territory officially attained autonomy from the federation on December 12, 1963 though her right to secede (breakaway) had been realised earlier on in December 1962. Nyasaland became Malawi on the National independence day of July 6, 1964 led by the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) under Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

**THE PROCESS OF NYASALAND STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE**

**Reference questions:**

1. Examine the steps through which Nyasaland was decolonised
2. Discuss the process that accelerated Malawi's attained independence

The political developments (steps) which accelerated the attainment of independence in Nyasaland were as follows:

- By 1944, Africans were dissatisfied with the slow pace by the British colonial administration to involve Africans in political participation. As early as 1944, the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) was founded; though it was

dominated by elites, the establishment of the NAC was a step towards the African struggle against white dominance.

- In 1953, the white settlers of especially Southern Rhodesia pushed for a federation in the Central region, which was confirmed by the British Conservative Government of Winston Churchill. The federation was aimed at destroying African nationalism in the region and perpetuate white control and dominance. The establishment of the Central African Federation however awakened mass nationalism in Nyasaland, which consolidated African unity against alien rule.
- Lack of African progress in the newly created Central African Federation led to increased African sentiments especially in the late 1950s. This nationalist spirit among the Africans of Nyasaland was prompted by the return of Dr. Hastings Banda in July 1958. Banda immediately took control of Nyasaland African Congress to champion African independence.
- The increased African pressure made the British colonial government to succumb to African demands. Under Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, the British government changed her policy towards Central Africa, which later favoured Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.
- In 1956, Africans received their first representation in the Legislative Assembly. This followed the requirements of the 1955 constitution established earlier in Nyasaland. Africans were granted five seats out of twenty-two in the Assembly. However, the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) opposed this unfair African representation.
- The Africans in Nyasaland increased their struggle for independence through de-campaigning the federation and white minority rule. These anti-federation campaigns however, bled violence in 1959 as the white government employed the federal troops to violently suppress the NAC and their supporters.
- Consequently, the above incident led to the arrest and imprisonment of close to two hundred (200) Congress (NAC) members under the government 'operation sun rise'; amongst them was Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda. About forty to fifty-two Africans were also shot dead in Nyasaland during the violence by the federal troops mainly from Southern Rhodesia.
- Prime Minister Harold Macmillan issued the 'Devlin commission' for a fact finding mission on the political state in Nyasaland. The commission pronounced Nyasaland as a 'police state' where Africans had no right to publically declare support to political activists who opposed government policies. The commission also found out that the violence of 1959 was a result of government activities against Africans. Much as the British colonial secretary and the Nyasaland governor Boyd Lennox both rejected Devlin's findings; the findings boosted African confidence to continue demanding for independence.
- The Devlin commission influenced Macmillan to change his policy on British Central Africa. He replaced Lennox Boyd with Iain Macleod as governor of Nyasaland in 1959. Iain Macleod's regime in Nyasaland had great influence on the success of mass nationalism in the federal state.
- Major events occurred in 1960; first Macleod released political prisoners in April 1960, the notable one was Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda. In August 1960, a new constitution was initiated. The new constitution gave Africans the right to vote with an increased representation in the Legislative Assembly. Twenty out of twenty-eight seats in the (LEGCO) were given to Africans. This would give an internal government to Nyasaland with an administration of majority Africans.
- In the same year 1960, Prime Minister Macmillan issued the 'Monkton

commission' with an objective of revising the federal constitution. After consulting with the moderate African opinion, the commission instead recommended the right of each federal state to secede (breakaway). This pushed forward the chance for Nyasaland to be independent.

- Pre-independence elections to the were organized in Nyasaland in August 1961 in which the Malawi Congress Party won all the 20 lower roll seats and two higher seats. It therefore gave Africans an upper hand in the struggle for self-government. Consequently, five African representatives to the legislative council, including, Banda were appointed to the executive council (government).
- In November 1962, the British government organised the London constitutional talks aimed at discussing possibilities for independence in Nyasaland. Africans including Banda represented African interests at the conference. The resultant event of the London conference was the declaration of the right of Nyasaland to secede from the federation by December 1962.
- The British government invited Africans for peace talks (London talks) in September 1963. The talks were dominated by discussions on the independence of Nyasaland. The colonial government agreed to initiate more political developments (reforms), which would quicken the independence of Malawi.
- In April 1964, the colonial government organised the pre-independence elections. The Malawi Congress Party (MCP) won all the fifty common roll seats, an indication that the MCP was to establish the first independent government in Malawi.
- The British colonial government finally handed over the instruments of independence to the MCP under the leadership of Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Malawi was officially declared independent on the July 6, 1964.

### **Factors that favoured the independence of Nyasaland**

#### **Reference questions:**

1. ***Explain the factors for the success of nationalism in Malawi***
2. ***Examine the factors which led to the decolonisation of Nyasaland***
3. ***Discuss the factors that favoured the Independence of Malawi***

Several factors explain why Nyasaland achieved independence before Northern and Southern Rhodesia:

- The role of colonial education facilitated the independence of Nyasaland. Through the Livingstonia schools established by missionaries the works of Dr. David Livingstone, Nyasaland had the best education system in the whole of British Central Africa. Many Africans like Kamuzu Banda, Aleke, Chipembere, Chiume and Chirwa attained education from Livingstonia schools. This class of educated Africans led the independence struggle.
- The role of Scottish missionaries strengthened African confidence to demand for independence. In 1895, the missionaries adopted the slogan of "Africa for Africans". Their activities influenced Africans to look at these missionaries as trusted friends. They therefore, collaborated with the Scottish missionaries who condemned British colonialism in the Central African region and demanded for equal status for both Africans and whites.
- The rise and role of independent African churches in Nyasaland influenced the growth of nationalism. The first independent church in the whole of British Central Africa was founded in Nyasaland by John Chilembwe in 1915. The politicians in Nyasaland admired the activities and achievements of the

African churches, which inspired them to demand for political freedoms. Besides, the independent churches preached for equal treatment of Africans with equal opportunities granted to Africans in the federation.

- The absence of ethnic sub-nationalism in Nyasaland contributed to the success of their independence struggle. Nyasaland was inhabited by majority Bantu speaking groups with similar linguistic characteristics. These groups included the Yao, Maradi, Luba and Ngoni. There was no tribal group that claimed an upper hand in the independence struggle. Therefore, the independence of Malawi was inspired by national unity.
- The geographical size of Nyasaland favoured the attainment of independence, Nyasaland was a long, small and narrow state, which favoured mobility of nationalists throughout independence campaigns and during the process of mobilisation of masses across the country.
- The creation of the Central African Federation strengthened the development of nationalism in Nyasaland. The federation led to the increased influx of white settlers in Central Africa. The white settlers practiced racial segregation in the region. The whole federal system was racist with Africans denied political participation. Nyasaland was established as a source of cheap labour for the white farms and industries especially in Southern Rhodesia. This motivated African hatred against white domination, which had deprived them of political participation.
- The economic inability of Nyasaland favoured independence attainment. The British realized less resource to be exploited in Nyasaland. Besides, the White settlers had very little investments in Nyasaland, which would motivate them to keep the colony.
- The role of Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda influenced the success of the independence struggle in Nyasaland. Dr. Kamuzu Banda returned from Ghana in July 1958 and became the leader of the Nyasaland African congress (NAC). After his release from prison in April 1960, Banda accepted the leadership of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) through which he mobilised masses to participate in pre-independence elections, which later enabled independence attainment in 1964.
- Consequently, the role of the Malawi congress party (MCP) led to the independence of Nyasaland. The MCP was formed in late 1959 to replace the NAC, which had been banned by Governor Lennox. The MCP participated in the pre-independence elections of April 1964 where the party attained all the fifty seats in the common roll of the legislative assembly. This landslide victory enabled the party to receive the instruments of independence in July 1964.
- The role of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was a positive gesture towards the independence of Malawi. Following the 1959 violence in Nyasaland, Macmillan issued the Devlin Commission, which recommended the political oppression of Africans to end. The Devlin Commission influenced Macmillan to appoint Macleod to replace Lennox as governor of Nyasaland. Macmillan also issued the Monkton Commission in 1960, which recommended the right of the states of the federation to secede. Nyasaland was the first to breakaway in December 1962, and this became a major step ahead of independence. Macmillan is remembered for his wind of change speech in the South African parliament, which inspired nationalists like Kamuzu Banda to increase their struggle for Nyasaland independence.
- The role of Governor Iain Macleod favoured the independence of Nyasaland. Iain replaced the conservative Lennox as governor of Nyasaland in 1959. He released Nyasaland politicians like Kamuzu Banda in 1960, initiated a new

constitution that gave Africans the right to vote and increased African representation in the legislative assembly to twenty out of twenty-eight seats. Macleod organised the pre-independence elections where Africans overwhelmingly voted for independence in April 1964.

- The collapse of the Central African Federation made the independence of Nyasaland inevitable. It immediately favoured the secession of Nyasaland from the white dominant federal government. The breakaway of Nyasaland from the federal state increased African political participation, which motivated their nationalism to attain independence.
- The independence of the neighbouring British colonies influenced independence attainment in Nyasaland. The former colonies of British East Africa like Tanganyika (1961) gave hope and motivation to Nyasaland nationalists to increase their effort in demanding for independence.
- The independence of Ghana of 1957 influenced political developments in Nyasaland, which led to independence. On achieving independence, Nkrumah spoke out that the independence of Ghana was meaningless if the rest of Africa was still under foreign influence and domination. Consequently, Ghana and her independence was a clear indication of the collapsing British imperial empire in Africa. It was hard for the British to therefore, resist nationalism in Nyasaland.
- Consequently, the influence of the All-African People's Congress of 1958 motivated the independence of Nyasaland. Nationalists like Kamuzu Banda attended the conference in Accra Ghana, which had great impact on their political profession. On his return to Nyasaland, Banda had overwhelming political ideas, which he used in carrying out political activities that led to independence.
- Criticism from the international community against the British policy in British Central Africa favoured Nyasaland independence. The UN general assembly condemned the declaration of a state of emergency in 1959 and demanded for the release of African leaders. Members of the Commonwealth of Nations put pressure on Britain to destroy the CAP and recognize the right of each member state to secede from the federation. The Commonwealth influenced Britain to initiate the London Talks of 1963, which led to the pre-independence elections in July 1964.
- The British experience during the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya (1952-56) favoured the independence of Nyasaland. The British were reluctant to witness a military uprising in Nyasaland in the cause for independence attainment. Due to this, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan initiated radical reforms like the Devlin and Monkton Commissions whose activities favoured the independence of Nyasaland.

### The role of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in the struggle for independence in Nyasaland

#### Reference questions:

1. *Assess the contribution of the Malawi Congress Party to the struggle for independence in Nasaland*
2. *Explain the role of the MCP in the attainment of independence in Malawi*

The Malawi Congress Party was formed in 1959 to replace the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC). It was formed with Orton Chirwa as its president, and Aleke Banda as its Secretary General. The main aim of the MCP was to fight for Malawi's independence; its contribution is noted below:

The MCP provided leadership to the independence struggle in Nyasaland, first under

Orton Chirwa who later gave way to Kamuzu Banda in 1960.

The Malawi Congress Party recruited masses in its ranks to bring about independence in Nyasaland.

The party demanded the release of political prisoners like Kamuzu Banda who was imprisoned in 1959 and released in April 1960. The release of Kamuzu Banda from detention strengthened nationalism in Nyasaland as Kamuzu became the leader of the MCP.

The MCP under Dr. Kamuzu campaigned all over the country condemning the Central African Federation. It therefore, campaigned for the breakaway of Nyasaland from the federation. This made the British to accept Nyasaland to secede from the federation in 1963, hence paving way for Malawi's independence in 1964.

The MCP employed the press in the struggle for the independence of Nyasaland. The party established a newspaper called the Malawi News, which was used to pass on the anti-colonial messages.

The party used music to sensitise and popularise the struggle against the federation. It encouraged singing of popular songs calling upon the Africans to vote for the MCP. This helped to secure mass support that helped to bring about independence in Nyasaland in 1964.

The MCP under Hastings Kamuzu participated in the constitutional talks of 1960 and 1962 organised in London: The talks were aimed at preparing Africans for majority rule.

It participated and won the pre-independence elections of 1961, which led to an increase in the African participation in the government. Seven out of ten positions in the (executive) were given to the MCP. This victory convinced the British to grant independence to Nyasaland in 1964.

The MCP expanded the long neglected secondary education in Nyasaland, which made the party popular among the masses. This followed the appointment of Kamuzu Banda as the internal affairs ministry.

It mobilised funds to finance the independence struggle. This was done through subscription by its members as well as selling badges bearing the image of Dr. Kamuzu Banda.

The MCP restored the native or local courts in Nyasaland hence promoting justice at the local levels, which also made the party popular among the masses.

It reformed the existing produce marketing arrangements hence reducing the exploitation of the African farmers by the whites.

The congress introduced the popularly elected district councils, which replaced the chiefs. This promoted grassroots democracy that made the MCP popular in Nyasaland.

The MCP participated in the 1961 pre-independence elections where the party attained twenty seats in the lower roll and two in the higher roll. This was an opportunity that graced Africans to promote their interests for independence.

In December 1963, after the federation was finally dissolved, the MCP received an internal self-government with Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda as Prime Minister. Banda

went ahead to prepare Nyasaland for independence.

The party participated in the April 1964 pre-independence elections where it won all the fifty seats in the common roll. The MCP was therefore, invited to establish the first independent government in Nyasaland under African majority.

On July 6, 1964, the MCP led by Dr. Hastings Banda received the instruments of independence for Nyasaland. The Central African country was completely free of the British colonial ties.

### **The role of Dr. Kamuzu Banda In the struggle for independence in Nyasaland**

**Reference questions:**

1. *How far did Dr. Hastings Kasnuzu Banda contribute to the attainment of independence in Malawi?*
2. *Assess the role of Kamuzu Banda in the struggle against the CAP*
3. *Examine the influence of Kamuzu Banda on the struggle for independence in Malawi*

Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda was born to a peasant family in Kasungu, Nyasaland in 1902. He went to a Livingstonia mission school for his early education. He trained in human medicine in the USA where he graduated by 1927, before he transferred to Edinburgh UK, for further training in medicine. While in the United Kingdom, Banda attended the Manchester Conference and also practiced medicine from 1945 until 1953 when he left the UK for the Gold Coast. During his stay in the Gold Coast, he kept in touch with Nkrumah, a charismatic Pan-Africanist who encouraged him to return to Nyasaland and lead independence struggle. His departure from Ghana in July 1958 was also due to persistent pressure from young Malawian politicians like Orton Chirwa and Henry Chipembere.

Kamuzu Banda spent about forty years abroad before returning home to lead the independence struggle. Even though he was a medical doctor, his desire for political freedom influenced him to oppose the white dominated Central African Federation.

**His role in the struggle for Malawian independence was as follows:**

- Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda represented the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) in England. He made contacts with the Labour Party Members of Parliament whom he influenced to address the Nyasaland cause for independence in the House of Commons in London.
- Banda while in London sent advice and encouragement to the relationship of the NAC through continuous letters he wrote to them. He used to send financial assistance to fund the activities of the NAC in the struggle against white domination.
- On his return to Nyasaland in 1958, Kamuzu Banda began the campaign of non-cooperation with the Central African Federation, which later facilitated full independence after six years. Banda accepted the presidency of the NAC, and used his position as the leader of the party to lead direct positive action towards gaining the independence of Nyasaland.
- Kamuzu Banda courageously and vigorously denounced the Central African Federation. He mobilised mass disobedience against the federal constitution and the unjust laws. His activities scared the federal authorities who clashed with African in the Northern Province.
- Dr. Hastings attended the 1958 All-African People's Congress in Accra, Ghana

after beating the federal security. He represented majority Africans of Nyasaland at the conference and scared the white authority in the British Central Africa. Upon his return, the federal authority arrested him, but he became a political hero among Africans of Nyasaland.

- In 1959, he was again arrested by the federal government on account of defying the CAF authorities, and abusing the constitution. This however strengthened his heroic personality and upon his release later in 1960, the masses rallied behind him to champion the independence cause.
- From the time he returned home in 1958, Kamuzu Banda united all sections of African population in Nyasaland from North to South where all ethnic groups rallied behind the struggle against the white dominated Central African Federation in their quest for independence.
- Upon his release in 1960, he led the Malawi Congress Party to constitutional talks in London. Banda had been invited by the newly appointed Nyasaland colonial governor Iain Macleod.
- Kamuzu Banda participated in the designing and drafting of a multi-racial constitution in 1960 and 1961. The constitution led to the establishment of twenty-eight seats in the lower roll of the legislative assembly. The constitution also granted twenty seats of the twenty-eight to majority Africans.
- In 1961 August, Kamuzu Banda led the MCP to participate in the pre-independence elections. The MCP won all the twenty seats in the lower roll and two in the higher roll. This gave Africans an upper hand in the struggle for self-government.
- Dr. Hastings Banda accepted the appointment to the New Executive Council of Nyasaland. He was given two ministries that is, the Ministry of natural resources and that of Local Government. Through these ministries, he extended services to the local people]
- Kamuzu Banda participated in the 1962 London constitutional talks that were held in November. During the talks, the delegates recognised the secession of Nyasaland from the federal state of Central Africa. This therefore, paved way for an internal self-government initiated in January 1963 that was dominated by Africans.
- Consequently, Banda accepted the position of Prime Minister in the new internal self-government, which was dominated by his MCP. This was a step towards the actual independence of Nyasaland that was fully recognised in 1964.
- Kamuzu Banda was among the representatives of the majority Africans of Nyasaland in the September 1963 London Talks. The talks discussed the independence of Nyasaland and paved way for the April 1964 elections in which the MCP won all the fifty common roll seats.
- He accepted the instruments of independence on July 6, 1964 and led the MCP to establish the first independent government of majority Africans in the new independent state of Malawi.

### **NATIONALISM IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA ZIMBABWE'S ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE 1965-1980**

Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe since 1980) was one of the settler colonies of the British. Due to settlement of a large number of whites in the colony, the British government decided to give the foreign settlers semi autonomy (an internal self-government) in 1923. This political status entitled the settlers to collect taxes, form their own army and establish their own assembly (parliament).

The internal self-government given to the white settlers was a violation of the sovereignty of the African native groups (tribes) in Zimbabwe who included the Shona and the Ndebele, among others.

Africans especially the educated greatly opposed the internal government of white settlers, which influenced them to engage in political activities geared towards independence. Among these Africans were Joshua Nkomo, Reverend Sithole Ndabaningi, Robert Mugabe and Harry Kimbula. Joshua Nkomo engaged in the formation of political parties, which were constantly banned. These included Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, the National Democratic Party and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. Hence, Africans committed their efforts to putting pressure on the British to grant them majority rule.

The white settler government was greatly opposed to the British intention of granting self-governance to majority Africans. The white settler position was led by conservative white leaders; Winston Field and Ian Smith. In 1964, an extremist and radical Ian Smith overthrew Field Winston in order to consolidate white interests in Southern Rhodesia. He then proclaimed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of Southern Rhodesia in 1965. The UDI was a rebellious independence in the hands of minority whites aimed at preventing the colonial government from granting independence to majority Africans.

### **Factors that fed to the declaration of UDI in southern Rhodesia**

#### **Reference questions:**

- 1. Account for the formation of the UDI in 1965***
- 2. Examine the factors that led to the proclamation of the UDI in Southern Rhodesia***
- 3. Why did Ian Smith establish a rebellious white government in 1965?***

The UDI was a rebellion by Southern Rhodesian white settlers against the British colonial government of Harold Wilson. It was aimed at manifesting the independence of white settlers from metropolitan Britain without the approval of the office in charge of colonial affairs. The rebellion (declaration) was made on November 11, 1965 by radical minority whites led by Ian Smith shortly after the collapse of the Central African Federation. At the time, Southern Rhodesia was inhabited by over four million native Africans, two hundred seventy white settlers' and a few Asians, The reasons behind the Universal Declaration of the Independence included;

The conflicting attitude of the British government and the minority regime of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia over the future of Southern Rhodesia led to the UDI. Britain before the collapse of the Central African Federation was preparing her territories of Central Africa including Southern Rhodesia for majority rule. The British government favoured a democratic government under majority Africans. The British attempt to grant majority rule to Africans was opposed by the minority whites who desired to perpetuate their control hence this resulted into a rebellion.

The internal self-government (semi autonomy) given to the whites in Southern Rhodesia in 1923 favoured the establishment of the UDI. In a bid to appease the whites and win their loyalty, the colonial government virtually left the political and economic affairs in their hands. The whites set up an independent administrative structure, a separate army, judiciary and civil service. This arrangement legitimised

white supremacy (dominancy) in the country. It was reinforced by the absence of strong control from colonial mother Britain. The semi-autonomous status enjoyed by the settlers meant that the British government could not prevent the UDI through military intervention.

Racism was at the center of the formation of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence. Since the settlement of the whites in the region by 1890, the African native population was considered inferior and unable to steer up the affairs of the protectorate. This racial prejudice was due to the arrogance of the settler community and was influenced by their political and economic privileges from the colonial government. It should be noted that the formation of the (CAF) worsened the racial conflict between Africans and whites in the British Central Region. The whites denied Africans voting rights and frustrated all attempts made by the British government to give a fair voice to the native Africans.

The fear of growing African nationalism contributed to the emergence of the UDI. By 1960, African nationalism had gained a new military owing to the wind of change and the negative effects of the CAF. In Southern Rhodesia, political parties were founded to spearhead the African cause. These included the African National Congress, the National Democratic Party and the Zimbabwe African People's Union. These parties were led by influential nationalists like Joshua Nkomo. Their activities scared the white settlers to issue the UDI.

Consequently, the collapse of the (CAP) in 1963 paved way for the UDI. After the independence of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, the whites in Southern Rhodesia realised that majority rule was eminent. This possibility was a threat not only to their political power, but also to their economic and social status in the colony. Therefore, the white settlers opted to rebel as a way of pre-empting the triumph of African nationalism.

Settler economic interests in the colony had a strong influence in the formation of the UDI. By 1960, the whites in the colony had gained access to fertile land; through the 1939 land law, the colonial government granted 49% of the arable land to the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. Settler land was increased through other land acts. Consequently, the whites had first investments in agriculture with the large farms and plantations of tobacco, wheat and maize, the whites wanted to protect this through the UDI. Apart from agriculture, the white settler community controlled the industrial and commercial sectors. They were also in charge of minerals from which they enjoyed great returns. These included coal, nickel and chrome. These together with job opportunities gave the white settlers economic supremacy which they wanted to protect.

The rise of Rhodesia Front Party (RFP) in the 1952 elections paved way for issuing of the UDI. The RFP under Winston Field was radical in political outlook. The party advocated for the preservation of the white minority rule and was opposed to the views of the liberal whites like Whitehead and Garfield Todd, who favoured increased African representation and freedom. In 1964 the extremists of the RFP got the opportunity to capture power through Ian Smith who went ahead to issue the UDI.

The character of Ian Smith was a factor in the creation of the UDI. In April 1964, Smith became the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. He was one of the most conservative, rebellious and reactionary white. He believed that Africans were primitive for independence and could only lead the country to chaos similar to that

which broke out in Congo in 1960. He also turned down proposals for a peaceful settlement with Africans. Smith declared the UDI in 1965.

The white settlers in Southern Rhodesia were also partly inspired by the American rebellion against the British (1776-77), which led to American independence. This was an inspiration from the white settlers of America who defeated the British colonial government by 1777. In this case, Ian Smith and his RFP felt the need to duplicate the 1776-1777 incidents in the USA by issuing the UDI against the will of the British colonial office.

Consequently, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa and the establishment of apartheid inspired the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia to proclaim the UDI. The activities of minority whites in South Africa after the introduction of apartheid were aimed at promoting political and economic dominancy of whites over Africans where Africans were denied participation in politics and economic activities. This influenced the settlers in Southern Rhodesia to implement the same through the UDI.

The formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 scared the whites in Southern Rhodesia to issue the UDI in 1965. At her summit in Cairo, the OAU passed a resolution that proclaimed her support to African majority in Southern Rhodesia. The OAU also recognised the nationalists in exile like Joshua Nkomo and their struggle to end racism in a country.

The activities of the Labour Party government in Britain led by Wilson Harold influenced the formation of the UDI. Due to her liberal ideas, the Labour government leadership started holding discussions aimed at establishing a democratic government in Southern Rhodesia under African majority rule. This was unacceptable to the whites who declared a rebellion against the British government.

The incompetence (short sightedness) of the British government led to the creation of the UDI. Initially the British government had given an internal self-government to the minority whites at the cost of majority Africans. This enabled the whites to establish a government with independent security force. At a later stage, this made it hard for the British to employ a military approach to block Ian Smith's regime.

### **Factors that favoured the UDI (survival of the UDI)**

#### **Reference Question**

- 1. Account for the survival of the UDI up to 1980**
- 2. Examine the factors that favoured the existence of the UDI**
- 3. Account for the delayed decolonisation of Southern Rhodesia**
- 4. To what extent was the UDI an obstacle to the independence of Zimbabwe?**

- The military strength of the UDI contributed to her survival against African nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. The UDI had a well established and autonomous security force through the police and the army. The UDI forces were well equipped and well trained hence, Ian Smith's regime was able to crush African resistance.
- The economic strength of Ian Smith's government contributed to the survival of the UDI. The white minority government controlled all investments and commercial activities in the country. They also had monopoly over the mineral fields. This gave Ian Smith an upper hand to run the affairs of his government and finance the counter war against African freedom fighters.

- The establishment of the triumvirate alliance delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. There was an alliance (gang) of three white minority governments of Don Salazar of the Portuguese colonial government, the apartheid regime of South Africa and the UDI of Ian Smith. These regimes allied together and agreed to crash any African nationalism from their respective colonies. They shared military intelligence and strategies which enabled them to survive in Southern Africa.
- The support received by the UDI from the USA and Europe enabled the minority government to survive at the expense of nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. Militias were recruited and trained in Europe and America to help increase the capacity of the UDI against Africans. American supported facilitated the military strength of Ian Smith's government to enable him crash African nationalism.
- The existence of cold war politics enabled the survival of the UDI and the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The capitalist world through the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) powers led by the USA detested the liberation groups in Southern Rhodesia i.e. the ZANU and the ZAPU who had allied with the communist world. Due to the socialist output, the ZANU and the ZAPU were receiving aid from China and the USSR respectively. The fear of communist influence in Southern African region influenced the NA~0 powers to fund the UDI government.
- The incompetence and reluctance of the British government against the JDI government favoured the survival of the white minority government. As colonial administrators, the British gave the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia an internal autonomy, which allowed them to have an independent administrative structure with their own army. This made it impossible for the British government to employ the military strategy against the white settler government. The UDI government also enjoyed support from the British citizens back at home.
- The delayed independence of the neighbouring countries of Southern Rhodesia favoured the UDI government. Countries like Mozambique and South Africa were equally under white denomination. This made it impossible for the African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia to access training bases and other facilities in these countries. This also enabled Ian Smith to consolidate his rule in Southern Rhodesia.
- The presence of a large white settler community in Southern Rhodesia worked in favour of Ian Smith's government. The settlers enjoyed political and economic privileges, which included ownership to large pieces of land, political rights and positions of administration. They willingly gave support to the UDI government in order to protect their interests in the colony.
- The establishment of protected societies (reserves) by Ian Smith's government enabled the survival of the white settler colony. This was to protect African settlements, surveyed and patronised by the government security forces. The white minority government aimed at retrieving and preventing African masses from supporting the liberation struggle.

***Above are some of the factors that favoured the survival of the UDI and delayed the independence of Southern Rhodesia. Others include:***

- Nationalists in Southern Rhodesia were divided on tribal lines, which delayed their independence. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was predominantly of Shona of Mashona and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) for the Ndebele of Matebele. These groups could hardly unite to work out a common strategy against the white minority government of Ian Smith until the latter years of the rebellion.

- The formation of the Central African Federation (CAP) in 1953 delayed the independence of Southern Rhodesia. The federation strengthened white settlers against the African nationalist activities. The CAP suppressed African political agitations, banned the operation of political parties like the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Democratic Party (NDP).
- The imprisonment of nationalists in Southern Rhodesia delayed the liberation of Africans. Nationalists like Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe were persecuted and imprisoned by the government of Ian Smith. Their arrest and imprisonment was a setback to the struggle for independence because it left political gaps in the leadership of the liberation struggle.
- The difference in strategies among freedom fighters delayed the independence of Africans. The moderates of (ZAPU) led by Nkomo did not agree with the military approach at the initial stage. This influenced Ndabaningi and Mugabe to break away and form the (ZANU). Even within (ZANU) itself, some members opposed the creation of the ZANLA to launch a liberation struggle against the UDI government. The inconstancies among nationalists hence, delayed independence attainment in Southern Rhodesia.
- The double standards of the United Nations worked against the independence of Southern Rhodesia. The UNO continuously condemned white dominancy in Southern Rhodesia and took long to take action against Ian Smith's government. Member states like the USA and Britain secretly supported the UDI government.
- The weakness of the OAU led to the independence of Southern Rhodesia. The OAU lacked a military force to supplement the freedom fighters of Southern Rhodesia. She intervened at a later stage to grant nationalists of Southern Rhodesia assistance: the resolution for the intervention of the OAU in Zimbabwean question was made in 1964 at a summit conference in Cairo.

### **The war of independence in Southern Rhodesia 1966-1980**

Southern Rhodesia like Portuguese Africa, South West Africa and South Africa had a bloody road to independence. This became inevitable after the issuing of the UDI by Ian Smith.

The spirit of nationalism in Southern Rhodesia became militant from 1966 though the signs appeared a few years earlier. This was because of the rebellion by the whites yet Great Britain did little to intervene and pave way for African majority rule. This influenced Africans in southern Rhodesia to wage a war of independence.

**The causes of the war hence included:**

1. *To what extent were the economic factors responsible for the outbreak of the Zimbabwean war of independence?*
2. *Account for the outbreak of the liberation struggle In Southern Rhodesia in 1966*
3. *Discuss the factors that led to the rise of militant nationalism in Southern Rhodesia between 1966 and 1980*

- The reluctant reaction of the British government to the UDI caused the war in

Southern Rhodesia. The British government reacted to the UDI through a policy of non-intervention imposition of sanctions and later diplomacy. Although Harold Wilson declared the UDI illegal, his government did not send troops to suppress the rebellious whites. This influenced Africans to resort to militarism.

- Failure of the peaceful means employed by Africans to achieve independence caused the war. Africans failed in their endeavours to promote majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. The nationalists like Joshua Nkomo and Rev. Sithole Ndabaningi tried to engage the white settler government of Field Winston but in vain. The Africans were left with no option but to resort to the armed struggle.
- Similarly, the issuing of the UDI shattered African chances of achieving independence immediately. The UDI was a creation of the white settler community led by Ian Smith to consolidate white supremacy and dominance over Africans in Southern Rhodesia. This coupled with racism' of whites against Africans influenced Africans to respond to whites through military means.
- The formation of military movements influenced the Rhodesian war of independence. The first group was the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) who created a military wing called the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) in 1962 to prepare for a possible armed confrontation. Later, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) created a fighting force in 1965 known as the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) based in Zambia. These military wings recruited guerrillas that launched an offensive against the white settler regime in 1966.
- The influence of neighbouring independent states caused the Zimbabwean war of liberation. After independence, Zambia allowed the ZANU to establish a military base in her territory which it used to launch attacks against Ian Smith's regime. Other African states like Algeria gave ZANLA military training in guerrilla tactics and together with Tanzania; they extended financial assistance to freedom fighters in Southern Rhodesia, which consolidated the guerrilla war.
- The atrocities committed by white settlers against Africans influenced the armed struggle. Africans lost a lot of their land to the whites; they were over taxed and arbitrarily arrested. All these caused anger to the Africans to resort to militarism against white settlers.
- The Zimbabweans were influenced by the earlier traditional resistance like Shona-Ndebele rebellion, which was an early resistance against the establishment of British colonialism. Though it was crashed, the rebellion motivated Africans to rise against the minority white regime.
- The denial of Africans to participate in politics of their country caused the war. African political parties like the African National Congress, the National Democratic Party, and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union were suppressed and banned from operation. Africans were also unequally represented in parliament. All these left them with no option but to resort to war to acquire political rights.
- The exiles of Zimbabwe greatly influenced the war. The Zimbabweans in the diaspora funded liberation movement especially the Zimbabwe African National Union, spread anti-UDI propaganda and solicited for support from the international community.
- The influence of the Algerian war of liberation caused war in Southern Rhodesia. The success of the liberation war in Algeria had a positive impact on nationalism in Zimbabwe as it influenced Africans in Zimbabwe to resort to

military means, trained the ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) guerrillas and extended assistance to nationalists in form of finance and military.

- The influence of Zimbabwean radicals like Mugabe made the war inevitable. Mugabe condemned the white minority regime (the UDI); even after his arrest, his influence was felt among the deputies of the ZANU. Mugabe organised the ZANU military wing (ZANLA) and launched attacks against the white colonial settlements.
- The war was influenced by communist assistance. The ZAPU dominated by Ndebele had close links with the Soviet Union while the ZANU of predominantly Shona accessed military aid from China.
- The independence wars in Portuguese Africa, mostly Angola and Mozambique influenced the war in Southern Rhodesia. The wars of independence in Portuguese Africa greatly influenced Zimbabweans to resort to war, The ZANU later made an alliance with the FRELIMO (Mozambican Liberation Front) where the two shared military strategies.

***NB: Colonial policies like the poor land policy, forced labour and the unfair fiscal and education policies can also be considered among the factors that caused the uprising in Southern Rhodesia.***

### **Factors that favoured the independence of Zimbabwe**

#### **Reference questions:**

1. ***Discuss the factors that favoured the independence of Zimbabwe***
2. ***Account for the collapse of the UDI in 1980***
3. ***"The downfall of the UDI was inevitable." Discuss***
4. ***"The weaknesses of Ian Smith's government led to the collapse of the UDI." Discuss***

- The union of the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union in late 1970s strengthened African struggle against Ian Smith's government. This made it easy to employ a common strategy that weakened the white minority regime.
- The individual role of the ZANU contributed to the success of the struggle. Apart from condemning Ian Smith's racist government, the ZANU established the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, a military wing that waged a war of independence against white minority regime in 1966. Later the ZANU-Patriotic Front accepted to collaborate -with the ZAPU-Patriotic Front for a national cause.
- The creation of external training grounds gave the liberation movement an upper hand. The ZANU established bases in Mozambique and Tanzania from where the ZANLA launched attacks against Ian Smith's government.
- The support provided by the Shona spiritual mediums (religious leaders) contributed to the success of the Rhodesian war of independence. These religious leaders courageously escorted liberation fighters to the battlefield and gave them faith and motivation to fight against the white settler army.
- The support from the Organisation African Unity contributed to the success of the liberation war in Southern Rhodesia. Through its liberation committee, the OAU gave material support to ZANU and ZAPU, and encouraged both groups to set up a patriotic front. The OAU also called for sanctions against Ian Smith's regime, which weakened the white settler government in favour of Africans.

- The role of the UNO enabled the success of Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The international custodian of peace, through its Security Council imposed economic sanctions on the UDI government, which narrowed down her market base and reduced her trade partners. Continuous pressure from the UN influenced Ian Smith's government to effect reforms on the eve of independence.
- The Commonwealth of Nations added their voice to the anti-Rhodesia crusade. At the forefront were the former British colonies in Africa including Nigeria, Zambia, Uganda and Tanzania among others. The African Commonwealth members pressurized Britain to resume her patronage over Rhodesia and prepare her timetable for the independence of this country. They extended moral and financial assistance to the ZANU and the ZAPU.
- The rise of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 as a British Prime Minister changed the British policy on Rhodesia. Her government realized the need for the ZAPU and the ZANU to involve in peace negotiations with Ian Smith to bring a political solution to the Rhodesian question. She spearheaded the peace settlement and organised an independence conference in 1979. Her role brought independence to Zimbabwe.
- Similarly, the USA contributed to the freedom of Africans in Zimbabwe. During President Jimmy Carter's tenure, USA exerted more pressure on Rhodesia and Britain. In 1976, the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made proposals for peace and majority rule in Rhodesia. The result was the Geneva constitutional conference of November 1976. This conference set the mood for serious dialogue between Africans and white settler government.
- The role played by communist states cannot be under estimated in the success of Zimbabwean war of independence. Among them were the USSR, Cuba, China and Czechoslovakia. In order to spread their political ideology, the communist states trained and armed the guerrilla armies. It is for this reason that most of the weapons like AK-47 rifles and bombs used by the ZANLA and ZIPRA came from the communist world.
- The 1974 Lisbon coup in Portugal worked in favour of Zimbabwean nationalism. The coup led to the immediate independence of Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique and dealt a final blow to the survival of the triumvirate alliance that began collapsing in 1968. The collapse of the gang of three made the regime of Ian Smith vulnerable. The eastern border became more exposed to ZANLA and Rhodesia's access to the port of Beira was cut off by Mozambican guerrillas.
- The growing military success of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army and Zimbabwe Peoples Resistance Army antagonised the socio-economic life of the white population in the country. The insecurity caused by the increased attacks on white settlers diverted them from their economic activities, which included trading, mining and farming. Some of the whites perished in the war while others left the country during the independence struggle. This reduced the support enjoyed by the UDI government and consequently, weakened her.
- The role played by Robert Mugabe contributed to the success of African freedom agitations. Mugabe dedicated his profession, established the ZANLA and influenced an attack on the white minority government. Even after his imprisonment, Mugabe continuously condemned the UDI government and his influence was always felt through his deputies. He transformed the ZANU into ZANU-Patriotic Front, which spearheaded the success of independence struggle.
- The role of Zimbabweans exiles led to the success of the independence

struggle in Southern Rhodesia. Apart from joining liberation forces from exile, the exiles continuously solicited for assistance from abroad and spread anti-UDI propaganda to the international community.

- The reconciliation and unity of the Shona and the Ndebele ethnic groups popularised the movement against the UDI. The two tribal groups gave tremendous support to the liberation war in terms of food and other supplies to the fighters, which enabled them to weaken the white settler government. The ethnic clashes between the Shona and the Ndebele had favoured the political activities of the UDI government against Africans.
- The economic decline of the UDI government led to the liberation of Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The white settler economy collapsed due to continuous African attacks, pressure and sanctions from the OAU and the UN. Hence, the Ian Smith administration could not sustain itself but to surrender.
- The role of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union led to the success of the war of independence in Southern Rhodesia. The ZAPU, like the ZANU established a military wing, the Zimbabwe Peoples Resistance Army, which launched guerrilla attacks against the white settler regime.

### **The role of Robert Mugabe**

- Mugabe retired from his profession as a teacher to participate in the struggle against the white minority regime.
- He worked as a secretary of the radical Zimbabwe African National Union and begun mounting pressure on Ian Smith's government in early 1960's.
- During his days in prison, Mugabe continuously condemned the UDI and her racist policies and influenced the ZANU deputies to wage a liberation war against the government of Ian Smith.
- Mugabe allied with the communist world especially China from whom a lot of assistance in terms military equipment and training was received by the ZANU.
- Mugabe intensified the activities of the ZANU in the last stages of the war through recruiting educated but jobless Africans in the ZANLA. These carried their grievances against the white settler government.
- Mugabe sought for recognition of the ZANU movement and the liberation war against the whites from the OAU and the UNO.
- He gave charismatic relationship and influence that increased the determination of freedom fighters against white settler regime.
- He recruited women into the ranks of the ZANU and the ZANLA and those women gave great assistance to the liberation war through providing food, treatment to the wounded and espionage information.
- Mugabe influenced the creation of a youth wing, which consolidated the spirit of nationals- to the young Africans in Zimbabwe.
- Mugabe asked for intervention of the British government and condemned the incompetence of the British minority regime in failing to solve the UDI issue.
- Mugabe led ZANU-Patriotic Front to the pre-independence elections, which the movement consequently won the war with majority seats in the parliament.
- Mugabe petitioned Ian Smith's government to the UN Security Council; purposely to win the council towards Zimbabwe's cause.
- He called upon the international community to side with Africans in Zimbabwe and condemn the activities of the UDI
- Mugabe led ZANU-PF into peaceful discussions with ZAPU-PF and Ian Smith's minority regime aimed at bringing a political solution to the conflict.
- Mugabe accepted the instruments of power and hence established the first

African majority government In Zimbabwe that officially led to independence of Zimbabwe on April 27, 1980.

- He invited the ZAPU-PF of Joshua Nkomo to join ZANU-PF in a coalition government.

#### **Summary of the role of the Zimbabwe African National Union**

- The ZANU carried out guerrilla attacks and raids on white plantations and businesses and government installations.
- The ZANU de-campaigned the UDI and Ian Smith's regime.
- The movement formed the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army as a military wing to intensify the struggle against the white regime.
- The ZANU and ZANLA waged a liberation war against the UDI government.
- The ZANU-pf opened up external bases to facilitate the war for example in Zambia, Tanzania and later Mozambique.
- The ZANU solicited for assistance from the socialist world especially China.
- The ZANU-pf petitioned Ian Smith's government to the UN calling for the international body's intervention
- The ZANU sought for recognition from the OAU and consequently asked for assistance from African governments.
- The movement created a youth wing intended to spearhead nationalism at grassroots.
- Through leaders like Mugabe, the ZANU gave charismatic leadership in the course of the independence struggle.
- The ZANU-pf collaborated with the ZAPU to consolidate Zimbabwean struggle against the UDI.
- The ZANU-pf participated in pre-independence discussion with the white minority regime aimed at bringing a political solution to the conflict in Zimbabwe.
- The ZANU recruited women in her military and political ranks as fighters, nurses and informers.
- The ZANU won the support of Shona spiritual mediums who worked with movements as instructors in directing the war.
- The ZANU established an external alliance with FRELIMO aimed at consolidating her military strength and strategies during the independence struggle.
- The movement recruited and trained guerilla fighters to strengthen the struggle for African majority rule.
- The ZANU organised liberated zones and made reforms that included provision of free education and health services, which popularized the movement.

#### **NATIONALISM IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA1966- 1990**

Namibia (formerly South West Africa) is found in southwestern Africa, north of the Union of the Republic of South Africa. The original inhabitants of South West Africa included the Ovambo in the Northern areas closer to the border with Angola and the Herero in the central. The Nama occupied the Southern areas with other minority groups scattered in other parts of the country. Whites began settling on the Namibian coast in the second half of the nineteenth century (around 1868) and these included traders and missionaries.

The country fell under German rule in 1884 until 1915 when the British forces from South Africa attacked and occupied South West Africa following the outbreak of

World War I. The Versailles Peace Settlement of 1919 that determined the aftermath of WWI mandated Namibia to South Africa. In 1920, the newly founded custodian of world peace (the League of Nations) bestowed to South Africa full administrative and legislative powers over South West Africa as a trustee territory. South Africa was allowed to apply her laws over Namibia, thus she exhibited imperialist policies in the southwest African country.

South African maladministration in Namibia was to the dismay of the United Nations Organisation (UNO), the body established in 1945 to replace the League. The General Assembly of the UNO voted to terminate the mandate of South Africa in October 1966, as a way of promoting socio-economic advancement in education, progressive economic development and prepare the natives for self-government. The General Assembly identified conspiracy in the South African application of Apartheid in Namibia, which led to inequalities in rights and welfare between whites and non-whites.

However, racist South Africa defied the UN and chose to annex South West Africa and retain control over her until 1990. "**Apartheid South Africa treated Southwest Africa as if it were a fifth province of the South African Union.**" South Africa's imperialism over South West Africa (Namibia) was influenced by economic, political and military reasons that included the FOLLOWING:

***Reference questions:***

- 1. Account for South African imperialism over Namibia***
- 2. To what extent was South Africa an obstacle to the independence of Namibia?***

- South Africa did not recognize the claim of the UN General Assembly over the former German colony. The Apartheid regime in Pretoria claimed that it was only the League of Nations that had legitimate mandate to determine the fate of South West Africa. However, since the League had collapsed simultaneously with the outbreak of World War II, South Africa had other motives. Even with the intervention of The International Court of Justice based in Hague, South Africa unilaterally continued administering Namibia. The hesitation of South Africa to withdraw from South West Africa had forced the UN General Assembly to seek for an advisory opinion on the position of South Africa over Namibia. Thus, South Africa refused to accept the supervision of the UN General Assembly, nor to send an annual report to the UN on her administration in Namibia.
- South African refusal to honour the terms of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, to withdraw from Namibia and prepare the country for independence was driven by racial intrigue (racism). The whites of South Africa were determined to maintain their dominancy over the natives of Namibia. The apartheid regimes invested heavily in perpetuating a white puppet government that ensured maintenance of white supremacy in the region of Southern African region. The white minority government of South Africa found fantasy in suppressing the natives of Namibia as it was in the South Africa in favour of promoting white superiority complex.
- Apartheid South Africa valued the economic potential of South West Africa. The abundant mineral resources like gold, diamonds, lead, zinc, cadmium and uranium attracted the apartheid government to annex Namibia. The economic blessing of South West Africa therefore watered the imperial interests of South Africa. Minerals were mostly concentrated at Tsumeb in the north and the uranium mine at Rossing. Namibia was the richest source of the most

prestigious gem diamonds and South Africa wanted to consolidate her monopoly over these diamond fields along the southern coast. The South West African minerals were controlled by both the South African and Western companies. Hence South African policy over Namibia was also supported by her western trading partners.

- Consequently, South West Africa was of great military importance to the apartheid regime in South Africa. Owing to the presence of uranium that is vital in the manufacture and generation of nuclear weapons and power respectively, South Africa had a dream of becoming a nuclear power for security reasons. Thus, she could not recognize the sovereignty of South West Africa as this could have denied her the opportunity of competing with the western powers. The apartheid regime had built a nuclear weapons programme supported by a nuclear industry whose success depended on South Africa's control over the uranium mines at Rossing. Some of South Africa's western trading partners also depended on Namibian uranium to enhance their nuclear programmes as well.
- Strategic considerations influenced the policy of South Africa over South West Africa. The country (Namibia) acted as a buffer state separating South Africa from Angola. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) guerrillas in Angola, and later the government, was sympathetic to communist influence. The Apartheid government feared that the communist ideology could endanger the privileged position and power of the whites in South Africa. South Africa preferred establishing a multiracial internal government in Namibia than enable the pro-Marxist SWAPO to take over government and later allow communist (Marxist) in Orange River region. The deployment of close to 20000 Cuban troops in independent Angola strengthened the strategic importance of Namibia to South Africa.
- Besides, South Africa feared the growing tide of Namibian nationalism under the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO). The Namibian revolutionary military struggle was a threat to the apartheid regime in South Africa. South Africa was determined to prevent the increasing radical SWAPG from achieving self-rule for Namibia and consequently come to power. The success of the SWAPO in achieving self-rule for Namibia could have motivated increased native uprisings against the white minority regime in South Africa.
- South Africa retained control over South West Africa as a way of protecting white settlers against the majority rule of millions of Africans. White settlers from South Africa moved into Namibia from 1920, the first mandate year of South Africa. Native resistances like the "The Rehoboth revolts" affected white advancement into Namibia but the Pretoria government declared martial law (state of emergency) to contain the situation. Many of the members of the traditional council who strongly demanded for complete independence were also arrested, and this settled the dust to enable increased white settlement in the country. By 1945, there were over one hundred thousand settlers in Namibia and the country had been secured as a Whiteman's country. The settlers owned almost the arable land in Namibia as most of the Africans were pushed into reserves.
- South West Africa was a source of cheap labour for economic benefits in South Africa. Many of the Namibians offered labour in South African industries as well as mines and plantations in both South Africa and South West Africa. The linkage between South Africa and South West Africa was that of an industrial zone in apartheid South Africa developed by the labour force of Namibia. Hence, the industrial growth of South Africa could hardly

survive without continuous supply of workers from the annexed Namibia. The introduction of the Contract Workers Labour System was geared towards consolidating the position of Namibia as the feeder of cheap labour to white investments in both South African and South West Africa.

- The apartheid government and white investors of South Africa had many investments in South West Africa. Therefore, Namibian nationalism was a threat to the investments and economic developments initiated by the whites in South West Africa. There were huge investments in Namibia made by the South African government and multi-national companies in agriculture, industries and mines that made huge profits. Granting independence to South West Africa would be forsaking such huge investments that could be nationalised by communist minded SWAPO potential government. Besides, there were also investment interests of western countries in Namibia that were under protection of South Africa. The British had over 25%, 18% for West Germany, the USA had 15% while France and Canada had about 2% each. The western powers (Also known as the Western Contact Group) hence supported South African dominance over South West Africa.

## **THE RISE AND GROWTH OF NAMIBIAN NATIONALISM**

***Reference questions:***

1. ***Account for the rise of militant nationalism in South West Africa***
2. ***Examine the causes of the Namibian war of independence between 1966 and 1990***

The struggle for independence in Namibia was launched by the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), a liberation movement established in 1960 under the leadership of Sam Nujoma, and the South West African National Union (SWANU) led by Toivo Ja Toivo. The Namibian war against South Africa broke-out on August 25, 1966 until March 21, 1990, when the country regained independence. The causes of Namibian armed resistance included the following:

- The heroic resistance put up against the Germans during the Nama-Herero uprising (1904-06) made the growth of military nationalism inevitable. Although the Nama-Herero rebellion was crashed by 1906, it gave practical lessons to the Namibians to re-organise against foreign domination. Hence, stronger resistance emerged after World War II as the rest of Africans demanded for independence, in the 1950s for example, Africans especially the Herero in Southern and central parts organised resistances demanding for equal share in the white dominated economy, and a better way of life. These resistances were spearheaded by native leaders like Chief Hosea Kutako. The Nama, Bergadamara and Ambo later joined the resistances. The native resistances prepared ground for modern nationalism in Namibia.
- Consequently, the wind of change that swept across Africa after World War II had a great impact on Namibian nationalism. Following the end of World War I the entire African continent was locked in nationalist uprisings as Africans demanded for independence, in Namibia, like South Africa, General Smuts the South African leader and great ally of the British in World War II recruited Africans into the South African forces that fought alongside the Allied forces. After the end of the war, General Smuts attempted to implement some of the reforms he promised the Africans of Namibia and South Africa that would minimize on their suffering and misery and end inequalities with the whites. He tried ensuring better education and employment opportunities for Africans

with a chance of enfranchising them. However, the reformist regime of Smuts ended shortly when he lost the 1948 election to an Afrikaner radical and conservative racial leader, Dr. Malan. By 1966, majority of the African states had attained their sovereignty from white domination. In South West Africa, there were no signs of political developments to prepare for majority rule. The natives hence resorted to militarism as a means of demanding for freedom, justice and independence.

- The formation of political associations and parties by the people of South West Africa in the 1950s, increased nationalistic feelings in the country. In a bid to mobilise themselves towards self-rule, the Herero formed the Herero South West African National Union (HSWANU) in 1955, which was later transformed into a broad (SWANU) in 1959 to attract national popularity. The leaders of SWANU included Toivo Herman ja Toivo, Mburumba Kerina and Kozonguizi Jariretundu. In 1957, Jacob Kuhangua and Sam Nujoma formed the Ovamboland People's Congress, later Ovamboland Peoples Organisation (OPO). The OPO was later revitalised into South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) in 1960. The SWAPO and the SWANU led the revolutionary struggle against the dominance of the Apartheid regime. The SWAPO inaugurated Youth and Women leagues and the PLAN (Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia) at a conference held at Tanga in Tanzania in December 1969.
- The natives in Namibia resented the unpopular contract workers labour system. The discontentment of contract and migrant workers became wide spread as they complained of little pay and racial discrimination by their white bosses. Under the contract labour system, African recruits were taken to work in white settlements on roads, railways and mines but they could not stay with their families. They were not allowed to determine their employers nor negotiate their contract or wages and Africans equated this system to slavery. Nationalist movements like the SWANU made the ending of contract labour their main objective while the OPO transformed itself into SWAPO with an aim of overthrowing colonialism and bring an end to contract labour. Protests against the contract labour system continued in the country with the famous nation-wide strike in December 1971 that involved over 20000 contract workers. Many of the contract workers deported to Ovamboland became recruits in the SWAPO.
- Failure of peaceful means of demanding for independence led to the rise of militant nationalism in South West Africa. The Namibians used boycotts and demonstrations especially in the capital Windhoek but the South African government reacted violently towards peaceful Namibian demonstrations. The violent response to African peaceful demonstrations e.g. shooting at the unarmed crowds increased African anger, leading to militant nationalism in South West Africa. In 1959 in one of the African boycotts in the Capital, the Administrator General of South West Africa (representative of the Pretoria government) exhibited acts of brutality by ordering the shooting of African demonstrators, killing about them. The violence unleashed on Africans by the apartheid representative administration in Namibia thus influenced the native nationalists to resort to armed resistance. To note is that Africans had employed non-violent means of demanding for their freedoms for eleven years before 1966.
- The white minority regime established Bantustans in South West Africa whose conditions were rejected by Africans. The Namibian natives i.e. the Ovambo, Nama, Herero, Bergadama and other minority groups were restricted to their native regions of origin as a way to promote tribalism and

decline national unity. The Bantustans were a transformation of the earlier created African reserves. The Bantustan policy that caused grievances among Namibians and caused them to fight for independence was created by the same 1969 Act that reduced the status of Namibia to a mere province of South Africa. The African homelands were created with the so-called self-governing institutions to disguise African independence, in 1959, the whites had earlier planned to create African settlements outside the capital Windhoek, which alarmed African chiefs to mobilise natives to join political parties and demand for independence.

- The UN recommendations on the position of South West Africa influenced militarism in the country. The UN terminated the South African mandate over South West Africa on October 27, 1966 and this meant that the United Nations Council for Namibia became the legal administrator of the country. The apartheid regime of South Africa rejected the decision of the UN General Assembly by refusing to recall their Administrator General appointed to administer Namibia. Both Namibian nationals and the international community viewed South Africa's hesitant position as imperialistic. This led to the emergence of militant nationalism In Namibia.
- In 1950, South Africa gradually imposed apartheid in South West Africa, which provoked militant nationalism in the country. The Africans were deprived of political participation, all the fertile areas were gazetted for white settlement and Africans were left with limited or no socio-economic rights. According to a report by the United Nations Council on Namibia, the laws of South West Africa, like those of South Africa came to be based on apartheid. Apartheid laws like labour registration and pass laws were implemented in South West Africa. The strict enforcement of the apartheid policy in practice increased inequalities in all spheres of life among the races in Namibia. The "white supremacy" promoted by the apartheid policy completely subordinated the interests and welfare of the "Natives" and the "coloureds." The inconsistencies in the apartheid system influenced Namibian nationalists to quest for freedom.
- The annexation of Namibia by the apartheid government as South Africa's other province created fear among the Namibians leading to increased their activities of militancy. The annexation of Namibia was long prepared and put in the "Odendaal Plan" of 1964 and was only pending implementation. Thus, in line with the "Odendaal Plan," the Pretoria government passed an Act in 1969, which reduced Namibia to the status of a fifth province of South Africa. This meant that it was illegal and a rebellion if the Africans in South West Africa demanded for independence. The desire by Namibian nationalists to block South African absorption of their nation and the need to achieve sovereign recognition influenced the Namibian war of independence.
- The continued economic exploitation of South West Africa by the apartheid regime raised African grievances. South Africa controlled the mining industry and all commercial activities in the country from industry to retail trade were in the hands of whites. There was a lot of plundering of Namibian resources by both South African administrators and companies. In the mines, the South African companies intensively squandered Namibian natural mineral resources including diamonds, copper and uranium much to the wake of worrying Namibians that by the time South African unilateral (illegal) occupation ended, there would be little mineral wealth left for the future development of their country. The Namibians were therefore impoverished as economic benefits from their resources went to South Africa. This angered the Namibians and forced them to rise up against the apartheid regime.
- The continued white settlements in South West Africa increased African

grievances. From the time, South Africa became a trustee power over the former German colony, the white settlers flocked the country in large numbers. Following the South African mandate over Namibia in 1920, the white population gradually increased that by the early 1960's, there were about 100,000 whites in South West Africa. The presence of white settlers exhibited a similar picture like in South Africa where the socio-economic and the political affairs were dominated by minority whites. The settler presence in Namibia threatened the political and economic status of Africans who rose up through an armed struggle.

- Consequently, the poor land policy adopted by the South African government in South West Africa led to militant nationalism. The policy of gazetting all the fertile lands for the white settlers to control made many of the Africans to lose their land, in the due course, many Africans were left landless and became squatters in the dry and infertile grasslands. The policy of grabbing African Sand began early in the 1890s when the Germans occupied the Namibian territory, forcing the Herero and Bergadamara out of present day Windhoek. The discovery of minerals worsened the land problem in the northern areas of the country and along the southern coast. African right to land ownership was mostly in reserves while outside the reserves, Africans experienced unhealthy competition for grazing grounds with white farmers who were more advantaged. Since Africans could not own land except in reserves, most were forced to seek for work on white farms. This influenced Namibians to rise up against the apartheid regime.
- Forced labour imposed on Namibians right from the time of German occupation provoked the rise of African nationalism. In the mineral fields, plantations and industries, Africans were forced to offer labour with little or no pay at all. The labour system of coercing Africans into offering labour for whites contradicted with the African understanding of work that was communal in nature for family and community development. Forced labour system in Namibia became more serious in the 1920s as the settler farmers complained of labour shortage on their farms. The South African administration passed the Master and Servants Proclamation of 1920, which among other things prohibited Africans from neglecting duty or desert their masters. This situation of African workers worsened with increased white settlement and discovery of more economic potentials in Namibia. Africans were also forbidden from participating in trade union movements. Consequently, Africans worked for longer hours, which led to boycotts and demonstrations as they fought for better working conditions. The result was the armed struggle that broke out in 1966.
- The rise of militant nationalists led to the emergence of Namibian armed struggle. The nationalists included Jacob Kuhangua, Sam Nujoma and Toivo Herman Ja Toivo. These founded modern political organizations like the SWAPO and the SWANU whose impatience with peaceful means of achieving self-rule made them resort to militarism.
- Harold Macmillan's speech to South African all-white parliament in 1960 had a revolutionary impact on Namibian nationalism. The British Prime Minister ended his tour of British areas of influence in Africa in Cape Town where he made the famous "Wind of Change Speech." Macmillan's address to the South African parliamentarians sent a signal of awareness to the Namibian nationalists. The British Premier lamented that "**The winds of change are blowing through the continent and that the imperialist national policies must take into account of this growth of national consciousness in Africa as a political fact.**" The South African government rejected Macmillan's

observation and this aroused nationalistic feelings among Namibian to fight for self-rule.

- With the above factors, the change to militarism thus became inevitable. This militant option was spearheaded by SWAPO in 1960. With a more organized leadership, SWAPO became more popular than SWANU. Between 1960 and 1966, SWAPO recruited fighters and sent them for training in Zambia, Egypt, Algeria and Russia. Later these guerrillas were grouped into PLAN i.e. the people's liberation army of Namibia which waged an armed struggle against the South African government in August 1966.

## **OBSTACLES TO NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE**

**Reference questions:**

- 1. Account for the delayed independence of South West Africa***
- 2. Examine the factors that undermined Namibian nationalism between 1950 and 1990***
- 3. Discuss the obstacles to the independence of South West Africa***

- The use of peaceful means of agitating for independence during the initial stages of the Namibian nationalism hardly threatened South African occupation. For most of the 1950s, the political parties, which emerged in Namibia at the time like the Herero South West African National Union (HSWANU) formed in 1955 and the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation (QPQ) formed in 1959 devoted much of their efforts to demanding for reforms from the South African occupying government. Their diplomatic and negotiating measures hardly convinced South Africa that was committed to exploiting Namibian resources and maintaining the natives as a source of cheap labour. The non-violent means of demanding for independence by HSWANU and QPO were hence poor strategies of defeating South African dominance.
- In spite of sharing a common enemy, Namibians were divided on ethnic lines. Ethnicity frustrated Namibian nationalism since the nationalist groups founded to champion freedom were little more than tribal organisations. The SWAPO under Sam Nujoma was dominated by the Ovambo, while The SWANU led by Toivo Ja Toivo was predominantly a party of the Herero. These tribes among others were historically at a difference and for some time did not adopt a common approach against South Africa. The white government recruited the Nama and Herero tribes against the Ovambo tribe in Northern Namibia that spearheaded the struggle for Namibian Independence. Hence, tribal nationalism in South West Africa worked in favour of South African dominance in the country.
- Besides, ideological differences also existed among freedom fighters. In their attempt to secure international sympathy, the SWAPO leaders came under Marxist influence. Like other movements such as the MPLA of Angola, the SWAPO found a sympathetic base in the communist world, from countries like the USSR, Cuba, China, Tanzania etc. This communist influence scared away nationalists who believed in capitalism; they joined SWANU to sabotage SWAPO's nationalist efforts. Many of them became internal opponents to the liberation cause for fear of SWAPO's communist leadership. The SWAPO's lean towards the eastern bloc could not win recognition from western powers like the USA and Great Britain who by then had great influence in the UNO.
- The military incompetence of Namibian freedom fighters was a major hindrance to the nationalist struggle against South Africa. The national movements were militarily weak compared to the South African forces. They

took long to acknowledge the need to sacrifice their lives for the sake of liberty. The guerrilla population was so small and insignificant. The guerrilla army (the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia) was ill trained, poorly equipped and under facilitated especially at the initial stage. The SWANU military wing was no exception. This explains why the liberation movements mainly relied on their external bases to fight for independence.

- Economic weakness of Africans in South West Africa was a setback to the struggle for liberation. Economic incompetence of Namibians was due to white rule and domination in the country since the German invasion in the nineteenth century. Socio-economically, the natives were poor and many of them lived in hostile communities on free ranges in the Kalahari Desert. Many of them worked as contract or migrant labourers in urban centers and white settler areas with minimal payments. With their meagre earnings, the Namibians could hardly finance the liberation war.
- However, apartheid South Africa was economically advantaged. Apart from her organized economy in South Africa, the apartheid government took advantage of her resources and those she controlled in South West Africa, to invest heavily in the war against the SWAPO and the SWANU. Apart from funding and equipping the army, the government set up a wide spy network. She would bribe off the Africans in South West Africa to spy on the nationalist movements, and such conspiring information was of great importance to the imperialist regime. In addition, South Africa was determined to retain strong grip (control) over South West Africa as a way of preserving her economic and military interests. South Africa had a number of multi-national companies which had heavily invested in Namibia and she feared that the Independent Namibian government would interfere with the operation of these South African companies. The huge investments of South Africa in Namibia hence delayed the struggle for independence.
- On military terms, South African imperialists were very formidable (powerful). Following the outbreak of the armed resistance in 1966, South Africa sent a powerful force of over 5,000 troops to Ovamboland alone and the Caprivi Strip. These forces were well trained, armed to the teeth and supported by strong artillery, jet fighters and other sophisticated weapons. South African military strength had been proved by her successful defeat of German in South West Africa in 1915 during World War I and as part of the victor allied powers of World War II.
- The South African government also enjoyed the support of the migrant population of the white settlers in Namibia. The white settlers were anxious to defend their privileges and feared the growing threat of nationalism in the South West African state. The biggest percentage of white settlers in Namibia came from South Africa and had been guaranteed a special position in the politics and economics of the colony. They therefore joined the government forces out of their selfish and racist interests which included the need to protect their economic dominance over Namibian natives. South Africa also feared that Independent government of Namibia would take away the land that was controlled by the white settlers to resettle the Africans who were living in reserves.
- Besides, the harsh policies used by the South African government against Namibians silenced nationalism in South West Africa. The apartheid regime used the army and police to suppress native demonstrations, abolished workers organisations (trade unions), outlawed African political movements and imprisoned Namibian politicians; and from 1976, many peasants along the Angolan-South West African border were displaced by government for fear

that they were connecting freedom fighters to the Angolan government. All these brutal policies of South Africa scared many Namibians from joining or aiding the liberation struggle hence frustrating nationalism.

- The introduction of Apartheid policy in Namibia in 1969 was a deliberate attempt by South Africa to frustrate Namibian independence struggle. The unveiling of the racist policy followed the declaration of Namibia a fifth province of South Africa. Similar Apartheid laws as in South Africa were introduced to hinder Africans from forming mass nationalistic movements or engage in anti-government activities. The system also legitimized arbitrary arrest and detention of nationalists and restricted movements of suspected Africans within and outside Narnibia. African gazetted settlements (reserves) were transformed into Bantustans as a way of promoting ethnic attachments among natives, preventing national unity and denying freedom fighters mass support. As a result, some active leaders and potential nationalist escaped the wrath of apartheid and fled into exile
- The formation of the Triumvirate Alliance i.e. the Gang of Three strengthened South Africa over Namibian nationalists. During the era (regime) of Hendrik Verwoerd (1958-66), the apartheid government entered into a partnership with Don Salazar of Portugal and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia known as the Triumvirate Alliance. The partner governments agreed to share intelligence information, strategies, and military and diplomatic support in order to frustrate nationalism in the southern African region. The expected support from Southern Rhodesia and Portugal enabled the apartheid regime to plan ahead of Namibian nationalist movements of SWAPO and SWANU.
- The double standards of western world proved another obstacle to the liberation of South West Africa. USA, Britain, Germany and other NATO powers were sympathetic to the apartheid government and were major allies of South Africa during the cold war period. Apart from gaining from the exploitation of Namibian mineral resources, the western powers possessed huge investments in the country and a number of multi-national companies just like South Africa. Germany had about 18%, USA 15%, Britain 25%, France 2% and Canada had about 2% of the foreign investments in Namibia. In order to protect their economic interests in Namibia, western powers helped South Africa to neutralise economic and political sanctions imposed on her by the UNO and the OAU.
- Consequently, cold war politics delayed the independence of South West Africa. The capitalist states such as Britain, France and the USA detested the communist outlook of the SWAPO and the continued support to the political movement by communist states like the USSR. This was complicated further by the presence of over 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola during since 1975. Western powers thus, extended financial and military aid to South Africa and approved the claim that her withdrawal from South West Africa must coincide with the pull out of the Cuban troops from Angola.
- The double standards of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) were harmful to nationalism of South West Africa. The UNO did little to effect meaningful measures in the decolonization of South West Africa. Apart from ending South Africa's mandate in 1966 and imposing sanctions on the apartheid government, the international body had her own shortcomings. She was dominated by the capitalist states that wined and dined with South Africa under the cover of darkness. Therefore, the UNO did little towards pressurising South Africa to grant immediate Independence to Namibia. The body did nothing to punish member states that violated its principles; case in point, in 1971 the UNO forwarded Namibia's question to the International

Court of Justice at Hague but nothing was done to force South Africa out of Namibia.

- The weaknesses of the OAU were also exploited by the apartheid regime in South Africa to delay her withdraw from Namibia. The continental body since its formation in 1963 was feeble and divided. Apart from lacking a financial base, the body had no continental army to reinforce the armed struggle in South West Africa. Besides, many of her members were either engaged in interstate conflicts or pre-occupied with domestic problems e.g. Mozambique and Angola were plunged into civil wars. This meant that OAU could not effectively support the SWAPO's endeavours in securing Namibian sovereignty from South African dominance. Other members co-operated with the apartheid regime to the dismay of the OAU's sanctions e.g. Malawi and Mauritius.
- The delayed independence of neighbouring states such as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa equally affected the Namibian efforts towards self-determination. The Namibian freedom fighters lacked the necessary support from the neighbouring states, or safe external bases in exile because these states were equally struggling for their sovereign existence from foreign dominance. Up to 1975, the Portuguese in Angola frustrated the SWAPO and helped South Africa to keep an eye on Ovamboland and the Caprivi Strip.
- The strategic importance of South West Africa to the South African apartheid regime hindered the country's independence. Apart from the Namibia acting as a buffer state against communist influence in Angola, South Africa needed to maintain occupation in the former German colony to frustrate the ANC operations in Namibia. Important to note, granting independence to Africans of Namibia would not only increase the ANC attacks on South Africa but also lay the foundation to the collapse of apartheid as the ANC would justify her cause of fighting against white minority domination.

## **FACTORS THAT FAVOURED THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA**

### ***Reference Questions:***

1. ***Account for the success of Namibian nationalism by 1990***
2. ***Examine the factors that favoured the attainment of Namibian independence***

South West Africa regained her independence on March 21, 1990 leading to the final collapse of South African imperialism since 1919. The triumph of Namibian nationalism was attributed to a series of factors:

- The strong sense of nationalism among Namibians and the wide appeal of the struggle in the country brought independence to South West Africa. In spite of their ethnic and ideological differences, the Namibians unanimously cherished their political freedom, which got them united for the national cause. This was especially felt among the Nama and the Herero ever since the brutal suppression of their uprising by the Germans in the early twentieth century. This nationalism was also shared by the Ovambo, the Bantu speakers close to the Angolan border. All that they needed was mobilization, leadership and international backing
- The repressive measures and policies pursued by the racist regime of South Africa against Namibian natives fueled nationalism in South West Africa. The whites both in South Africa and South West Africa were anxious to perpetuate their domination and exploitation over the African civil rights. In a bid to suppress nationalist movements, the whites also arrested and detained African politicians.

Others were killed in the process. African homesteads and plantations were destroyed causing displacement and human suffering. These measures caused popular discontent among the masses who got more nationalistic and determined to fight for their freedom.

- The formation of mass political movements was instrumental in promoting the struggle for Namibian freedom. Cases in point included the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) formally OPO and the South West African National Union (SWANU) formally HSWANU. In spite of their weaknesses and internal wrangles, these political organisations exposed the Namibians to the art of organisation and leadership. In particular, the SWAPO gradually transformed herself into a nationalist movement. She brought together the scattered communities and helped to narrow down ethnic, religious and regional differences among the nationalists and supporters. The SWAPO also provided an umbrella under which external assistance was provided. It mobilized the masses especially among the Herero tribe of Southern Namibia. The SWANU also reconciled with the SWAPO and mobilized the Herero in the south towards independence, which eventually led to the success of the liberation struggle. It was however, the popularity of the SWAPO in Namibia and abroad that paved way to the independence of South West Africa
- The competent leadership of Sam Nujoma was equally helpful in the struggle for independence. Nujoma gave to South West Africa what Mandela offered to South Africa. He was a dynamic, charismatic and able organizer. At home, he tried to promote unity within the SWAPO and popularised the movement among the masses. Abroad, Sam Nujoma sought for foreign sympathy and intervention in the Namibian cause. Through him, the SWAPO was able to recruit and send guerillas for training in Zambia, Tanzania, Algeria and the USSR. Nujoma adopted socialism which enabled him to attract communist assistance. By the time of the collapse of cold war, Nujoma was a household name not only in South West Africa but also internationally
- Active resistance put up by Namibians through militarism brought independence to South West Africa. Apart from using Gandhiism, Africans took up arms against South African imperialists. They realised that the idea of independence and freedom became stronger when such ideas were washed in blood of the martyrs. Thus, in 1966 the liberation war was launched by SWAPO in Ovamboland, north of Namibia. The guerillas carried out surprise attacks on the South African forces, white settlements and government bases. Through sabotage, the freedom fighters inflicted damage, created insecurity and fear amongst the imperialists and their supporters.
- Consequently, the military strategy used in the war put South Africa at a disadvantage. Owing to their military inferiority, the SWAPO fighters and other underground movements avoided pitched battles and concentration of large armies in military settlements. Instead, they used guerilla tactics based on surprise attacks of hit and run; sometimes they organized retreats across the Angolan border. In this way, South African forces were constantly kept on the move. To note is that the Namibians were fighting on familiar grounds. The home ground advantage enabled Namibian success in the struggle. The SWAPO for example, depended heavily on the popular support got from the masses especially the Ovambo people in Northern Namibia for its political and military success.
- At the time of the struggle for the independence of South West Africa, South Africa was fighting on a number of fronts. Apart from the war against the SWAPO, the Pretoria government was pre-occupied with domestic and international problems. She was busy trying to contain nationalism in South Africa

spearheaded by ANC's "Umkhonto we Sizwe" and PAC's "Poqo" thus, although South African troops were concentrated in South West Africa, they were overstretched in Ovamboland and the Caprivi Strip as well as elsewhere. For this reason therefore, the South African government was double squeezed by the Africans both in South Africa and South West Africa, which favoured Namibian cause for independence

- The war in South West Africa was very costly to the South African government, making the decolonisation of the country inevitable. The control of South West Africa by the Apartheid regime became more precarious, with South Africa wasting about a billion Rand in trying to control the Namibian nationalists. This economic strain weakened South Africa to a level of accepting peace talks with the Namibian nationalists, which finally delivered self-rule and finally ended the long-term white domination in the country since the German occupation in the late nineteenth century.
- The support from frontline states played a key role in the decolonisation of South West Africa. Led by Tanzania, Zambia and Nigeria, these frontline states were later joined by Angola and Mozambique in 1975. With the support of the OAU, the frontline states gave practical support to the SWAPO through scholarship and military training in a more friendly and free world. The SWAPO trained many of her guerillas in Angola under the patronage of the MPLA government of Agustinho Neto and later Dos Santos
- The support from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) led to the success of the Namibian struggle. The continental body offered both military and financial support to the SWAPO and convinced members to receive Namibian refugees and facilitate their welfare. The body cooperated with the UNO to impose economic and political sanctions against South Africa. The OAU also convinced member states to cut off diplomatic and trade ties with South Africa as a way of forcing her out of Namibia.
- The Namibian nationalists benefited a lot from the good will and help of their friends from the communist world. Owing to her socialist ideology, the SWAPO established close ties with the USSR, China and Cuba. The communist states provided the SWAPO guerilla fighters with military training, weapons and artillery. Sam Nujoma himself was trained in the Soviet Union. The communists also took the occasion to pressure South Africa during the international forums like the UN-General Assembly thereby adding their voices to those that condemned South African dominance in South West Africa
- The contribution of members of the Commonwealth of Nations: The umbrella organisation for British interaction with her former colonies provided a platform for member states to fight against the apartheid policy in South Africa and Namibia. African member states and India influenced the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1967 and called for further diplomatic and economic sanctions. These member states also extended financial and moral support to nationalists in West Africa in their quest for liberation from apartheid regime.
- The role of the UNO enabled the decolonisation of South West Africa. The custodian of world peace terminated the South African mandate over South West Africa in 1966, and went ahead to support many African refugees from Namibia. Members of the UNO provided asylum, scholarships and relief aid to Namibian refugees. The UNO used her diplomatic influence to isolate South Africa through economic and political sanctions. During the period of Namibian struggle, nationalists like Sam Nujoma were given a platform in the General Assembly to present their national cause. In 1970, the UNO internationally recognised the SWAPO as the national representative of Namibia.

- The positive gesture of the US-government of Jimmy Carter favoured Namibian political freedom. Jimmy Carter mounted pressure on South Africa to initiate constitutional reforms and political concessions towards Namibians. The changes instituted included increased representation of Namibians in the national Assembly and granting economic rights. These changes initiated by the USA became a stepping stone for the independence of Namibia
- The collapse of the Triumvirate alliance denied the South African government expected support from her allies, hence enabling the Namibian nationalists to succeed. The alliance had started weakening following the assassination of Verwoerd in 1966 and the paralysis of Don Salazar in 1968 but the Lisbon Coup of 1974 dealt a final blow to "Gang of three." South Africa was deprived of Portuguese friendship and was left completely isolated following the collapse of the UDI government in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1980. The independence of the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and the decolonisation of Zimbabwe enabled Namibians to acquire inspiration, moral and military support against South Africa.
- The end of Cold War in 1989 led to the success of the independence struggle in Namibia. South Africa had sympathized with the capitalist bloc hence attracted support from the NATO members like USA, Britain and France that were opposed to the communist powers like the USSR that aided the SWAPO. With the collapse of the Cold War, the western capitalist countries stopped supporting South Africa and instead intensified pressure to the apartheid government to withdraw from Namibia and grant freedoms to South Africa. Consequently, South Africa prepared to withdraw from Namibia which led to independence on March 21, 1990
- Assistance from the World Council of Churches accelerated the independence of Namibia. This council condemned the apartheid practices and called up Christians all-over the world to assist the Africans in South West Africa to fight and defeat the inhuman and anti-Christian practices by the apartheid regime.
- The rise of Fredrick de Klerk as leader of South Africa in 1989 was a blessing to Namibian nationalists. De Klerk was a liberal leader committed to ending South African occupation of Namibia. He began by relaxing South Africa's control over Namibia through political and constitutional reforms. De Klerk called for ceasefire and initiated political negotiations with the SWAPO and SWANU. His administration prepared Namibian independence elections in 1990 and officially decolonised the country on March 21.

### **The role of The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO):**

#### **Reference Questions:**

1. ***How far did the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) contribute to the decolonisation of Namibia?***
2. ***Examine the role of SWAPO in the struggle for the independence of South West Africa***

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) was a mass political movement formed on April 19, 1960 under the leadership of Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kahangwa. It was formed as a successor organisation of the Ovambo People's Organisation (OPO), which had been established earlier on in 1959. The SWAPO spearheaded the Independence struggle of Namibia up to 1990 when South Africa withdrew. The organisation played a major role in the struggle for independence in Namibia as noted below:

The SWAPO provided able leadership to the liberation struggle in Namibia. The party

had dynamic leaders like Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kahangwa who were able to convince mass support of Namibians that rallied behind the country's cause to the struggle against South Africa. It was therefore because of this able leadership that Namibia attained her independence in 1990

The organisation petitioned South Africa in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at Hague in Netherlands. This followed South Africa's continued unilateral (illegal) occupation of Namibia after declaring her the fifth province of the Union of the Republic of South Africa in 1969. Namibian case at the ICJ attracted concern from the international community, which put pressure on the South African government to withdraw from South West Africa

The SWAPO organised and participated in trade boycotts and strikes and encouraged mass involvement in these nationwide anti-apartheid campaigns, in December 1971, SWAPO participated in a nationwide strike against the unfair contract labour policy, it influenced over 20,000 contract workers to lay down their tools until the terms of work were reformed. The boycotts and strikes were aimed at weakening the economy of Namibia and force South African and western multinational companies out of Namibia

It recruited and trained the guerrilla fighters. The SWAPO encouraged many natives to join the nationalist forces against South Africa. Most of the freedom fighters were recruited from Ovamboland in the northern region of the country, while others were urban dwellers and former contract workers. The recruits were sent for military and guerrilla training to in the USSR, Angola, Zambia and Tanzania. The recruited fighters became an influential force in fighting against continued South African occupation. In 1969 SWAPO modernised her guerilla fighters into the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) aimed at popularising the liberation war among the masses.

The SWAPO adopted militarism or violence in the struggle for Independence after the failure of peaceful means. On August 25, 1966, SWAPO launched an armed struggle against the illegal South African Administration in Namibia. The leadership of SWAPO was challenged by the South Africa disrespect of the UNO proposal of putting South West Africa under custody of the UN-Trusteeship Council

SWAPO formed a coalition with SWANU in 1971, which led to creation of National Convention. The National Convention helped to create a strong, united and common Namibian front against the South African regime, which eventually led to the success of the liberation struggle in Namibia

It won recognition from the United Nations Organisation (UNO). In December 1972, the United Nations General Assembly recognised SWAPO as the legitimate representative for the Namibian people. The organisation therefore, became the official spokesman of Namibia and that is why she received support from the UNO so as to bring about Namibia's independence

It established military bases in the neighbouring countries like Tanzania and Zambia. These external bases helped to train the freedom fighters who later fought against the South African regime. Another base was established in Angola after her independence in 1975. The base in Angola became instrumental in destabilising the South African administration in Namibia

The organisation diffused ethnicity in Namibia by creating unity amongst the various tribes of Namibia like the Ovambo, Nama and Herero. This therefore made SWAPO to command countrywide support which enabled it to fight against the Apartheid

regime, hence leading to success of the struggle for Namibia's Independence.

It secured support from the socialist or communist states of the USSR, Cuba and China. These states extended military equipments as well as training to the SWAPO freedom fighters which led to the success of the liberation struggle by 1990.

SWAPO won recognition from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). As a result, the OAU through its Liberation Committee based in Dar-es-salaam Tanzania gave moral and material support to the liberation struggle in Namibia. The OAU encouraged members to receive and provide asylum to Namibian fugitives. All this was aimed at defeating South Africa and force her to grant independence to Namibia.

SWAPO recruited and involved women in the struggle for Namibian independence. It established a Women League in charge of the women freedom fighters brigade that played an influential role in the liberation struggle. Women supplied food and other supplies to the guerillas, acted as spies, treated the wounded and others engaged in combat fighting against the South African forces.

The organisation won recognition and support of the Church in South West Africa. Most of the leaders in different Churches of Namibia acknowledged the use of militarism in the struggle for Namibian freedom after the failure of the peaceful and constitutional means and went ahead to praise the efforts of the SWAPO and its inevitable role in struggling for the freedoms of Narnibians

The military insurgency and guerilla activities of SWAPO against apartheid regime, which targeted government headquarters, white settler investments, settlements and plantations, and other installations, weakened South African administration economically and militarily to the advantage of Namibian independence.

It opposed the proposals of the Turnhalle Conference of September 1975 to October 1977. The aimed at initiating dialogue between. South African administration and the SWAPO; it proposed the establishment of an interim or temporary government for Namibia, as well a draft constitution for a democratic and republican state. The SWAPO rejected these proposals in the

Turnhaiie Constitution because it did net provide for democratic components like elections and popular representation of the majority. It also made no provisions for an independent judiciary or executive and relied on the government of South Africa a superior authority.

SWAPO boycotted the 1978 elections which were not held as per the provisions of the UNO. She therefore persuaded over 97% of the potential Namibian voters to boycott the elections due to the widespread intimidation and the presence of South African troops, particularly in the north of Namibia. The United Nations Security Council declared the election "null and void", and the subsequent interim government illegitimate. This undermined the popularity of the South African regime in Namibia, hence leading to its collapse by 1990

SWAPO received the instruments of power on March 21, 1990, as Namibia was granted independence. The SWAPO became the dominant political organisation with its leader, Sam Nujoma, becoming the first leader of the independent Republic of Namibia until 2004 when he retired from active politic.

## **THE ROLE OF NUJOMA**

**Reference Question:**

- 1. Assess the role of Sam Nujoma in the struggle for Namibian independence from South African dominance**

Sam Nujoma diffused ethnic differences in Namibia by creating a nationwide political organisation, the SWAPO. He led the transformation of Ovambo Peoples Organisation (OPO) into the SWAPO which cut-across tribal attachment. His leadership plan emphasised national unity, which was necessary for the defeat of South African imperialism.

He led the frontline recruiting freedom fighters into SWAPO and ensuring their training in military and guerilla tactics. He took advantage of his popularity in Ovamboland in Northern Namibia where most of the recruits registered, as well as the frustrated contract workers and the unemployed urban dwellers. It were these recruits that formed a formidable fighting force of the SWAPO

Nujoma declared the Namibian armed resistance against the illegal South African government in 1966. Nujoma the SWAPO gave charismatic and able leadership during the armed struggle, which made him command respect among the freedom fighters. He inspired freedom fighters to fight with dedication in order to cripple South African administration in Namibia.

He worked closely with the trade unions in Namibia during the struggle for Independence. Nujoma encouraged workers' strikes against the South African regime as part of his efforts to involve all sections of Namibians in the quest for freedom. In December 1971, Nujoma's leadership in the SWAPO influenced over 20,000 contract workers to lay down their tools due to the unfavourable contract labour laws.

Sam Nujoma influenced the SWAPO to establish external bases in the neighbourhood of Namibia as a way of opening more frontiers against the South African administration. Such bases were established in Tanzania and Zambia. Immediately after the Angolan independence in 1975, Nujoma opened up another external front in Angola, which became very influential in destabilising South African administration in Namibia. The bases outside Namibia enabled SWAPO to train guerrilla fighters and reorganise against South African administration

He created Women and Youth brigades that further strengthened the SWAPO in fighting for Namibian independence. In December 1969 at a conference in Tanga, Tanzania, Nujoma inaugurated the Women and Youth leagues. The Youth League became instrumental in attracting young men towards the struggle; and hence expanding SWAPO's military strength

Consequently, Nujoma used the Women's League to recruit women into the ranks of the SWAPO. The women recruits were trained military intelligence and espionage. They would later a role as spies, cooks, necessity providers, freedom fighters and nurses to the wounded

In August 1978 SWAPO's leadership under Sam Nujoma mobilised a boycott on Bantustan elections. The mass campaigns influenced by Nujoma against these proposed elections won him a nationwide following, and as a consequence, 97.5% of the Namibian masses that were eligible to vote boycotted the elections, and this became a great success to Nujoma and the SWAPO in their efforts against apartheid in South West Africa.

Due to his Marxist attributes, Sam Nujoma won sympathy of the communist world. Apart from himself receiving military training in the Soviet Union, SWAPO's military wing, the (PLAN) benefited from the military support and training from Cuba and the Soviet Union as well, hence strengthening the Namibian quest for independence.

Influenced by Nujoma, SWAPO won the recognition of the USA during the regime of Jimmy Carter and Adrian. Carter's African policy influenced Turnhalle to organise peace talks with the SWAPO leadership, which later produced the independence constitution of 1977. This would have been a political solution to Namibia problem but the SWAPO rejected the constitution because it did not destroy Bantustans nor recognise national unity in Namibia.

He influenced the UN-Security Council to recognise the SWAPO as the legitimate national representative of Namibia. Consequently, Sam Nujoma was recognised by the UN as the national spokesperson of Namibia gave him a seat on the UN-General Assembly. The Security Council went ahead to produce moderate plans which would help the UN in the pre-independence elections in South West Africa.

The SWAPO leadership of Sam Nujoma won the confidence of the OAU and through its Liberation Committee based in Tanzania the OAU extended financial and moral assistance to the SWAPO. The OAU leaders accepted and welcomed Nujoma to their countries, provided him asylum and political guidance during the period of Namibian struggle against South Africa. The OAU also encouraged members to receive and provide asylum to Namibian fugitives

Sam Nujoma took the lead in soliciting for support towards SWAPO both within and outside Africa. Many states like Algeria, Tanzania, Ghana, Angola, Botswana and Zimbabwe extended support to the Namibian cause. Outside Africa, China, Cuba and the Soviet Union extended assistance to Namibia through SWAPO

He led the SWAPO into participating in the independence elections in early 1990 which became a turning point in the history of Namibian struggle for independence. Nujoma accepted Namibian leadership and received instruments of independence on March 21, thereby establishing the first independent government of the Republic of Namibia

## **THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

### **(THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION 1954-62)**

Algeria is one of the Maghreb (North African) states that were under French colonialism. This North-Arab Nation was predominantly of Berber and Arabic speakers who mainly practiced Islam; just like their neighbours Tunisia and Morocco. The Muslim population in Aigera was eight times more than that of the Christian colons (settlers), reaching nine millions by the second half of the twentieth century.

The advancement of the French in Algeria began in 1830 with the conquest of the Coastal City of Algiers that was under the Turkish administration of Dey Husain. The final occupation of Algeria came in 1847 when the French General Bugeaud defeated the Algerian resistance in the interior, under Abd al-Qadir (Abd EL Kader). The French conquest of Algeria was aimed at registering military success abroad in order to

divert the attention of the French people from the poor leadership of the Orleans monarchy. The annexation of Algeria was done by the French revolutionary government that ousted Charles X.

Algeria was established as a settler colony and by the end of World War II in 1945; Algeria had about one million colons (settlers) who were mainly poor whites from France, Spain and Malta, an island in the Mediterranean. The French introduced western cultures and Christianity and treated Algeria as an overseas province and part of Metropolitan France. They established no local assembly but gave Algerians direct representation in the Paris National Assembly with only thirteen seats.

In all, French colonialism in Algeria was characterized by racial and religious differences that often escalated into native resistances. Despite resistances by Algerian Muslims, the French never surrendered until a full-scale war broke out on November 1, 1954.

The Algerian war of liberation was one of the bloodiest in colonial Africa. It was organized and orchestrated by mainly Algerian ex-servicemen of World War II and radical elites who had no time for the battle of words and the untimely processes of peace talks. They included Messali Hadj, Belkacem Kerim, Ahmed Muhammad Ben Bella, Ferhat Abbas, Mohammed Ben Brahim (also Known as Houari Boumedienne) among others. In March 1954, they formed the evolutionary Committee for a United Action (CRUA), later transformed into the National Liberation Front (FLN) that waged an armed struggle against the French imperialists in November.

### **The causes of the war included**

#### **Reference questions:**

1. ***Account for the outbreak of Algerian war of independence in 1954***
2. ***Discuss the causes of the 1954-62 Algerian war of independence***
3. ***How far were the French colonial policies responsible for the outbreak of Algerian war of liberation?***

The desire for independence contributed to the outbreak of the liberation war in Algeria. Since 1830, Algeria was under foreign rule that was full of French domination, suppression and oppression of Algerian Muslims politically, socially and economically. The natives were denied positions in government, police and army. The French suppressed freedoms of press, association and expression, for example, Ferhat Abbas was jailed for writing "**The Manifesto of the Algerian People.**" Ben Bella and other Algerian opposition politicians were put under custody in Bilda prison for crimes against the colonial government. The Algerian nationalists thus resorted to violent means of struggling for independence as a means of ridding their country of French colonial rule.

Religious friction in the Algerian society influenced the armed struggle. There was a sharp religious distinction between the people of Algeria and their French colonial masters. The Algerian Berbers and Arabs were predominantly Moslems who cherished the Sharia (Islamic law) and practiced polygamy based on Quranic teachings. The French colonialists belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, which allowed wine but completely disregarded Islamic acts like polygamy. Consequently, the French desired to nationalize Christianity at the expense of Islam and transform Mosques into Churches. This influenced the spirit of pan Islamism, which inspired Algerian nationalists to fight against the French tendencies of distorting Islamic

religious values.

The impact of traditional nationalism among the Berbers and the Arabs influenced the Algerian war of independence. As soon as the French took over Algeria, the natives organized Jihads led by Abdel Khadir (1832-1847) and later Muhammed Mukrani (1871-1873). In particular, the resistance by Khadir was a lengthy one and only came to an end when an experienced French General Bugeaud was appointed to overcome the rebellion. Although the French succeeded in defeating the earlier resistances of the native Muslim Algerians, Algerian nationalism was not conclusively suppressed as fresh rebellions emerged in the 1920s and 1930s led by Messali Hadj under the banner of Islam. By 1954, Algerian nationalism had gained a new form of militarism under the leadership of Ben Bella, Belkacem Karim, and etcetera.

Impact of World War I inspired militant nationalism in Algeria. Like other Arab nations in North Africa and the Maghreb, the First World War created influence on Western educated Algerians. As the war broke out, the educated found themselves unable to work in Algeria hence they moved to work in France where they experienced all hardships like poor payment in French industries. This influenced them to start an anti-French movement "**the Northern African Star**" founded in 1926 under communist influence with Messali Hadj as its leader, in Algeria, World War I influenced the French settlers to commit to economic exploitation in Algeria, which increased their determination to keep political control over the Maghreb country. The proclamation of self-determination by the American President Woodrow Wilson in his "**fourteen point program**" created profound impact on Tunisian elites and workers to resent French dominance. Amir Khalid the grandson of Abdel Khadir demanded for the application of Woodrow's principle of self-determination in Algeria through his organisation, "**Algerian Elected Muslims.**" The activities of Amir Khalid did not only make him the most popular Algerian nationalist of the time, but also inspired the liberation war in 1954.

The annexation of Algeria by France as an overseas colony in 1880 influenced Berber nationalism. After the French gained control over Algeria, they declared the Maghreb colony an integral province of metropolitan France hence were not willing to grant her independence after World War two. The French gave Algeria direct representation in the national assembly in Paris, though with only thirteen seats. Administration of Algeria was based on the French constitution with the French government in Paris having direct intervention in colonial decisions that affected the colony. In 1955, Soustalle, the French colonial Governor to Algeria remarked that "**Algeria and all her inhabitants form an integral part of France... the destiny of Algeria is France.**" This increasingly angered Algerians who the previous year had declared an armed resistance aimed at fight for independence.

Presence of white settlers (colons) who came from France, Spain, Italy and the Mediterranean Island of Malta contributed to the growth of Algerian nationalism. The increased settlement of whites in Algeria, who were mostly poor, was treated by natives as a French intention to turn Algeria into a purely Whiteman's country. By 1954, the population of white settlers in Algeria was between one million and two millions. Apart from being Europeans, the settlers were arrogant and disguised the Moslem Berbers against whom they segregated in social and economic life. The colons were also given all sorts of privileges; they dominated the administration, army and the civil service. The settlers in Algeria enjoyed a dual citizenship, elected their own deputies to the French National Assembly and were better represented than the Algerian Muslims. Apart from controlling the biggest part of the Arable land,

they competed with the local Muslims for jobs in towns and were able to get the highest paying jobs at the expense of about nine million Algerian Muslims who were becoming poorer. Bitter resentment among the natives towards white settlers became inevitable; hence they rose against foreign rule.

Alienation of land by the French in Algeria inspired the rise of militant nationalism in Algeria. The white settlers grabbed most of the fertile land particularly along the coast, forcing the Algerians to occupy the desert areas of the Sahara. Close to two million Algerians were displaced from the coastal land on which the colons (settlers) established large plantations. Most of the Algerian Muslims who lost their land to white settlers became squatters; some were forced into unproductive reserves while others moved from the countryside to urban centers. Other than monopolizing all the arable land, the French embarked on extensive exploitation of the mineral resources in Algeria with establishing relevant development. The declaration of an armed resistance was therefore aimed at reclaiming Algerian land.

The triumph of Vietnamese nationalism over the French inspired the Algerians to stage an armed struggle. In 1954, the French were humiliated by the Vietnamese at the disastrous battle in the jungles of Dien Bien Phu. This defeat suffered by the French in Indo-China (Vietnam) shattered the pride and invincibility of France. Some Algerians fought on the French side in the war and were exposed to military weaknesses of the French, acquired military skills and warfare experience. The ex-servicemen of the Vietnamese war formed an integral part of the FLN that waged war against the French in November 1954. The war in Vietnam taught Algerians patience and endurance as part of planning for a successful liberation war. The humiliation of France in Indo-China was thought to be a landmark in speeding up decolonisation of French Africa; hence the declaration of an armed resistance against the French immediately after their defeat in Vietnam was in hope by Algerian nationalists that France could easily yield to the Algerian political pressure to grant Algeria self-rule.

Impact of the VE day celebrations and the Setif uprising of 1945 influenced Algerian nationalists to organise an armed resistance against French rule in Algeria. Following the Allied victory over Germany and the Axis powers, France organised victory celebrations on May 8, in the Constantine town of Setif, which turned out to be violent. Muslim supporters of Messali Hadj joined the celebrations carrying banners with demonstrating demonstrations like "**down with colonialism and long live a free Algeria.**" In an attempt to seize the banners and dispatch Muslim demonstrators, the panicky French policemen began shooting at the demonstrators, causing an escalation into a full-scale battle that lasted for four days. Algerians Muslims engaged in violent attacks and killings against European settlers, in Constantine, Setif and the mountain areas of Kabylia in which about a hundred of them perished. Counter attacks were organised by the French using fighter planes and bombers which led to killing of thousands of Muslims including women and children. Almost twenty thousand Muslims were killed during the scuffle, over 4500 Muslims were arrested including Ferhat Abbas, 64 given life imprisonment while 99 were sentenced to death. The violent suppression of the Setif riots forced Algerians to plan for a fully-fragged armed struggle against the French colonial government. The Setif uprising inspired Ferhat Abbas' positive reaction in 1946 when he wrote, "**The Algerian personality, the Algerian fatherhood, which I could not find among Muslims in 1934, 1 find there today."**

Weakness of the French assimilation policy, made the Algerian war inevitable. The

policy failed to cover the entire population of Algeria yet the assimilated were never granted full rights and privileges like the French colons. The policy was aimed at initiating and transforming educated Muslim Algerians into French citizens in all aspects of life and behavior, including religion. It was however, a small elite class that was witnessed turning into second class Frenchmen. The assimilated were only given theoretical rights of French citizenship as they remained subordinates to the settlers. They were expected to speak the French language at the expense of Arabic commonly used by other Algerian Muslims. The French policy of assimilation left many disgruntled, like Ferhat Abbas who bitterly complained of the racial practice of the French towards educated Algerians especially in employment placement and promotion. Therefore, the desire by Algerians to end the discriminative assimilation policy of the French and create ground for easy access of social amenities by all, inspired militant nationalism in 1954.

Consequently, racial discriminative tendencies of the French against the Algerian Muslims influenced the war of independence in Algeria. Since the occupation of Algeria in 1830, the French practised racism against Algerians in all socio-economic and political set up of the country. Racism was worsened by the continued settlement of white citizens in Algeria. Algerian Muslims were denied job placement as all countryside jobs and high paying jobs in the towns. It was the same situation in public service and the army, as Algerians were denied promotion in favour of settlers. The racist attitude of French was based on their assumed racial superiority, which inspired their arrogance towards Algerians. The racist attitude of settlers in Algeria influenced them to refute a peaceful relationship with Algerian Muslims claiming that, "**In a conquered country, almost the only kind of co-operation that can occur between the two races is one in which the conquered work for the conquerors.**" The Algerians staged an uprising to get rid of racial discrimination in their country.

The emergence of elites also led to the Algerian desire for independence. They included nationalists like Messali Hadj, Ahmed Ben Bella and Ferhat Abbas a medical doctor and these Algerian elites desired for change in their country's political structure which had been refashioned by the French but unfavoured the Muslims. The educated Algerian Muslims were aggrieved due to lack of opportunities in government and the civil services despite their education status. They had attended French schools and spoke better French than Arabic, yet they were denied privileges of French citizenship, which were reserved for settlers only. Out of frustration, Ferhat Abbas expressed his discontent through his writing, "**Men who die for a patriotic ideal are honoured and respected. But I would not die for an Algerian fatherland, because no such fatherland exists...**" the educated Muslims wanted the establishment of an "**Algerian state,**" with an Algerian constitution guaranteeing liberty and equality of all people regardless of religion and race, and the coexistence of Arabic and French as official languages. Messali Hadj and Ferhat Abbas formed the "**Friends of the manifesto of Liberty**" in Setif, which influenced the armed struggle for Algerian independence.

The Algerian war of independence was influenced by nationalist activities elsewhere in the Maghreb that is, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. The Algerian nationalists were bitter that the French had initiated political developments in Tunisia and Morocco but not in Algeria. In real sense, the French were preparing to withdraw from these two protectorates in preparation to maintain their control over Algeria. The Algerians were more aggrieved to the French for imposing the policy of assimilation on Algeria yet Morocco and Tunisia were established as mere protectorates. In Morocco, the

French administrative policies favoured the rise of Moroccan nationalist activities inspired by King Muhammad while in Libya, Umar Mukather had stepped up campaigns against the Italian administration. The political organisations that led Morocco and Tunisia to independence were established before World War II, Moroccans and Tunisians engaged in press activities to mobilise and organise for self-rule. Indeed nationalism in Algeria could hardly make a beginning until the rise of nationalism in Morocco Tunisia.

The formation of the Fronte de Liberation Nationale (FLN) raised the spirit of nationalism in Algeria. The FLN is believed to have been founded in October 1954, in a suburb in Algiers. It was formed by practical young Algerian nationalists who believed in an armed struggle as the only means of destroying the might of French Algeria. The founding leaders of the FLN were members of Organisation Secrete (OS) and the most sounding ones were Ben Khedda (Khider), Ben Bella and Beikacem Karim, the ex-servicemen of World War II and who at the time the movement was established, were in exile in Cairo. The FLN evolved (transformed) from the Revolutionary Committee for a United Action (CRUA), which had been formed earlier in March 1954 by four of the leaders of the OS who had secretly remained in Algeria but were contact with Ben Khedda and Ben Bella. The leaders of FLN made it clear that they were more concerned with restoring independent Algeria that existed before the French invasion. Hence on November 1, 1954, the FLN launched an armed struggle against the French by striking in over seventy places across the country, targeting French administrative posts, police stations, army camps and railway lines among others.

Impact of the Second World War influenced Algerians to fight for independence. The war blew a wind of change across Africa, which was equally irresistible in Algeria. Algerians were recruited by the French to serve in their war forces and these included Ahmed Ben Bella and Beikacem Kerim. World War II inspired nationalist courage of Algerian soldiers who were also able to acquire military skills, guerrilla tactics and war experience. Upon return after the war, the ex-servicemen led by Ahmed Ben Bella a former sergeant in the French army formed Organisation Secrete (OS) in 1948, as an underground movement dedicated to the use of violent means of attaining Algerian independence. They tried launching unsuccessful military expeditions on government organs like post offices and police posts causing arrests of key leaders like Ben Bella. The ex-servicemen of World War II later inspired the formation of the FLN through which they launched a more armed resistance against the French colonialists in November 1954.

Cultural imperialism and language question also caused the war. Before French colonialism, Arabic was the common language but with the colonialism of the French, Arabic was stamped out and Algerian people were forced to accept French as the official and National Language and discouraged the use of Arabic in schools. The replacement was looked at as a violation of Algerian cultural heritage which remained a point of discontent. The French falsely believed that their culture and civilization were superior. It therefore forced the masses to stage an armed struggle against the French colonial administration.

Failure of the French to effect constitutional reforms contributed to the revolution. In February 1945, about 55 Algerian Moslems leaders signed Algeria constitutional changes which they desired but the French disregarded them. This inspired nationalists to fight against French dictatorship. They blamed the French administration for denying Algerians democracy and liberty like freedoms of

expression and association.

The outbreak of the Algerian war in 1954 was inspired by the success of the 1952 revolution in Egypt. Like the other Maghreb countries of Morocco and Tunisia, The nationalist leaders of Algeria looked to Cairo for support in their struggle for self-rule. The Egyptian triumph over the monarchical and puppet leadership of king Farouk inspired nationalism of Algerian Muslims to stage a revolutionary war against the French in 1954. Gamal Nasser the Egyptian revolutionary leader provided asylum to Algerian leaders like Ben Bella and Ben Khedda. Apart from condemning French colonial atrocities in Algeria, Nasser went ahead to provide moral, financial and military assistance to Algerian nationalists who were able to establish the FLN with a Provisional Government (political wing of the FLN) that Egypt hosted. Before his capture and imprisonment, Ben Bella led the FLN to launch attacks against the French from Egypt. Nasser continued extending assistance to Algerian freedom fighters in form of training, military equipment and finances

Unfair representation of the natives in the French parliament also caused political grievances, in 1947, the French granted cosmetic reforms to the Algerians e.g. they increased the number of the seats of the country to 30 in the chamber of deputies and 14 in the senate. Most of these seats were occupied by the white settlers in Algeria. All these angered Algerians who staged an armed struggle.

Heavy taxation contributed to the outbreak of the liberation war in Algeria. The French imposed heavy taxes on Algerian yet they had no income generating projects. To make matters worse the taxes were brutally collected and the nationals did not see any benefits from them since the money was swindled by the colonialists. This annoyed the Algerians who decided to take up arms against the French in the 1954-1962 war of liberation.

### **Effects of the Algerian revolution (Algerian war of independence) of 1954-62**

#### ***Reference Questions:***

##### ***1. Assess the effects of the Algerian war of independence***

#### **Positive effects:**

- The end of the war occasioned the Algerian attainment of independence in September 1962. It was in 1962 that the French finally gave up leadership in Algeria and officially handed over the instruments of power to Algerians.
- After attaining independence, the first pre-independence elections were organized which brought to power Ahmed Ben Bella as the first president, A new assembly was also elected consisting of Arabs and Berbers. As a result, the Berbers and Arabs got access to political offices in the government, national assembly and the civil service.
- The armed struggle aroused national consciousness of the Algerians towards nation building in their country without foreign influence and the only opportunity came after the success of the liberation war.
- It led to Agrarian reforms; many of the Algerians who had lost their land to the introduction of FLN socialism and Nationalism the party embarked on Nationalization program of major means of production like land, industries mineral fields among others for the purpose of national building
- There was revival of Arabic nationalism where Islamic fundamentalism maintained to cheek on foreign influence. Arabic replaced French as a national and official language. Islam was also reinstalled as the national

religion. The Algerians reduced French influence through putting emphasis on the Arabic language, reforming the curriculum and spreading Islam through education.

- There was also the ushering in of new era of nationalism that had been a dream in Algeria since 1835. Democracy was promoted basing on the universal suffrage as stipulated for in the UNO charter, such form of democracy led to the rise of Ben Bella as the first leader of Algeria through elections than just installing or posting leadership.
- Algeria after independence embraced socialism. Socialist policies were adopted by Ben Bella (1962-1965) and consolidated by Gen. Bourneienne (1965-1978). Reforms were carried out in land distribution by which the whites were compelled to hand over their vast estates to the land hungry native peasants. Some of these whites were absentee landlords during the colonial period. Consequently the Arabs and Berbers were able to exploit the land allocated to them to attain higher standards of living. This also reduced the starvation and poverty among Algerian populace.
- Through the creation of the socialist villages and the importation of modern methods of farming, the Algerian peasants were given loans, fertilizers, seeds and farm implements. The country made good use of her oil revenue to set up the conservation and irrigation schemes to counter the hostile climatic conditions. This ensured agricultural production throughout the year.
- The government embarked on improving the vegetation cover (green dam) to reclaim the semi-arid areas. A long 1000km forest was planted to boost agricultural production as well as the environment in the country.
- The revolution also transformed the social sector in the areas of education, health and other services. During this period more Algerian boys and girls were imposed to literacy, free medical services etc. culturally, the imperialism imposed by the French was watered down after independence. More schools and health centers were built especially in rural areas.
- There was an end of Franco-Arab racial conflicts which existed between 1850 and 1962. The white settler arrogance was dismantled and Algeria established harmonious relationship with her former colonial master. No wonder many French remained in the socio-economic sector of Algeria at the end of French colonialism.
- Algeria influenced the decolonization of some parts of Africa i.e. during the war, the French granted independence to Tunisia and Morocco in 1956 and other parts of Africa between 1958 and 1960 e.g. Guinea in 1958. After 1962, Algeria entered into the Maghreb union with the neighboring states such as Morocco and Tunisia. This union consolidated Arab unity and safeguarded the members against neocolonialism.
- Algerian independence also enabled her to be among the founder members of the OAU. She was among the thirty two independent African states that signed the OAU charter, aiming at promoting unity on the continent and find collective unity to African problems.
- Her experience influenced liberation movements in those parts of Africa where European colonialism was still deep-rooted. The cases in point included Angola, Mozambique and Namibia etc. It is for this reason that Algeria contributed materially to the liberation struggles elsewhere on the continent. This was through supporting the OAU and other international bodies in their decolonization campaigns.
- Algeria embraced the non-aligned movement. Ben Bella influenced by Nasser of Egypt adopted a policy of positive neutrality in the cold war conflict between USA and the Soviet Union. The motive was also to deter neocolonial

influence in the country.

- There was improvement in the working conditions which was not the case with which colonialism. Employment opportunities were availed to all, enslavement was restricted, good relationship between the workers and the employers was emphasized, there was rural development which influenced many people to move back to rural areas from urban centers.

### **Shortcomings of the Algerian revolution / liberation war**

- The revolution led to the rise of Ben Bella's dictatorial tendencies under the guise of promoting socialism in the country. He banned political parties and left only the FLN as a soul political organization in the country. The party rule suppressed the freedom of the assembly. The press was banned, political opponents were hunted down and some were either jailed or fled the country.
- The revolution ushered in or introduced the army or militarization in the politics of Algeria. E.g. the coup of 1965 led by Boumedierme aimed at ousting Ben Bella due to his dictatorship and the desire for popular democracy in Algeria.
- There was an upsurge of Arab segregation as a way of compensating the French who discriminated the Algerians on racial grounds. Arab racism replaced French racism during post colonial era. There was no government of national unity as it was the case in South Africa in 1994.
- The war led to the destruction of life and property. A counter revolution stage by the French led to the massive death of Africans in Algeria; led to destruction of property e.g. over 80 villages were destroyed.
- The price paid by the people was high; about one million natives perished during the war and millions of others were widowed, crippled, orphaned or turned into destitute. This was partly caused by the oppressive measures used by the French. Consequently the post independence period was characterized by massive social suffering among the people many of whom remained poverty stricken and desperate.
- It led to the displacement of many people of both Algerian and French origin. Due to feared for their lives; the French settlers left Algeria while native Algerians had to either escape from their villages or find refugee in other countries due to insecurity in the villages. Others left because they wanted to occupy former French property and homes.
- There was economic set back; this was due to the counter revolution staged by the French destroying Algerian property and gardens during the fighting. The FLN forces also aimed at French homes, industries, plantations which led to retardation of the Algerian economy.
- The independence of Algeria was gradually watered down. This was because Algeria failed to survive on her own economically and so turned to France for assistance i.e. she signed oil agreements with France and other foreign companies between 1970 and 1971. Later, France was able to secure military pacts with Algeria which enabled her not only to gain influence in the Algerian army but also set up a weapons testing base in the country. In this way, Algeria was brought within the orbit of French neocolonialism.
- The increasing influence of France in Algeria later on resulted into political interference. In 1992 i.e. France on behalf of the capitalist powers compelled the government of Algeria to nullify the electoral victory of the Islamist political party which would have brought to power radical Moslems. This type of democracy infuriated the masses and offered fertile ground for internal violence which spread to different parts of the country. The result was social and economic disruption in the closing years of the twentieth century.

- Algeria never stood free of political ideology. At the beginning her socialist revolution made her to incline in the direction of the Marxist powers. During the period, she was an ally of USSR, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe. This weakened her claims of being a non allied country. Again due to Marxism the relations between Algeria and Morocco became increasingly strained. At the climax the government of Algeria helped the POLISARIO guerillas in the struggle to liberate Western Sahara from Morocco.

### **Success of the Algerian revolution / war of independence**

#### ***Reference Questions:***

1. ***Examine the factors for the success of Algerian nationalism***
  2. ***Account for Algerian triumph over French imperialism by 1962***
  3. ***Discuss the factors that facilitated the attainment of Algerian independence in 1962***
- The formation of the liberation movement (FLN) which aimed at liberating Algeria from French colonialism. It mobilized people to wage guerrilla warfare; FLN carried out violent attacks which weakened the French both politically and economically thus the success of the revolution.
  - The French military actions towards local 'people e.g. in 1958 French planes bombarded FLN bases, killing many people. This strategy led to international condemnation of the French actions on Algeria and the democrats from USA pressurized the French through refusing NATO (North Atlantic Treaty of organization) troops to enter Algeria.
  - Besides, the French made blunders during the war. They failed to distinguish between the armed militants and non violent moderates. They carried out attacks on innocent civilians on several occasions. Government forces disguised them as rebels, killed people and by so doing hoped to make the FLN unpopular. This however, backfired by driving the natives into the hands of the rebels.
  - The geographical setup of the country i.e. Algeria is located in the desert; the area is too open which could not give conducive atmosphere for French fighters. Yet the Algerians were on familiar grounds.
  - The fact that Algerians were fighting on familiar grounds made the success of the war inevitable. They were more used to the mountainous landscape e.g. in the desert including the sand dunes. They were also mobile compared to the French troops who were equipped with heavy weapons. This made the hit and run tactic more effective.
  - The development of Algeria nationalism spearheaded by a wind of change led to Algerian success. They demonstrated first in 1946 during the French celebration of the victory over Germans in the world war two where thousands of them were massacred but they never gave up their demands. Such French acts sowed seeds of their destruction. The Algerian masses resorted to supporting guerrilla activities with all their might.
  - The role of women, who were recruited in the FLN ranks, worked as spies and provided basic necessities like food. This made French troops suspicious and embarked on a strategy of unveiling women on streets which made women nationalism surge in them. They turned their veils into military equipment. Such women actions contributed much to the success of the revolution.
  - The use of violence i.e. the Algeria freedom fighters embarked on violence, targeting French plantation, homes, businesses etc. which weakened much the French society who would not live any more in Algeria but rather to pack up and leave the country.

- The good organization of FLN e.g. it was national and popular to all Algerians; had one centralized leadership which commanded support and respect from the entire Algerian society. The FLN also created national unity behind their armed struggles
- The general union of Algerian workers who had their own grievances against the French society enabled the success of the war. This union organized support and solicited for funds which became crucial in attainment of independence in Algeria.
- Use of a common approach by Algerian nationalists. Although some nationalist leaders such as Fahat Abbas and Messali Hadji were at first opposed to the military rebellion, they later resolved and offered charismatic leadership which awakened Algerian nationalism. Apart from mobilizing the masses they set up an external wing, first in Cairo and later in Tunis. They were therefore able to keep contact with their supporters in the Arab states, the communist world and Europe.
- The use of secrecy and propaganda by FLN appealed to the thousands and announced the traditional Algerian nationalism. This was made through tracks and the radio. In particular the voice of free Algeria served to unite all the people behind a common cause. It popularized the struggle in the villages, on the radio, in the hills and the urban centers.
- The capture of internal bases in the country side gave the FLN ground for recruitment and training. By the end of 1956, the FLN had moved into towns where it started urban terrorism. From Kasbah an urban guerilla base, the rebels launched the "**Battle of Algeria**" which lasted for a full year. As rural communities were liberated, reforms were carried out. This attracted more support in the country.
- Foreign assistance contributed tremendously to the triumph of Algerian nationalism. The FLN rebel leaders were able to present their case at international gatherings and privately through diplomatic contacts in the major capitals. In particular, Egypt under Nasser gave the FLN a free platform and refuge to some of its leaders such as Ben Khedda and Messali Hadji. Therefore a lot of arms and supplies were also sent from Egypt through Tunisia. Other Arab states contributed fund through the Arab league. Algeria was also helped by the independence of her neighbors, Morocco and Tunisia.
- Consequently, the support from the socialist states e.g. Russia and China contributed to the success of the war. They extended financial and military aid to the FLN rebels as well as ideological support. This gave Algerians enough courage to continue fighting for independence.
- Tunisian independence of 1956 also enabled the success of Algerian nationalism. Tunisia provided training grounds for Algerian freedom fighters; became a safe haven in case of persecution. The granting of independence to Tunisia by the French encouraged Algerians to fight until self rule is achieved.
- The rise of Charles de Gaulle as leader of France in June 1958 was a blessing to the Algerian cause. He risked his life and his position to terminate French rule in Algeria. Apart from initiating reforms Charles conducted negotiations with the leaders of FLN. The result was agreement of March 1962. In July 1962 Algerians voted for independence through a referendum.

## OBSTACLES FACED TO THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

### **Reference Questions:**

1. *Account for the delayed independence of Algeria*
2. *Examine the obstacles to the Algerian struggle for independence*

- The French policy of divide and rule of intended to subjugate Algeria; the French colonialists employed this policy in order to undermine unity of the Algerians, and enable collaboration with the French. This possibly explains why the war took such a long period of time.
- The FLN and its leaders had a weak political and social foundation. The French in Algeria dismantled the political structure and removed the authority from the traditional leaders. They created a group of collaborators through the policy of divide and rule. This made it difficult to mobilize the masses.
- Besides, the collaborators or yes-men were sympathetic to the colonial administration. They spoke French and had adopted other cultural beliefs of their colonial masters. Some had embraced Christianity and so shared religious attachments with France. This group was joined by a large number of white settlers. They joined the army in large numbers and were not in favor of Algeria's separation from France.
- Apart from the disunity of the Algerian masses, the nationalists themselves were deeply divided over the war tactics and ultimate objectives. This explains why leaders like Messali Hadji and Fahad Abbas at first condemned the rebellion. They were constitutionalists and wrongly believed that independence could be got from political or democratic means.
- Internal wrangles and petty jealousies in the ranks of the FLN disturbed the guerilla army. In 1956, some of the district commanders (Willaya) of the FLN were more preoccupied in power struggles, making it difficult to coordinate. In the process they hindered the war progress.
- The nationalists had military weaknesses. Apart from difficulties in mobilizing and coordinating the struggle, they lacked enough weapons and other provisions. This explains why they relied heavily on smuggled weapons and foreign assistance. On the other hand the French army was stronger, better trained and heavily equipped. It was supported by the fighter bombs of the air force.
- The French used repressive measures in a bid to calm down militant nationalism. They carried out counter revolutionary warfare including mass arrests of suspected rebels or collaborators, killing of prisoners and destruction of entire villages. They unveiled women in their madness of searching for weapons this subjected innocent victims to indignity and harassment. During the war Ben Bella was kidnapped on a flight across Algeria from Morocco to Tunisia. He was jailed by the French.
- Creation of concentration camps as hindered the success of the war. These camps were established between 1957 and 1959 when many rural people were on the run in fear for their lives. The French colonial government thus established these camps where villages were regrouped. Sometimes the French exerted a lot of force on these camps, so heavily in order to deter possible rebellions. On some occasions the French forces disguised themselves as FLN fighters and massacred Algerians in big numbers; slaughters people in the concentration camps in order to destroy the public credibility of the FLN movement.
- The predominance of the white settlers most of whom were French was a big hindrance to Algerian independence struggle. They supported the colonial regime and consequently joined the government in large numbers by 1954 to resist Algerian independence.
- This was worsened by the hostility of the colons themselves towards the natives. In April 1956, the European terrorist group bombed a flat in Kasha and killed 53 Muslims. The above problem delayed the war and hence

independence for eight years

- The Freedom fighters lacked the financial and economic powers to finance the war and equip the revolutionary forces with modern weapons and modern techniques.
- Lack of assistance from the neighboring countries which would have assisted much the freedom fighters to overthrow the French dominancy; this hence prolonged the war.
- Lack of a strong force by Algerian nationalist; Algeria lacked stronger army especially at the initial stage in 1950's. The rebels were ill trained and were incompetent militarily. This was in sharp contrast with the French forces who had sophisticated weapons e.g. of mass destruction, aircraft bombers etc.

## **APARTHEID AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

South Africa is the largest and most powerful of several states in Southern Africa. The country came into existence in 1910 following the establishment of the Act of Union that put the two British territories of the Cape and Natal and the Boers (Afrikaner) Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State under one political federation. South Africa became a republic in 1961 in a protested breakaway from the Commonwealth that followed international recognition of the Black struggle against apartheid and the granting of a Nobel Peace Prize to Albert Luthuli, the Secretary General of the African National Congress (ANC).

## **THE APARTHEID POLICY**

### **Meaning**

Apartheid is an Afrikaner term for 'separateness' or 'racial segregation.' It was used by the descendants of pioneer Dutch settlers to encourage separateness of races in South Africa.

Apartheid may also refer to the apartness or keeping people of different colours apart in all conceivable aspects of society; political, social and economic. The policy and practice of apartheid in South Africa grew out of experience of the established white population (mostly Afrikaner).

It was a converted political and administrative policy shaped out of the conservative Afrikaner nationalism, which also developed out of racial prejudice, pride and cultural arrogance of the Dutch stock settlers (Afrikaners) who detested the liberal attitude of the white settlers of British origin towards non-whites.

To Africans and liberal minded whites, apartheid was a policy of fear. They argued that the Afrikaner "perceived-racial-superiority" was a result of the "assumed threat" to their minority status in the country, inevitably caused by the attainment of political independence by Blacks elsewhere in Africa. Afrikaner nationalists thus, invented apartheid as a racial segregative system that influenced them to agitate for control of South Africa.

## **ORIGIN OF APARTHEID POLICY**

To Africans and liberal minded Europeans, apartheid is a policy of fear. They argue that white nationalists realised that they were the minority and that blacks the majority. And that political independence of their brothers and blacks in a free African world inevitably influence them to dictate for control of South Africa which was a threat to the white state status.

By 1948, the whites found themselves among Africans who were not only more

educated than before but who were more aware of their grievances. African leaders were generally as well as informed on political matters as the whites were.

Apartheid also had its own origin during the Second World War where the thinkers especially the university leaders were influenced by Nazi racist attitude which believed in superiority over other races.

It also came as the result of the development of Afrikaner nationalism among the supporters of nationalistic party in South Africa. In South Africa, the whites had to stand their ground and remain masters in their countries. To achieve these apartheid policies or laws were put in place limit the non-whites opportunity in all aspects of life e.g. land ownership, employment, political representation, trade and education

### **AIMS OF APARTHEID**

Apartheid had the following objectives:

- To maintain white supremacy and domination in South Africa over the blacks
- To maintain and protect the white population as a pure white race against the contamination of other races like the blacks and Asians
- To reduce the amount of national feeling among Africans
- To protect the white character of South African cities from the ever increasing number of Africans in urban centers
- To maintain the African race as a source of cheap labour
- To limit African participation in the politics of the country

### **METHODS / PILLARS OF APARTHEID POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In the years 1948 to 1978, South Africa had four strong Prime Ministers who worked very hard to establish, strengthen and consolidate the apartheid system as an official government policy. These included Dr. Malan who was very instrumental as first prime minister and others included Srijdom, Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster. These enacted parliamentary acts through which apartheid was applied and manifested.

The passing of the Asian Law Amendment Act in 1948 which was aimed at transforming the Parliament of South Africa into a purely racist institution by constitutionally eliminating liberal-members of Indian origin. Indians were hence deprived of representation in parliament just like other non-white races of African and coloured. White domination was therefore perpetuated in the South African legislative council. The whites had earlier on in 1936 passed "Representation of the Native Act", which disenfranchised the non-whites (denied them voting rights for political representation in parliament). There was no direct representation of non-whites in the National Assembly (parliament) which meant that their grievances and interests were unattended to until some of them resorted to positive action of agitating for their rights and freedoms.

Political suppression of non-whites through the "Suppression of Communism Act" of 1950 which aimed at suppressing any opposition to the apartheid system. The Act gave defined communism in terms of any form of opposition that needed to be silenced by the government. The Act gave the government powers to suppress all troublesome multi-racial political organisations and banning all African political activities. The apartheid regimes were empowered to condemn notorious African politicians as communists, place them under house arrest, restrict their movements and prohibit them from attending public or social gatherings while their writings and speeches had to be confiscated before circulation.

Through the introduction of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) which restricted mixed marriages or marriages between whites and non-whites. The result of this Act was that, there would be no cross-social relations within the South African population through marriage, which strategically prevented multi-racial unity. The Afrikaners succeeded in denying Africans from climbing the socio-economic ladder through marriages. In 1950, the National Party government passed the Immorality Amendment Act to strengthen prohibition of mixed marriages across races. The new Act prohibited intimate social relationships between whites and non-whites, which involve sexual intercourse, physical love or bearing illegal children in an extra-marital marriage. The intention of the two Acts was to maintain a superior pure white race by closing any gap where Africans would get closer to whites in either marriages or intimacy.

In 1950, the apartheid regime passed the Population Registration Act purposely to draw a borderline (separation) of the population by registering and issuing every South African an identity card bearing one's race. This new act declared that racism is both legal (by law) and a biological concept. It was basically aimed at dealing with Indians and colored people who strongly believed that they were more related to the whites than Africans. It classified the population as Whites, Indians, Africans and Coloureds. To the colored people, the Act stated that "a colored is a person who is not a white person or a native African." The coloreds were thence isolated and made to think they did not belong to South Africa. The Act protected the whites away from contamination by the "inferior colored race." In order to survive, the coloreds had to relate more with the whites for sympathy than with the Africans who were regarded "evil militants." The Act was strongly emphasised in the Cape Province and Natal where the Coloureds and Asians strongly competed with the white race in economics and business.

The apartheid government of Dr. Malan introduced the Group Areas Act (1950) which provided for creation of separate residential areas for the different races. The Act was aimed at solving the "race problem" especially in towns and cities where the increasing population of non-whites was seen as a social problem to existence of the whites. Town centres were declared to white residents while the blacks, Coloureds and Indians were to stay in slum areas. The areas allocated to non-whites were small and congested leading to competition for property among themselves. The Act encouraged repatriation or ejection of people from areas allocated for whites without compensation for their property, land or businesses. Coloureds and Indians had to relocate their businesses in areas inaccessible by their customers hence this affected their incomes. This Act established and maintained a white character in towns and cities.

The establishment of Bantustans or (African homelands) purposely to separate or keep whites and Africans apart economically and territorially, by passing the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959. By 1951, many Africans had been repatriated from towns to reserves; which reserves were developed into Bantu homelands. The new South African leader Hendrik Verwoerd consolidated the Bantustan policy that it would clear Africans from white areas and 'mobilised to offer the required labour in white industries to be established on the borders of Bantustans. The Bantustan policy provided for the setting up of territorial authorities or national units based on the ancient African tribal-authority policy. By the 1957 Bantu Authorities Act, the government had to appoint a chief for every homeland, though the chief could be removed once he worked contrary to the demands of the apartheid government. The Bantu Self-Government Act assumed that the Bantu people did not constitute a homogeneous people, therefore should live in separate

national units on basis of language or culture. As a result, they created ten homelands.

**Transkei** and **Ciskei** for the Xhosa people

**Kwa-Zulu** for the Zulu people

**Qwaqwa** for the South Sotho

**Bophuthatswana** for the Tswana people

**South Ndebele and Lebowa** for north Sotho people

**Gazankulu** for the Shangane and Tsonga people

**Vender** for the Venda people

**SWAZI** for the Swazi people

The Bantustan policy hindered African national consciousness and diverted their political ambitions away from South Africa as a whole, to tribal homelands.

Strategic location of industries: to ensure cheap supply of labour from Africans the South African government located industries near reserves (Bantustans). The Africans could hence work within their localities without moving into white towns or cities. The establishment of industries near Bantustans was also a fulfillment of the apartheid aim of reducing Africans as a source of cheap labour.

The racist government came up with the Bantu Education Act in 1953, designed by the then Minister of Native Affairs Hendrik Verwoerd. Verwoerd declared that racial relations could not improve if a wrong type of education is given to the natives. He justified this Act that created separate education for separate races arguing that Africans could not improve if the result of education given to them is to turn them into a frustrated people. Africans hence had to receive inferior education with a syllabus that emphasised more of Afrikaans than English, an education which **"emphasised ethnic differences and trained and taught Africans in accordance with their opportunities in life, which was to offer cheap labour to the white community."**

The government withdrew missionary control over African education by putting all African schools under close supervision of the government education department. The Act provided for creation of different schools, colleges and universities for different races.

Strengthening of pass laws through introducing the 1952 Native Act or the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act. With the new amendment, the old passbooks were abolished and replaced with reference books. This act made it compulsory for African men and later women to carry reference books at all times, containing all permits and registrations like permission to take up employment in town, registration of their labour contract, permission to stay outside one's village after curfew hours among others. The reference book had details about an African place of origin, race, age, residence and reference number, where he intends to move to and when he intends to return, it was aimed at further restricting free movement of Africans in order to keep them under effective control and failure to present one's reference book led to arrest and detention. On average, over 1000 Africans were arrested daily for not carrying their reference or pass books between 1953 and 1984.

In 1953, the apartheid government strengthened the Group Area Act by issuing the **"Reservation of Separate Amenities Act."** After separating resident areas of the different races, where Africans, Indians and coloureds were pushed out of the cities and towns to the slums the government separated social services (amenities) where better services were reserved for whites while non-whites were provided with inferior social facilities such as trains, buses, bars, social recreation parks, among others. The government also came up with new sign posts which reserved some public

premises for exclusive use by a particular race. Signs like, "**whites only**" or "**not for Africans dogs**" or "**non-whites are prohibited**" could be seen at railways stations, beaches, banks and bridges

The government repatriation of Africans from towns and cities to isolated townships was also a manifestation of apartheid in South Africa. In 1953, the Nationalist Party government passed the "Native Resettlement Act" which provided for forcible removal of natives from white settler urban centres and segregate them along tribal line in their new settlements. The Act enabled involuntary repatriation of about 57,000 Africans from central Johannesburg to the South West Town (Soweto). The government argument was that the repatriated people were too old, unproductive and unfit to stay in urbanized areas while others were women with dependent children. The Resettlement Act weakened the development of national unity and consciousness among native Africans.

The introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) which provided government authority to give various punishments to leaders who mobilised masses into civil disobedience and other acts of opposition to the apartheid system. In particular, the Act provided for a five year imprisonment and fourteen lashes (canes) for any person who leads others into breaking the law in protest against apartheid. The Act was a result of the "**1952 Defiance Campaign**" organised by the ANC against apartheid laws which almost caused a breakdown of the system

In 1957, the natives law amendments act consolidated white control over Africans in urban areas. This had been attempted in 1923 and was only reinforced in 1957. In industries or factories, job segregation was also practiced through the 1965 industrial consolidation act. This act legalized some special jobs or the whites as well as special wages. It also relegated Africans to low paid jobs as well as casual labourers.

Apartheid regime also used the Parliamentary Act to reduce the authority of traditional chiefs in the rural areas. This was through the Bantu Authority Act of 1951 which was later elaborated by the promotion of the Bantu Self-government Act of 1959. These acts were harsh on African traditional chiefs and greatly reduced their powers outside African settlements. The 1959 Act also stipulated that African traditional chiefs had no powers over whites in their area, which greatly undermined the spirit of independence of African chief

In order to strengthen apartheid in the political field, the government enacted an act which prohibited African political interference and made it illegal for anyone to belong to a racially mixed political party. To this effect, it meant that, the blacks could not join the Nationalist Party of the Boers just as the Boers could not join African parties

Other than legislation, apartheid government also used brutality. The government employed military confrontation to counter the rising militant opposition against apartheid in South Africa; the government decided to become more brutal and embarked on large scale military confrontations to suppress African opposition. The apartheid government expanded the air force, recruited blacks to fight fellow blacks and developed a powerful intelligent network i.e. the (BOSS) which penetrated nationalistic movements in South Africa. Petty Apartheid Laws were passed by the apartheid government as social barriers against social interaction among the different races. These laws were founded on colour basis, where separate social

services were created for every race e.g. roads, hospitals, Churches and public beaches. Notices like "**white only and non whites are prohibited**" could be seen at railways stations, beaches, banks and bridges.

Imprisonment of nationalists; the apartheid government, aware of the increasing danger of African nationalists passed laws which turned South Africa into a police station. E.g. anti-communists act and detention act allowed the imprisonment without trial and the communist act blamed all political organisations and activities opposed to apartheid and workers strikes were outlawed

In 1965, the South African government adopted the Detente Policy (dialogue) aimed at establishing friendship with the neighbouring states of South Africa. The Detente Policy was adopted to neutralize the increased Pressure on the South African government and counter guerilla activities in the neighbouring state of Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia from spreading into South Africa. The OAU had cautioned its members from allowing South Africa air craft and ships to use African air space and harbors and not to trade with South Africa in order to weaken apartheid. The detente policy (dialogue) with African countries was seen by South Africa as a way of getting potential market for South African manufactured goods and investments. Otherwise the continued isolation of South Africa was suicidal to her economic pride.

### **IMPACT OF APARTHEID**

The segregation tendencies based on race and colour in South Africa sowed seeds of hatred, mistrust and suspicions within the population.

The policy bled a culture of violence in South Africa as a means of solving conflicts. In fact a lot of bloodshed and loss of lives were witnessed in South Africa from 1948 when white racism in South Africa was made constitutional. Africans aimed at the white population, their property and investments, while the whites out of insecurity trained in combat skills and acquired small arms in self defence against the potential violent Africans.

Boosted African nationalism by influencing the rise of a new young generation of leaders who ignited African cause against the racist apartheid governments. The young leadership comprised educated Africans among them Nelson Mandela and Oliver Thambo, who were trained lawyers from Johannesburg, trade-unionists like Walter Sisulu and others like Steve Biko. The introduction of harsh racist laws stimulated the young militant leaders to encourage a wave of resistances and protests to pass laws, agricultural restrictions, poor working conditions and the inferior education given to Africans. They were instrumental in organising a number of spontaneous mass strikes, boycotts and demonstrations mostly in towns. These included the 1952 "Defiance Campaign" against segregationist laws, the Sharpeville protest against pass laws in 1960 and the 1976 Soweto demonstration against the unfair Bantu Education Act

Apart from boosting the popularity of the ANC through its activities, the system of apartheid led to the rise of a new political movement, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) formed by breakaway Africanists of the ANC.

The policy was responsible for economic retardation in South Africa. The apartheid regimes faced many economic sanctions from international organisations like the UNO and OAU, which called on member states to cut off economic and trade ties

with South Africa. Many African governments and Non-aligned countries of Asia ended trade ties with the racist government and this economically isolated South Africa that her economy gradually crumbled.

Consequently, Africans were economically impoverished due to the economic inequalities encouraged by the Afrikaners. African wages were deliberately kept lower, earning ten times less than whites, majority Africans were denied property rights in urban areas, they had lost land with whites controlling almost 87% of the arable land and yet Africans were also restricted from engaging in major economic activities like mining and other commercial activities like import trade. Today the wealth of South Africa is still controlled by whites who are about four millions of the total population of the country but controlling more than 80% of the national capital. Most Africans were subjected to labour exploitation on white farms, industries, mines and even white homes. Africans were subjected to a contract labour system that was very oppressive and inhuman to Africans. The Apartheid regimes abolished activities of African trade unions, trade unions were banned and African trade unionists were arrested and detained.

Africans were highly disenfranchised and hardly participated in the political decision making process of South Africa. It was in 1936 when voting rights were completely deprived of Africans and since then, they were declined to the status of second class citizens. It is hence true to say that by multiracial general elections of 1994, Africans majority had no idea of ticking a ballot paper or had never experienced political campaigns and voting procedures, nor did they know the importance of a constitution. Known to the Africans were strikes, boycotts and defiance campaigns but not democratic principles.

Apartheid rendered national unity completely delicate. The creation of Bantustans on tribal lines, separate educational institutions and recreation centers, and prohibition of mixed marriages between different races discouraged the development of national feelings among the populace of South Africa/hence hindering prospects of national unity. In fact socio-political relations among South Africans were dented by the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act which created different settlement areas for different races.

The unfair education system imposed on Africans made them highly illiterates and second class citizens. This nature of education discouraged intellectual developments among Africans hence it prepared them for socio-economic roles which needed only semi-skilled or no skilled labour. This inferior education maintained the African majority politically ignorant of their rights and freedoms and instead most of them accepted their subordinate status to the white minority.

The Bantu Education Act passed in 1953 forced Africans into government schools which had a designed syllabus that emphasised ethnic differences and only taught them bare-skills needed to work for whites.

Apartheid South Africa adopted a destabilisation policy in neighbouring states which led to political instabilities in the region. Apartheid leaders committed to supporting subversive activities in neighbouring countries suspected of supporting the activities of ANC against the white minority regime in South Africa. The apartheid government sponsored the rebel activities of RENAMO against the FRELIMO government in Mozambique and UNITA activities in Angola against the MPLA government. South Africa occasionally launched military expeditions on Zimbabwe and Mozambique suspecting them of being training grounds of the ANC freedom fighters.

The activities of the apartheid regimes against neighbouring countries and the economic threat posed by South Africa in the Southern African region led to the rise of economic cooperation among the Southern African countries. In August 1980, they met in Lusaka, Zambia and signed a treaty of cooperation that led to the founding of the South African Development Coordination Council (SADCC) which was designed to isolate South Africa and desist her possible political or economic influence from penetrating member states. In 1993, the member states met in Windhoek Namibia, and transformed the SADCC into SADC, which incorporated South Africa after apartheid and has made the organisation the most reliable economic organisation.

The policy exposed the double standards of some African states and members of the OAU who were later branded traitors. In 1965, the apartheid government of Hendrik Verwoerd designed a policy dialogue known as "the detente policy" that encouraged African governments to cooperate with South Africa through exporting labour to the country and repackage and sale South African industrial commodities, in return for financial grants and technical assistance from the apartheid government. Countries like Malawi, Botswana, Zambia and Madagascar entered into policy dialogue with apartheid South Africa out of selfishness hence collaborating with the racist regime to despise sanctions imposed on it by the UNO and the OAU.

The racist policy of apartheid was one of the international problems that exposed the double standards of the United Nations Organisation (UNO). The international peace body often imposed diplomatic and economic sanctions on racist South Africa but would take no measures to punish the member countries that violated the sanctions, as it was the case with Iraq in 1990, where countries faced the UN Security Council for maintaining ties with Saddam's regime after Saddam's naked aggression against Kuwait. On the other hand, major powers of the UNO like the USA and Britain though they condemned the apartheid policy, their multi-nationals continued trading with South Africa.

It strengthened Afro-Arab solidarity due to the understanding between the two races. The Arab sympathy towards African victims of apartheid was a result of the African positive gesture in supporting the Palestinian Arabs against the Zionist imperialists (Israelites). Therefore, the Arabs had to return the good gesture by supporting the African fight against apartheid.

### **REACTIONS OF AFRICANS TOWARDS APARTHEID**

Africans used diplomacy to agitate for their rights. They sent representatives to London and UN General Assembly to protest against the white racist regime in South Africa. This was aimed at seeking international sympathy in their quest for liberation from the evils of apartheid

Africans launched campaigns in South Africa against the irritating laws of apartheid. In Bloemfontein, the blacks protested against the extension of laws by municipalities in the Orange Free states. This African movement opposed to the racist apartheid laws spread to other towns of South Africa like Johannesburg and Pretoria.

Africans organised themselves into political organisations to consolidate their efforts against racism. In the 1950s, youth politicians led by Mandela and Oliver Tambo streamlined the activities of the South African National Congress (ANC) while in 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was formed under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. These liberation movements especially the ANC became the

vanguard of the political agitations in South Africa. The ANC and PAC jointly staged defiance campaigns against the pass laws and other repressive apartheid laws.

Africans waged defiance campaign against the apartheid policy e.g. the 1952 defiance campaign against the unjust pass laws and the petty apartheid laws. Violent African demonstrators targeted parks, beaches and streets marked "WHITES ONLY", destroying also sign-posts that restricted Africans from using them. Offices, buses, bridges and restaurants were also targets during the African violent actions against apartheid.

Strikes and boycott were organised by Africans to resist against the apartheid policy. Chief Albert Luthuli organised boycotts against the Bantu Education Act. The ANC organised various boycotts e.g. the bus boycotts which was against the unrealistic increment in the bus fares. Africans also organised the potato boycott which was a protest against the poor working conditions on European farms. In 1971, two day strike, was called by the Coordination for African Development Trade Union (COSATU), which was honored all over a big section of South African community.

Demonstrations were staged against the apartheid policy e.g. in March 1960, PAC organised an anti-pass campaign where Africans marched to police stations to surrender their passes and seek arrest by the police. This resulted into most horrifying dynamic extent in the whole history against struggle of Sharpeville, Massacre/ kills were more than 200 Africans were slaughtered. This incidence provoked more demonstrations throughout the country and aroused international. After the Sharpeville incident, Africans doubted the success of non-violent resistance and resulted into armed violence struggle through organisations like Umkhonto we Sizwe/ Spear of the Nation formed in 1961. This sabotaged white property installations and establishment which were repressions of apartheid and carried out guerrilla war fare against government.

South Africans through the OAU and the UNO advocated for diplomatic and economic isolation of apartheid rule in South Africa. The international sanctions greatly affected the country and the government had to succumb to the pressure by holding peace talks with the African opposition leaders and the result was the multi-racial general elections of 1994 which sealed the fate of apartheid.

Africans used music dance and drama (MOD) in organising masses and decamping the apartheid system. Songs of Makoba, Chakachaka, Lucky Dube and other musicians were inspirational among South Africans and the international community in the quest for African liberty.

Africans used massive propaganda internally and externally against apartheid policy. The nationalists mostly used press (newspapers) e.g. Abantu-Batho. Magazines and films e.g. on the life of Mandela and Carry for freedom by Steve Biko, which fetched international sympathy and increased pressure for the liberation of majority Africans from racist oppression.

Through the church in South Africa especially the Anglican Church under Bishop Desmond Tutu who played a big role in sensitising and mobilising masses against the racist regime in South Africa. Bishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders encouraged multi-racial unity against racism in South Africa, published books and preached on the problems that affected the population of the country due to racial inequalities.

South African nationalists identified some personalities among them who were of double standards excommunicated them from their activities against apartheid. E.g. (ANC) expelled Chief Gatsh Buthelezi whom they accused as an agent of the repressive government.

## **FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

1. The role of political organizations like Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC is the oldest mass political party established by 1912 to fight against white minority rule in South Africa.

- The party mobilised Africans and members of other races to fight against the racist apartheid policies in South Africa.
- It sought for external support in form of financial, moral, diplomatic and military aid from other African states and communist countries like the USSR and China against the apartheid regime, which was instrumental in the destruction of apartheid by 1994.
- It provided a clear political program for the struggle against the apartheid regimes and also laid down the future of South Africa. This political strategy enabled the ANC to rally multi-racial support against the minority government. It was this program which was instrumental in 1994 general elections.
- The ANC formed the military wing, "Umkhonto we sizwe" or spear of the nation, through which the party carried out armed insurrection attacks on the white minority government. The major targets of the attacks included major economies and military inspiration and establishment which were expression of apartheid.
- It provided Africans in South Africa with charismatic leadership: through leaders like Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela who commanded domestic and international respect and consolidated unity of South Africans against the apartheid regime.
- The party championed the release of political prisoners e.g. Luthuli, Sisulu, Mandela, etc. who played a significant part in the collapse of the apartheid system.
- The ANC carried out propaganda against apartheid regime through radio programmes, newspaper and magazine publications and MDD which were instrumental in the destruction of apartheid in South Africa.
- Organised and participated in several strikes, defiance campaigns, demonstrations and boycotts against apartheid regimes e.g. the 1952 Defiance Campaign. All these were employed to weaken the foundation of apartheid and influence reforms and multi-racial peace talks.
- The ANC recruited and sent young Africans to other friendly countries, mostly frontline states like Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Uganda and Algeria to be trained into guerrilla warfare, which they used to fight the apartheid system.
- It established the ambassador (representative) position in many African states and this strategy was instrumental in soliciting for support from many African states

2. Reactions of the Africans against the minority regime (refer to the internal reactions) e.g. the rise and role of African elites, use of the press and media, use of MOD, and non-violent acts of sabotage, boycotts and demonstrations

3. In particular, the rise and role of educated nationalists in South Africa helped in the defeat of apartheid. These included Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Chris Hani, Oliver Tambo, and Steve Biko among others. The African elites condemned apartheid and called for equal treatment of non-whites. They were the brains behind

political movements, demonstrations, boycotts and defiance campaigns against apartheid policies. Some of them like Mandela and Sisulu faced a number of years in jail but never gave up on the struggle for African freedom

4. The organisation of African Unity (OAU) was instrumental in the liberation of South Africa in the following ways:

- The OAU established a special fund for liberation movements particularly for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia where several member states contributed annually to the cause of against apartheid. The money was used to provide arms and other weapons against the oppressive government in South Africa.
- It established a liberation committee in 1967 with its headquarters in Tanzania, with other members including Uganda, Egypt, Ethiopia, Algeria and etcetera who were instrumental in co-coordinating the activities of liberation movements in South Africa, and soliciting for support against the apartheid regime. The committee extended moral, financial and military support to the political organisations of South Africa. It also managed the special fund.
- The OAU established a committee of frontline states whose members included Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique, Uganda, Angola and etcetera. Frontline states were charged with regulating activities aimed at total eradication of apartheid policy in South Africa and Namibia such as training guerrilla fighters and all support to South African freedom fighters went through frontline states.
- In 1975, the Organisation of African Unity voted against dialogue with South Africa, which affected the apartheid regime. Dialogue (detente policy) was an initiative of the regime of Verwoerd aimed at promoting co-operation with African states as a means of weakening sanctions and embargos imposed on apartheid South Africa.
- Member states of the OAU provided training grounds for South African freedom fighters against the apartheid system. Some members of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC trained in Uganda under the National Resistance Army while others were trained in Mozambique.
- The OAU member states used the UN General Assembly as a platform through which they pressurized the UN Security Council to condemn South Africa and force her to abandon the racist policy against Africans. The OAU also called for the UN sanctions against the South Africa.
- The continental body condemned indiscriminative brutality of the apartheid regimes against native Africans. It boldly criticised and caused international concern over the mass killings in South Africa in 1960 at Sharpeville and 1976 in Soweto.
- It condemned the persecution of African nationalists and inhuman treatment of African politicians through arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, hard labour, public flogging and indiscriminative murders. In particular, the OAU highly criticised the apartheid government for the mysterious death of Steve Biko in 1977 in police custody.
- Consequently, the organisation pressurized for the release of African politicians such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other African prisoners of the apartheid system. Hence many of the surviving prisoners of apartheid were released from prolonged detention by the regime of Fredrik de Klerk.
- Members of the OAU agreed to receive and sponsor nationalists from South Africa for military, education and vocation training. They also allowed the transit of all materials (material aid) and volunteers on their way to South Africa.
- The OAU demanded all African states to break off diplomatic and consular

relations with the South Africa because of their continued racist oppression and humiliation of their African subjects. Members of the OAU agreed to cut off trade ties and boycott imports from South Africa, and close African ports and airports South African ships and planes. They also restricted South African aircrafts from using their space.

- The body urged its members to recognize possibilities of employment to refugees and political leaders from South Africa. The idea was to extend the ideal of Pan Africanism and motivate their efforts towards self-governance.
  - The continental body demanded for the immediate independence of Namibia away from the influence of apartheid South Africa. The OAU emphasized that South West Africa (Namibia) was under the UN mandate (supervision) and therefore Africans in Namibia were entitled to self-determination. The independence of Namibia laid the foundation for the liberation of South Africa from apartheid.
  - The continental body recognized and approved the ANC as a national movement / fighting for a just cause for the majority Africans in South Africa, The body hence supported the activities of the ANC in its attempt to end the racist apartheid system.
  - The OAU participated in the multi-racial peace talks between the ANC led by Nelson Mandela and the apartheid government of De Klerk. The discussions were directed towards African freedom and multi-racial coexistence in South Africa.
  - The Organization of African unity sent observers to witness peaceful political transition (multi-racial elections) in South Africa of April 1994. The multi-racial election ended the long-term apartheid system as Mandela and the ANC won the race.
5. The collapse of cold war politics by 1990 inspired the defeat of apartheid in South Africa. The US-government and Russia adopted a reconciliatory policy towards South Africa by both condemning apartheid and standing for African freedom through their government efforts and through the UNO.
  6. The United Nations (UN) played a role in anti-apartheid campaign;
    - It called upon international co-operation in the end of racism in South Africa.
    - The UN passed a resolution in 1967 condemning racial oppression and made it an international out law. This was quite a major internalizing the elite of the discriminated blacks of blacks in South Africa.
    - It requested member states in 1992 to break diplomatic and economic relationship with South Africa as the only way to weaken racist regime and for it to grant freedom to majority Africans in the country.
    - The UN in 1963 passed a resolution on the ban on the sale of arms to South Africa. However, this was not quite effective as some member states like France, USA and Britain sold military arms in South Africa.
    - Between 1953 and 1959, the UN repeatedly argued South Africa to revive her racial segregation in line or accordance to the UN charter
  7. The success of liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia was a motivation to South Africa fighters to struggle for their freedom. They provided training bases and the science of guerilla warfare to South Africa guerilla fighters which they used against the apartheid government.
  8. The stand of International Committee of Olympic Games was a factor to the decolonisation of South Africa. The international Olympic game excluded South Africa from participating from it until apartheid rule was abolished in the country. This isolation, though South Africa embarked on the development of democratic game, convinced the reformist regime of De clerk so that South Africa should

gain her rightful place in the world

9. The establishment of South African development coordination council / conference (SADCC) by 1980 contributed to the full independence of South Africa. It was established by South African states to isolate South Africa e.g. the members were not to act as market for South African goods and cheap labour such that the racist regime should feel a pinch though some weak economies like Malawi and Mozambique their labour continued to flow into South Africa. There was reduction in the rate of economic development and this contributed to dismantling of apartheid.
10. The Commonwealth stand right from 1961 contributed to the liberation of majority blacks in South Africa. The common wealth took two fragments:
  - The increased number of African members in the Commonwealth after decolonization increased debates against apartheid and the strong condemnation of South Africa's racist policies during the organisation's meetings.
  - Consequently, African member states of the Commonwealth influenced the expulsion of South Africa from organisation in 1961 as part of international isolation of apartheid
  - The organisation called for international sanctions against racist South Africa, which were too disastrous to South Africa's economy
11. The contribution of the frontline states; frontline states were a committee of OAU members fronted to coordinate and extend the necessary African assistance in defeating apartheid in South Africa. They included Uganda, Zambia, Congo, Botswana, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique and later Zimbabwe and Namibia.
  - The frontline states provided military bases to ANC and PAC fighting against racism. They also extended moral, financial and military support to ANC and PAC
  - Tanzania, Namibia and Angola were used as good passages for food supplies to ANC bases in Namibia.
  - They states allowed ANC and PAC to coordinate the training of fighters against apartheid within their borders.
  - Through frontline states, scholarships were extended to ANC fighters enhance their military education; some were educated in Uganda and Tanzania.
  - Frontline states pressurized for the release of Thabo Mbeki and Nelson Mandela who stirred the struggle against foreign rule after their release.
  - Frontline states served as models of African independence when they defeated foreign rule. This inspired ANC and PAC to struggle hard against apartheid.
  - Fredrick De-clerk organised the release of Nelson Mandela and organised the elections under pressure from frontline states
  - Angola as a frontier state hosted Cuban troops that were fighting against apartheid on ANC side
  - Frontline states like Tanzania and Mozambique imposed trade sanctions on South Africa which weakened apartheid.
  - They provided forests in which ANC and PAC established guerilla bases from where they championed the struggle.
12. Influence of the Macmillan speech about the blowing wing of change. Prime Minister Macmillan made the speech in the white parliament of the Cape, where he warned white leaders in Africa that African quest for freedom was irresistible and advised them to prepare for transfer of political leadership to majority

Africans.

13. Impact of the 1960 Sharpeville incident in which many African demonstrators against the unrealistic pass laws were shot at, leaving tens of them dead and hundreds injured. The brutal response of apartheid government against the peaceful African demonstrators caused worldwide condemnation against racism in South Africa
14. Impact of Soweto uprisings on the liberation of South Africa (1976-77); the uprisings were against the segregation laws of the white in South Africa. Many of these laws were instituted by the South Africa government under the act of 1953 native act. The group areas act of 1950. The Bantu homelands citizenship act, the unlawful organisation act of 1960 that restricted the activities of political parties like ANC, PAC from organising; Thus African children organised a protest against this, the Soweto police reacted harshly killing where 1976. Students and several others wondered. This weakened apartheid.
  - The 1976 Soweto uprising was against the declaration of Afrikaans as the official language in school.
  - The uprising was a bitter experience that blessed the struggle for independence in South Africa e.g. the South Africa police; this engineered a series of riots and demonstrations in which several others Africans were arrested and detained without trial. This attracted international pressure against apartheid.
  - The violent suppression of armless demonstrations led to the change in policy from non-violence alone to violence by far.
  - The suppression of the uprising attracted an alliance between Africans and whites i.e. the whites who opposed apartheid supported Africans to end it.
  - The uprising led to the rise of violent students organisations opposed to apartheid. These included the South African Students Movements for secondary school students, which demanded for equality in South Africa and an end to racial practices.
  - After the Soweto uprising and the consequential deaths of Africans, many students fled to Angola, Tanzania, Algeria, etc., for military training. On return to South Africa, they fought against apartheid.
  - The uprisings opened up room for civil unrest amongst the workers; terrorist activities broke out in urban areas. The colored, blacks and Asians continued to organise themselves against the apartheid causing end to apartheid.
  - After the Soweto uprising, Africans became very bitter. They used pangas and spear to terrorize tourists and kill many Africans who collaborated with, the whites. This weakened the policy of apartheid.
  - The Soweto uprising increased the acts of sabotage against apartheid that partly weakened it. For example Dutch plantations were destroyed; sensitive economic establishments like standard of chartered bank were hit by military nationalists protesting against apartheid policy.
  - The Soweto uprising forced the investors who had invested heavily in South Africa to pressurize Pretoria government to abandon apartheid.
  - Within USA, the Jimmy charter regime 1977 to 80 was forced by Pan Africanist to stop trading with South Africa. Diplomatic and military sanctions ensured and they weakened apartheid
  - The church in South Africa condemned the Soweto uprising it called its followers to condemn apartheid. Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu took the lead.
  - OAU greatly condemned the Soweto uprising and called upon her member states to de-campaign apartheid. The formation of liberation committee in 1977 by OAU was a response to Soweto uprising partly.

- The OAU did not approve the Soweto uprising and it called upon the Pretoria government to disband apartheid forthwith.
  - After, the Soweto uprising, ANC and PAC hid their differences and issued joint communities condemning the act and apartheid policy such weakened apartheid.
  - The international community isolated South Africa from the commonwealth and Olympic Games due to apartheid. Practices like the violent suppression of 1976 or 1977 peaceful Soweto uprising.
15. The rise to power of Fredrik de Klerk in 1989 blessed South African efforts against-apartheid. De Klerk was a liberal white leader who immediately apologized to the Africans in South Africa and the world at large for the atrocities committed by the previous apartheid regimes. He released Nelson Mandela from prison in February 1990, lifted a ban on African political organizations as well as giving Africans voting rights. He abolished all the apartheid laws and prepared the first multiracial elections in South Africa in April 1994, which ended apartheid in South Africa.

### **THE CONGO CRISIS 1960-1963 (KATANGA SECESSION)**

Congo got her independence from Belgium on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1960 with Joseph Kasavubu as the 1<sup>st</sup> President and Patrice Lumumba the 1<sup>st</sup> Prime Minister. A few days later on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1960 the force publique mutinied.

This encouraged Moise Tshombe, the governor of Katanga from Congo and leader of CONAKAT to declare the secession of Katanga from Congo on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1960. The Katanga secession was therefore a separationist attempt by the Katanga province in Eastern Congo under the leadership of Moise Tshombe expressing the desire to want to separate from Congo between 1960 & 1963.

### **ROLE OF LUMUMBA PATRICE IN THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE.**

He was born in 1925 into a small tribe of Batetela in Kasai province he grew up in a catholic family in Kisangani and have developed a remarkably sharp mind and curious characteristic, he worked as a post office clerk and later became a sales manager at a bakery in Kisangani. Therefore he became a political activist and critic of the Belgian government. He adopted Pan African sentiments and disagreed with other African nationalists like Kasavumba and Tshombe and believed in unfairsm as the cause of regional nationalism. Lumumba's dream was to liberate Congo, set up a strong central government.

### **LUMUMBA'S ROLE**

- He provided leadership for the struggle of independence. In Congo using his charisma, organizational ability, he organized, mobilized the people and criticized the Belgion colonial policies. He also made them aware of the oppressive and exploitative nature of the Belgians, he blamed all the problems on the Belgians.
- Lumumba formed movement National Congress in 1958. This partly was formed in World War II as a medical movement for fighting for independence of Congo Brazaville in 1958 in which Lumumba had also inspired political movements. The MNO attracted a large number of Bangalo speakers of the equatorial province also formed, alliance with other minor political parties and therefore served as a national wide support's influence.
- Lumumba took part in the December 1958. All Africans People's Congress (AAPC) in Accra Ghana on his return to Congo. In 1959 he addressed a rally in Leopald Ville and appealed to the people's patriotism and his message that independence was not a gift but a right sparked off popular uprising the

Leopold ville (Kinshasha).

- Lumumba also utilized the oratory skills to criticize Belgian colonial policies in Congo. His speeches which always targeted Belgian colonial policies provoked massive not i.e. this was to put pressure unto Belgian colonialists to grant independence in the year that followed the nots.
- Lumumba attended the Brussels World Trade show in 1958. At the show of Congolese were invited and got exposed to the nationalistic ideas and liberal sentiments of Africans and other oppressed races. They came to realize the Belgian colonial policies were designed to strengthen exploitation ion his return home, he became radical with the Belgians.
- He participated in various political negotiations that led to the granting of independence to Congo in 1960. He even led negotiations in Brussels while being detained in prisons with Belgians for the question of independence.
- Lumumba took part in pre-independent elections and his MNC managed to win the pro-independence elections of 1960 while his party won 33/30 seats against other political parties like CONAKAT and the ABACO. He therefore became Prime Minister of Congo on 30<sup>TH</sup> June 1960.
- Lumumba put on pressure the Belgians for constitutional changes. He also added to the economic and social reforms. He particularly criticized the Belgians exploitative policies for example in 1935, the economic conditions in Congo were bad owing to poverty under development, oppression and falling prices of cities. Discontent was on there especially among the urban elites, educated natives. He then mobilized the discontented masses against the Belgians to demand for the economic and independent measures.

## **OTHER FACTORS**

**They include the following:**

- There was remarkable change in Belgian attitude in 1957, their attitude changed and made them allow the Congolese to elect their own leaders in Leopold ville. Subsequently Joseph Kasavubu was elected major stone of the communist towns like Kisangani.
- The role of Catholic Church. It defined the oppressed masses and acted as their watch dog during the period. In 1956, the church openly advocated for political rights when it established a study group that issued a manifesto and proposed for independence. The spiritual influence of the church kept it fine of Congolese.
- The role played by other political parties for example CONAKAT and ABACO. These parties has been formed following the constitutional government of 1957. Apart from MNC formed by the Abakongo ethnic group was started by Joseph Kasavuba which started to demand for immediate independence. Later in 1959, maise Tsombe united the Katangese traits in another political party, the CONAKAT. The activities of political parties drove Congo to her independence on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1960.
- The role of Charles De Gaulle. In August 1958 Charles De Gaulle the President of France visited Brazaville to proclaim autonomy within the French commonly for the four colonies acquired federation of the French Equatorial Africa. This provoked unrest as it meant the French side of DRC was on its road to independence political parties in the Congo then started to demand for their independence from Belgium. Subsequently strikes and disorders broke out in January 19<sup>th</sup>. These strikes were later suppressed but they laid various negative effects on Belgian presence and prestige.
- The role of other Congolese nationalists for example Moise Tshombe and Kasavubu.

**Qn: To what extent did Patrice Lumumba contribute to the independence of Congo?**

**CAUSES OF THE KATANGA SECESSION.**

- The personal ambitions of Moise Tshombe the leader of CONAKAT and governor of Katanga had failed to secure himself a prominent position in the central government in Congo at the eve of the country's independence. Thus in the frustrated dreams which were occupied with qualities that demonstrated the polish style of political man-over, Moise Tshombe attempted to establish the state of Katanga.
- The military Mutiny of the force publique on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1960. The force publique mutined in protest of the Belgian Commander Janssens of who had declared his position refusing to Africanize the force publique. This encouraged Katanga under Moise Ishamba to break away because there was no force the government could rely on to suppress the rebellion by Katanga.
- The influence of the Pakistan secession from Indian in 1947. This also influenced the emergence of micro nationalism in Congo as well as having a spill over effect Congo. In 1947 the British granted Pakistan independence by separating her from India. This influenced Moise to declare Katanga secession on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1960.
- The Katanga secession was encouraged by the economic potential of Katanga which gave rise to a feeling of micro nationalism. The province of Katanga was endowed with great economic potential like minerals, gold, copper, zinc, tin and Aluminum. Katanga boasted a high quality forests for timber and high fertile soils. The bulk of this wealth was in the hands of with Belgians. Therefore Katanga thought she could stand on her own without the help of the army.
- Weakness of the UNO where the Belgians interfered with territorial integrity and sovereignty of Congo by deploying troops in support of Katanga. Lumumba reported this Belgian oppression to the UN Security Council which took no action. They (Britain and France) did not want to frustrate Belgium because she was a member of NATO as Lumumba government was considered as pro-soviet Union.
- The abrupt premature independence granted to Congo by the Belgian on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1960 which created a weak central government. The Congolese didn't have time to develop the kind of strong political structures that had attracted Africans from North Central, West and East Africa make similar transitions to independence without great difficulty. The civil service was still weak and the army still dominated by the Belgians. This was worsened by the independence constitution which created provinces that were semi-autonomous. The absence of adequate preparation for independence weakened the new set and encouraged bids for secessionism.
- The aspect of Belgian conspiracy /the support of the Katanga secession the Belgian added fuel to the Congo crisis by giving moral, financial and military aid to the Katangese secessionist.
- The rumour of the successful secession of South Kasai & kivu from Congo when these rumors spread into the Katanga Region of Congo. It also declared the separate state of Katanga from Congo leading to their outbreaks of the 1960-63 Katanga secession.
- The influence of the white Belgian settlers in Katanga. They directly gave assistance to Moise Ishambe in this secessionist attempt. This was because they had granted their mineral rights and they had set up companies to mine and exploit in the general government under Kasavubu and Lumumba therefore they gave support to the Katanga secession

- The Brussels constitution which ushered Congo into independence in 1960 didn't clearly spell out whether Congo was a military or federal state, it therefore left some provinces within Katanga which were mainly autonomous a mistake which Tshambe capitalized on to separate the state of Katanga in 1960.
- The murder of Patrice Lumumba on 17<sup>th</sup> Jan 1961 Ali A Mazrui and Micheal Tidy wrote that; "**When Lumumba was murdered the Congo was redelivered politically on when the UN intervened three years earlier. The confusion enabled Katanga to strengthen in South Kasai secession**" Lumumba's mysterious death left his country chaotic divided and more confused than ever before which encouraged bids for secessionism.
- The influence of cold war politics of the time. The involvement of super powers in the affairs of Congo weakened the central government to the extent that Kasavubu the President and Lumumba the Prime Minister did not work together any more this encouraged Katanga secession and the Kasai Centrifugal forces.
- The bombing of port Matadi by the Belgians.
- The character and personality disadvantage of Patrice Lumumba arrogant, uncompromising considered his subject inferior and told the Belgians, "**We are no longer your monkeys**". In his speech.
- Weakness of the central government in Leopold Ville (Kinshasa). The past regime led by Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba as Premier was weak and inefficient Kasavubu was federalist and capitalist, Lumumba was a socialist and built in a strong central government (unitarist), when peace publique mutinied and the Katanga rebellion broke out the due took course of action. Lumumba insisted that the rebellion should be crushed military while Kasavuba wanted a national conferences to address the issue. Subsequently on 5<sup>th</sup> December 1960 President Kasavubu declared Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba dismissed in retaliation. Patrice Lumumba declared Kasavuba deposed. This confusion was exploited by Moise Tshombe to parade his bid for secessionism.
- Regional imbalance.

### **REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF KATANGA SECESSION**

- The role played UNO troops who were invited to Congo by Patrice Lumumba who invaded Katanga region from 1960-62 ending the secession both on paper and on ground after the death of Patrice Lumumba. The UN secretary General Day Hammonskjold abandoned the UN peaceful policy over Congo subsequently in December 1962, the UN forces on Katanga by June 1963, the rebellious province had been defeated. Day Hammonskjold contributed immensely to the preservation of Congo and for the contribution, he sacrificed his own life when he died on a plane crush on an ill-fated visit to Congo during the crisis.
- The death of Patrice Lumumba on 17<sup>th</sup> Jan 1961 which has been blamed on Moise Tshombe lost national and international support. In spite of Lumumba's radical and maximized ideas, he was a respected Congolese nationalist at home and abroad. His death at the hands of Tshombe disappointed the latter capitalist allies including Belgian, Britain and France. They condemned Tshambe and cut off diplomatic ties with Katanga.
- The personality and character of Moise Tshombe, discredited him plus his secessionist ideas. Though he had the right views he lacked the political skills needed to achieve his aim. He was arrogant and autocratic in conduct. Ali. A Mazrui and Micheal Tidy wrote that; "**What was wrong with Tshombe and his**

**political elites? It is alliance with the Belgians and other elites alienated him from the Congolese who detested neo-colonialism”**

- The idea of secession also lacked wide spread of local support from the Katanga secession themselves and rather depended on Belgian money, weapon and men. Katanga itself people were divided due to tribal differences. Those in favour of unitary government presented the idea of separation from there is of the country besides cities in Katanga used their influence to decampaign the secessionist attempt they even mobilized and sensitized the public against Ishambe for example Antoine Gizenga.
- The flight of Moise Ishambe to exile in USA in 1963 made Katanga lose a political leader. This made the Katangese who were unable to fight their enemy to frustrate the secession further. Tshombe was invited back from his imposed exile and named Prime Minister in the Kasavubu Government in 1964 and Katanga was reinstated as part of Congo.
- The refusal OAU to recognize the Katanga secession also led to the failure. The OAU instead supported the central government and condemned the secession as disrespect of the OAU member states and denounced Ishambe's self-styled government in Katanga. The fact that Katanga didn't receive OAU's blessing led to its failure in 1965.
- The assistance by the Central government of Congo received from the Soviet Union. It gave the central government large amounts of ammunitions. These together with Lorries and other supplies strengthened the Congolese nationalist army. By the end of August 1962, Kasai was occupied which left Katanga isolated and only waiting for the defeat which came in January 1963.
- The role played by the Catholic Church in Congo. It added its voice in the condemnation of Tshombe. It referred to him as murder who had converted Katanga into a death yard. This was because he either failed or killed his enemies the victims went ahead to curse Tshombe and generation after him to hell. The fact that the Catholic Church had a lot of influence in the Congo his voice worked against the Katangese secessionist attempt.
- The role of the Afro-Asian Arab conference of 1963. The conference was convened partly to solve the conflicts and amongst revolutions was that of total denunciation of the Katanga secession. By so doing it demanded for the preservation of the Congo as a sovereign and United States. This more frustrated the micro nationalism of the Katangese.
- There was lack of dear political programmes by Katanga Tsh government in Katanga. Tshombe's government in Katanga didn't preserve clear political programme for the betterment of the people of Katanga. Instead, his secessionist attempts based itself on other narrow interests like religionism and tribalism. Besides Tshombe didn't do anything to improve on the government that had been practical by the Belgians in Katanga. Tshombe's ambition was rather to secure himself a prominent position in the central government and not liberate the people of Katanga.
- The Congolese government also got military assistance from South Africa in spite of the absence of a negligible domestic military force. Lumumba the prime Minister appealed to the international community for assistance. South Africa's apartheid regime responded to his appeal by sending military to the Central government which further strengthened the Congolese nation army against the secession.
- Reorganization of the Congolese national army (ANC) this helped to preserve the military balance of power in favour of the central government. By government, the ANC had reconstructed itself. It was better equipped Africanized into leadership. It was placed under the leadership of Col. Joseph

Mobutu who served as the army chief of staff. The army was expanded, equipped and strengthened and got assistance from UNO. This strong man power and equipment enable the army to capture large piece of land destined for Katanga.

- The withdrawal of Belgian support from Katanga made their defeat inevitable. It also helped to confirm the military weakness of Katanga gradually unpopular to the Katangese in the rebellious provinces.
- The defeat of Katanga under Moise Tshombe was therefore inevitable by April 1964. The central government was able to undertake new constitutional measures. It divided the tribal regions into twenty one provinces which watered down the ethnic nationalism in Congo. Tsombe held secret talks with Kasavubu and Katanga was reconciled with the rest of Congo.

#### **Guiding question**

1. Account for the failure of Katanga secession of 1963.
2. To what extent was Moise Tsombe responsible for the outbreak of Katanga secession?

#### **EFFECTS OF THE KATANGA SECESSION.**

- It encouraged other secessionist movement in Africa.
- It weakened Congolese Central government in Kinshasha by causing conflict between President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba.
- It caused the invitation of the UNO troops into Congo by Patrice Lumumba to help in the process of silencing the process of Katanga secession.
- It led to death of UN secretary General.
- It divided the African state for example O.A.U members i.e. those supporting Katanga and those supporting central government i.e. Ghana, Mali, Guinea supported the Central government.
- Worsened the refugee crisis in neighboring countries as many Congolese fled to Uganda, Congo Brazzaville.
- It militarized the politics of Congo thereby paving way for military rule in Congo when Col. Mobutu captured power through a coup in 1964.
- Increase in economic destruction on social life i.e. properly like infrastructure was destroyed.
- Promoted neo-colonialism in Congo and worsened cold war conflict since Lumumba sought for external support from South Africa.
- Exposed the double standards of UNO since it failed to adequately stop the Congo crisis.
- It made Tshombe to achieve his selfish ambition of becoming a political leader in the Kinshasha government of Kasavubu when he was appointed Prime Minister in 1964.
- It led to loss of lives of both caustians and cantsants especially in the province of Katanga which in the view of the Catholic Church, had been referred to as a death guard

#### **THE BIAFRAN SECESSION (1967-1970)**

THE Bifran secession was master minded by Lt. Col. Odumwengu Chuku Meka Ojukwu. It represented a separationist attempt by Biafra region in Eastern Nigeria wanting to break away from Nigeria between 1967 and 1970. On 30<sup>th</sup> May 1967, Ojukwu solemnly proclaimed the Republic of Biafra "subsequently" on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1967, the Biafran war began when a federal military offensive was launched on Biafra by President Yakubu Gowon. The Ibo of Eastern Region had decided to set up a

separate state of Biafra which lasted up to January 1970 when the secessionists were defeated.

### **CAUSES OF THE SECESSION WAR.**

- The British colonial policy of divide and rule policy in Nigeria. The British undermined the unity of the country through their divide and rule method of administration until the 1940's the British separated the North from the south. They looked at their subject as Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Ibo, among other and not as Nigeria, besides the British concentrated on Christians in and westernising the South making it difficult for the Northern Muslims to co-exist with Southern Christians.
- The role played by the religious differences in Nigeria also caused the Biafran secession. The Hausa Fulani in the north were predominantly Muslims and had a strong adherence to Islam and the Sharia laws since the 19 Jihad bays (era). On contrary, the Southern like the Ibo and the Yoruba were predominantly Christians by faith. This meant that there was a serious religious division in the country thus Northern Muslims and Southern Christians were grossly incompatible and this partly influenced the predominantly Christian Ibo in the East to want to break away from Nigeria between 1967 and 1970.
- The economic potential of Biafra in Eastern Nigeria also led to the secession spirit among the Biafrans. The region was quite endowed with abundant economic potential for instance it was proximate to the coast which had fertile soil, abundant food stuff and production of palm oil. Most important was the discovering of petroleum and oil deposit in Biafra which even attracted foreign companies. Thus the desire to want to monopolize such natural and economic endowment for their own exclusive material prosperity compelled them in to secessionist war from 1967 to 1970.
- The domination of the Nigerian politics by the Northerners also led to the secession. In the federal parliament for instance, the north occupied more than half of the seat. Position in the government also favoured the North. Thus the unabled Ibo tried to occupy a considerable portion of the civil service, they were not comfortable with the exclusive power and privileges given to the Hausa and Fulani. Many of them criticized the Tafawa Belewa government as corrupt. This partly explains why they organized a coup in 1966 to over throw Tafawa Belewa.
- The massacre and harassment of the Ibo by other tribes in the North and other parts of the country especially during Gowon's presidency. This increased anger among the Ibo in the South Eastern of Nigeria. By early September 1966, around 20,000 Ibo had been exterminated. Such genocide against the Ibo masterminded by the Gowana administration which was to later encourage bids for secessionism by the Ibo.
- The character and personality of Odumengwu Ojukwa also made the Biafra secessionist attempt inevitable. He was very uncompromising in character for instance in May 1961, a national reconciliation committee which included Chief Obuteri and Awolowo put bid attempts discourage him from the secessions. Gowon accepted some of the committee's proposals but Ojukwu refused to accept. Besides, he was not practical in his views for instance he wanted a federal government to consult with regional governments in all matters of the state before any decision could be made when Gowon failed to meet his demands, he declared the Biafran secession.
- The death of General Ironis after 6 months of office. It was protested by the Ibo, hence leading to the 1967-70. Biafran secession in Nigeria, the North had controlled government from 1960-66 but the Ibo were given only 6 months and

the government of Nigeria went back to Lt. Col. Gowon another Northerner. This then encouraged a spirit of secessionism among the Ibo.

- External influence also aided Biafran war of secession. A number of countries did involve themselves in the Nigerian affairs. This transmuted the crisis from bad to worse rather than unifying the secessionist and the federal government, external government instead worked hard to worsen. The central government got support from USA and the Soviet Union while Ojukwu got support from China, France.
- The failure of General Arkrah's intervention through Abuja conference and 1967. In 1967, General Arthur the President of Ghana tried to intervene in a bid about political harmony in the torn Nigeria. He then instituted and sponsored the Abuja conference. The conference was attended by the top military officials who shared a common hatred for civilian rule. They solved to govern the Ibo. The Ibo then reacted by cutting links and declaring the secession leading to a protracted war between the federal government and Biafran.

### **REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE BIAFRAN SECESSION BY 1970.**

Despite Biafra's attempt to secede between 1970 by January 1970, the federal forces were able to defeat Ojukwu and his supporters owing to the following factors.

- Opposition to the Biafran secession by some Biafrans. This meant that the idea of secession by Biafrans lacked wide spread and local support within the Biafran region. The minority groups were there, although having suffered from Northern violence and misrule were less supportive about the concept of Biafra. Some of the Ibo even cooperated with the federal focus against Biafrans and among them included; Asika Upabi a political science lecturer and Nandi Azikiwe who opposed the idea of secession.
- The declaration of a feudal blockade on Biafra by Gowon's federal government. In order to defeat the Biafrans, Gowon's government decided to impose economic sanctions by cutting off Biafra from any contact with other parts of Nigeria and with the outside world. This step led to a acute shortage of suppliers including weapons among the Biafrans. Food shortages became common and deaths as a result of malnutrition became a common sight among the Biafrans. Gradually their resistance was broken forcing them to surrender by January 1970.
- The massive support that the federal government of Nigeria received from Britain and the Soviet Union. This must have weakened the Biafrans. Britain, Nigeria's former colonial master wanted to maintain a considerable influence in Nigeria.
- OAU's refusal to recognise Biafra instead the OAU threw its weight to support the federal government of Gowon since the OAU stood for unity and pan Africanism, it therefore didn't support Biafra, Subnash and therefore engaged in a number of processes and efforts to decampagne the Biafran succession leading to its failure by 1970.
- The heavy military bases suffered by the Biafrans from 1968 to 1970 also forced them to surrender. As the war progressed, most of the strategic towns and cities fell in to the hands of the federal forces. These included towns like Nsuka, Oweri, Galabar, Enugu, Uli airstrip and later Port Harcourt. The heavier blow was the capturing of the Uli airstrip which cut off Biafra from its links with the outside world making the defeat of the secession possible by 1970.
- Gowon's determination to defeat the Biafrans' secessionists and to maintain Nigeria into a 12 state structure then sought from Nasser of Egypt who provided him air force planes and which Egyptian pilots were able to wreak havoc from the Biafrans. They indiscriminately splashed bombs on the Biafrans leading them to surrender.
- The abdication of Ojukwu to Ivory Coast on 11<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1970. This left the people of Biafra with no leaders. They therefore lost a sense of direction as they became

demonalised then on 12<sup>th</sup> Jan, the Biafra force surrender to the federal government of Nigeria.

- Lack of political programmes by the Biafra also made its defeat inevitable by 1970. The Biafra secession led by Ojukwu lacked a substantial plan or manifesto that could be convincing enough to earn it credibility within Biafra or from the international community. It was rather an affair peddled by Ojukwu at personal gains but not benefit the people (Biafrans) hence this led to the surrender of the Biafran thus leading to the defeat.
- The military weakness of Biafra also led to their defeat by 1970. For instance by the end of the war, federal forces number was 120,000 on the other hand, Biafran forces were few in number, as many of their experienced soldiers has been killed in July 1966 coup while others were taken as captives and others deserted. Besides, the Biafran soldiers were ill treated compared to federal forces.
- The resistance that federal government of Nigeria got from World War II veterans. These were men of enormous experience and their support to federal army helped to boost the government side against the secessionist. In contrast the Biafrans had a small army, trained officers mainly being killed in the July 1966 coup. This led to Biafran's defeat by 1970.
- The effective military strategy employed by the Gowon administration in Nigeria. This involved placing the command of Nigerian federal army under experience like General Olusegun Obasanjo and General Mustafa Milt. They were able to engulf the Biafrans out of supply routes in the Biafra territory. They also used the strategy of heavy bombings. Through them Biafra lost her strong hold like the NIP airships and her other towns like Owerri, Naika and Enugu.

## **EFFECTS OF BIAFRAN SECESSION.**

### **Negative Effects**

- The war promoted neo-colonialism in Nigeria as foreign power like Britain, France and the Soviet Union and other countries began to influence the internal affairs of Nigeria.
- The war also strained the Nigerian economy by causing economic dislocation i.e. oil revenues.
- The war created a refugee crisis especially in neighboring countries like Cameroon and Ivory Coast which presented a big burden to the host countries to the OAU & UNHRC.
- The war also influenced tribalism in Nigeria i.e. Ibo versus other tribes like Yoruba and Hausa.
- It led to the loss of lives especially among the Biafran but also among both civilians and Combatant fighters
- The Biafrans were defeated and Ojukwu fled out of the country to Ivory Coast. This made the Biafran fighters to surrender on 12<sup>th</sup> Jan 1970.
- The war created a refugee crisis especially in neighboring countries like Cameroon etc which prevented a big burden to the host countries and organizations like OAU and UNHRC.

### **Positive Effects.**

- OAU reconciled Nigeria with states that had recognised Biafra for example Ivory Coast.
- It led to the drawing up of a new constitution for Nigeria which enhanced social, political and economic progress.
- The war reconciled the defeated Biafrans (Igbos) with the rest of Nigeria.
- It led to the purification of the Biafran region of Nigeria i.e. Gowon provided

relief laid to the Biafrans including re-construction of war ravaged areas.

- It made Biafran scientists to become innovative i.e. they manufactured machines, transformed the civilian aircraft in to a fight in machines and made shift referinaries for fueling vehicles among others.

#### **Reference question**

**Examine the causes and effects of the Biafran war of secession between 1967 and 1970.**

#### **THE CIVIL WAR IN CHAD (1965- 1982).**

Chad, a former French colony who received / regained her independence in 1960 under its first President Francois Tombalbaye of the progress party of Chad (PPC.) The composition of this party was pre-dominately of the non Muslims and partially Christianized Sourthern Sara. In about a decade after independence, a rebellion broke out in the desert northern half of the country in 1965 and full developed in to a full scale war, involving the struggle for power and control of the central government between the Sara and Toubou. The main rebel movement was the Chad National Liberation Front (FROLINAT)

#### **CAUSES OF THE CHAD CIVIL WAR.**

- Mal-adminstration by the Southern Sara civil Servants in the north. This Sara were appointed by the president Tombalbaye to replace territorial chiefs in the North and they became harsh, oppressive and exploitative something that was resented by the Toubou people in the North who demanded for fair treatment. Failure by Tambalbaye administration to listen to their demands provoked them to rebel hence sparking off the civil war in Chad.
- The dictatorship of President Tombalbaye also led to the outbreak of the Chad civil war for instance in 1962 he banned all opposition parties. All potential rival leaders and their followers were banned from the progress party of Chad. (PPC). The underground position that followed was counted as wide spread arrests of suspects. It rebuild themselves in 1963 when brutality was used to suppress anti-government rituals of the trade unions and students in frontline (Ujaamena). Such reaction by the government was responded to an equal and the opposite reaction by the Toubou people leading to a civil war.
- Religious discontent by northerners also worked in causing the civil war in Chad. The government able depended on Christian Saras of the South ruling over the Northern who were mainly Muslims. The Toubou people were persecuted for their faith for example they were prohibited from wearing turbans and carrying knives. They also hated the fact that they were being ruled by Christain infidels thus such religious dissatisfaction of Toubou made them pick up arms of Tombalbaye regime leading to a civil war in Chad.
- The civil war was also as a result of unfair taxation system put by Tombalbaye regime. His first mistake was to employ his own tribesmen the Sara in the civil service who placed territorial chiefs in tax collection in the north. He then embarked on the an extortion tax policy which provoked riot under their leader Ouddei Kedefemi whose son Ouddei Goukouni took up arms against the Chad government leading to civil war.
- The Tombalbaye's chaditude policy /cultural revolutions also worked to fuel the civil war in chad in 1973, Tombalbaye launched a cultural revolutions in an attempt to create national unity through re-traditionarization.Accordingly Christian names were banned and many place names changed. Francois Tombalbaye became Ngarta Tombalbaye, fort Lamy became Ndjamenya. The

Christian and intellectual elite including the dominant Sara opposed this mistake proposed by Tombalbaye. They hated the tradition of Tondo initiation rite which Tombalbaye had made mistakes. They also resented the religious persecution that followed as all this was happening; FROLINAT's position was strengthened by divisions in the southern leadership caused by Tombalbaye police of Chaditude leading to a civil war in Chad.

- Failure by Tambalbaye and Goukouni administration in Chad to create a national army also led a civil war in Chad. This left Chad with very many private armies with divided loyalty. Thereby undermining the possibility of the united front against the FROLINAT rebels which in turn fuelled the civil war in Chad.
- Tombalbaye government also promoted regional imbalance. Most of the better social amenities like the good roads, hospitals, schools accommodation were allocated in the south and north was among especially the northern Toubou Muslims who accused the Toubou Baley regime of sidelining them in economic development hence leading to the Chad civil war.
- French colony legacy was also to blame for the break of civil war in Chad. French colonial masters didn't integrate the tribal and religious groups of Chad instead the French favored the Christians Sara of the south in civil service and used them to dominate Toubou Muslims in the North. This promoted hatred and division of Chad leading to civil of 1965- 1882.
- The failure by Gaukoun's government to create a national army also fuelled the civil war in Chad. Goukoun had tried but failed to create a national army out of the private armies with 100, more factions that comprised his government of national unity (UNT). This gamble had failed as from Jan 2 June 1982. Habie's FAN troops advanced steadily through the central and Northern districts within the country. This meant that Chad didn't have a patriotic army ever since independence that could be used to prevent the outbreak of the civil war in the country.
- External forces were also present in causing the civil war. For instance, Habre's FAN forces received supplies from Egypt and Sudan while Gonkani's forces received aid from Libya troops and weaponry. France also gave the Chad leader Gaukauni financial aid and arms supplies in order to alienate him from Gadaffi of Libya. Earlier on in 1968 and again in 1969 – 1972. France also assisted Tombalbage by a timely intervention against the rebellious FROLINAT hence fueling the civil war in Chad.
- The cold war politics were also to blame for causing the civil war in Chad. This was peddled by U.S.A & U.S.S.R. These powers turned Chad into a dumping ground for their weapons while at the same time fueling a civil war in the central. For instance USA gave Hissene Habie's FAN forces used USA's helicopter to fight Gonkouni while Goukouno received Libyan and soviet assistance like the soviet rocket launchers and the heavy moto plus 200. T-series soviet Tanks. This led to the civil war in Chad
- The failure of 1978 cease fire agreement in Sebha in Feb 1978, Malloum met Gadaffi in Sebha in the presence of Niger, Seyni Kountche and the Vice President of Sudan for example agreed on the cease fire. Talks later continued between the Chad government as the FROLINAT advanced
- The weakness of the OAU can also be blamed for the outbreak of the Chad civil war. Although the OAO peace keeping force numbering 300 men had been integrated in Nov and Dec in 1981 mainly from Niger, Senegal and Zaire commanded by a Nigerian major General Geofrey Ejga they failed to half Habie's FAN forces advancing the northern and central districts of Chad. Even steps taken by the OAU meeting in Nairobi in Feb 1982 were not effective

enough OAU members were also constrained by finances besides they failed to agree on what peace keeping mission should be. As a result, the forces mandate remained unclear and they withdrew leading Habiers FAN forces in to action which resulted into the 7<sup>th</sup> June overthrow of Goukouni.

- Tombalbagé's government practiced nepotism and favouritism.
- Created regional imbalance
- The exclusion of Goukouni from the government of National union also fueled a civil war in Chad. After being saved from possible coup by French forces. Malloum remained president but appointed Hissene Habré as prime ministers in August 1978 and an attempt was made to appoint ministers from all regions. Unfortunately, Gaukouni wasn't given any position in the new government of the National Union. Goukoni resumed fighting by launching an offensive war in the north of Chad until March 1979 when a new government was reached in Karo, Nigeria under UNO and made Goukouni chairman of the new council of state
- Tombalbagé failure to create a national army.

### **EFFECT OF THE CIVIL WAR IN CHAD**

- The civil war in Chad exposed the weakness of the OAU for instance; the OAU peace keeping missions in Chad did not know its real mandate was. It was divided between two back up Goukouni's government against the rebel or whether to keep the two rival forces apart. Its peace keeping forces were also few and inadequately supplied. OAU members also failed to raise enough money to end the Chad civil war because the operation in Chad was costed at 87 million found in a year but in two months of the forces deployment in the Chad only 270,000pounds had been raised so far and it was of adequate financial support that dictated the early withdrawal of the Nigerian forces in May 1982.
- The war also worsened the refugee crisis in Africa. As the war dragged on, survival in Chad became tricky and uncertain. This forced many people out of the country especially to neighboring countries like Nigeria for instance, Sultan Oudei Kedefeni took refuge in Libya while Goukouni became chairman of the new council of the state in March 1979 Malloum was to remain in exile in Algeria when he was overthrown by Habré's FAN forces in June 1982.
- The war also caused loss of lives and massive destruction of properties. For instance, during the anti-government riots in 1963 -500 people lost their lives in an attempt by the government to Tombalbaye to brutality suppress the rioters. By the end of the war, the number of those that had died whether soldiers or civilians stood even higher and property destroyed was colossal (great).
- The war introduced militarism in to the politics of Chad. The policy of the army steering the politics of Chad brought back the April 1975 coup which over threw Tombalbaye and he was replaced by the Major General Felix Malloum who was in turn over thrown by Goukumi Oudei who was in turn over thrown by Hessini Habré on the 11<sup>th</sup> June 1982.
- The civil war in Chad also paralyzed the economic life there. As fighting intensified economic activities like agriculture and industrial production broke down places like Bardai, Tibesti and other towns became zones of cross fire fighting. In the process, property was destroyed like roads, buildings and general economic life disrupted. This caused economic decline in Chad.
- The civil war also alienated and divided the people of Chad. The more the Sara themselves were alienated by Tomboabaye's chaditude policy and religious persecution Tombalbaye also divided the Northerners by appointing a number

of Muslims to cabinet positions. This worsened the internal divisions within Chad.

- The civil war in Chad also manifested and intensified the cold war conflicts between USA and the soviet union USSR. This revealed itself through the dumping of weapons and armour from both sides for instance, USA gave Chimook helicopters were brought in Libya also flew in 5000 troops in December 1980 with multiple rocket launches and heavy mortars and 200 T from Soviet Union.
- The war also resulted in to divisions among African countries. This division was between those African countries which opposed it. For instance, Libya supported FROLINAT and this worsened the relationship Libya and Tombalbeye's government. Goukouni's government also hated the policy of support to Habre FAN by the Sudan and Egypt. Other countries in Africa however, remained opposed to the civil war in Chad for instance Kenya.
- The civil war in Chad also led to the disruption of social life in Chad for instance family life and stability became increasingly uncertain as the number of men going for war kept on increasing. This gave birth to women headed families as some men got killed during the war, orphans and widows became common in Chad hence disorganizing the whole social fabric there.
- Positively, the civil war in Chad led to the formation of a government of National Union in 1979 with Malloum as president and Habie as Prime Minister and attempts were made to appoint ministers from all regions of Chad.

#### **Reference Question**

1. To what extent was Franco's Tombalbaye responsible for the outbreak of the civil wars in Chad