HISTORY P210/1

(AFRICA; NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND THE NEW STATES)

# CHAPTER ONE

AFRICAN NATIONALISM

African nationalism is the strong desire for self-determination or independence. It is also defined as the desire for political, economic and cultural independence by all Africans within Africa and in the diaspora. It is the natural love and pride, which Africans have for their countries and continent. African nationalism grew out of a realization that the Europeans who colonized Africa during the 19th century had deprived Africans of their political, economic and cultural freedoms. This led to a natural desire by Africans to revive their suppressed freedoms.

FACTORS FOR THE RISE AND GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM.

1. European colonialism contributed to the rise of African nationalism. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the whole of Africa, except Ethiopia and Liberia, was brought under colonial rule. Thereafter, Europeans embarked on their major aim of exploiting Africa and in the process became very brutal, They grabbed African land, pushed Africans into over-crowded reserves, introduced high taxes, and forced Africans to work in mines and on plantations- all for the white man's benefit. While at work, Africans were often abused or even flogged. Those who failed to pay taxes were treated in similar ways or even imprisoned. This happened in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Kenya e.t.c. Such acts annoyed Africans and ignited strong nationalistic feelings.

2. The colonial developments in Africa such as roads, railways, bridges, urban centres, schools helped to fuel nationalism in Africa. Though they were intended to facilitate the exploitation of Africa, colonial developments later helped Africans to move easily and communicate their nationalistic ideas to the masses in rural areas. Urban centres helped Africans feel united and to reduce the tribalistic elements which had endangered nationalistic efforts in Africa since the 19th century.

3. The rise of independent Churches in Africa also contributed to the rise and growth of African nationalism. As a result of the discrimination by white missionaries, African clergy broke away from the white dominated Churches and formed theirs. These indigenous independent Churches were under the leadership of African Clergy who criticized white missionaries for being discriminative, proud, abusive and exploitative. This helped to arouse nationalistic feelings amongst Africans.

4. Existence of independent African states eg Liberia and Ethiopia also fuelled the growth of African nationalism. These two countries had survived the fungs of the 19th sentury European colonialism. Their political, economic, social and cultural ways of life had remained intact. These two countries served as role models and challenged the suffering Africans to fight for their lost dignity and independence. Hence the growth of African nationalism.

5. The pan-African movement since 1900also inspired African nationalistic feelings. Africans, living in the Diaspora, especially in America, started this movement. Pan Africanists like WEB Dubois, Marcus Garvey and George Padmore appealed to Africans all over the world to be proud of their race and to unite against whites in Africa. Marcus Garvey's "Go back to Africa" policy and "Africa for Africans" slogan inspired the growth of nationalistic feelings amongst African students who went to study abroad eg Kwame Nkrumah.

6. The impact of world war 1 1914-1918.

7. The communist revolution in Russia in 1917 also contributed to the growth of African nationalism. Communist Russia criticised colonialism due to its capitalistic policies and called upon all the oppressed peoples of the world to rise against their capitalist oppressors. Russia went ahead and gave support to Liberation Movements in Africa such as the MPLA of Angola, the ZANU of Zimbabwe and the Communist Party of South Africa Russia also gave support to the PLU A (United African Party of Angola). Russia also sent technical and financial help to Nasser of Egypt and Sekou Toure of Guinea. In turn, the assisted African countries took up the communist ideology. To prevent communist ideas from spreading to all African countries, the capitalist countries of Europe-especially Britain and France started granting independence to their colonies in Africa.

8. The impact of the Italo-ethiopian crisis of 1935-1941 also contributed to the growth of African nationalism. Ethiopia had survived the 19th century European colonialism after a victorious war against the Italians at Adowa in 1896. This victory enabled Ethiopia to escape colonialism and put her on a world map and made her the pride of all Africans. On the other hand the defeated Italy became internationally humiliated and nursed a desire to revenge against Ethiopia, which she did in October, 1935. Africans all over the world were shocked and annoyed by Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia. They mobilized funds, weapons' and soldiers to liberate Ethiopia. In 1941 Italy was defeated once again on Ethiopian soil. This 2nd victory brought Africans together and made them realise that armed resistance was the only means to use to get rid of colonialism.

9. The impact of world war 2 1939-1945 also contributed to the growth of African nationalism. Africans were recruited to serve their colonial masters as drivers, cooks and soldiers during this Great War. These African servicemen witnessed the weakness of white men during combat. They saw whites cowardising, retreating, dying and they learnt a lesson that whites were not gods as they had thought. They could die of bullets just like Africans. On their return to Africa at the end of the 2nd World War, the ex- service men no longer feared whites and introduced militant nationalism in Africa.

10. The 1941 Atlantic Charter contributed tremendously to the growth of African nationalism. As the 2nd World War raged on, the American president Franklyn D. Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met near the Canadian coast along the Atlantic Ocean, on a battle ship, and signed the 1941 Atlantic charter. It stated that all people of the world have a right to choose a form of government best suited to them. All those under colonial rule were to be restored to self-rule as soon as possible. Unfortunately, Churchill tried to explain that the Charter only applied to the colonised people under Nazi rule in Europe e.g. in Poland and Belgium. Africans thought that he was fooling them and became nationalistic. The 1941 Atlantic Charter inspired Africans to demand for their Sovereign rights and self-government from the aliens. Inspired by this charter, Dr. Xuma of South Africa published "the African claims" in 1945 and Namdi Azikiwe of Nigeria published "the Atlantic charter for West Africa". Both documents demanded for independence as a fulfilment of the terms of 1941 Atlantic charter.

11. The liberation of Ethiopia in 1941

12. The 1944 Brazzaville Conference inspired the growth of nationalistic feelings especially in French colonies. In that year, Charles de Gaulle, leader of France organized a conference of all senior French colonial governors and administrators at Brazzaville. Participants resolved to reform colonialism by abolishing forced labor, unfair arrests and the like. This inspired Africans in French colonies to demand for even greater rights including the right of self-government.

13. The victory of the Labour Party to power in Britain in 1945 also inspired the growth of African nationalism. The Labour Party comprised of socialists who condemned colonialism and termed it as an evil. While campaigning, Atlee (leader of the Labour Party) argued that it was morally wrong and financially straining for Britain to continue having colonies in Africa. He condemned Churchill of the Conservative Party for ignoring the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and for the uncivilized exploitation of labor in Africa. Once in power, Atlee speeded up the process of decolonization in Africa and Asia. Hence contributing to African nationalism.

14. The formation of United Nations Organization (UNO) in 1945 also fueled the growth of African nationalism. This was a new international peace keeping body, which replaced the League of Nations. The UNO set itself an objective of fighting against colonialism all over the world. It set up a decolonization committee charged with the responsibility of granting political freedoms to all colonized peoples. The UN decolonization committee aid its trusteeship council played a key role in preparing African countries for independence. E.g. Libya and Somalia. In addition, the 1948 UN declaration of human rights called for political, economic and cultural freedoms to be enjoyed by all humanity. Africans especially in South Africa based on the UN charter to demand for equal rights with the whites.

15. The 1945 Manchester conference also led to the rise of nationalism in Africa.

At Manchester, African elites e.g. Jomo Kenyatta, Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Kwame Nkrumah, Magnus Williams of Nigeria, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi etc. Came into contact with black Negroes e.g. WEB Dubois who arged them to return to Africa and speed up the process of fighting for independence. It was agreed that Pan Africanism had to get a base in Africa and the use of militant/radical means was approved. Participants adopted the slogan "Africa for Africans" and on return to Africa, led independence struggles e.g. Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah led the struggles in Tanganyika and Gold Coast respectively.

16. Emergence of new super powers/cold war politics/USA vs USSR also led to the rise and growth ofafrican nationalism.

These two new super powers, which replaced Britain and France, had long traditions of hatred against colonialism. Since they dominated the UNO discussions, they exerted diplomatic pressure on both Britain and France to decolonise. In particular, USSR criticised capitalism and its evils in Africa. She termed colonialism as a child of capitalism and preached socialism in Africa. This made colonial powers to panic and to grant independence to African countries so as to prevent the spread of Russian communism in Africa. U.S.A. threatened to cut off economic aid to Britain and France if they didn't decolonise.

17. The impact of urbanization since 1946

18. The attainment of independence by India in 1947 greatly inspired nationalistic feelings in Africa. The end of suffering in Asian countries made Africans hopeful that their suffering, too, was soon ending. Since Britain and later France had granted independence to Asia countries such as India, Pakistan, Ekirma, Sri Lanka, Malaya ad Indo-china 1949, then Africans became hopeful that their independence was coming next. Africans asked, if the colonial masters had granted independence to Asians, why not to Africans? This made them nationalistic, more so because Asian Countries were supportive towards the suffering Africans. They gave them scholarships and financial help. Mahtma Ghandi of India advised Africans to adopt Ghandism while struggling for independence. This involved non-violent methods like use of propaganda in newspapers and on Radio, peaceful demonstrations, boycotts and sit down strikes. Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta, Kenneth Kaunda and Albert Luthuli all applied propaganda and mass mobilisation (Ghandism). In Indo-china, a French colony Ahmed Ben Bella learnt guerrilla tactics and applied them in Algeria.

19. Victory of the nationalist party in south Africa in 1948 also led to nationalistic feelings. This party promoted segregation of the blacks in what came to be known as apartheid. The white man's segregation against blacks made Africans all over the continent to become indignant and to conclude that whites hated blacks. South Africans were physically separated from whites, were pushed into overcrowded reserves, were denied political participation and were ill treated in mines. This made Africans annoyed and nationalistic thus the rise of african nationalism.

20. The role of African elites.

21. The formation of political parties in Africa also contributed to the growth of African nationalism. These included the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) in Ghana, the African National Congress .(ANC) in S. Africa, the Uganda National Congress (UNC), the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and others. Leaders of these parties were elites who inculcated a spirit of nationalism amongst party members. Gradually, a number of Africans joined one party or the other to fight against colonialism.

22. The role of the mass media across Africa also catalysed the growth of African nationalism. African elites founded a number of newspapers, magazines and radio stations. Through these, they publicised the atrocities committed by colonialists against Africans and called upon Africans to rise up and change the situation. In West Africa, Namdi Azikiwe started "The West African Pilot" and edited a number of magazines. Obafemi Awolowo edited "the Nigerian Tribune", Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana started the "Accra evening news" In Uganda, newspapers included "muno"-, e.t.c. Radio Stations included Radio Cairo, Radio Accra etc. Therefore, through the mass media, the seeds of nationalism were sowed.

23. The victory of the communist revolution in China in 1949 also influenced nationalistic feelings in Africa. When communist Mao Tse Tung came to power, he criticised capitalism and colonialism for their exploitative tendencies in Asia and Africa. He got a number of friends in Africa and gave them financial and military support e.g. Nasser of Egypt and Sekou Toure of Guinea.

24. The independence of Indonesia 1950-51

25. The defeat of the French in Vietnam 1954

26. The impact/success of the 1952 Egyptian revolution also influenced the growth of African nationalism. In 1952, the puppet regime of King Farouk was brought to an end and subsequently colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser a rose to power up to 1970. He was a staunch nationalist who gave financial and military support to a number of African nationalists to fight for their countries' independence. For example he allowed the Uganda National Congress (UNC) and the FLN (National Liberation Front) of Algeria to open up offices in Cairo. He also supported Patrice Lumumba's MNC (Mouvement Nationale Congolese). This support boosted African nationalistic outlook or consciousness.

27. The 1952-55 Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya also helped to shape African nationalism. Following many years of oppression, Kenyans took up arms against the British, which taught Africans in Angola, Algeria and other areas that colonial oppression can be ended through armed struggle. The fear of a bloody rebellion in Tanganyika made Turn bull governor to promise independence to the country.

28. The Algerian war of independence/revolution 1954-1962 also fuelled off African nationalism. The Algerians successfully resisted the French colonialists and at the end of their 'guerrilla war, Algeria became independent. This provided another example to Africans to struggle against colonial rule using force of arms. Africans learnt that independence could not be obtained on a silver plate.

29. The banding conference of 1955 which led to the formation of the Non-aligned movement at Bandung in 1955, also influenced nationalism in Africa. The 1955 Bandung conference in Indonesia was attended by a number of Africans such as Kwame Nkrumah and Abdel Nasser who met radical nationalists from all over Asia. They condemned colonialism, racial segregation and super power influence in smaller nations. They called for Non-alignment and this fuelled the nationalistic struggle in Africa.

30. The attainment of independence by Ghana in 1957 also influenced the growth of African nationalism. Before, during and after the independence of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah clearly stated that the independence of Ghana would be meaningless if the rest of Africa was still under colonial rule. With this in mind, Nkrumah extended financial and military support to nationalists struggling against colonialists in various parts of Africa e.g. Congo. He also organized the April and December 1958 Pan African Congresses in Accra and sensitized the participants about the methods to use in the struggle against colonialism. Accordingly, Patrice Lumumba, Tom Mboya & Namdi Azikiwe returned home ready to struggle for independence.

31. The independence of French guinea in 1958 under Sekou Toure also influenced the growth of African nationalism. Sekou Toure was committed to the liberation and unity of Africa. Hence he welcomed the formation of the Ghana-Guinea Union of 1958, which was later joined by Mali in 1961. Again Sekou Toure extended support to the PAIGC, which was struggling against Portuguese colonialism in Guinea Bissau. Sekou Toure's flexibility and readiness to co-operate with other African leaders helped to alert other African nationalists about the need for unity and cooperation against colonialists.

32. The role/formation of the common wealth by 1959 also criticised the continuity of colonialism in Africa. This organisation exerted much pressure to whites in South Africa to grant political, economic and cultural freedoms to Africans, in 1961, S. Africa was forced to quit the association since she was not willing to listen to the call of other member states.

33. Harold Macmillan's speech in 1960 also raised nationalistic feelings and catalysed the struggle for independence in Africa. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister in 1960, toured the African continent and ended his tour at the cape of South Africa where he gave a historical speech, in his words there was '"an irreversible wind of change blowing across Africa." Lie argued that the black man's aspirations could no longer be ignored and called for a speedy programme to end colonialism in Africa. This wind of change speech inspired a number of nationalists in Africa to demand for independence.

34. The formation of the (OAU): On 25th May 1963, the organisation of African Unity was formed. This was a continental body, which aimed at promoting African Unity. It united the then 32 independent African States and set itself a task of helping other African countries, which were still under colonial rule. In 1974, the O.A.U. set up a liberation committee with its Headquarters in Dar-es-Salam. Through this committee it provided moral, financial, economic and military assistance to liberation movements such as the ANC in South Africa.

35. The rise to power by Charles de Gaulle in 1958/second re-election also stimulated nationalistic efforts especially in Franca phone countries. He rose to power for the 2nd time with a lot of determination to end French colonialism in Africa. He moved to various European, West African and North African countries studying the situation. He met with African nationalists such as Nkrumah and shared ideas about decolonization. He held meetings with the FLN leaders at Evian in Spain to devise means of granting independence to Algeria etc.

36. The success of the Lisbon coup in 1974

THE IMPACT OF THE 2nd WORLD WAR ON THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The 2nd World War (1939 - 1945) was an international war fought between the axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) versus the allied powers of Britain, France, America and USSR. Its immediate cause was Adolph Hitler's invasion of Poland. During the course of the war and after, African political consciousness (nationalism) was raised to the forefront. Hence it it impacted on the rise and growth of african nationalism in the following ways;.

1. The war exposed the military weakness of the white men. Before the 2nd World War, Africans thought that the white men were invincible (unbeatable) and feared to make any military challenges to them. However during the war, African soldiers witnessed the defeat of European armies by non-Europeans, e.g. In Burma-South East Asia, Japan defeated Britain and this was witnessed by African soldiers like Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and Waruhiu Itote (who later become General China during the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya). Also Ethiopians defeated Italy in 1941. Africans saw white men dying, cowardising and retreating in trenches. They saw how whites feared gunfire and the bush war. This made Africans to reduce their fear for the white men.

2. Africans got exposed to the entire world. They were sent to fight in North Africa, Asia and Europe. These travels opened their eyes and minds. They met new people with new ideas. For instance they served with Asian nationalists who were in the same struggle against colonial rule. They shared their experiences, skills tactics and promised to help each other. This sharpened African nationalistic outlook and many Africans took up Ghandism as a method of struggle. African soldiers in Europe were also exposed to a World of democratic ideas and governance, which made them think more deeply about colonial oppression at home.

3. African soldiers were discriminated in the army, which made their nationalism to rise to the fore. An African soldier couldn't rise to the rank of a commissioned officer in the British army, no matter how capable he was. One Kenyan soldier Bildad Kaggia managed to rise to the rank of a staff sergeant but found it difficult to give commands to white corporals below him. Once he reprimanded an untidy European corporal but was abused as a black man with no right to order whites. The food and payments given to blacks were also less than those of whites. This annoyed blacks whom returned to Africa with determination to fight the white man.

4. Africans obtained military skills. During the war, they were exposed to up to date European weapons such as artilleries, which they learnt to fire and in some cases to repair. They also drove military vehicles, threw grenade bombs and the like. On their return to Africa, they put this technical knowledge and tactics into practice by fighting the white man. Africans now understood the white man too well to be bulldozed. Bold ex-service men included Ben Bella and Belkacen Krim both of whom influenced the liberation war in Algeria.

5. The superiority complex of the white man was shattered. In Europe, African soldiers came into contact with dirty slums, unemployed whites, illiterates, beggars, criminals and prostitutes. They shared drinks, cigarettes and prostitutes with whites. They also witnessed the disunities amongst Europeans. These experiences made them reduce the respect and dignity they had accorded to whites in Africa. On returning to Africa they became militant.

6. African soldiers were, exposed to democracy: For example Bildad Kaggia found a democratic atmosphere in the United Kingdom. He made friendship with European communists and missionaries who criticised colonialism. He witnessed democratic and constitutional governance and wondered why the British settlers in Kenya were so oppressive, why they couldn't allow political freedoms etc. He then joined the Kenya. African Union, which was a nationalist group and sharpened it. Also during the war, American troops invaded North Africa, spread democratic ideas and influenced Algerian nationalists a lot. American soldiers respected Africans, share food, drinks, and cigarettes and dancing halls with them etc. They called upon North Africa to fight French discrimination and brutalists. Bildad Kaggia also served in Egypt and made friendship a democratic American doctor who influenced his nationalism.

7. Africans were exposed to the press and mass media. They came to learn English and French, read newspapers and listened to radio news daily. They came to learn that Britain, France and their allies were fighting against German and Italian imperialism in Europe. On their return to Africa, they also demanded for an end to colonialism.

8. Unfulfilled promises made them nationalistic. While persuading them into war, African service men were promised rewards e.g. democratic constitutions, employment in the civil service, promotion in the army etc. However, when the war ended, most of them were demobilised, remained unemployed and lived in very poor conditions as compared to the situation during war. This made their nationalism to surge and hence they formed liberation movements. As Kaggia wrote, "It was clear that now the war was over. The British did not care what happened to African soldiers."

9. It led to militant nationalism in Africa. When ex-service men reflected about their comrades who died while rescuing Britain and France from Germany Nazism and Italian fascism, they became ready to sacrifice their lives for mother Africa. To them, there could be no freedom in Africa without self-sacrifice. Old methods of demanding for independence through negotiations became irrelevant to them. Hence they formed militant movements to fight for independence e.g. ex-soldiers in Kenya formed the "Foury group" that later became the Land Freedom army or Mau Mau in Kenya in Algeria they formed the FLN etc.

10. The Liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 stimulated nationalistic feelings. As the 2nd World War raged on a combined force of Africans under British command defeated Italians in 1941. Once again, Ethiopia became independent. Africans who fought in this war got practical lessons that African Liberty had to be fought for and on their return to Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana, they joined liberation movements and took up the Ethiopian strategy of guerrilla war fare.

11. The war led to the signing of the 1941 Atlantic Charter. This was a document that advocated for the right of self-government to all colonised peoples of the world. President Franklyn Roosevelt of America and the British Prime Minister Churchill Winston signed it and Sterlin of Russia witnessed it. This charter became a liberation manifesto for most African elites in the post war period. When Churchill said that the charter only applied to European states under Nazi rule and not to African colonies, elites became annoyed and insisted that the charter should apply to Africans as well.

12. The slow pace of economic progress and poor living standards in Africa made ex-service men indignant. During war, they had witnessed the developments in Europe and some Asian countries. They learnt that some of those developments were made using the slave labour from Africa or the money taxed from Africans. When ihev returned to Africa, they witnessed poverty and underdevelopment. They too wondered why Europeans were not developing Africa. They opted to force them away so as to stop them from exploiting Africa.

13. It led to economic boom in Africa. During and after the war, the demand for both food and cash crops increased. Since the Far East, which had acted as an alternative source of raw materials had been cut off by Japan, European industrialists had to turn to Africa. As the demand for raw materials increased, prices rose and Africans obtained good money, e.g. the ground nuts and oil exports of Senegal increased Nigeria's exports also increased. With the money they obtained. Africans were able to support political parties, send their children to school and to set up businesses in urban centres. All these contributed to nationalistic activities.

14. African service men witnessed disunities amongst Europeans. At first, Africans looked at Europeans as demi-gods and patrons of civilisation. However during World War II, Africans were exposed to European barbarism. The quarrels and fights amongst Europeans e.g. the British against Germans, French against Germans, British against Italians and worst of all the vinchy French against Free Frenchmen made Africans to lose the respect they had for Europeans. On returning to Africa, they turned the barrel of the gun against Europeans.

15. It led to urbanisation in Africa. During the war, small scale industries were set up by colonialists to supply their soldiers with food and uniform e.g. fish canning factories, cotton ginning and saw milling started in West Africa. A number of Africans flocked to towns for jobs but not all could receive employment. Even the elites as well as the ex-service men preferred to stay in industrial zones. Soon life became miserable due to unemployment, inflation discrimination from whites etc. All these made urban workers, ex-service men and elites to unite against the white man. This explains the general strike in Nigeria in 1945 spearheaded by the NCNC.

16. It led to the rise of the Labour Party into power in Britain. The Labour Party under Clement Atlee campaigned against the Conservative Party of Churchill Winston and won the 1945 elections. It was a party of liberals and socialist workers who criticised the conservative party for leading Britain into the destructive 2nd World War. It also condemned British colonialism in Africa and Asia terming it as out dated, oppressive and exploitative. Furthermore Atlee criticised Churchill for trying to falsify the 1941 Atlantic Charter. So, on gaining power in 1945 the Labour Party speeded up the process of decolonisation in Africa.

17. It led to the formation of the United Nations Organisation as a new body charged with peace keeping in the world. The UNO was born to correct the mistakes of the hypocritical League of Nations and to replace it. From the start, the UNO Condemned the countries that colonised peoples of Africa and Asia. The UNO was very instrumental in raising African nationalistic feelings and imposing sanctions against racist whites in South Africa.

18. It led to the emergence of USA and USSR as new superpowers. These replaced the war torn and exhausted France and Britain. These new superpowers had anti-colonial traditions and exerted diplomatic pressure on both Britain and France to decolonise. Even in the UNO, they constantly listened to the plight of African nationalists and supported their struggles for freedom.

19. The War shattered the economies of Britain and France. German forces under Hitler destroyed a number of roads, factories and schools. The treasuries of Britain and France had run bankrupt due to heavy expenses during war; there was no medicine in hospitals etc. Their ability to sustain colonialism in Africa was broken. To reconstruct their economics the two countries asked USA for economic aid. In turn, USA gave them a condition to decolonise before obtaining economic aid. They accepted this and hence a great role in decolonisation.

20. It accelerated land grabbing in Africa, During the war, more white settlers arrived in Africa to escape the poor economic situation in Europe. These increased the grabbing of African land, forced labour on European farms and racial discrimination. In turn this led to the formation of violent nationalistic movements like the Mau Mau in Kenya, FLN in Algeria, MPLA in Angola etc.

21. It led to the 1944 Brazzaville conference: During the Second World War Charles de Gaulle convened all top colonial officials to meet Brazzaville in French Congo to discuss ways of reforming French colonialism so as to check against the growing forces of nationalism in Africa. Forced labour, torture, imprisonment without trial and the like were abolished in all French Colonies. This made Africans to demand for more changes and an end to colonialism itself.

22. It led to legal and constitutional reforms in African colonies. During and after the war, nationalistic demands continued. This forced Colonial masters to make legal and constitutional reforms e.g. in 1944, the first black man was appointed to the Kenyan colonial parliament. After the 1945 riots in Setif in Algeria the French made reforms in parliament, Senate, Chamber of deputies and town councils. The "Burns constitution" was issued in Ghana in 1946 the "Richards constitution" was granted to Nigerians in 1946 etc. All these increased nationalistic activities in Africa.

23. It led to the 1945 Manchester conference. This was the fifth pan African Congress held in Manchester-England. Ever since the Italian attack on Ethiopia, Pan Africanism had grown strong amongst Africans in the Diaspora. But it was the 2nd World War which opened unlimited opportunities for Pan Africanists. With this war, the whole world changed. Blacks in Africa and those in Diaspora learnt about one another, met each other and at Manchester in 1945, resolved to end colonialism, using all means available, whether peaceful or violent. This militant Pan Africanism was a result of World War II. Africans who attended the 5th Pan African Congress included Kwarne Nkrumah, Peter Abrahams of S. Africa, Wallace Johnson of SieraLeone, Raphael Aruilo of Togo etc.

24. The black students' activities increased in the outside world. In Britain, the West African Students Union (WASU) criticised Churchill's mis interpretation of the Atlantic Charter, lies USA, the Africa Students Association of the United States and Canada were formed in 1941. It condemned the discrimination and oppression of the black man. It founded a monthly magazine called the” African Intepreter” through which it channeled nationalistic views. Kwame Nkrumah was a product of black students' activities in U.S.A.

25. It led to the Independence of Asian countries and in turn the Asian countries mounted pressure on Britain and France to grant independence to African countries. The independent Asian countries also extended financial and military help to African nationalists.

26. It led to the formation of trade unions. The rise in the cost of living was not accompanied by increased wages. This led to increased hardships for African workers who formed Trade unions to fight for improved conditions of work. In Nigeria trade unions rose from 5(five) to 70(seventy) and were coordinated by the Nigerian Trade Union Congress formed in 1943. These leaders of these TUC joined anti-colonial struggles and contributed immensely to decolonisation.

Due to the above, the year 1945 has been termed as a turning point or watershed in the development of nationalism in Africa.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY SUPER POWERS IN THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA (COLD WAR POLITICS)

Super powers are the powers that emerged as the great powers in the aftermath of the second world war. These powers included Russia and USA and these contributed to the rise of african nationalism in the following ways;

U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. had anti-colonial traditions. The U.S. had once been colonised and oppressed by the British under King George III. They had fought for their independence and gained it in 1776 after a bloody American War of independence. It was only after independence that they developed as a nation. They understood clearly the status of Africans and worked hard to change it. USA's Economic aid was dependent upon decolonisation. The 2nd World War depleted the resources of Britain and France, which turned to U.S.A. for economic

aid. However, before granting economic aid for reconstruction America set a condition- decolonisation of the French and British empires in Africa. Since these countries needed economic aid urgently, they started preparing African colonies for sell-government. The U.S. economic aid is known as the Marshall aid plan because the U.S. secretary of State George Marshal initiated it in June 1947.

USA and USSR influenced the formation of the U.N.O. After World War II, the major powers of the world met at San Francisco and signed the UNO Charter. Article 13 made it clear that colonialism was an evil that had to be stamped out of the world. It declared the rights of all people to choose governments best suited to them.

Super powers threatened sanctions on colonial maters. U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. exerted pressure on European colonialists to decolonise their African empires, hence facilitating nationalistic activity in Africa. In UN meeting, those two super powers listened to Africans e.g. Nkrumah's case against French Algeria in 1960. Besides, U.S.A. and USSR even threatened to impose sanctions on Britain. France, 'Belgium, and Portugal, if they didn't decolonise. Since Britain and France had already suffered the negative effects of the 2nd World War, they yielded to the pressure of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. to avoid causing sufferings to their people.

U.S.A. Influenced the formation of the UN Trusteeship Council. This was putsa in charge of former mandated territories of the League of Nations e.g. Somalia, Eritrea, Tanganyika, Namibia, and Rwanda etc. In these countries, representatives of the Trusteeship Council prepared Africans for constitutional rule and self-government.

USA wanted to introduce neo-colonialism. USA was a purely capitalist state, which needed raw materials and markets for its industries. So, it hypocritically supported anti-colonial struggles so as to drive Britain and France from Africa and replace them in the new diplomatic way of exploiting Africa (Neo-colonialism). In short U.S.A. wanted to end the Old bar baric colonialism and introduce an indirect one (neo-colonialism). N.B. The Element of Jealousy cannot be ruled out. America and USSR had not participated in colonising Africa and didn't possess large colonial empires as those of Britain, France and Portugal. Now that U.S.A. and USSR were industrialised they wanted sources of raw materials and markets that is they aimed at spreading economic imperialism.

The U.S.A. president sensitised some African conservatives. In 1943, the US president F.D. Roosevelt met the Moroccan Sultan Sidi Muhammed at Cassablanca and lectured him about the need to end French colonial rule in Morocco. From then on, the Sultan started supporting the nationalist efforts in Morocco. This step taken by the American president became a source of inspiration to nationalists in Morocco and elsewhere in Africa. As for colonial France and Britain, they feared that USA would force them out of Africa militarily and granted independence.

U.S.S.R. embarked on spreading socialism in Africa. This ideology condemned land grabbing, oppression, exploitation and racial Segregation. Lenin in his writings described colonialism as a son of capitalism. He called upon Africans to embrace socialism for a free and equal society. This awakened African nationalists who saw the evils of colonialism in black and white.

USSR linked economic prosperity to political independence. Russia explained that she had been a very poor country like African countries but attained industrialization and economic prosperity through socialist principles. This attracted African nationalists but caused panic amongst the colonial masters who speeded up the decolonisation of Africa to prevent the socialist ideology from engulfing the entire continent.

USSR's Campaign helped to end USA's isolationist policy. Despite die fact thai she was a political, military and economic power, U.S.A. had isolated herself from the affairs of the world e.g. it was due to her isolation that Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935. If she had backed Mussolini and later Adolph Hitler would have been restrained. With Russia's vigorous socialist campaign, U.S.A. was drawn in world politics as a counter force against USSR's interests, in the process, a cold war ensued between the super powers to the advantage of Africans.

Both U.S.A. and USSR supported Pan-Airicmiists. In America, Negro intellectuals like WEB Dubois and Ralph Bunehe expressed biter criticism against colonialism. They were never arrested for Their views. Even when they took up Marxist principles they were not tortured. The same to George Pad more, the great West Indian Pan African intellectual. The free atmosphere accorded to Pan Africanists in diaspora enabled them spread their views up to Africa and hence influenced decolonisation. Nkrumah's role is a case in point.

U.S.S.R. gave financial, technical and military support to African nationalists. In pursuit of the cold war (her need to spread socialism), U.S.S.R. identified itself with anti-colonial struggles. She gave support to Nasser of Egypt to accomplish the Aswan High Dam, trained his soldiers and gave Egypt arras. She also gave financial support to Sekou Toure's Guinea, military support to the PLN of Algeria, MPLA of Angola, FRELIMO and SWAPO. All this catalysed the liberation process and contributed to independence in Mozambique, Guinea Bissau Angola, and Zimbabwe etc.

U.S.A. responded by giving similar aid. In the first place she convinced European capitalists about the dangers of communism in Africa and urged them to decolonise to limit its expansion. Secondly America also extended the cold war by granting military, economic and technical aid to African liberation movement e.g. the UNITA of Angola that fought and weakened Portuguese colonialism. NB However, military aid from U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. had a negative impact of creating prolonged civil wars in independent Africa. Hence causing heavy losses of lives and property in the name of the cold war!

USSR was very committed to the question of African's independence. In UNO, she supported Africans. In Congo (1960-64), Nigeria (1967-1970) and in all Portuguese colonies, she contributed to the unity of nationalists and de-campaigned the divisive elements. At times she even sent her own troops to fight for Africans.

USA's fear of the Non-aligned movement made her support African nationalists by giving them money, guns etc.

USA and USSR were instrumental in inspiring the UNO to adopt the Universal declaration of Human rights Charter in 1948.

U.S.S.R. gave support to Pan Africanists. It is said that U.S.S.R. provided some of 'the funds that made the 1945 Manchester conference successful. In turn this conference greatly inspired nationalists and influenced their actions in Africa.

USSR's desire to create a strong communist empire catalysed nationalists in Africa. In 1949, with support from U.S.S.R., the communists gained power in China. They obtained aid from Russia. In 1959, the communists defeated capitalists in Cuba. Now, Cuba, Russia and China joined and called upon Africans to embrace the socialist ideology in order to attain self-determination and economic progress. Many young nationalists in Africa were taken up and awaited the liberation of Africa from the evils of capitalism

cold War politics between superpowers led to hot and prolonged civil-wars in Africa.

26. Cold War politics led to destruction of lives and property in Africa etc.

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION IN THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM (DECOLONISATION)

In October 1945 shortly after World War II. The United Nations Organisation was born at San Francisco in U.S.A. It replaced the League of Nations, which had failed to keep world peace and had led to the outbreak of the Italian-Ethiopian War (1935-1941) and the 1939-1945 second World War. Its formation had profound effects on the transition of African countries from colonialism to independence.

1. It upheld the ideals of the 1941 Atlantic Charter. In 1941, off the Canadian coast in a battleship, F.D. Roosevelt and Churchill had declared their vision and intentions for a new and better world. This was contained in the Atlantic charter- Article 3, which vowed to allow all peoples of the world to form a government of their own choice. When the UNO was formed, it adopted the Atlantic Charter and this inspired African nationalists to fight for their self-government.

2. The UNO set up a trusteeship council. This was to take care of the colonies that had belonged to defeated Germany and Italy e.g. Tanganyika, Libya, Togo, and Cameroon etc. Because these were United Nations trustee territories, they were carefully prepared for self-government. Officials from the U.N. constantly visited them to examine the progress of constitutional developments in those territories e.g. The UN trusteeship council sent Commissioner Adrian Pelt to prepare a constitution for Libya which led to the quick independence of Libya in 1951 under King Idris. The UNO's trusteeship officials also made political reforms in Togo, Cameroon, Tanganyika, Somalia, Rwanda, and Burundi. This explains the early and smooth independence in those countries.

3. It became a voice for the colonised. The UN members were aware that it was colonialism that had caused the disastrous 2nd World War. To avoid the reoccurrence of such a war, the UNO became a good listener to the plight of the colonised. In 1960, UN gave audience to the Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah who presented the grievances of the Algerians to the UN summit. Algerians had suffered French nuclear bomb tests in their country, not to mention other oppressions. Nkrumah's speech moved the UN members who condemned France, organised the inspection of Algeria and called for an urgent end to French colonialism in Algeria

4. It set up a decolonisation committee. This was charged with the duty of working out strategies for the decolonisation/liberation of all colonised peoples of Asia and Africa. Officials of this committee, many of them African nationalists, moved to different countries that were still struggling for independence and made reports to the UN. Basing on these, appropriate action would be taken to speed up the decolonisation process in a given colony.

5. The UNO was not discriminative. It admitted African countries that were independent to the UN membership. These included Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt, Morocco, and Libya. African Membership widened as independent countries also increased. At the UNO, there was no open discrimination and conspiracy against the black man as the case was in the League of Nations. This inspired nationalists to feel wanted and struggle for self-determination.

6. It issued the universal declaration of human rights in 1948. This UDHR emphasized the dignity and equality of all human beings. It broadly defined a person's political, economic, social, religious rights. This document became a consolation to all oppressed peoples of the world. They gained hope that since the UNO was concerned about the plight of the oppressed, it would fight for their independence. In South Africa, the ANC published the human rights Charter for South Africa.

7. The UNO recognized Liberation Movements in Africa. Whereas the colonial masters looked at African nationalist groups as rebel movements, the UNO recognised them and allowed Liberation leaders to explain their grievances to UN members. Representative of the ANC in South Africa SWAPO in Namibia, FRELIMO in Mozambique used this opportunity to condemn apartheid in South African countries. They were sympathetically listened to which gave them hope e.g. in 1966, the UN General assembly recognized SWAPO as the true representatives of Namibia.

8. Asian countries in the UN defended the African cause. The UN played a great role in the liberation of Asian countries. In turn, after obtaining independence Asian countries especially India used their position in the UN to advocate for the independence of African countries.

9. It effected economic sanctions against racist regimes. These included Ian Smith's Zimbabwe, South Africa and Portuguese colonies. Through these economic pressures, whites were eventually forced to respect African rights and independence struggles in those countries e.g. sanctions brought to an end the unilateral government of white minorities in Zimbabwe.

10. It gave Military support to keep peace. In some cases the UN has sent its peacekeeping forces to bring order among nationalists and hence streamline the struggle for independence. In 1960, for example the UNO sent a peacekeeping force to Congo. This force helped to keep the country together and prevent secession. It has also always sent forces in civil war torn places.

11, It gave constructive advice to nationalists. In 1964, the UNO advised Senegal and Gambia to remain as Sovereign States and avoid political integration that was likely to produce ethnic conflicts.

12. UNO extended financial support to Africa. The UNO has since the 1940s showed economic interests in Africa but has also desired to promote the standard of living of African peoples. Hence it influenced the formation of an "economic commission for Africa" with its Headquarters at Addis Ababa- Ethiopia. The aim was to fight poverty in Africa.

13. The UNO declared a 10-year period of decolonisation. To show its deep commitment to the independence struggle in Africa the UN general assembly declared the period between 1950 -1960 as a decade of decolonisation. It argued both the colonial masters and African elites to speed up the process of decolonisation in the specified period. For instance, Somali land was put under the UN trusteeship council and was to be administered by Italy, which was to prepare it for independence within only ten years.

14. The UNO helped in training African leaders. During the decade of decolonisation, the UNO trusteeship council embarked on manpower training in African territories. In territories under UN mandate, African elites were carefully introduced to political administration, budgeting, how to handle diplomatic relations and the like. The best example was done by Italians who wanted to compensate for their earlier harsh rule in the horn of Africa. In Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi and Libya, the story was the same. The first president of independent Tanganyika benefited from the UN crash programme of manpower development in Africa. And he became a great man on African soil.

15. The UNO organised conferences between the colonial masters and their subjects. For example in 1974, the UNO organised a conference between Portugal and Angolan nationalists at Alvor. The UNO representatives called up Portugal to accept the wind of change in Africa or else risk international isolation/sanctions. The fruits of the Alvor conference were the independence of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, which had been under Portuguese control.

16. The UNO gave support to African journalists. There emerged a number of newsletters, magazines and papers after the 2nd World War. These helped to circulate anti-colonial propaganda and interestingly African editors like Namdi Azikiwe of the "West African Pilot" were given funds to keep informing Africans and the entire world about the progress in Africa.

17. The UNO was a good listener unlike the League of Nations. This new body understood its role clearly- a voice of the small states. So it listened to the group of 77 less developed countries in the UNO and even gave them material support. The UNO never tried to marginalize them on the basis of their economic and military weakness.

THE ROLE OF ASIA IN THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN AFRICA

The links between Africa and Asia countries during the 20th century were very strong. This was due to the long background of trade connections and intermarriages between the two continents. Besides, the geographical proximity between Asian and Africa meant that whatever happened in one continent was bound to affect the other. In this respect, nationalism developed faster in Asian countries and this had an ideological and practical impact on African nationalism. Asian countries that influenced African nationalism were Japan, India, China and Viatanam.

1. Japan linked her economic prosperity to absence of colonialism. In the 1860s, Japan had pushed off colonialists. Since then, she had developed into an economically and technologically strong state. She developed using her locally available resources without support from European colonialists. Africans felt challenged by Japanese modern economy and linked the economic backwardness in Africa to the presence of colonialists. This led to the growth of nationalistic feelings.

2. Asian nationalists destroyed the white man's invincibility. Colonialism in Africa had thrived on the black man's fear of the white man's military strength. However, Japan, an Asian country defeated European powers and drove them out of Asia. In 1905, Japan defeated Russia's imperialism. During the 2nd World War, she drove the British and French out of Hong Kong. Malaysia and Burma. She chased the Dutch out of Indonesia and the Americans out of Philippines. African soldiers who fought on the side of defeated Britain and France realised the military weakness of the white man and prepared to fight him in Africa.

3. Africans adopted the method of Ghandism. While struggling for Asia's independence, Mahatma Ghandi the great Indian nationalist used non-violent methods. These included the boycott of British shops and schools, peaceful demonstrations and writing articles in newspapers (propaganda). Using passive resistance, Ghandi won India's independence in 1947. He then inspired African nationalists in South Africa, Ghana, and Zambia etc. To apply the same method. This influenced Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, among others, to call upon cocoa growers to put pressure on the British through a sit down strike.

4. Asians publicised the benefits of independence. The independent states of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China, Cambodia, Vietnam and Japan, started informing Africans about the benefits of Independence. They did this through newspapers, political speeches (lectures) and non-aligned meetings. This inspired African nationalists to work hard and enjoy the benefits independence.

5. Asian experiences contributed to militant nationalism in Africa. Between 19461954, the Vietnamese faught for their independence and defeated the French at Bien Dien Phur. Present in the Vietnamese war but on the side of the defeated French was Ahmed Ben Bella who rose to the rank of a Sergeant. Another was Jean Bode Bokassa of the Central African Republic. Ben Bella learnt practical lessons that the French were defeatable and that independence was to be won through blood sacrifice. On his return to Algeria, He militarised nationalism in his country-hence making the FLN achieve Algerian independence through war.

6. Asians inspired Africans to struggle patiently. The story of the 28-year struggle for India's independence (1919-1947) accompanied by the long but successful Vietnamese guerrilla war in Indo-China led to a high degree of patience and hope amongst African nationalists. They came to learn the value of patience in the nationalistic struggles. Hence most liberation movements especially in Portuguese colonies took several years.

7. Asians extended financial and technical support to Africans. Asians had natural love for Africans and sympathised with them a lot. They understood the pain of colonialism and after obtaining their independence, extended support to African nationalists. For instance, President Mao Tse Sung extended financial, moral and military aid to the "free officers movement" in Egypt. Also, they gave Africans advice on strategies to use e.g. the Indian Prime Minister Nehru invited Milton Obote- a Uganda nationalist, to Banglore and gave him tips and strategies to use in the struggle for Uganda's independence.

8. Asians criticised the denial of Independence to Africans. While colonial masters granted independence to Asian countries, they claimed that African countries were not yet mature for self-governance. This annoyed Africans who reacted by asserting their right to self-government. If colonial masters had granted independence to Asians, why not to Africans? Asians supported the African claims and hence the independence of African countries in the 1950s, 60s and 70s.

9. Asians appealed to the UNO to process Africa's independence. As most Asian states joined the UNO, they used it as a platform to condemn European colonialism in Africa. They teamed up with African nationalists at the UN and made their grievances listened to.

10. Asians inspired Church leaders to join the struggle for independence. Mahatma Ghandi of India had preached against colonialism using the Bible. He used the same to call for racial equality and an end to oppression. This inspired the clergy in Africa to use the Churches and their positions to de-campaign colonialism e.g. Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia preached that colonialism was incompatible with Christianity.

11. Asian countries organised the 1955 Bandung conference. Realising the danger of cold war politics Nehru of India and Surkano of Indonesia called upon nationalists from Asia, Africa and the Middle East to meet at Bandung and discuss the way forward. They adopted the ideology of Non-alignment whereby they chose to be neither pro-U.S.A. nor Pro-U.S.S.R. This worried the super powers who rushed to support decolonisation in Africa so as to get supporters of their ideologies. The Bandung conference was a big step in the Afro-Asian solidarity.

12. Asians inspired Africans to form political parties. Mahatma Ghandi had won India' independence through the mass mobilisation. He mobilised the Indian population using his India National Congress (INC). This inspired African elites to form mass political parties e.g. the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Ignatius Musaazi of Uganda formed the Uganda National Congress, Casely Hayford formed the West African Congress Kwame Nkrumah formed the Convention Peoples' Party.

13. Asians contributed to ethnic unity in Africa. The great danger to African nationalism had been micro-nationalism or parochialism. This was the tendency by each tribe to fight for its own independence. Asians had buried their ethnic differences during the independence struggle and had obtained success. This inspired Africans to develop macro or multi-ethnic nationalism. With this they quickly won independence from whites that had all along used divisions within Africa to prolong their stay.

14. Asians influenced British common wealth countries to support Africans. The British common wealth was an organisation for former British colonies all over the world. Using it as a mouthpiece, Asians called upon the British to decolonise and even give compensation to the exploited people of Africa. This made Africans to continue demanding for independence with a lot of vigour.

15. Asian Literature inspired nationalistic ideas in Africa. There were a number of news letters such as the "Green Pamphlet" of M. Ghandi, which condemned European colonialism in Asia and Africa. In particular, it shed much light on the evil of racial discrimination in South Africa. This aroused indignation amongst Africans who became determined to fight colonialism. In addition, Asians sponsored the budding African newspapers.

16. Asians gave legal advice to African nationalists. For example the Indian Prime Minister Nehru instructed the Indian East African High Commissioner (resident in Nairobi) to give legal advice to Kenya's budding nationalists like Jomo Kenyatta, Tom mboya etc. Later India even gave military assistance to Kenyans.

17. Asians provided further education to African nationalists. After acquiring independence, Asian countries extended scholarships to various African academicians who went to study in Asian Universities. These include Mayanja Nkangi John Kakonge, Adoko Nekyon. Bidandi Ssali, Kintu Musoke and Kivejinja all from Uganda. This education widened their nationalistic outlook and on returning to Africa, they played leading roles in the nationalistic straggles.

18. The Chinese revolution of 1949 greatly inspired African nationalists. Under communist Mao Tse Tung the Chinese defeated the forces of Chiang Kaishek, which were supported by capitalists like United States of America. After his victory, Mao Tse Tung advised African nationalists to adopt guerrilla warfare as a method of struggling against colonialists. Besides that advice, he promised financial, technical and military support to Africans. Hence he gave support to the FRELIMO, ZANU, ANC, FLN, MPLA, among many others.

19. Asian generosity inspired independent countries of Africa to extend assistance to comrades in struggle. The love and support which Asians gave to the suffering Africans was emulated by some African nationalists like Nasser of Egypt who extended support to guerrillas of the FLN in Algeria, Kwame Nkrumah who supported Sekou Toure's Guinea anj Patrice Lumumba of Congo etc. Nasser of Egypt even gave scholarships to African nationalists.

20. Asian nationalists provided role models for African leaders. Most Asian leaders were men of integrity, sociable, determined, straightforward and not corrupt. These included Mahatma Ghandi of India and Mao Tse Tung of China. They had streamlined, unifying and defined roles to play. Some successful African nationalist leaders like Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika emulated this.

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN ELITES IN THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

African elites were the new class of enlightened Africans that emerged during the colonial period. A number of factors contributed to the rise of the African elite. They included European education, Christianity, trade, the mass media, the second world war, colonial employment, travels abroad and so on. Examples of African elites included Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Ben Bella, Abdel Nasser, Nelson Mandela, Robert Mugabe, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere among others. Their role in the African independence struggle was as follows:

1. They learnt foreign languages and used them to negotiate for colonial reforms and independence e. G Augostinho Neto leamt Portuguese language. This helped him to write a petition (list of grievances) of Angolans which he presented to the Portuguese colonial secretary in Lisbon in 1960. Kwame Nkrumah also used his command of English language to negotiate for the early independence of Gold Coast/Ghana.

2. They formed democratic students clubs. For example the West African Students Union (WASU) which sharpened the nationalistic outlook of most African student studying overseas in London and USA. The beneficiaries of the WASU included Kwame Nkrumah.

3. They criticized the colonial evils. These included oppression of Africans by the colonial police, exploitative forced labour and taxes, racism and so on. A case in point was Jomo Kenyatta who questioned forced labour in Kenya.

4. The elites sensitized fellow Africans about their rights. These included political, economic and social rights. They did this by making references to the UNO's Universal Declaration of Human Rights document, the OAU charter on human rights and so on. Robert Mugabe did this in Southern Rhodesia-present day Zimbabwe.

5. The elites formed political parties. For example Julius Nyerere formed the Tanganyika African National Union (TANTJ) in Tanganyika while Kwame Nkrumah formed the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) in Gold Coast/Ghana. Through these political parties, the elites sensitized the African masses about the need for self-government.

6. They sacrificed their professions to lead the independence struggles. For example Julius Kambarage Nyerere deserted his teaching profession to lead Tanzanians to political liberty; Edwardo M. Chivambo left his gainful job as a Medical doctor and UNO consultant to lead the Mozambican liberation struggle.

7. They formed independent churches which criticised colonialism. For example, Bildad Kaggia and Elijah Masinde formed independent churches in Kenya and used them to criticize the oppressive, exploitative and racist policies of the British white settlers in Kenya.

8. They organized peaceful demonstrations and debates. Through these, they sought for colonial reforms in a peaceful way. A case in point was Albert Luthuli organized the anti-apartheid defiance campaign in South Africa in 1952.

9. The organized political rallies in both rural and urban areas. In these, they communicated their political progammes to the masses and listened to their grievances. For example, Ignatius Musaazi of the UNC in Uganda organized political rallies in Katwe, a Kampala city suburb. Patrice Lumumba of Congo organized similar rallies in Leopoldville, Matadi, Kivu, Katanga and Kasai.

10. African elites founded newspapers and radio stations. Through these mass media they spread their nationalistic propaganda that aroused the determination of African nationalists. A case in point was Colonel Abdel Nasser set up Radio Cairo that spread anti-colonial propaganda using Arabic, Swahili, French and English languages. Namdi Azikiwe of Nigeria began the "West African Pilot" newspaper through which he exposed the colonial evils. The South African elites also begun the "Abantu Batho" newspaper that exposed the evils of the apartheid regime.

11. African elites adopted socialist ideas. These were based on the Marxist Leninist ideology of analyzing society. This made them tour the rural areas to identify themselves with the plight of the masses. For example, Amilcar Cabral moved throughout Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde studying and listening to peoples' grievances, especially the low prices paid to ground nut farmers. Sekou Toure did the same in Guinea Conakry.

12. African elites formed militant liberation movements. For example Ben Bella formed the FLN in Algeria, Sam Nujuoma formed the SWAPO in Namibia and Amilcar Cabral formed the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau. Through these liberation movements, the African nationalists struggled for self-government using the force of arms.

13. Elites appealed to the UNO to pressurize colonial masters out of Africa. For example, Sam Nujuoma appealed to the UN General Assembly to impose diplomatic and economic sanctions against the South Africa apartheid colonial regime in Namibia.

14. Elites solicited for help from the eastern block. For example, both Edwardo Mondane Chivambo of Mozambique and Augostinho Neto of Angola called for financial, political and military assistance from Russian, China and Czechoslovakia.

15. They attended Pan African Conferences in and out of Africa. For example they attended the Manchester Conference of 1945, the 1958 Accra Conference and many others. They were greatly inspired by the speeches given by key Pan Africanists like George Padmore, WEB Dubious and Kwame Nkrumah. They were given free literature about democracy, socialism, revolutionary and liberation struggles in other parts of the world and so on. All these transformed them into fearless, focused and patriotic leaders.

16. They called for unity of all Africans against colonialism. For example Nkrumah called for the unity of the Ewe and Akan against the British colons while Amilcar Cabral called for unity of the Fula and Baiante tribes against the Portuguese colons. It was in the pursuit of unity that the Casablanca and Monrovia groups of nationalists later joined to form the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) that was highly anti-colonial.

MASS POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Mass political parties became a common feature of the African anti-colonial straggle in the post second world war period. Before the wax. African nationalists had formed a number of political associations but these were limited to intelleciuais such as professional lawyers, doctors and journalists. During the Second World War, the elites received new ideas and skills regarding the formation and organization of political parties. After the war, mass political parties were formed and included the UGCC and CPP in Gold Coast, the PAG in French Guinea, ANC in South Africa, ICANU in Kenya, TANU in Tanganyika, NCNC in Nigeria, MPLA in Angola, ZANU and ZAPU in Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia). MCP in Malawi and UNIP in Zambia. They opened party membership to all categories of the population eg businessmen, professional lawyers, teachers and doctors, urban workers, rural peasants, jobless town dwellers, ex-servicemen, journalists, men and women, people from all tribes, religions and regions, liberal whites and so on.

Mass political parties were led by professional elite at a national level and sub-elite at local levels. The sub elite included the poorly paid teachers, clerks in local Administration, pastors in missions and in independent African churches, progressive farmers and traders. Ex-teachers dismissed from government schools due to their involvement in politics were very influential in the new mass political parties (Mazrui & Tidy, 85).

Some scholars draw a strict line between mass political parties which used peaceful methods e. G CPP and the mass liberation movements eg FRELIMO which used violent methods of guerilla war. To note is that the mass liberation movements began as mass political parties and played all the roles of a mass political party. They only became violent much later. Even then, some of them maintained a political and military wing e. ZAPU had the ZIPRA. ZANU the ZANLA, FLN the ALN, SWAPO, theSWAPLA etc. So, it isn't wrong to present them under mass political parties. However, it would be wrong to present the UGCG, CPP, NCNC, UPC, KANU, TANU and others of their category under mass liberation movements.

The contribution of mass political parties towards the decolonisation process

1. Political parties sensitized the masses about their political rights. Representatives of political parties moved to towns and rural areas explaining that the white man's rule was alien and had to be dislodged. This came at a time when most Africans had accepted colonialism and white man's boss ship as "God sent." Amilcar Cabral of the PAIGC couldn't accept this. He traveled throughout Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde enlightening the masses about their rights. Elites belonging to other political parties did the same elsewhere.

2. They acted as a voice for the aggrieved ordinary masses. Representatives of mass political parties moved to rural areas and listened to the plight of the landless but highly taxed peasants, the farmers whose cash crops were bought very cheaply and so on eg the UGCC listened to the grievances of cocoa farmers whose cocoa plants had been cut by colonial agents without any explanation. They channeled the farmers' grievances to the colonial governor Burns. TANU also acted as a voice for the voiceless peasants whose land had been grabbed in Tanganyika. The PAIGC acted as a voice for peasants of Guinea Bissau who were being cheated through low prices, for their products.

3. They openly condemned the brutal, exploitative and racist colonial policies. For instance the ANC condemned land alienation, racism and the oppression of mine workers in South Africa. The KANU condemned land grabbing and racism in Kenya etc. Agents of the mass parties argued that colonial brutality exploitation and racism were contrary to the Christian principles of equality, fairness, love and peace. By so doing, they exposed the folly of missionary preachers.

4. The mass parties succeeded in uniting Africans of diverse origins. It was customary in Africa for people of one tribe to regard themselves as different from those of other tribes. The advent of foreign religions divided Africans even more. Even within the same tribe or family, Africans would cease being blood brothers because one was a catholic, another one Protestant and yet another Moslem. They started creating new artificial spiritual brotherhoods. Such division were deliberately created by colonial masters to prevent the oppressed and exploited Africans from uniting against their oppressor. Agents of political parties appealed to Africans to hurry their tribal, religious and social differences in order to unite against a common enemy. In Kenya, this yielded dividends as KANU united rural and urban populations who included Luo, Kikuyu, Akamba, Kipsigis, Masai, educated and uneducated, ex-servicemen etc.

5. Mass parties used peaceful approaches to demand for independence. These included round table negotiations with colonial masters, writing of critical articles in newspapers, organizing boycotts, demonstrations, industrial sit down strikes and sending petitions to the colonial authorities. For instance in 1960, the MPLA delegation led by Augostinho Neto presented a petition to the Portuguese colonial secretary in Lisbon Portugal.

6. They founded newspapers which published revolutionary propaganda. For instance the CPP founded the "Accra evening News", through which it pointed out the inadequacies of the 1946 burns constitution. It called for more African representatives on the LEGCO and disapproved of Governor Burns appointment of semi-illiterate chiefs to the LEGCO. The traditional chiefs didn't understand English and were mere stooges of the British colonialists. The Accra Evening news also called for "positive action" and published revolutionary slogans like "self-government now."

7. Mass political parties pressurized colonial masters to release political prisoners. It was the practice of colonial masters to arrest and imprison the African elites who they regarded as ring leaders of revolutionary actions eg governor Burns imprisoned J. B Danqueh and Kwame Nkrumah in 1948 following the 1948 demonstrations by cocoa farmers and ex-service men in Accra and Kumasi. The UGCC exerted pressure on colonial authorities and prisoners were released shortly after. The KANU also succeeded in convincing the British to release Kenyan political prisoners, chief among whom was Jomo Kenyatta in 1960.

8. Mass political parties participated in pre-independence elections. For instance KANU and KADU participated in the competitive democratic elections that prefaced Kenya's independence of December 1963. The UGCC and CPP also participated in two rounds of elections that prefaced Ghana's independence of May 1957.

9. These parties introduced violent methods of struggling for African freedoms. Having unsuccessfully applied peaceful methods, some African mass political parties decided to turn to violence to achieve independence. These included the ANC of South Africa, MPLA of Angola. FLN of Algeria and ZAPU of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). They entered into diplomatic relations with revolutionary Marxist regimes in Czechoslovakia, China, Cuba, USSR and Vietnam from which they obtained military trainers, weapons and other war logistics.

10. Mass political parties participated in drafting of pre-independence constitutions. For instance the UPC of Uganda and KANU of Kenya sent representatives to the Lancaster House in London where the pre-independence constitutions were drafted. It can therefore be argued that most pre- independence constitutions, especially in British colonial Africa, reflected the inputs of mass parties. Even Nkrumah's CPP made a great input in Ghana's independence constitution.

11. The parties appealed to the UNO for support. Realizing that some colonial masters intended to turn their African colonies into extensions of their European metropolitan states, the leaders of mass parties appealed to the UNO to intervene. For instance ANC, SWAPO, MPLA and others called upon the UNO and other international bodies to pressurize colonial masters to grant independence. Using diplomatic and economic sanctions the UNO weakened Portuguese colonial regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau etc.

12. Mass political parties appealed to the churches to join the anti-colonial struggles. They clearly stated that Jesus and Christianity were against colonialism. This made a number of principled African priests and pastors to preach against colonialism eg Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu in South Africa, Reverend Abel Muzorewa in Southern Rhodesia, Joshua Nkomo and so on. Mass parties made public appreciation of the roles played by such Churchmen and by the international World Council of Churches and the Vatican in advocating for Africa's independence.

13. Mass political parties introduced democratic principles of governance from grass root levels. This usually started with the democratic choice of branch leaders at lower levels up to mid-levels. When some parties became violent, they captured some territories, introduced democratic governance, educational and health reforms, communal work on farms, roads etc. This helped to preserve African cultural values.

THE ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

The mass media refers to the different channels of communication such as Radio and Television Stations, Newspapers and Magazines. During the anti-colonial struggles, African elites founded a number of radio stations, newspapers and other writings. These helped the to channel their nationalistic messages as follows:

1. The mass media exposed and publicized the colonial injustices in Africa. For example the "Abantu Batho" newspaper exposed the injustices of the apartheid regime in South Africa. It circulated photographs covering colonial brutality in South Africa which swayed world opinion against apartheid. For example it showed pictures of school children that were wounded by the South African Police in the 1976 Soweto demonstrations. These shocked the entire world.

2. The mass media called upon Africans to rise and fight for their political and economic rights. For example the "Accra evening news" of Gold Coast called upon the Asante and Fante people to reject the lowprices paid by colonial agencies to cocoa farmers.

3. The mass media exposed the benefits of independence. For instance Radio Cairo of Egypt informed Africans that independence leads to economic growth, democracy, high prices to farmers as was the case in India, Egypt, Ethiopia, etc.

'4. The mass media kept Africans informed about the progress of liberation movements in Africa e g. Radio Cairo's Arabic Service and the Free Voice of Algeria kept Algerians and other Africans informed about the progress of the FLN, ANC, PA1GC and so on. In most cases they exaggerated the African achievements in the liberation battles which demoralized the colonial armies.

5. The mass media popularized the Pan African ideas. It did this through explaining what Pan Africanism is, advertising Pan African Conferences and calling upon African leaders to embrace the Pan African Movement. For example, both Radio Cairo and Radio Accra publicized the April and December! 1958 Pan African Congresses in Accra and their aftermaths.

6. The mass media called for colonial reforms eg the "Accra evening news" criticized the 1946 constitution in Gold Coast /Ghana and called for better reforms.

7. The mass media called for African unity against colonial masters. It incessantly reminded the independent African states to render assistance to their African brothers still suffering in the bondage of colonialism.

8. The mass media called upon Africans to join the nationalistic political parties and liberation movements. This made the aggrieved ex-servicemen to join these parties in big numbers.

9. The mass media publicized international scholarships which African students applied for and became more enlightened.

10. It condemned the Italian aggression against Ethiopia, 1935 - 41. The West African Pilot did this very well and publicized the black man's efforts to return Emperor Haille Sellasie to his throne.

11. The mass media called upon the church to join the anti-colonial struggle eg Radios and newspapers in Addis Ababa asked the church to preach against Italian imperialism.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MASS LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE.

Mass liberation movements were the militant groups that were formed to fight for independence in various African countries. They were formed due to the failure of peaceful methods earlier on employed by the mass political parties. Unlike mass political parties, the mass liberation movements/parties applied force to obtain independence. They included the ANC of South Africa, FLN of Algeria, SWAPO and SWANU of Namibia, ZANU and ZAPU of S. Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, PAIGC of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, MPLA of Angola, FRELIMO of Mozambique, among others.

\* They applied peaceful means or methods of struggle. These were generally termed as Ghandism and included negotiations for reforms, organizing boycotts and sit down strikes. A case in point was the ANC which organized the 1952 defiance campaign as well as the potato and bus fare boycotts in South Africa. These were aimed at eliciting reforms in the colonial policies.

\* Mass liberation movements participated in Pan African congresses For example, ANC sent delegates to attend thel945 Manchester and 1958 Accra Congresses.

\* They adopted Marxist-Leninist beliefs/communist ideology which was anti colonial eg SWAPO of Namibia.

\* They recruited and trained youths and adult men to serve as guerilla fighters against colonial masters e.g. the PAIGC trained a number of Fula and Balante peasants in guerilla war tactics.

\* They criticized the colonial masters for their unfair policies e.g. the FLN criticized forced labour, high taxes and the brutality of the French police in Algeria. The PAIGC, MPLA and FRELIMO did the same in Portuguese colonies.

\* Mass liberation movements recruited and trained women to serve as spies, nurses and combatants eg the MPLA trained women who carried out effective spying on the Portuguese.

\* They applied surprise night attacks to weaken the colonial armies eg the MPLA launched its violent struggle by carrying out simultaneous surprise attacks in three separate districts.

\* They called for tribal unity against the colonial masters. For example the PAIGC convinced the Fula and Balante who were traditional enemies to unite against the oppressive Portuguese.

\* Liberation movements founded newspapers through which they articulated their anti colonial propaganda eg "Abantu Batho" newspaper became a mouth piece for the ANC in South Africa.

\* Mass liberation parties/movements solicited for financial and military assistance from the eastern block. For example the FRELIMO of Mozambique requested for military and financial help from Russia, China and Czechoslovakia.

\* Mass liberation movements appealed to the UNO to intervene on behalf of the oppressed and voiceless Africans eg the SWAPO sent Sam Nujuoma to petition the UN General Assembly to pressurize the South African white minority to move out of Namibia.

\* They appealed to the OAU for financial and military assistance. For example, the MPLA of Angola and ZANU of Southern Rhodesia sought for help from the OAU's liberation committee and received it.

\* Mass liberation movements established liberated zones in all conquered areas. They carried out grass root reforms such as free elementary education, communal cleaning, democratic elections and governance, free medical care and so on. These reforms in liberated zones attracted more people into the movement.

\* Mass liberation movements struggled to remove all sorts of parochialism. They invited the liberal whites, Asians, Arabs and muiattoes to unite with blacks against colonialism.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE 1944 BRAZZAVILLE CONFERENCE TO THE DECOLONIZATION OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Decolonization was a process of struggling for independence and getting rid of European imperialism. The 1944 Brazzaville Conference was a meeting of the key French colonial officials in Africa. It was called by the French leader Charles De Gaulle at a time when the 2nd World War was about to end. Its major aims were to find ways of addressing the growing nationalistic demands in French colonies, to discuss the rewards to give to the 2nd World War African servicemen and to address the American demand for democracy in French colonies. The resolutions of this conference had a positive impact on the growth of African nationalism.

\* The French colonial governors permitted Africans freedom to form political parties. This led to the formation of the "Resemblement Democratique Africaine" (RDA) by Felix. H. Boigny of Ivory Coast. The RDA opened branches throughout French West Africa which in turn mobilized and sensitized Africans about their rights.

\* The French delegates agreed to abolish racism in all French colonies. From then on, Africans attained full equality with indigenous French men in law courts.

\* It opened the political space for Africans. The French colonial officials agreed to increase the number of Africans in the French National Assembly/Parliament. This did not only elevate the status of Africans in the French colonies but also gave them chance to agitate for full independence.

\* All forms of oppression in French colonies were reversed. Africans were no longer to suffer arbitrary arrests, trials, torture and killings. This provided opportunity to nationalists in Morocco. Tunisia. Senegal and Ivory Coast to move to both rural and urban areas spreading nationalistic propaganda, without the fear of being arrested.

\* Local assemblies and committees were to be created in each African colony. Members to these had to be democratically elected. This gave Africans opportunity to participate in the political affairs of their countries. Within these assemblies and committees African elites discussing nationalistic ideas. These paved the way for the independence of Ivory Coast, Guinea Conakry, Congo Brazzaville and so on.

\* The French colonial governors resolved to release all political prisoners. This led to the release of journalists and nationalist activists in Chad, Mali and other French colonies. On their release, they continued with the struggle for independence.

\* The French introduced the principle of financial assistance to the colonies. This was the famous fund for investment and economic development (FIDES). In pursuit of this, funds and were injected in agriculture and infrastructure, hoping to cool African nationalists. However, the demand for reform grew even stronger. A case in point was Guinea Conakry where Sekou Toure stated that the economic development of Guinea Conakry was not enough. Political independence was the target.

\* It exposed Africans to liberal, democratic and socialist ideas. Africans who joined the French parliament/National Assembly, came into contact with French communists, democrats and liberals who supported their struggle for independence.

\* It paved way for the early independence of Morocco and Tunisia in 1956 and Guinea Conakry in 1958. These set the pace for the decolonization of the rest of French West and North Africa.

\* It contributed to the Algerian war of independence!954-1962. This was due to the failure of French colonial officials to make reforms in Algeria .Contrary to the resolutions of the 1944 Brazzaville Conference, the French colonialists insisted on turning Algeria into a white man's country. This was unacceptable and led to militant nationalistic outbursts that ended in Algeria's independence in 1962.

\* Charles de Gaulle upheld the resolutions of the Brazzaville Conference. He returned to power in France in 1958, and firmly demanded for the respect of the resolution of the 1944 Brazzaville Conference. This led to the independence of Guinea Conakry in 1958, Congo Brazzaville in 1958, Chad in 1960, Algeria in 1962, and Congo Leopoldville in 1960.

\* The Brazzaville Conference contributed to reforms in British colonies. When the French proposed reforms, panic swept through the British spinal cords. In that very year 1944, they appointed the 1st Kenyan on the LEGCO and did the same to Uganda in 1945. In West Africa, they issued the 1946 Burns and Richard's constitutions in Ghana and Nigeria respectively. All these British reforms precipitated the decolonization of British colonies.

URBANIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Urbanisation is the transformation of places into trading centres, towns and cities. Before and during colonial rule, a number of urban centres grew in Africa and included Kampala in Uganda, Lagos in Nigeria, Accra and Kumasi in Ghana, Cairo in Egypt, Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, Nairobi in Kenya, Johannesburg in South Africa, Luanda in Angola, Algiers in Algeria and others. Urban areas greatly contributed to the growth of African nationalism.

\* They were centres of widespread colonial oppression eg forced labour in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Soweto Township in South Africa. Such oppression ignited African nationalistic sentiments.

\* Urban centres nurtured African unity. This was due to the mixed nature of urban populations eg educated and uneducated in Accra, Christians, Moslems and traditionalists in Lagos, mixed tribes in Kampala and so on. Such unity in diversity bred African nationalism.

\* Urban areas were centres of ami colonial propaganda which was spread through the mass media eg the "Accra Evening News"' in Accra, "Uganda Eyogera" and "Uganda Augus" in Kampala, "Radio Cairo"' in Egypt and the "Free Voice of Algeria".

\* The unemployment in urban centres ignited African nationalism. Both manual labourers and elites suffered unemployment in Accra, Nairobi and so on. Those who received some form of work to do were greatly abused and exploited. All these aroused African nationalistic consciousness.

\* Africans in towns were well exposed to political party activities. For example the DP and UPC in Kampala, TANU in Dar es Salam, ANC in Soweto and NCNC in Lagos aroused African political consciousness

\* Urban populations suffered congestion in slum areas which reminded them about their land, already grabbed by white colons eg Nairobi and Soweto slums in Kenya and South Africa respectively.

\* Urbanised Africans frequently experienced demonstrations and harsh police activities such as beatings and shootings eg Algerians at Settif, Angolans in Luanda and Catete, Guinea Bissauans at Pinji Aniti, Mozambicans at Port Laurenco Marques and South Africans in Soweto and Sharpsville demonstrated and were snot by police. 1 iiis aroused militant nationalism.

\* Urban populations adopted urban guerillaism that greatly weakened the colonial masters. For example the FLN activities in Algiers and "Black Lions Movement" guerilla activities in Addis Ababa greatly weakened the French and Italians respectively.

\* Nationalists organised political rallies and public debates in urban areas. For example Kampala, Salisbury, Accra, Leopoldville and Dar-es-Salam.

\* Urban centres were living symbols of the white man's racism. For instance in Algiers of Algeria, Nairobi of Kenya, Windhoek in Namibia and Harare in Southern Rhodesia, white men segregated black populations, thereby lighting nationalistic fires in them.

\* Independent African churches were founded in urban areas. For example, the black messianic churches in South Africa and Kenya thrived most in urban areas. And, these independent churches were anti-colonial.

\* The 2nd world war ex-service men preferred to live in urban centres. Like other Africans, they lived a life of deprivation. They waited, in vain, for a fulfillment of the pre-war promises made to them by the colonial masters. This made them join the anti-colonial struggles and demanded for a fulfillment of their pre-war promises. They organized demonstrations to champion their cause eg the 1948 riots in Accra and Kumasi.

\* Pan African ideas spread faster in urban areas. These included Accra, Kampala, Nairobi and Addis Ababa. And as is known, Pan Africanism was strictly anti-colonial.

# CHAPTER TWO

THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR/CRISIS OF 1935-1941

On 3rd October 1935 Italian forces invaded Ethiopia in what came to be famously known as the Italo-Ethiopian War/Crisis. Emperor Haille Selassie fled by train to Djibouti on 2nd May 1936 and later boarded a British battle ship to London. on 5th May 1936, Addis Ababa (Ethiopia's Capital) fell to the Italians and 4 days later, Italy declared Ethiopia as a territory under the Kingship of victor Emmanuel of Italy. However, this didn't mark the end of the trouble because Ethiopian commanders resorted to guerrilla warfare until 1941 when a combined force of Africans under the command of Britain defeated and drove the Italians out of Ethiopia.

CAUSES/ORIGINS OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR.

1. The Italian desire to revenge against Ethiopia: In 1986 the Italians were defeated by the then strong, well-trained, organised and patriotic Ethiopian forces under Emperor Menelik II. They were militarily forced out of Ethiopia. This humiliated Italy and exposed her as a state without military might. From then on, Italy prepared a war of revenge to restore her international repute and punish Ethiopia for the 1896 defeat. Hence the crisis of 1935-1941.

2. The desire to renew Italian imperialism: In past years, the glory of Italy had engulfed parts of Europe, Asia, Middle East and North Africa. Italians had become famous after crating the Roman Empire sayings like "Rome was not built in a day” had cropped up. It was in the wake of reviving the Roman Empire that Benedicta Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935. I.e. to make Ethiopia a neo-Roman Empire.

3. Italy’s desire to display her military might to fellow European powers. Her military record had been devastated during the 1896 Adowa war and during the world war 1. Italy had entered the First World War hoping to restore her military image but put up a very poor performance below European standards. To recover from these humiliations, Italy invaded Ethiopia using her recently manufactured (modern) weapons. This was to prove to other European powers that she was still militarily strong.

4. Italy had entered the colonial field very late and had obtained a very small share of the African continent while her counterparts especially Britain and France had obtained a lion's share. Even the small share she had obtained was largely desert or semi-arid land e.g. Libya, Eritrea and Somalia land. Hence in a bid to seek for colonial justice in Africa, Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935.

5. The unfairness of the 1919 Versailles treaty: After the 1st World War the victorious powers shared out the colonies of defeated Germany. Italy got nothing of the shared Germany colonies and decided to reward herself by taking over Ethiopia in 1935

6. The rise of Benedicta Mussolini and his fascist party to power in Italy in 1922 also explains the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia. Fascism emphasised the legitimacy of stronger states to take over and rule smaller states of the world. Mussolini was a child of fascism and his vision was to conquer and dominate other races- beginning with Ethiopia, which he hated due to historical reasons. With all his strength and imperialistic ambitions, he invaded Ethiopia in 1935.

7. Italy's desire to civilise Ethiopia: She claimed that her attack on Ethiopia was aimed at spreading Christianity, ending the primitive feudalism in Ethiopia, ending slave trade, spreading European progress and democracy in Africa.

8. Expected help from the axis powers the axis pact/alliance between Mussolini of Italy, Hitler of Germany and Hirohito of Japan assured Mussolini of support. The axis powers had agreed to subdue the entire world for themselves to rule. Also to help each other in case of a serious war against an axis member, Hence Mussolini of Italy invaded Ethiopia with expectation of full support from Germany should the war grow tougher.

9. Economic considerations made Italy to invade Ethiopia in 1935. Firstly, the Ethiopian highlands were fertile and conducive for the white man's settlement and agriculture. Secondly Italy had been adversely affected by the 1929-32 world depression, which brought about unemployment, scarcity inflation and raising of taxes. Mussolini hoped to solve these problems and restore his personal popularity by colonising Ethiopia.

10. the Desire to control the ports of Massawa and Asaab: Since time immemorial, these ports had played a leading role in the profitable trade between Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Unfortunately, though Italian businessmen in Eritrea made use of these ports, they weren’t fully in their hands. British traders were in control of these Ports. Again Italians had been annoyed by Haille Sellasie's employment of British and French technical and economic experts and not theirs.

11. The failure to drive the Italians out of Eritrea also led to the crisis. After the 1896 Adowa victory, the Italians took refuge in Eritrea, which was by then a province of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian army and leaders made a blunder of not pursuing these Italians, a thing that proved hazardous in the future. While in Eritrea, Italians regrouped themselves, got allies against the Ethiopian Emperor, and started spying on Ethiopia's military status and learnt about the divisionism in Ethiopia. All these enabled Italy to attack Ethiopia in 1935.

12. The Italian fear that Ethiopia intended to expel Italians out of Eritrea and Somali land contributed to its invasion in 1935. When emperor Sellasie attained the throne, he started importing modern arms from Europe, which created panic in Italian Somali land, and Eritrea that Ethiopia was planning an assault on Italian nationals in those African countries. They appealed to their mother country for protection and hence the 1935 invasion.

13. The desire to create a United Italian East African Empire led to the invasion of Ethiopia. This empire was to comprise of Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. To effect this, Italy hoped to begin by constructing a railway line from Eritrea via Ethiopia to Somalia. As can be expected, Emperor Sellasie opposed the proposed railway line and this had to be effected through force. Hence Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935 claiming that she had become an obstacle to Italian interests and ambitions in East Africa.

14. The divisions prevailing in Ethiopia encouraged the Italians to invade Ethiopia. The unity, which had characterised Ethiopia at the time of the 1896 Adowa war, had vanished. Emperor Sellasie's had become dictatorial, Un progressive tribalistic and divisive. As General De Bonon (Mussolini's military spy) reported in 1933, “Ethiopia was so divided and would be easy to disintegrate”. This encouraged Mussolini to invade Ethiopia in October 1935 since He was assured of finding a divided Ethiopia

15. The Anglo-French conspiracy against Ethiopia also led to the invasion. The British and French were aware that Italy was re-arming but didn't want her to test her poisonous weapons on European soil. Moreover they feared that if they intervened in the Ethiopia question Italy might join with Germany and disrupt world peace. Consequently at Strassa in April 1935, the Prime Ministers of Britain and France-Macdonald and Flandin respectively, met Mussolini and assured him of their neutrality in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. This appeasement policy of Britain and France led to Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia.

16. The example of Japanese imperialism in china in 1931 and 1933 catalysed Italy's plans to invade Ethiopia. In September 1931 Japan attacked China and occupied Manchuria province. In 1933, she proceeded into Johel province. The Chinese government appealed to the League of Nations for help but no such help was offered. This convinced Mussolini that ever! Ethiopia (a member of the LONs) would not receive support since China (another member) had received none. Hence the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia.

17. The unfair arms-embargo imposed by Britain and France. In the early years of the 1930s, it became clear that relations between Ethiopia and Italy were diminishing. Italy started stockpiling arms and amassing troops in Eritrea and Somali land. Haille Sellasie decided to take precautions by sending for modern arms from Europe. However France and Britain placed an arms embargo on both Italy and Ethiopia. Ethiopia was completely cut off from the arms supply yet Italy was manufacturing her own. In effect therefore, the embargo applied only to Ethiopia, a factor that made Italy invade her well knowing her military standard.

18. The weakness of the League of Nations provided Mussolini with a blank cheque to invade Ethiopia. The LONs had no serious rules regulating it. For instance a member country was free to join and leave the organisation. Italy and Germany exploited this weakness and left the organisation and at the time of invasion, Italy was no longer a member. The league also failed to provide protection to Ethiopia a member country during her 7 months struggle (October 1935-May 1936). Again when the war started, the LONs imposed halfhearted sanctions against Italy since she was allowed to continue trading in oil and coal.

19. The unfairness of the Hoare -Laval pact of December 1935 led to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Sir Samuel Hoare (the British foreign Secretary) and Pierre Laval (the French foreign minister) met after the war had started and tried to come up with a lasting solution. Unfortunately they openly exposed their conspiracy against Ethiopia when they proposed that Ethiopia be divided into two parts - The Northern part for Italy and the South for Emperor Haille Sellasie. The Emperor rejected the proposal while Italy went ahead to occupy her part this made the war to escalate.

20. - The isolationist policy of USA led to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. USA was a leading military state, which was capable of providing good administration and policies to the League of Nations. Unfortunately she never even raised an accusing finger to Japanese imperialism in China nor Italian imperialism in Ethiopia.

21. The Wal-wal incident of 1934 was the immediate cause of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. At Wal-wal, there existed an Ethiopian force but since this territory lay along the Ethiopian boarder near Somalia, the local Ethiopian commander interpreted this as an attempt to colonise part of Ethiopia. He opened fire on Italians who were apparently grazing their animals and killed some. A crisis ensued and Italy demanded a written apology from Emperor Haille Sellasie as well as a heavy war indemnity of 20,000 dollars. Sellasie wasn't the type of man to yield to Italian pressure. He appealed to the League of Nations for arbitration but in vain. War was inevitable.

22. Italy invaded ethiopia out of envy. It is true that Ethiopia had survived the 19th Century "European colonialism” and that Africans regarded Ethiopia as a pride of Africa. Again Ethiopia had become a member of the League of Nations and Emperor Haille Sellasie was becoming an international figure. In Ethiopia, the Emperor was known as the Lion of Judah due to his valour. All these combined to make Britain and Italy jealous of Ethiopia and hence the Italo-Ethiopian crisis.

23. The upsurge of African nationalism all over Africa and in the Diaspora also explains the crisis. When Italy attacked Ethiopia, the entire black world reacted in disapproval and started mobilising funds, weapons and men to help defend Ethiopia. This support made the Ethiopian war Lords to continue with guerrilla warfare against the Italians.

24. Mussolini had full support from the Italian public opinion. In his address to the Italians, he convinced them that he was leading. Italy to a land of treasure. Also that God had given Italy a divine duty of ruling Ethiopia. This made Mussolini attack Ethiopia.

25. Mussolini wanted to divert the attention of Italians from his failures at home. His domestic policy had started producing diminishing returns. His officials had become corrupt and arrogant and he intended to cover up all this plus unemployment by taking over Ethiopia.

FACTORS TO EXPLAIN THE DEFEAT OF ETHIOPIA

1. Poor military strategy: Instead of fighting a guerrilla war as their Emperor had advised, the Rases preferred frontal attacks and were killed in big numbers, for instance, The minister of war Ras Mulugeta and general Betwoded Makonnen were killed early due to poor fighting tactics. They despised guerrilla warfare and called it a war of bandits. This led to their defeat.

2. Lack of co-ordination: Each Ethiopian Ras (commander) mobilised people in his locality and fought separately from others. There was no central command and no concerted efforts against a common enemy. This ultimately led to defeat.

3. In adequate weapons which couldn't help her win a modern war. Out of the eleven aeroplanes in Ethiopia, one belonged to the Red Cross Society, three had mechanicle faults and the remaining seven were too slow and unarmed. (They were not fighter planes). Most of the guns Ethiopia had couldn't fire a single bullet due to lack of repairs. It had only 13 anti-air craft guns. With such, the story couldn't be a successful one. On the other hand Italy had up-to-date weapons such as jet fighters, which would take aerial photographs and bomb Ethiopian bases with accuracy. In addition, they had artilleries, poisonous gas and machine guns. But majorly it was the supremacy of the Italian air force that pre-empted the Ethiopian forces.

4. The unfair Anglo-French arms embargo. Emperor Haille Sellasie had tried- though belatedly, to import up to date arms from Britain and France. However due to their appeasement policy to Italy, they prevented Ethiopia from obtaining access to these guns while they allowed Italy to manufacture her own. Moreover Britain secretly allowed Italy to channel arms via Egypt. The embargo was therefore an obstacle that led to the defeat of Ethiopia.

5. Lack of training. Ever since the period of Menelick II of Ethiopia (died in 1913) the Ethiopian army had not changed. Emperor Haille Sellasie had not bothered to modernise and train the army. When the Italians attacked on 3rd October 1935, there was a rush by the Italian commanders (Rases) to recruit peasants. Without any serious training the 250,000 peasants were sent to the front line where they died in big numbers.

6. There was disunity in Ethiopia at that time. Emperor Sellasie had become too tribalistic and nepotistic. He favoured his Amharic tribesmates and nobles and this, made the non-Amharic tribes to welcome and collaborate with the Italian forces. So, the unity of 1896 under Menelik II had given way to disunity and a house divided against itself can't win a war.

7. Ethiopia was economically weak and couldn't win a war, Haille Sellasie had not yet started developing the economy when the war broke out. People were generally poor and unemployed with neither industries nor trade unions. At the time of war Ethiopia was bankrupt. Such an economically impoverished state could not win a war.

8. Emperor Seilasie's dictatorship characterised by great favours for nobles, lack of parliamentary democracy, absence of multiparty politics, abolition of trade unions and harsh rule towards the Galla and Somali led to irreconcilable differences within Ethiopia. No wonder why most non-Amhara Rases for example, Sellasie Gugsa of Tigre accepted Italian bribes against Haille Sellasie.

9. The flight of Emperor Haille Sellasie to England on 2nd May 1936 demoralised his forces. Some Ethiopians interpreted this as lack of patriotism and a betrayal of Ethiopia military tradition. To the Italians, this power vacuum enabled them spread war propaganda and hence their victory. The fleeing of the Emperor brought psychological defeat to most Ethiopian soldiers.

10. The delay of support from African states led to Ethiopian defeat. Most African states at that time were still under British or French colonial rule and yet the two supported the Italian attack on Ethiopia.

11. The Ethiopian army lived in fortified barracks and had made no efforts to socialise with peasants. When war broke out many peasants in Ethiopia looked un-interested.

12. The Italian techniques of divide and conquer and later divide and rule led them to victory. They capitalised on the divisions within Ethiopia and supplied Haille Seilasie's enemies with bribes. Hence in the North, a Tigrean noble Haille Sellasie Gugsa was bribed, in Gojjam province was also bribed, similar bribes were made amongst the Galla chiefs and Somalis.

13. The over whelming support at home enabled Mussolini to succeed. Using his gift of eloquence, Mussolini convinced Italians that his military expedition was to bring economic advantages to Italy.

14. Mussolini's careful planning enabled him win the war. He had taken over ten years preparing for this war. Since 1922, he had started re-arming Italy and manufacturing up to date bombs, artilleries, poisonous gases, etc. And when it came to actual combat, again his commanders were careful not to concede another military loss in Ethiopia.

15. Support from Eritrea and Somalia: Mussolini had a large, strong, well-trained and equipped army. His force comprised of about 120,000 Italians and was supported by about 100,000 African troops from Eritrea and Somalia.

The weakness of the League of Nations led to the defeat of Ethiopia as follows

(a) When the war broke out, it imposed sanctions on Italy but these excluded the trade in oil and coal, since this were very essential for Italy's war efforts, the sanctions were as good as useless.

(b) The LONs failed to stop Italy from stockpiling arms in Eritrea and Somalia. This enabled her to defeat Ethiopia.

(c) The League of Nations didn't have a standby army to check the Italian aggression against Ethiopia.

(d) The League of Nations lacked proper funding and a permanent Headquarter from where to conduct its affairs.

(e) The League of Nations lacked clear principles e.g. it allowed free entry and exit of member states. Hence slightly before crisis, Italy left the organisation.

(f) League members allowed arms to flow to the Italians via the Suez Canal. Hence they were hypocritical.

(g) The most powerful league members, namely Britain and France proposed the partition of Ethiopia as a solution. This was very unfair and showed the conspiracy of the whites against the blacks.

(h) USA, which had proposed the formation of the league, isolated itself completely from its affairs.

(i) Britain and France were comfortable with appeasing Italy so as to keep European peace rather than protecting weak member states. They didn't want Italy to test her weapons on European soils and indirectly encouraged her to do so in Ethiopia.

THE IMPACT OF THE CRISIS ON ETHIOPIA

The impact of this crisis to Ethiopia is as explained below;

1. Ethiopia was defeated and the independence she had enjoyed for over 2000 years was shattered for a period of 6 years. She was ruled by Italy until 1941.

2. There were rampant deaths and destruction of property. Most war victims were the Ethiopians who died of poisonous gas, heavy gunfire and aerial bombing of Italian jet fighters. Thousands of soldiers who surrendered were mercilessly executed. In 1937 Marshal Graziani (an Italian), was wounded in a public crowd and this led to the killing of between 10,000 Ethiopians.

3. It led to the refugee problem in the horn of Africa and neighbouring countries such as Sudan and Kenya.

4. Italy introduced oppressive and exploitative policies in Ethiopia. These included forced labour on public buildings, roads, and high taxes. In turn this deprived the Ethiopians of their freedoms and led to nationalistic feelings.

5. It led to the looting of Ethiopian treasures especially the beautiful pieces of art e.g. royal swords and the statue of the "Lion of Judah". This greatly undermined the Ethiopian culture.

6. It led to political crisis in the horn of Africa by recruiting Somalis, Gallas and Eritreans into the Italian army, the Italians contributed to the current political instabilities (Crisis) in the horn of Africa.

7. Emperor Haille Sellasie fled into exile where he campaigned widely against Italian imperialism. He also called for support from all Africans in the Diaspora. The flight of the emperor to London has been criticised as an act of cowardice. This is because Haille Sellasie was the first Ethiopian Emperor to abandon his people during a time of crisis.

The flight of the emperor to London helped to publicise the Italo-Ethiopian crisis to the international community.

8. It revealed the divisionism in Ethiopia at that time. This was because various Rasses accepted bribes against their Emperor. In the north, Ras Sellasie Gugsa was bribed by Italians and this deprived Emperor Sellasie of the northern support. Also among the Galla chiefs, there were numerous deserters to the Italian side.

9. The territorial integrity of Ethiopia was tampered with as manifested by the re-drawing of the map of Ethiopia. Four new provinces were created namely, Amhara, Galla-Sidamo, Harar and Shoa. This was on Ethnic lines and not only led to the growth of parochialism (tribal nationalism) but has also contributed to the current political instabilities in the horn of Africa.

10. Emperor Haille Sellasie became very popular throughout the black world. Upon his arrival in London the emerging young African nationalists who were still studying abroad gave him a sympathetic welcome. Among them were Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah and this expressed the moral unity of Africans.

11. Formation of Black Lions movement: this was a new guerrilla movement mainly comprising of well-organised graduates under the leadership of Ras Imru. It was an expression of Ethiopian patriotism and nationalism. It was multi ethnic, called for unity and led to the formation of the committee of Union in 1937. This was to unite all guerrilla groups.

12. The Ethiopian Church became a vanguard of Ethiopian nationalism. It condemned the Italian brutality and commented that it was incompatible with the Christian faith. The Church helped to store and supply guns and ammunition to guerrilla fighters. This led to the execution of 350 monks (Priests) at Debra Libanon Monastry where arms were discovered hidden. In 1938, Bishop Petros was executed in Addis Ababa square.

13. Ethiopian nationalism extended to Italy itself when Zerai Derees, a young Ethiopian nationalist publically murdered 5 (five) fascist officials using a royal sword. It was in 1937 during a public ceremony to mark the first anniversary of capturing Addis Ababa. Zerai had been sent to present the royal trophies and swords to Mussolini but was overcome with nationalistic feelings when he caught sight of the statue of the "Lion of Judah" that Italians had looted.

14. Ethiopia gained international recognition when she was invited to be among the founder members of the UNO. This was mainly due to Haille Sellasie's speech in which he condemned the indifference of big powers towards the problems of small states of the world.

15. Italy embarked on economic developments in Ethiopia after colonising her. About 2000 miles of roads were constructed in addition to schools, hospitals and towns.

16. The war revealed Ethiopian's military weakness and made Haille Sellasie to reform the army when he returned to power from exile.

17. The crisis led to the formation of the committee of Union in 1937. This was aimed at uniting all the guerrilla fighters in Ethiopia. Hence the crisis highlighted the mistake of divisions within the Ethiopian army and the need for unity and cooperation against a common enemy.

18. It led to the spread of the Rastafarian movement especially in West Indies. This movement took its name from Emperor Sellasie's original name "Ras Tafari".

19. It led to wide spread protests in West Africa, America and England the entire “black world” condemned Mussolini’s act and mobilised funds to assist emperor Sellasie.

20. It revealed the inconsistency of League of Nations and become a key factor for its collapse. It was instead replaced with the United Nations Organisation (UNO), which became more committed to world peace and justice.

21. Mussolini's victory inspired Hitler of Germany to embark on the programme of expanding his influence over weaker states in Europe. Hence in 1939, He occupied Poland and this sparked off the 1st World War which was to play a great role in the decolonisation.

THE IMPACT OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS ON AFRICAN NATIONALISM

1. It created racial awareness amongst African nationalists. They looked at the Italian attack on Ethiopia as a well-planned conspiracy of the white men against the blacks. This was due to the support that Britain and France extended to Italy e.g. Despite the arms embargo, Britain supplied Italy with arms via the Suez Canal. This made Africans conclude that whites by nature hated the black skinned people, something that fermented nationalistic feelings.

2. It created a strong bond of unity between Africans within Africa and those in the Diaspora. All along, Ethiopia was looked at as the black man's pride and a fountain of the black man's civilisation. The attack on Ethiopia therefore was regarded as an attack on the only remaining black man's achievement in the world. Hence in West Indies, the black Negroes formed the Rastafari movement to protest the attack and show solidarity with Emperor Haille Sellasie (whose real name before coronation was Ras Tafari).

3. It shaped Nkrumah's nationalism: Nkrumah, who had already been exposed to the white man's discrimination, was profoundly shocked when he received information concerning the Italian attack on Ethiopia. He felt as if the whole of London had declared war on him. It was this Italo-Ethiopian crisis among other things, which shaped the life and character of Kwame Nkrumah. He started mobilising funds from blacks in the Diaspora to help Ethiopia and in future he continued sending help to other African countries.

4. It raised Kenyatta's nationalism: The great Kenyan nationalist wrote an article for the Labour Monthly newspaper. The article, entitled "Hands off Abyssinia" criticised European colonialism not only in Ethiopia but also in other parts of Africa. His article stimulated nationalistic feelings amongst the African elites. Jomo Kenyatta also attended the June 1936 Trafalgar square gathering and personally condemned the Hoare-Laval pact. Jomo Kenyatta went ahead to show solidarity with Ethiopia when he vowed never to shave off his beard until Italy had quit Ethiopia.

5. It led to the growth of militant nationalism in Africa: All along African elites had been bargaining for independence using round table talks, persuasive methods, writing articles in the papers and preaching against colonialism in Churches. When Italy attacked Ethiopia, nationalists realised that colonialism was not a spent force. It was a strong force that needed new militant methods to overcome it.

6. It led to guerrilla activities In Africa: The formation and activities of the "black Lions" guerrilla movement inspired African nationalists to form similar movements so as to obtain independence. The success of the 'black Lions' guerrillas demonstrated that the independence of African countries would not be achieved on a silver plate. They learnt that blood had to be shed before political freedoms would be granted. This influenced the guerrilla activities in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Algeria.

7. A lesson of dealing with oppressors: On taking over Addis Ababa, Italians introduced one of the worst forms of forced labour and oppression in Ethiopia. Natives couldn't allow this to go on and therefore joined the guerrilla units. This inspired the other Africans suffering from forced labour to rebel against colonial masters e.g. the Algerians, Mau Mau fighters in Kenya etc.

8. It influenced churches to join nationalistic struggles: The Ethiopian clergy such as Bishops and Priest condemned the Italian invasion on Ethiopia. They used the Church platform to criticise the brutality of the Italians. They emphasised that Christianity was against the use of violence and termed Italians as hypocrites. They called upon the masses to join the armed struggle, raised funds for the "black Lions" and even channelled guns and ammunitions via Churches. This involvement of the Church in the independence struggles was later adopted by Africans e.g. in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Congo.

9. It was a forerunner to the 2nd World War: Mussolini's aggression against Ethiopia encouraged Hitler to attack Poland in 1939. This sparked off the 2nd world War in which Hitler and Mussolini joined against the allied powers. In this War, Africans were recruited to fight on the side of their colonial masters and after the war, they demanded for the independence of African countries.

10. It led to the formation of the UNO. The Italo-Ethiopia crisis revealed the weakness of the League of Nations and marked its end. In its place, the United Nations Organisation was formed and it played a leading role in decolonisation of African countries.

11. It catalysed the development of pan-Africanism. Haille Sellasie himself became a great apostle of Pan Africanism and together with other African nationalists, advocated for the unity of Africa. Nkrumah's idea of a united Africa was greatly shaped by the Italo Ethiopian crisis For fear of another kind of fascist attack on Africa, nationalists formed the Organisation of African Unity to protect Africa's Sovereignty.

12. It led to the growth of the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica with great emphasis on the black man's God, black man's achievements and condemnation of colonial rule. Marcus Garvey's stories about Ethiopia's greatness helped the Rastafarian movement to take root. Again West Indian Pan-Africanists like George Padmore from Trinidad felt touched and worked closely with Jomo Kenyatta and Dr. Danquah of Ghana to organise the international African friends of Ethiopia (IAFE).

13. In Nigeria, nationalists organised a big meeting in Lagos and passed a resolution calling upon Britain to pressurise Italy to leave Ethiopia. They also formed both the Abyssinian Association and later the Abyssinian defence fund, a number of Nigerians volunteered to go and fight for Ethiopia. In addition, Nigerians boycotted all Italian businesses in their country etc. This showed the moral unity of Africans and promoted nationalistic feelings all over Africa.

14. In Siera Leone, Wallace Johnson and Namdi Azikiwe wrote a joint article "Has an African a God?" This article questioned the violent ways of spreading Christianity 'in Africa and wondered whether the Christian God minded about Africans. This helped to raise nationalistic feeling in Africa. Leopold Senghor of Senegal wrote poems and articles criticising Italian brutality in Ethiopia.

15. It contributed to pan Africanism: it led to wide spread demonstrations and protests throughout the black world. In New York City alone, about 20,000 black Negroes and some few white sympathisers demonstrated against Italy. This helped to fuel nationalistic feelings. In London in June 1936, Africans demonstrated in support of Haille Sellasie. It is clear therefore that the Italo Ethiopia crisis led to the strengthening of the Pan African Movement.

16. It strengthened the WASU: In America, the West African students Union (WASU) became more solidified as a mouthpiece of oppressed Africans. African students poured to the streets of London with placards condemning colonial rule in general and the Italian action in particular. This helped to alert the colonial powers that the days for colonial rule in Africa were numbered. Colonialists learnt that African elites were a force to reckon with. That they had not been brain washed as the colonial intention was, but rather had been sharpened.

17. On his arrival at Waterloo, Haille Sellasie was given a thundering welcome by emerging nationalists like Makonnen and Kwame Nkrumah. As far J. Kenyatta he managed to push through the crowd and embraced the Emperor as a sign of African Unity.

18. It led to African unity: Ethiopians were defeated due to tribal divisions. This defeat acted as a warning to African nationalists that disunity could lead to no good. Hence it contributed to united struggles amongst Africans against the white man.

The career of EMPEROR HAILLE SELLASSIE (1930-1974)

He was born on 23rd July 1892 and was named Tafari Dejumatch. He was educated by French missionaries who praised his intelligence and practicability qualities that made him climb the leadership ladder. He first served as a governor (Ras) of Sidamo province, then later Gali Huleta and Harar provinces. In 1930, he was crowned as a full Emperor of Ethiopia in a great religious ceremony at St George's cathedral in Addis- Ababa. He took up the name Haille Selassie "Mighty of the trinity" and was crowned as the leader of the Rastafari movement.

HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

1. He improved education at all levels. He did this by setting up a number of primary and secondary schools for instance, Rastafari Makonnen School, Haille Selassie I S.S., Order Wingate S.S. etc. He also set up Addis-Ababa University College in 1951 which later became Haille Selassie University, encouraged technical and agricultural subjects which were relevant to Ethiopia's needs at the time. He awarded scholarships to Ethiopian students to study in European and Arab countries etc.

2. He established the Ethiopian airline. This helped him to enter into effective communication with the outside world. It also helped in transporting nationalists all over Africa. To ensure its survival and good management, Sellasie opened up a civil aviation school in 1971, which trained pilots and aeronautic engineers. The Ethiopian airline exists to date and is one of the most efficient in Africa.

3. He abolished slavery. He found slavery and slave trade still in existence in Ethiopia and put up a decree (law) against it. Anyone caught with slaves was immediately sentenced to death. This helped to curb the evil of slavery. By 1934, about 4000 slaves had been freed.

4. He improved health standards in Ethiopia. A number of hospitals and dispensaries were opened up. He encouraged immunization against killer diseases, research into local herbs and the teaching of medicine in universities. He gave scholarships to medical students to improve on their medical knowledge, imported useful drugs and encouraged hygiene and efficiency in hospitals. He used to visit hospitals to check on the standards there.

5. He improved infrastructural standards. On his return from exile where he had been highly impressed, Haille Sellassie embarked on improving roads and railways. In turn this facilitated economic activities and the effective movement of administrators within the country.

6. He modernized the army and police. This was to ensure security of Ethiopians against external and internal aggression. He attributed the 1936 Italian victory over Ethiopia to lack of military training and modern weapons. On return from exile, he set up a military academy at Halata ad got instructors from France, Belgium, Sweden and Egypt. He also professionalized the police to ensure law and order. He set up a police academy in Addis-Ababa, imported modern weapons, Sent his men for advanced cadre courses in Britain and called for discipline in the army. NB. Even before the Italo Ethiopia war he had started modernizing the army and hence explaining Ethiopia's victory over Italy in 1941.

7. He introduced a modern civil service. While in exile, he was impressed by the European system of administration and on his return, applied it at home. He created a number of ministries such as education, foreign affairs, health and finance. Since most Ethiopians lacked administrative skills, Selassie employed foreign experts and adviser to head some ministries and to groom his local manpower, e.g. He had a Swiss legal adviser to his minister of internal affairs. By employing such foreign experts, he improved Ethiopia's relationship with the outside world and enabled his ministers to obtain skills.

8. He introduced constitutional rule in Ethiopia. First was the 1931 constitution which established two chambers- the Senate and the lower chamber of deputies. Senate members were to be appointed by the emperor himself while those of the lower chamber were to be chosen by Senators (who were in most cases provincial Rases or governors). In 1955, he amended the constitution which had given him too much powers to appoint, transfer or even dismiss ministers, mayors etc. According to the new constitution, all adults had power to vote for the members of the lower chamber of deputies. The lower chamber was given powers of approving the budgets made by the Senate, powers to propose bills and constitutional amendments etc. NB. Sellassie is credited for having transformed Ethiopia from a despotic to a constitutional monarchy.

9. He broadened relations with outside countries. For instance he befriended USA, allowed them to construct Kagnew air base in Asmara and obtained economic aid from her. But at the same time, he improved relations with the Soviet union, visited Moscow and did a correspondence course leading to the award of LLB (Bachelor of Laws) from the university of Moscow. He obtained economic aid from USSR as well. Hence he understood and practiced non-alignment.

10. He improved games and sports in Ethiopia. He wanted his modernised Ethiopia to move at the pace of advanced countries. Hence he created a ministry of Sports and Games and provided funds for developing football, net ball, athletics, Javelin and others. He participated in world Olympic games. Hence introducing Ethiopia to the outside world. He himself was a good footballer.

11. He struggled for Ethiopia's independence. Firstly he negotiated for the admission of Ethiopia into the League of Nations and achieved it in 1923. At a time when Italy invaded Ethiopia, he internationally condemned the League of Nations for conspiracy against a sovereign state- Ethiopia, moreover a member of the LONs. And after the 2nd world war he entered Ethiopia into international diplomacy by making her a respected founder member of the UNO

12. He improved trade ties with other countries. As a result of his diversified economy, Ethiopia's coffee, hides and skins exports increased. This enabled the country to earn foreign exchange for sustainable development.

13. He was a great nationalist and pan Africanist. He condemned European colonialism in Africa especially in white dominated countries like Zimbabwe and South Africa. His great pan Africanist outlook made him support reconciliation between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups and to support the formation of the OAU. His leading role in African Unity made Addis-Ababa to be chosen as the headquarters of the OAU secretariat and for the economic commission for Africa.

14. He under took a cultural revival. This was characterised by calling for descent dressing, unity, respect of local languages, putting the Ethiopian Church under local Ethiopian clergy. Ethiopia's culture was closely interwoven with Christian principles/teachings. Therefore by declaring Christianity as a state religion Selassie was defending Ethiopia's culture.

15. There was some limited freedom of the press and expression.

16. He opened up a Red Cross branch in Ethiopia in 1935. This showed his humanitarianism and readiness to move with modern ideas of European standards.

17. He issued his first 5-year development plan in 1957. His programmes were carefully planned, not haphazard.

THE 1974 COUP/REVOLUTION IN ETHIOPIA (A Study of Haille Selassie's failures)

Despite the great reforms he championed in Ethiopia, Emperor Sellassie had shortcomings that ended up in a bloody coup de tat of 12th Sept, 1974. Even earlier in 1960, there had been an unsuccessful coup attempt by young elites when the Emperor was on a state visit to Brazil. In February 1974, there occurred army mutinies by which the junior officers of peasant origin (Non-commissioned officers) removed the senior officers from office. This was followed by widespread demonstrations organised by taxi drivers, urban workers, university students and rural peasants. Then on 12th September 1974, Emperor Sellassie was ousted from power and imprisoned.

CAUSES OF THE 1974 ETHIOPIAN COUP

1. Ethiopians were tired of feudalism. For centuries, Ethiopia was under monarchical rulers. By 1974, this was out of fashion and a sign of backwardness. The monarchy's land tenure system (land policy) was unfair. Most of the land especially in the South belonged to the privileged, nobles the Church and aristocrats. They imposed high rents and heavy labour on their tenants, (the peasants). No wonder why the peasants welcomed the coup.

2. Ethnic factors led to the coup. Emperor Sellassie practiced open tribalism whereby the Amharic tribe, to which he belonged, was highly favoured at the expense of other tribes. The Amhara had large pieces of land which they were not using (absentee land lords) and occupied most key posts in government. This annoyed members of other tribes especially the Galla, the Somali of Ogaden province and the Tigray speaking peoples of Eritrea province. They were also unhappy with the Emperor's Amharisation policy in which he encouraged intermarriages with the Amhara and promotion of Amharic culture- especially language.

3. Religious grievances also contributed to the coup. The Emperor declared, Christianity as the official religion of the Ethiopian state. Christians, who were mostly Amharas, were greatly favoured in all government departments. They were even sent to rule over Muslim dominated areas like Ogaden and Eritrea. This caused tension because Christian practises like taking wine and pork were inconsistent with Moslim faith. To make matters worse, Christian Amharas became rude, arrogant and oppressive to their Moslem tenants and during tax collection.

4. The influence of the educated Ethiopians led to the coup. The students whom the Emperor sponsored to study from abroad witnessed democratic governance in European countries. On their return, they expressed dissatisfaction with the Emperor's dictatorship and criticised the toothless parliament. They also condemned the misappropriation of public funds, demanded for radical changes and planned the 1960 coup to effect this. Interestingly the abortive 1960 coup was planned by Amhara elites (the emperor's tribesmates). It was a pointer that things were moving on rottenly.

5. The Emperor's harsh reaction to students' demonstrations led to the coup. In 1960 and 1971, students of Haille Sellassie University demonstrated against the deteriorating standards of living in the country. Instead of listening to them and addressing the critical issues they raised, Emperor Selassie sent his police which clashed with students arresting, killing and injuring some. This ruined the Emperor's prestige and turned the entire population (students and their parents) against him.

6. Economic hardships also led to the coup. The economy was stagnant and was characterised by sky rocketing inflation unemployment and grinding poverty. Even those with jobs received very miserable wages/salaries. On being sentenced to death, Mengistu Neway, one of the coup plotters of 1960 had this to say "Ethiopia has been standing still while our African brothers are moving ahead in the struggle to overcome poverty..." It was necessary to do something to improve the standard of living, not only of the soldiers, but of the whole population. “That was my aim".

7. The desire to end rampant corruption led to the coup. From top to bottom, Amharic officials were corrupt and worked for self instead of public interest. A case in point was the head of sate himself (Emperor Selassie). He misappropriated a lot of dollars and banked it in foreign banks instead of using the money to set up income/employment generating projects at home. By the time of the coup, he had more kilogrammes of Gold in the Swiss bank than even some European rulers.

8. The 1972-74 famine contributed to the coup. It claimed about 200,000 lives of peasants living in Wollo Tigre, Shoa and Gondar provinces. What annoyed Ethiopians was that the emperor had been fore warned about the impending famine but took no steps to stock food in view of the crisis. Worse than this, he tried to hide the problem from the international community whose food relief he rejected. He claimed it wasn't a serious problem, probably to avoid shame. Worst of all, he dealt mercilessly with any Ethiopian who talked about the famine. The coup was inevitable.

9. Discontent in the army. The peasant officers in the army were tired of fighting endless wars yet the rewards went to the senior army officers. Their pay was very low and housing very poor. Besides, the young elite soldiers accused the emperor of failure to modernise and equip the army-leading to the 1936 Italian victory. Failure to resolve the soldiers' grievances led to the 1960 abortive coup and the 1974 successful coup against Sellassie.

10. Greed for power also explains the coup. A number of young military generals of peasant origin were very ambitious and greedy for power. They grew impatient with Sellassie's gradual modernisation process and wanted sharp changes overnight. These included Mengistu Mariam, Aman Andom and Tafari Bante. After the coup, they refused to return power into civilian hands.

11. The influence of cold war politics. Aware of the whelming influence of America in Ethiopia, Russia secretly instigated the junior army officers to stage a socialist coup and it was a success. Russia wanted to have a share in the strategic location of the Horn of Africa.

12. The influence of other coups in Africa. These included the 1952 coup in Egypt, the 1965 coups in Congo and Algeria, the 1966 coup against Nkrumah in Ghana, the 1969 coup in Libya and the 1971 coup in Uganda. All these were accompanied by successful military regimes. This too inspired the 1974 coup plotters in Ethiopia.

13. The unfairness of the two constitutions. As pointed out by the educated Ethiopians, the 1931 and 1955 constitutions had left too much power in the hands of the Emperor. To Western educated Ethiopians, this was improper. To make matters worse the constitutions didn't grant political party activities. Freedom of the press . And assembly, though addressed by these constitutions, remained practically a myth! Such dictatorship made the coup inevitable.

14. The desire to end the Eritrean war of Secession. For over a decade, the peoples of Eritrea province had launched a secessionist struggle against Ethiopia thus a war to cut themselves off from Ethiopia. Eritreans wanted self-government and most Ethiopians felt that a political solution negotiation was better than military confrontation. However the Emperor continued fighting them, leading to great losses of lives, great injuries and loss of fighting morale amongst soldiers. The peasant soldiers who were tired of fighting organised the 1974 coup.

15. He desire to end foreign influence. Most of the top advisers of Emperor Sellassie were foreigners from Britain, France, USSR, Switzerland etc. As for Americans, they even had an air base a Kagnew. This annoyed the Ethiopian nationalists who wanted full independence. Most of the unemployed university graduates felt that they could do the work allocated to foreigners. Hence they supported the coup plotters.

16. The mishandling of the Ogaden question led to the coup. The people of Ogaden province in the South along the boarder with Somalia, wanted to secede from Ethiopia and join their brothers in Somalia. Instead of negotiating with them, the emperor opened fire against them. Hence he spent money and time fighting instead of concentrating on social economic development.

THE IMPACT OF THE 1974 COUP

1. The monarchy came to an end. On 12th September 1974 Emperor Sellassie was toppled and imprisoned. He died almost a year later (August 1975) in prison under mysterious circumstances and was buried quietly in a pit latrine. When he was deposed, the monarchy came to an end and power was vested in the hands of the Dergue- a co-ordinating committee of the armed Forces. The Amharic word "Dergue" means committee. The Dergue later changed its name to the PMAC (Provisional military Advisory Council) and was first under Andom Aman but later came under Major Mengistu Haile Mariam who named himself "President with a parliament and a republican constitution."

N.B. Emperor Sellassie's remains were given honorary state burial in the year 2000.

2. Great land reforms were carried out. Influenced by the Marxist-Leninist ideology scientific socialism, the Dergue issued a land reform decree in March 1975. All agricultural land was nationalised became state property. The land reform decree forbade the further selling or renting of land. No one was to own more than 10 hectares of land. In Southern Ethiopia the rich land Lords fled for fear of their lives. Their huge land estates were redistributed to the peasants. About 7 million peasant families benefited from this land decree. Hence a revolution.

3. A new housing policy was adopted in urban areas. Land in urban centres was also nationalised. Each family had to own only one house. Rents for houses occupied by poor people in towns were lowered. Land lords who lost their land in towns and villages were given no compensation.

4. Power was vested into the hands of the people. For the first time in Ethiopia's history, local people started participating into their local government affairs. The military committee sponsored the formation of peasant associations and charged them with the responsibility of implementing the land reforms and settling local disputes accruing from land distribution. Even in urban centres, urban committees were set up to handle housing and other urban affairs. This was a new discovery in Ethiopia's politics.

5. Great social reforms were put in place. The Dergue government encouraged literacy for all. The literacy campaign led to an increase of literacy levels from 740% of the entire population. This great improvement, done amidst hard conditions and poverty made the UNESCO to give Ethiopia a special award in 1981 in recognition of her literacy efforts. Studying in both local and foreign languages was encouraged. Even in the field of health, the military government tried to improve on the existing hospital facilities and accessed medicine to poor peasants at very low costs, and at times no cost at all.

6. Major means of production were nationalised. The military committee took over the management of manufacturing industries, banking, insurance and other financial institutions, supermarkets, transport services, mining, tourism distribution of goods and services etc. Some big business units remained in private hands (a mixed economy) but government tried to oversee the conditions of work there.

7. The Dergue denounced tribalistic /ethnic tendencies egime. All tribes were declared to be equal and no language was above others. Radio programmes were conducted in various languages unlike before when Amharic was the major language of the state.

8. Religious tolerance was ushered in. During Sellassie's period, members of other religions especially Islam were greatly discriminated. The military committee allowed freedom of worship and worked closely with Moslems, some of whom were appointed to important offices in the government, army, police and other ministries. The Dergue also succeeded in separating the Church from the state.

9. The Dergue ensured peace and security in the Country. A militia force was created right from the grass root levels to the top. All sections of the Ethiopian population such as fanners, students and youths were called upon to participate in keeping peace in their communities/localities so as to safe guard the gains of the revolution.

10. Crop farming was encouraged. State farms were set up to increase the coffee yields. This led to an increase in foreign exchange earnings.

11. Trade Union activities were allowed. The military men allowed a limited form of democracy such as the formation of workers' unions for instance in September 1984, the Ethiopian workers' Party (EWP) was fully recognised and a commission to organise and run it was appointed by president Haile Mengistu Mariam.

12. Government tried to alleviate famine. Aware that drought and famine were endemic in Ethiopia, the Dergue encouraged peasants to grow enough food and store the surplus. During the 1978 famine, government sent help to the Northerners. When famine hit again in 1984-85, government resettled about 600,000 people from the drought stricken regions in the North to the South, Central and Eastern regions where land was a bit fertile. Though many people died during this famine, the government at least showed care.

13. Attempts were made to boost the tourist industry.

14. The problems of refugees from neighbouring countries and the internally displaced people were looked into.

15. Government succeeded in demanding for loans from developed countries.

Credit goes to the military council because Ethiopia's loan repayment has been one of the best in Africa.

Negative impact/problems faced or caused by the Dergue

16. Decline of food production. As a result of the land reforms, land was fragmented into very small holdings which were too small for meaningful crop production. Government tried to send development funds to farmers but these usually ended up in the pockets of association and state farm managers. Hence the famine of late 70s and early 80s which claimed about 1 million people.

17. Workers' conditions remained poor. High unemployment, inflation, low wages etc.. Were the order of the day. Efforts by workers to bargain for better working conditions were frustrated by government ban on trade unions, workers demonstrations and strike. Hence the hey days of the revolution were soon replaced with a tough action against workers.

18. Unfair arrests and trials became rampant. Anybody who was suspected of being anti-government was arrested, imprisoned and would be killed under unclear circumstances. Many trade unions activists and journalists disappeared without trace. Most friends of Sellassie were killed without trial.

19. There emerged guerrilla war activities in urban areas and up country. There were some elements who wanted the old order to remain as it was - especially the ex-land lords whose land had been confiscated. Again many people were grieved by the rather concealed news of the death of their Emperor. Others were unhappy with military rule. All these combined to cause commotion in cities and village areas. Among critical movements were the EPRP (Ethiopia Peoples' Revolutionary Party) and the Ethiopian Democratic Union.

20. They caused a reign of terror. Mutual suspicions and fears within he Dergue led to assassinations within the Dergue committee itself. Out of the original 120 members, about 60 had been killed by 1976- a period of only two years in power. Then terror was unleashed against the opponents of government and among the persecuted was emperor Sellasie himself who was imprisoned against the peoples' will and subsequently died in prison under unclear circumstances and to make matters worse was quietly buried in a pit latrine. University graduates who had supported the 1974 coup demanded for civilian rule, made demonstrations, but were massacred.

21. The old sectarian tendencies re-appeared. Peoples' hopes about an enlightened regime soon suffered shock when officers in the key government departments were reshuffled and replaced with Shewan- Amharas. Members from other tribes became suspected of disloyalty and were therefore disillusioned.

22. War against the people of Ogaden and Tigre. People of Ogaden were more inclined towards Somalia and after Somalia's independence in 1960, their resistance became stronger. The Dergue failed to make peace with them and opened fire , instead. The Ogaden Somalis were only defeated in 1978 with Cuba's help. Hence wasting the country's resources on wars like Sellassie had done.

23. War with Eritrean rebels continued. The military government had promised to solve the Eritrean crisis by peaceful means but resorted to war. Hence causing great loss of human lives, property and wasting resources.

24. The Dergue contributed to refugee problems in Africa. Due to the harassment of various categories of people by the military committee, the Ethiopian revolution created a refugee crisis in the region. Thousands of educated Ethiopians fled the country for fear of being killed. Former privileged land lords and clergy also fled to nearby countries or even to Europe.

# CHAPTER THREE

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

Egypt is located in North-East Africa and is regarded as both an African and Arab state. In 1882 Egypt was forcefully occupied by Britain during the scramble days. In 1914, it was declared as a British protectorate for fear that the Germans might take it over during the First World War. During the First World War, the British imposed harsh security measures in Egypt, over taxed the Egyptians, forced them to work etc. This spoiled the relationship between the British and the Egyptians. It should be noted that Egypt was granted nominal independence by the British in 1922 after several complaints by the Egyptians.

On 22nd July 1952 during evening hours, a group of soldiers calling themselves the "Free Army Officers", led their troops to occupy the key strategic centres of Cairo. In the morning of 23rd July 1952, they seized power in Cairo. Alexandria and the rest of Egypt fell into their hands. King Farouk abdicated power and fled the country. The coup, in which only two were killed and seven injured (a bloodless coup) was master planned by colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat and others. It was the first coup of its kind in modern Africa and was accompanied by great changes that qualify it to be a revolution.

CAUSES/ORIGINS of the July 1952 Egyptian revolution/coup.

1. Egyptians desired full independence. They were fed up of the white man's presence in their country. Since 1882, the British had become very influential in Egyptian administration and policy making. In 1922 the British declared Egypt independent. However, the continued presence of British troops in Egypt up to 1952 was clear testimony that Egypt was not fully independent. King Farouk was a mere puppet of the British. E.g. on 4th February 1942 the British forced him to appoint a pro-British Prime Minister Mustapha El Nahas and to demote his anti-British Prime Minister Ali Maher. To many Egyptian nationalists, Farouk was a puppet that was serving British interests and had to be removed.

2. King Farouk's autocracy or dictatorship led to the coup. He was expected to rule according to the independence constitution. However, he disregarded the document, suspended it and placed all powers in his hands. For as many as eleven years, he ruled by martial law, interfered with appointments to the senate in the army, cabinet and influenced court proceedings in his own favour. He rigged elections; and replaced critical Wafdist politicians with his own. The only way to change this was through a coup.

3. The desire to introduce parliamentary democracy led to the coup. Between 1936-1952, the Egyptian parliament comprised of a powerful caucus of the King's friends. Many of the critical nationalists who would have checked the King's dictatorial powers had been bribed.

4. Farouk's government was inefficient and corrupt. The King, his relatives and friends (most of whom were palace officials) had great wealth and large chunks of land which they had obtained through dishonest /corrupt means. Even the Wafd leaders who had at one time represented Egyptian aspirations had been corrupted by the King's privileges and wealth- so much so that in 1942, El-Nahas the Wafd leader accepted a post of Prime Minister so as to promote British interests in Egypt. The privileged class used to withdraw great sums of money for personal rather than national projects. A revolution/coup was inevitable.

5. The personality of King Farouk led to the coup. He was extravagant, weak and lacked political realism. He was an extremely Leisure loving King who spent most of his time on outings with his wife instead of concentrating on the affairs of the state. He also made journeys abroad with his wife, relatives and nobles. By 1952, this could no longer be tolerated. The day he was overthrown, he was on Holiday in Alexandria. Again by 1952, Farouk had degenerated into a pornographic buffoon, a gambler and womanizer. These were acts against the Quran and greatly damaged his integrity in public. This moral degeneration led to the coup.

6. The unfair land distribution also caused the coup/revolution. Most of the land was owned by the King, the royal family, his Wafd friends and some privileged class of Turkish origin. By 1952 the great land Lords owned about 3,765 acres each while the peasant farmers (fellahins) owned about 1 Hectare each. Since the fellahins owned only about 13% of the total land it meant that many of them were landless. They had to rent land from the rich and lords, not to mention that category of peasants which had no ability to rent land. These (about 1 million) had to offer their labour as serfs on the land of the privileged class. No wonder why the peasants welcomed the coup.

7. King Farouk practiced open nepotism. All the key posts in the army and government were reserved for his relatives. Some of his kinsmen were incompetent, inefficient and corrupt but nepotism made him too blind to see this! In 1951 for instance, there was a crisis in the army and his Prime Minister Nahas advised him to appoint Neguib- an elderly and respected military officer. He rejected the advice and appointed his relative. Hence he spoilt the only chance that was left to divert the coup.

8. The emergence of the Muslim brother hood group also contributed to the revolution. This, and some other minor religious movements, aimed at purifying Islam and creating a purely Islamic government. Led by Sheikh Hassan Al-Banna, the Muslim brotherhood were unhappy with the growing immorality in Egypt. Prostitution, gambling, pornography and wine drinking were some of the evils. King Farouk and his officials took no steps to stop these. A revolution was inevitable.

9. The need to check against Christianity also contributed to the revolution. Ever since the British declared a protectorate over Egypt in 1914, Egyptians became grieved because according to the Quran, it was the role of Moslems to protect the infidels (Christians) and not vice versa. The influence of Christianity was clearly symbolized by the presence of both the British resident in Cairo (the heart of the country) and a strong British army in the Suez Canal area. To Al-Banna- an eloquent primary school teacher, Christianity was responsible for moral decay in Egypt.

10. There was a need to revive Egyptian culture. Egypt was the earliest African country to develop a classic culture and civilization. Egyptian drama, Art, architecture, medicine, poems and the like had caused world attraction to Egypt. However, ever since the British conquest in 1882, traditional entertainment, art and ways of building had declined. The young were treasuring Western plays, songs, Art Languages, building styles etc. This was unacceptable to Nasser and his comrades.

11. King Farouk neglected public health in Egypt. Like other African countries, disease was one of the major problems faced by Egyptians between 1936-1952. Unfortunately, Farouk didn't mind about increasing the number of hospitals and doctors yet the population was ever increasing. This led to rampant deaths, e.g. between 1943-44, Egypt was hit by a malaria epidemic which claimed about 200,000 people due to lack of medicine. This made people to turn against their King.

12. He also neglected education. The King did not allocate enough funds to improve the school education system of Egypt. A number of Egyptians nationalists pointed out that the system of education, which was designed by the British, was unsuitable for Egyptians but the King paid no heed. Instruction went on in English and so were exams. Schools remained few and not rehabilitated. Education materials e.g. Textbooks became fewer but the King lacked patriotic feelings to redress the situation. Hence the coup.

13. The unfair taxation system also led to the coup. Those who were best able to pay, such as the privileged Wafd party members and nobles paid very little. In addition, they were exempted from some forms of taxes. This left the heaviest tax burden on the shoulders of peasants. They paid several taxes such as the graduated tax and rents to the landlords. This created a big gap between the rich and the poor.

14. The existing social inequalities contributed to the coup. Despite the fact that the whole world was turning away from class societies, in Egypt the King promoted such a society. At the apex of the social pyramid was the King; in the middle were the learned aristocracy, the Turks, Wafd and British advisers. At the bottom of the social pyramid were the peasants who were grieved because their sweat was enjoyed by the privileged.

15. The domination of the Egypt economy by foreigners also led to the coup. Most of the profitable business firms in Egypt were in the hands of foreigners. The British and French owned more than 15,000 firms, not to mention those owned by Turks and Greeks. To make matters worse, the Suez Canal project- the country's major source of income was under control of the British who repatriated most of the profits. This too, contributed to the revolt with an aim of nationalising foreign businesses.

16. The King neglected Egypt's industrial sector. Before colonial rule, Egyptians had tried to develop local capacity and industrialisation had begun. However this trend was reversed by the British who were comfortable to reserve Egypt as a source of raw materials and a market for their products. During Farouk's time Egyptian economists pointed out the need to develop the industrial sector. However Farouk did not give the support those local entrepreneurs needed and Egypt remained a consumer of imported goods. This didn't amuse the nationalists. Hence the 1952 ,coup.

17. Grievances in the army also contributed to the coup. King Farouk did not bother to motivate the Egyptian soldiers. They received meagre pay and their views were not listened to. The army remained weak in weaponry and soldiers of peasant origin had no chances of getting promotions in the army. The army also disliked the presence of British troops in Egypt. They felt that they were able to give protection to their country.

18. Farouk undermined the status of women in Egypt. The King had little regard for women whom he took to be inferior to men. He put no programmes in place to improve their situation. Few were employed in the army, police, civil service etc. Hence they too supported the "free officers" hoping for equal opportunities in future.

19. The King persecuted his critics. When the Muslim brotherhood became radical and militant in their demand for reform, King Farouk ordered for their arrest and 'imprisonment. Many were imprisoned in January 1949. In due course, their leader Al-Banna was assassinated and it was alleged that farouk masterminded the plot. That year (1949), he banned the Muslim brotherhood group. He also persecuted journalists who publicised his foolish expenditures and pornographic tendencies. A number of newspapers were censored. This shows how he hated constructive criticism. Hence the coup.

20. The formation of the free officers' movement also explains the occurrence of the coup. This was a movement of young, modern and radical soldiers. They wanted to cause reform in their country and capitalised on the general poor conditions in the country to obtain support. Poor conditions included unemployment, inflation, slums etc. The Free officers spread propaganda in the army, police and peasantry. Hence they got massive support and this explains the bloodless coup of July 1952

21. Failure by Farouk to make Egypt a leader of African and Arab Unity. The King followed a policy of cautious isolation from Arab and African politics. He feared to annoy the British and annoyed the Egyptians instead. This is because Egyptians wanted him to assist Arabs in their anti-colonial struggles but he refused. Instead he appeared to be supporting Israelites.

22. The defeat of Egypt during the 1948/49 Palestinian war also led to the down fall of Farouk. The war was between the infant nation of Israel and the Arab states led by Egypt. However, due to lack of preparedness, poor weapons and lack of war logistics, Israel defeated the Arab countries. In Egypt, this humiliating and unexpected defeat was blamed on King Farouk. This was because he had not bothered to train the Egyptian soldiers, to equip them with up to date weapons, to send them food and medicine etc. Nasser found it easy to convince the army officers to overthrow Farouk.

23. The outbreak of the2nd (II) World War also contributed o the revolution. During the war, Egypt became a battlefield, between the axis powers and allied powers. The war left the Egyptian economy in shambles. There was unemployment, inflation, diseases, famine and the like. All these caused resentment against Farouk and the British. Secondly, the British used the war period To intervene more into the internal politics of Egypt e.g. British ordered to Farouk to appoint Ai Nahhas as Prime Minister. This annoyed Egyptians. Thirdly during the war, the Atlantic Charter was signed and Egyptian nationalists started demanding its fulfilment after World War II. Fourthly, the war strengthened militarism in Egypt.

24. The use of violence in an attempt to expel the British led to Farouk's downfall. In 1951, the Muslim brotherhood launched a guerrilla war against the British in Suez Canal zone. Muslim terrorists attacked British officers even in Cairo, in bars, hotels etc. The British reacted violently. In Jan 1952, the British opened fire on policemen in Cairo killing 43 and injuring many others. Peasants blamed Farouk for these killings because he had allowed the British to stay in Egypt for too long. Though round table talks started in a bid to solve the crisis, the army officers overthrew Farouk on 22nd and 23rd July 1952.

25. The January and July arrest of nationalists also contributed to the coup. After the disastrous Palestinian War, the free officers secretly met and planned to overthrow Farouk in 1954. However, their plans leaked to Farouk who started reshuffling and arresting one by one. To protect them from being arrested, the "Free officers” brought the coup nearer to 1952.

26. Nasser's personal ambition for power also contributed to the coup. Since his school days he had planned to lead the country. Now that he was a colonel in the army, Farouk's days were numbered.

27. King Faud (1918-1936) also contributed to the coup. He had been equally dictatorial and had made no reforms in the monarchy. His young son and successor- Farouk just continued his father's policies.

28. The 2nd World War was responsible for massive unemployment, deaths, casualties, inflation etc. Unfortunately all this was blamed on Farouk.

29. Natural epidemics like the 1943-44 malaria epidemic followed by famine were beyond Farouk's remedy.

King Farouk's achievements

\* Although he was largely a failure, the following positive points shouldn't be overlooked.

\* The production of cotton increased from 159 million square yards in the 1930s to 250 million square yards in 1950.

\* Electricity output rose from 288million Kilo Watt hours in 1938 to 978 million Kilo Watts in 1952.

\* The school going population was 942,000 in 1932 but had grown to 1,900,000 in 1951.

\* There existed 4,000 buses on roads in 1938 but by 1952 the number had risen to 20,000 buses.

\* Higher education went on and Egypt continued producing engineers, doctors, economists, historians and lawyers.

\* Egyptians had a number of newspapers in circulation although the most critical ones were censored. Egyptians were even listening to the wireless.

\* Political stability was maintained in the country. The presence of the British in Egypt forestalled a possible Italian invasion.

\* In 1936, collaboration with Britain enabled Egypt to become a member of the league of Nations an later of the UNO.

THE IMPACT OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

The Egyptian revolution that was sparked off by the 1952 coup had a profound influence on the political, economic and social spheres of life in Egypt.

1. Egypt secured her true independence.

For centuries, Egypt's political and economic life was dominated by foreigners- first the Turks and later the British and French. The nationalistic demand for independence had only led to theoretical (Pseudo) independence in 1922. However, with the 1952 coup, real political power turned into the hands of indigenous Egyptians. First to rule was Neguib, followed by Nasser, followed by Anwar Sadat, followed by Hosni Mbarak etc.

2. The Egyptian monarch was abolished. In June 1953, the revolutionaries changed Egypt into a republic, thereby putting an end to the age-long Egyptian monarch that was characterised by feudalism and excessive privileges. Although King Farouk had abducted the throne on 26th July 1952 in favour of his young son Ahmed Faud, the prince wasn't allowed to rule. Instead leadership was put into the hands of the Revolutionary command council (R.C.C.).

3. Corrupt officials in the former regime were tried. In October 1952 the Wafdist politicians who were suspected of gross corruption and misadvise to the King were brought to book. Those found guilty were imprisoned but later released and even some of them returned to their former positions. This helped to alert Egyptians that the rule of the law had set in. Their release helped to sow seeds of reconciliation.

4. Political prisoners were released. On the ill-advice of Wafdists and privileged nobles, King Farouk had imprisoned a number of journalists and radical nationalists. Upon ascending to power, the free officers opened the prison gates and the innocent were released.

5. The free officers sought for advice from old politicians. They were young, unknown and inexperienced. Hence they asked for advice from the old politicians. Unfortunately, some of the advice was unconstructive as Nasser noted: "Every man we questioned had nothing to recommend except to kill someone else..."' Such unconstructive advice had to be dropped. The free officers asked a 50-year-old general Neguib to be the head of government. He was popular and respectable in both Egypt and Palestine. However in 1954 he disagreed with Nasser who ousted him from power.

6. The revolutionaries created a strong army. Being soldiers themselves, they understood the importance of having a strong, well-trained, equipped and motivated army. They did just exactly that and emphasised hard work and discipline in the army. Nasser at first tried to get weapons from U.S.A. and Britain but they turned him down and he turned to USSR and Eastern communist countries.

7. They tried to democratise their military rule. Although they banned the old divisive political parties, they allowed the formation of a new party "the Liberation Rally" and later the "National Union" and "the Arab socialist Party". Political ideas were exchanged in this party. More to this, they prepared a new constitution, which was promulgated in 1956. The constitution addressed itself to the sensitive political, economic and social rights of all Egyptians.

8. The revolutionaries created a National assembly. This was aimed at providing checks and balances to the military leaders. By composition, it represented all sections of the Egyptian society such as workers, soldiers, the elites, women etc. The first National assembly was convened in 1964 and had half the seats reserved for farmers/workers. This was a new discovery in Egyptian politics and constituted a real revolution.

9. Transparency and efficiency were evolved. Nasser and his comrades could not allow a return to the former back ward days of King Farouk. The corrupt officials were dismissed and new civil servants were recruited on the basis of merit. This enabled graduates to obtain employment. They were expected to give accountabilities of their expenditures.

10. The revolutionaries carried out an agrarian reform. The September 1952 land reform law redistributed the land of nobles to the peasants. By this law no Egyptian was expected to own more than 200 feddans (84 hectares). And in 1961 a supplementary land law reduced the maximum feddans to 100 only. The 1963 land reform laws followed this. By these laws more than 178,000 feddans were taken over by government and redistributed to the poor. The rents on lands were also reduced and fixed. All these measures had an effect of improving production of food and cash crops.

11. The gap between the rich and poor was reduced. This was achieved through a number of ways. Firstly through land redistribution, secondly by introducing a fair taxation system and thirdly by fixing the land rents. There were no tax exemptions and each person was charged according to his income. The government limited the maximum annual income of an individual to 5000 pounds. This narrowed the gap between the rich and poor.

12. The economy of Egypt was diversified. This was affected by the 1960-1965 five- year development plan. Agriculture, industry, tourism, education etc. Were all earmarked for investment. In the field of agriculture alone, more profitable crops like fruits and vegetables were introduced to supplement the growth of grains, rice and cotton.

13. The government nationalised all the major means of production. This included the 1956 nationalisation of the Suez Canal which was the major income earning project in Egypt. Other businesses including banks, export and import companies, and insurance companies were nationalised by government between 1961-1963. Before the revolution, these had been monopolised by the foreigners who repatriated profits. About 15,000 businesses of foreigners were nationalised.

14. The conditions of workers were improved. This was achieved through a number of ways, which included the provision of more jobs in factories, reduction of the working hours to only seven per day in order to allow more people to obtain jobs on a shift basis; Buses and train fares were reduced; workers trade unions were also formed.

15. Co-operative societies were formed and each peasant who had benefited from the agrarian reform had to join. Through these societies, loans, fertilisers, pesticides, livestock and agricultural machinery could be advanced to farmers. Co-operatives were also responsible for crop selection, storage, transportation, marketing and holding seminars. All these improved production capacity and the peasants' standard of living- (their incomes were raised).

16. Government embarked on industrialisation. The old industries were improved and new ones set up. During Nasser's reign, cotton ginning started, so was oil processing, flour milling, iron and steel processing, the assembling of T.V. sets, bicycles etc. At first it were Americans who gave Nasser the technical and industrial advice but later the USSR took over. As a result of industrialisation, more jobs became available.

17. The Aswan High Dam was constructed. This became an engine for development. It provided electricity that was needed in industries and provided easier and quicker means of irrigation. With technologically advanced methods of irrigation, more land was reclaimed from the desert to the benefit of peasants. The Dam (the largest in Africa) also provided electricity for domestic use at cheap rates.

18. There was a revival of Egyptian culture. Introducing an Arabic syllabus in schools discouraged western culture. Music, dance and drama were reconstructed to suit the Egyptian culture. Traditional entertainers were supported and they produced plays depicting the old good culture. Government etc sponsored novelists' and artists.

19. The Egyptian education system was improved. A large number of schools were constructed at all levels. All children between 5-12 years were given free and compulsory primary education. Lunch at school was also provided free of charge. University education was also boosted. At Al-Azher University, Nasser opened up new faculties of Science, medicine and engineering in 1957. In 1952 to 1965 school population rose from 1.9million to 4 million. Adults were given literacy classes. The effect of all this was to reduce the rate of illiteracy in Egypt.

20. Health services were also improved in Egypt. This was done through the construction of hospitals and dispensaries in both urban and rural areas. More drugs were imported and more doctors were trained. The number of doctors rose from 5000 in 1952 to over 10,000 in 1960. Science subjects and machine at University were encouraged. Diseases like Cholera, malaria and Bilharzia were checked and this led to reduced death rates in Egypt.

21. Nasser elevated the status of women in Egypt. He encouraged women to participate in politics and other sectors of Egyptian public life. In 1962 Nasser appointed the first woman minister of Egypt and in 1964, a number of women were elected to parliament. Women obtained the right to vote and to be voted for. In terms of education, he encouraged the education of the girl child. By 1962, 26% of University students were female. Urban women were allowed to move without veils due to the hectic nature of work in towns.

22. The free officers maintained the stability of Egypt. Firstly, their coup was bloodless which contributed to stability. Secondly they released political prisoners and even forgave most culprits of corruption. Thirdly they solved the problem of tribalism and nepotism. Fourthly they made friendship with superpowers. Fifth, they removed all social inequalities. All these, in a way, contributed to stability in Egypt.

23. There was improvement of the judicial system in Egypt. The Old courts, which were full of corrupt judges, were banned in 1956. New courts of law were established and the newly appointed judges were instructed to maintain justice for all.

Negative Consequences:

24. Leadership struggles broke out in the early years of the revolution. Neguib wanted power to be returned to civilians, advocated for the restoration of multiparties and holding of regular elections. This was unacceptable to the free officers led by Nasser. The soldiers feared that a return to civilian rule would spoil the benefits of the revolution. A case in point is that the relationship between Neguib and Nasser became strained. Nasser (the real power behind the coup and revolution) started dismissing army officers who were in •support of Neguib. In October 1954, Nasser narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a member of the Muslim brotherhood. Nasser alleged that Neguib had secret contacts with the Moslem brotherhood and dismissed him.

25. Dictatorial tendencies cropped up. Egypt under Nasser was characterised by the banning of critical political parties e.g. the Muslim brotherhood, arrest of its leaders for example, Hassan Hudaibi, dismissal of politicians and soldiers who expressed antigovernment ideals, censoring of the press and use of force, e.g. In 1952, factory workers at Alexandria rioted and the army was sent to fire at the strikes. These acts represented a return to pre revolutionary days.

26. The 1956 constitution left too much powers in the hands of Nasser. He could appoint and dismiss civil servants and military officers. He even had powers to dissolve the National Assembly. This created a sense of fear and blind loyalty to Nasser.

27. Financial hardships cropped in. As a result of his ambitious industrialisation projects, reforms in the army, increase in salaries, reduction of taxes for fellahins, development of hospitals and schools etc. The Egyptian treasury ran bankrupt and Nasser had to seek for economic aid.

28. He failed to curb unemployment and inflation. The rapid population growth, 30 million Egyptians in 1968, rendered the problem of unemployment difficult to solve.

29. The free education system led to overcrowding in classes. Hence standards of education declined a bit.

30. Government wasn't totally committed to the emancipation of women. Few women were employed in government enterprises.

31. Government involvement in the war with Israel in 1967 was not successful. Egypt was defeated and Israel occupied Israel's land to the East of the Suez Canal. Business along the Suez Canal was frozen by Israelites. Even the earlier war in Yemen to which Nasser contributed Egyptian soldiers and resources in 1962 was unsuccessful.

32. Antagonistic relations broke out between revolutionary Egypt and her neighbours like Morocco Tunisia and Ghana.

33. The Egyptian coup influenced other coups in the rest of Africa.

THE IMPACT OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION ON THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The 1952 Egyptian revolution was one of the major internal factors for the rise of nationalism in Africa. Like the Italo-Ethiopian crisis, it affected nationalism not only in Egypt but also throughout the African continent.

1. Egypt supported the independence of Sudan. Since 1898 Sudan was under the joint colonial rule of the Egyptians and British. After the 1952 Egyptian revolution, plans were made to recognise Sudan as a Sovereign state. In particular, Nasser was not happy with the continued presence of Egyptians in colonial administration in Sudan. He wanted all the African states to be free of colonial rule. He therefore supported nationalism in Sudan and the fruits of this were the 1956 independence of Sudan.

2. Egypt provided asylum to African nationalists. These included Moumie Felix from Cameroon. Ignatius Musaazi of Uganda, Ben Bella and Belkacem Krim of Algeria etc. Due to their radical approach against colonial rule such nationalists were persecuted and would have been imprisoned had it not been for Nasser's help. By making Egypt a safe haven for political fugitives in the 1950s and 1960s, Nasser proved himself a great nationalist.

3. He allowed nationalists to open up headquarters in Egypt. He provided free office space, stationery and furniture to the political fugitives/exiles in Egypt In addition he gave them a modest salary and air tickets that enabled them to reorganise themselves and co-ordinate anti-colonial struggles from abroad, e.g. Ignatius Musaazi of Uganda opened up a UNC base in Egypt. Ben Bella, Belkacem Krim and others of Algeria also opened up a base for the CRUA that later became the FLN (the main Algeria nationalist movement).

4. Revolutionary Egypt provided scholarships to students from all over Africa. They were exposed to good lecturers/teachers, libraries, laboratories, magazines and nationalistic students' clubs. Through these students' organisations, they exchanged revolutionary ideas and invited experienced nationalists to address them. This made them radical and militant. On their return to their mother countries they joined and gave able leadership to nationalist/liberation movements.

5. Egypt provided military science, tactics and ideology to nationalists. Nasser set up a military academy in Cairo, which became famous for training African guerrillas, exposing them to new military tactics, new weapons, military science/ideology etc. The beneficiaries of Cairo military Academy included guerrillas of the ANC (African National Congress) of South Africa, FLN (the National Liberation Front) of Algeria and the ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front). All these guerrilla movements ended up with success stories.

6. Egypt extended military and financial help to revolutionary movements. For example Nasser arranged for the secret passage of arms from the Eastern block to the FLN, which was fighting the French in Algeria. Again after the 1956 Suez Canal war, he confiscated the abandoned arms of the British and French and sent them to FLN guerrillas. In 1961, he sent troops to assist Tunisia fight against the French Naval base at Bizerta. Earlier on he had sent arms to the Mau Mau fighters in Kenya.

7. Egypt provided a propaganda base for African nationalists. Radio Cairo was opened up and Nasser dedicated it to the service of nationalists all over Africa. For example Radio Cairo's Swahili Service helped to keep the morale of Kenya's Mau Mau fighters high. Similarly, Radio Cairo's Arabic services inspired revolutionary feelings in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya. Radio Cairo became known as the "Voice of Free Africa" and was effectively used to communicate hostile propaganda against colonialists all over the continent. Thanks to Nasser

8. It led to the unity of Arab Africans and black. For long, black Africans (South of the Sahara) were suspicious of the Arab Africans (North of the Sahara) due to the slave trade background. However Nasser dedicated his time and energy to reconciling the Arab and black Africans. He made them understand that they were united by the fact of belonging to the same continent and went ahead to give practical assistance to black Africans. In his own words: ".... We cannot in any way stand aside from the dreadful struggle now raging on in the heart of the continent between 5million whites and 200million Africans.... We ourselves are in Africa."

9. Egypt inspired the formation of unitary governments in Africa. The unity of all Egyptians behind Nasser during his struggle against Western powers in 1956 inspired a number of Africans to unite behind their nationalist leaders in the struggle against colonialism. Egyptians never divided themselves along ethnic lines and other African States followed suit. Nasser was a great fighter against secessionism/ethmcism e.g. He sent help to Patrice Lumumba of Congo against the Katanga secessionists, sent his pilots to assist Yakoub Gowon of Nigeria against Ibo secessionists e.t.c.

10. Egypt/Nasser decampaigned colonialism at the UN meetings. As a true Nationalist, Nasser called upon UN member states to understand the plight of Africans under colonial rule. He called for a respect of the UN Charter on human rights, especially the right of all subject peoples to govern themselves.

11. Nasser was a great Pan Africanist who turned Egypt into a centre for disseminating Pan Africanist ideas (using Radio Cairo). He and Egypt belonged to the radical group of Pan Africanists known as the Casablanca group. It comprised of Morocco, Mali, Guinea, Ghana and Egypt. This group was militant in its demand for an end to colonialism in Africa. It was ideologically different from the Monrovia group of Pan Africanists, which was full of moderate and conservative nationalists.

12. He contributed to the formation of the O.A.U. Being a lover of African unity, Nasser (with other African nationalists) called for reconciliation between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups. At a time when the unity of Africa was desired, he advocated for a loose association of independent African States. Although Kwame Nkrumah -another great Pan Africanist advocated for the unity of Africa into a single political entity, it was Nasser's idea that triumphed on 25th May 1963 when the O.A.U. was formed. He was a signatory to the OAU Charter.

13. Egypt was an apostle of non-alignment in Africa. Nasser attended the 1955 Bandung conference during which the principle of non-alignment was born. At Bandung he made great contributions to the ideology of non-alignment or positive neutralism as he called it. On returning to Africa, he became a great apostle of nonalignment by calling upon African States to be neither pro-West nor pro-East. To show this practically, he accepted economic aid from both the Western and Eastern blocks and restricted their ideological influence on Egypt.

14. Nationalisation of foreigners' property in other Africa States. Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal project and other foreign businesses and this led to improved standards of living for Egyptians. Consequently, other African leaders also applied the same e.g. ldi Amin nationalised the Asian property and expelled Israelites from Uganda in the early 1970s. Kwame Nkrumah also froze French businesses in Ghana following the French explosion of nuclear bombs (nuclear tests) in Algeria.

15. Egypt's quick industrialisation inspired nationalism all over Africa. Following the departure of colonialists from Egypt, President Nasser embarked on a speedy industrialisation and economic diversification programme. The Aswan High Dam was constructed, electricity and technology for irrigation were provided, and schools, hospitals, food processing, T.V. and car assembling plants were set up. Etc. All this convinced Africans that the presence of colonialists was a hindrance to economic development. Hence they intensified the struggle against colonialism.

16. Egypt supported Tunisia's demand for independence. President Nasser exerted diplomatic pressure on the French to give independence to the Tunisians. This partly explains the independence of Tunisia in 1956, only four years after the 1952 Egyptian coup. Although the relationship between President Habib Bourghiba of Tunisia and Nasser of Egypt was suspicious (unfriendly), Nasser sent help to Tunisians in 1961 when they attacked the French Naval base at Bizerta.

17. Nasser was a fighter against neo-colonialism. For him, it was useless to have political independence without economic independence. He therefore called upon fellow African Statesmen to design economic programmes for self-sufficiency. Again to him, the presence of foreign military bases in Africa was a sign of neocolonialism. That's why he drove the British out of the Suez Canal military base and gave support to Tunisia to drive the French out of Bizerta naval base in 1961.

18. Egypt supported Morocco's bid for independence. Nasser called upon the Sultan of Morocco Sid Mohammad V (5) and other Morocco nationalists to become radical and enjoy the fruits of independence. Hence in 1956, Morocco, like Tunisia obtained her independence from the French colonialists.

19. It supported Algerian's war. Egypt gave the FLN guerrillas war logistics ranging from food to fire arms. The FLN strong men made Cairo their headquarters, used Radio Cairo as their propaganda base and even formed a provisional Algeria government in exile within Egypt. All these and a lot more were very essential for the success of the FLN in 1962.

20. Egypt supported the 1969 coup de-tat in Libya. Although Libya had been granted independence in 1951, it remained theoretically independent under King Idris who was a puppet of colonialists. Following the examples of the 1952 Egyptian coup, Muammar Gadaffi joined the army and became a trainee and disciple of Nasser. No wonder why the Free Officers movement which planned the Libyan revolution and the revolutionary command council which ruled Libya from 1969 to 2011 when Colonel Muammar Gadaffi met his death were modeled on Egyptian lines /precedents. After the 1969 coup, Libya became fully independent.

21. The Egyptian revolution made colonialists to panic all over the continent. In Ghana, the British speeded up the programme for independence and it was won in 1957. In Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, Rhodesia, Algeria and in all Portuguese colonies white settlers and colonial masters felt insecure. Hence the independence of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania in the early sixties.

NB. It was due to the wave of panic caused by Nasser in European colonies in Africa that both the British and French joined Israel to fight against Egypt in 1956 (a war of revenge). Unfortunately they diplomatically lost the war, though they won the battle.

22. Africans adopted socialist policies. Egypt became the first Africa country to apply socialist principles characterised by the redistribution of land to the poor peasants, reducing the income inequalities, improving the worker's conditions etc. These admirable policies became taken up by other independent African states such as Tanzania (Ujaama policies) Libya etc.

23. It led to cultural revival in Africa. Nasser and other Egyptian revolutionaries promoted the original Arabic culture in Egypt and re-modelled Egypt's education syllabi to suit the African environment. In addition, the Egyptian government encouraged the teaching of African languages like Hausa and Swahili. This influenced nationalists all over Africa to give enough attention to local African languages, art, music and drama.

24. However, Nasser conflicted with Nkrumah on the question of a United States of Africa. He preferred a loose integration of independent African States rather than the creation of a single political entity in Africa. Partly he was right because it would become too big to manage and would breed power struggles but partly he was wrong and blockaded the creation of a United States of Africa along the lines of a United States of America.

25. He took sides in the conflict between Morocco and Algeria. Instead of calling for reconciliation as advised by fellow Africans and Arabs, he took sides with Algeria and this injured the Pan African Spirit that he so zealously propounded.

26. He influenced other coups in Africa, some of which were not well intentioned. E.g. the 1966 coup against Nkrumah in Ghana. Hence he contributed much to the transition from civilian rule to the army factor in African politics.

27. He never worked hard enough to create good relations between Egypt and the newly independent state of Tunisia. Him and Bourghiba Habib of Tunisia were at loger heads most of the time due to the latter's neo-colonial tendencies.

THE NATIONALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL ON 26th JULY 1956.

ITS ORIGINS/CAUSES:

1. The need to share the benefits of the Suez Canal project. Out of the 100 U S million dollars obtained by colonialists out of the Canal annually, only about 2.2 millions was given to Egypt. To Nasser, this was exploitation of the highest order and had to be reversed. Egyptians had to get a bigger share of the Suez canal profits.

2. Nasser wanted the true independence of Egypt. The 1922 independence granted 'to Egypt had only been theoretical. The British and French presence in Egypt continued to be felt by their control of the Suez Canal the major income earning project in the country. After the 1952 coup Nasser wanted foreigners to put their hands off Egypt and this could only be accomplished when they stopped controlling the Suez Canal. Hence its nationalisation.

3. America's abandonment of the Aswan High Dam project. To generate enough water for irrigation, control the flood waters of the Nile and provide enough electricity for both home use and industrialization, Nasser asked America and Britain for financial and technical support to build the Aswan High Dam. However, due to Nasser's socialist policies, the Western powers refused to grant him the funds they had promised. He decided to nationalise the Canal so as to get money to build the Aswan High Dam.

4. He wanted the revolution to be felt by the masses. Already he had nationalised a number of businesses in Egypt and had redistributed land. The peasants had become happy and he wanted to make them happier by nationalising the Canal so as to provide more employment opportunities.

5. He wanted personal prestige and satisfaction. The Egyptian revolution had aroused the hopes of not only the Egyptians but also other Africans and Arabs. He had promised the Egyptians a great dam that would alleviate most of their social-economic problems. If he was to keep up this promise, Nasser had to nationalise the Canal so as to get funds. Egypt was by then financially weak and USA had abandoned the project.

6. Nasser's military confidence. Already he had restructured the army, intensified its training and had entered into arms deals with U.S.S.R. Czechoslovakia and China. This made him feel secure in case of a counter reaction from the British and French Suez Canal shareholders. He would obtain assistance from the communist block.

7. The withdrawal of British troops from the Suez Canal encouraged Nasser to nationalise it. All along, the British had kept a strong force in their Suez Canal military base. However, Nasser negotiated with them and called upon them to respect the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian agreement with King Farouk (which had only given them 20 years stay in the Canal). When British troops started withdrawing Nasser hatched plans of nationalising the Canal since he had no immediate military 'threat.

8. The influence of Arab countries made Nasser nationalise the Canal. The radical Islamic countries like Libya, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq promised to compensate Nasser in case he incurred losses after nationalising the Suez Canal. To them, nationalising the Canal was a useful tool in fighting Israel and crippling her economy and they all looked at Nasser to help them do this.

9. Empowerment by the 1888 Constantinople convention. Article 10 of this convention empowered Egypt with full powers of the Canal. Egypt even had powers to nationalise the Canal in the interests of the masses. Nasser hid behind this convention to nationalise the Suez Canal project.

10. He wanted to prove that he was non-aligned. The principles of positive neutrality non-alignment which he had obtained at Bandung (1955) were still fresh in his memories. To prove that he was not going to dance to the tunes of the Western powers who wanted him to avoid co-operating with the Eastern block, he nationalised the Suez Canal in 1956.

EFFECTS OF NATIONALISING THE CANAL

1. Revenue from the Canal was increased. This was a result of increasing the depth and size of the Canal by Nasser. The fresh digging increased the handling capacity of the Canal from 14,000 ships to 20,285 ships handling 60,000 tones instead of the former 35,000 tones only. Revenue also increased from about 100 million dollars to about 197 million dollars.

2. Nasser was able to construct the Aswan High Dam. Using revenue from the Canal, plus some assistance from the Eastern block, Nasser embarked on the Suez Canal project in 1958 and completed it in 1965. Thereafter, it generated water for irrigation, controlled the Nile floods, generated electricity in Egypt etc.

3. Employment opportunities were expanded. Both the Suez Canal and the Aswan High Dam needed manual labour and Egyptians provided this. This helped them enjoy fairly good standards of living and to feel the benefits of the revolution.

4. Egypt became truly independent. The continued presence of the British troops in the Suez Canal zone had stood as a symbol of neo-colonialism. Egypt couldn't boast of being truly independent when British personnel were still present in the Suez Canal. With its nationalisation however, true independence was won and neocolonialism beaten off.

5. The Arab world intensified its economic war against Israel. Ships to and from Israel were often blocked or charged too high rates. This was aimed at weakening the economy of Israel, e.g. In 1967, Arab countries called upon Nasser to close the Canal to Israel and promised to compensate for all losses.

6. It ushered in USSR's influence in Egypt. When the British and USA abandoned the Aswan High Dam, USSR was glad to take it hoping to get a good ally in cold war politics. Hence Eastern block capital flowed in Egypt to the benefit of Egyptians. However credit goes to Nasser because he never allowed himself to become USSR’s puppet.

7. Nasser's personality and prestige was elevated. The bravery with which he nationalised the Suez Canal project won him admiration from all over Africa, the Arab world, the Eastern block and surprisingly some Western powers. He became an international figure and a hero in Africa over night.

8. It influenced nationalisation in other African states. E.g. Idi Amin nationalised Asians' property in 1972 and expelled them out of Uganda. He also treated Israelites in a similar way. Kwame Nkrumah also froze French businesses in Ghana. In the early years of the 21st Century, President K. Kaunda of Zambia plunged himself into the struggle of nationalising and redistributing the land estates of the white settlers to local Africans.

9. It led to the 1956 Suez Canal War. Feeling humiliated and cheated, both Britain and France planned to attack Egypt so as to teach Nasser a lesson. They only waited for a pretext, which provided itself in Israel's complaints about Egypt's funding of the Fedeyen commandos who were destabilizing Israel. Consequently, on 29th October 1956, Israel attacked the Sinai peninsular and was given immediate backing by Anglo-French forces.

10. It had to divisions within the NATO camp. Having lost their shares and annual revenues, Britain and France wanted to fight Egypt and repossess their project. However, America condemned their interference in the affairs of a Sovereign State. America didn't want USSR to join her troops on the Egyptian side because this would result into a destructive and prolonged war. However France and Britain interpreted America's action as a bullying of fellow NATO members.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

1. Careful and patient planning. The idea to end the retrogressive monarch was hatched in the 1940s when young army officers formed themselves into the "Free Army Officers" group. They kept their secret up to 1952.

2. Wide spread grievances against King Farouk. He had scored great failures in the political, economic and social fields. Hence he had no sympathies from the masses and within the army. Rather they welcomed the free army officers.

3. The well-planned and bloodless coup. The army officers simply took control over the most strategic military and economic buildings; arrested Farouk's high command forced the King to abdicate in three days and allowed him to escape to Europe. Since there was almost no loss of lives, the free army officers won immediate sympathy which wouldn't have been the case if the coup were bloody

4. The appointment of Neguib to power in 1952. The major coup plotters were young men, inexperienced and unknown. They chose the respected Neguib to lead the revolutionary government. He was known throughout Egypt and Palestine. He helped in giving respect to the revolution.

5. The advice sought from elders. Though the 34-year-old Colonel Nasser was the real engine behind the coup and revolution, he together with Sadat welcomed the advice of elderly politicians. This created friendship to the revolutionaries.

6. Release of prisoners. A number of innocent prisoners were released. Even some of those imprisoned by the free army officers were later released and integrated into the revolutionary government. Such reconciliation led to peace and progress.

7. The personalities of Nasser and Sadat. Nasser was brave, clear headed and charismatic. He had the ability to plan and affect his plans. He had a clear understanding of the problems of Egypt and fought to solve them. So was Sadat, the wise and eloquent spokesman for the revolution. He was also a good writer. He helped to spread revolutionary propaganda to the masses that responded with support.

8. Their strong hatred against colonialism won them support. They widely condemned the existence of foreign troops and expatriates in Egypt. They demanded for the British and French withdraw of from the Suez Canal business and military base. This won them support.

9. Unity amongst top leaders. True there existed some slight misunderstandings but in general, the revolutionary leaders were very co-operative. Especially Nasser and Sadat. After the death of Nasser in 1970, Sadat logically took over without much opposition.

10. The revolutionaries allowed limited democracy. They allowed political pluralism as long as it was constructive. Parties like the "Liberation rally" and "Arab Socialist Union" were allowed to operate under supervision.

11. The 1956 constitution which guaranteed the rights of women, workers, soldiers and peasants won the peoples' hearts towards the revolutionaries

12. The wiping out of conservative leaders. Other politicians with conservative mentalities were gradually removed from power e.g. Neguib was removed in 1954 because he wanted a return to civilian rule- a factor which would spoil the revolution. Even other sympathizers of the Muslim brotherhood group were discarded. This looked dictatorial but saved Egypt from instabilities and eventually won public support.

13. Nasser's nationalisation of the Canal won him support. It solved many social economic problems of the Egyptians.

14. Nasser's diplomatic victory over Israel, France and Britain led to success. After the great support of America and USSR, the critics of the Egyptian revolution at home were silenced.

15. Educational and Health reforms won peoples' hearts. At Al-Azhar University, nationalistic and patriotic lecturers called upon the elites to support the revolution. The masses followed suit.

16. The support given to African nationalists led to success. Everywhere on the African continent, Nasser was hailed as-a great man, a great nationalist supporter the father of non-alignment in Africa, the conciliator between Arab Africa and black Africa, the hostage of political fugitives etc. This made Egyptians confident of their leaders and matched under him towards success.

17. The involvement of the masses in the revolution. The free army officers ensured that every Egyptian felt wanted and significant. Hence success.

18. Support from USSR and the Arab world. At a time when Western powers revoked their financial promises to Egypt, the Soviet Union came in to give financial and technical support to Egypt. Again during the Suez Canal crisis, USSR threw its weight behind Egypt and threatened to help Egypt if Britain and France didn't withdraw. This saved the young nation and the revolution in general. Even Arab countries provided moral and material assistance to Egypt during the period of financial losses hence success.

Obstacles.

1. Most revolutionary leaders were young, unknown and inexperienced. It took them some time before they became acceptable.

2. They received unconstructive advice from elderly politicians who they had trusted to help them. These wanted to mislead the young officers and cause them unpopularity.

3. Opposition from the relatives of the imprisoned culprits and from King Farouk's former nobles.

4. Non co-operation from the socialist Alexandrian workers who staged a strike that was suppressed violently, leading to loss of support.

5. Poverty of the Egyptian government made most plans difficult to fulfil.

6. Opposition from the rich land Lords whose estates had been nationalised and their land redistributed to the fellahins.

7. Urban terrorism which was master minded by the Islamic fundamental belonging to the Muslim brotherhood party. In October, 1954, they attempted to assassinate Nasser after which he banned the party.

8. The unwillingness of the British to leave Egypt. True the 1936 agreement had given them 20 extra years but by the beginning of 1956, they showed no signs of readiness to leave. They had to be coerced.

9. The trio invasion of Egypt by Israel, Britain and France in October/November 1956 threatened the real existence of Egypt and the revolution.

10. Conflicting ideologies between President Neguib and his deputy Nasser (real centre of power) threatened the revolution. Neguib wanted civilian rule but Nasser didn't. Further, Neguib was friendly to the Muslim brotherhood but Nasser wasn't. Hence the overthrow of Neguib in November 1954.

11. Corrupt officials continued swindling public funds and hence delaying social- economic progress.

12. The compulsory education given to Egyptians led to overcrowding in class and a decline in standards of education and hygiene in schools.

13. Government failed to control the population growth yet the Egyptian social infrastructure did not develop to the same tune. Hence pressure on schools, hospitals land etc.

14. Hatred from the Western powers due to Nasser's fraternity with the communist block.

15. Constant bombings from Israel using French manufactured jets. Again Israel's nuclear capacity continued worrying the revolutionaries.

16. The worst draw back was the 1967 six days war during which Egypt was badly beaten and her land to the East of the Suez Canal (the Sinai peninsular) was taken by Israel up to 1979 when it was returned following the 1978 Camp David Accord.

GAMEL ABDEL NASSER 1918-1970

How did he gain and retain/consolidate power?

He was born of middle Class parents in 1918. His father was a postmaster in Alexandria.

He grew up in rural areas, which exposed him to the problems of the working class of peasants.

At school, Nasser was interested in liberal Arts like history and political education.

At secondary school level, his political vision was widened and joined students clubs. As a member of the writers club, he wrote; "The Egyptian Government is based on corruption. Who can change it?" As he grew up (17 years later), he lived to answer that question practically (the 1952 coup).

He joined a students' protest against British presence in Egypt in 1935/36. Hence introducing him to radical nationalism.

He joined Cairo University and studied law but never completed the Course. This later helped him to draft a constitution for Egypt in 1956.

He abandoned law and joined a military academy where he learnt military science and skills.

He joined the Second World War on the side of the British in Sudan. This widened his reasoning. He learnt practical militarism.

Together with other Egyptian Servicemen in Egypt, Nasser hatched the Free officers movement which secretly planned for the 1952 revolution.

In 1943, he rose to the rank of a captain, which was a landmark in his military career.

He read about the Atlantic Charter of 1941, which inspired him to think deeply about self-government in Egypt.

He fought during the 1948/49 Palestine war and was unhappy at the way King Farouk neglected the army leading to its defeat. He got serious experience of firing big guns.

After the Palestine war, he formed an executive committee of the revolution. This laid down plans of ousting King Farouk

He wrote a book called "The philosophy of the revolution" in which he propounded his ideas of future Egypt.

He won friendship and trust in the army as a genius and a man to trust when the tough got tougher.

He participated at tactical organisational level in the 1952 coup, which over threw King Farouk. Actually he was the brain behind the coup

He acted as deputy Prime Minister of Neguib from 1952-1954.

He became president of Egypt in November 1954 up to 1970 when he died of a heart attack.

Consolidation of power:

In January 1953 he influenced the R.C.C. (Revolutionary Command Council) to ban all political parties to reduce opposition.

They abolished the monarchy in 1953 which enabled them legitimised the R.C.C. and hence consolidation of power. Nasser transformed Egypt into a republic in 1953.

A new party, the Liberation Rally was created by Nasser in 1953 in order to consolidate support for himself.

He imprisoned the culprits of the former regime.

Releasing political prisoners also won him support.

Banned freedom of the press and allowed only state owned newspapers.

In 1954, he banned the Muslim brotherhood party.

Still in 1954, Nasser removed Neguib from power accusing him of conspiring with the Moslem brotherhood terrorists.

He gave Egypt a new constitution in 1956 which guaranteed Egyptian rights.

He redistributed land to the fellahins.

He introduced co-operative societies.

He introduced the Arab socialist Party in 1961, which spread revolutionary propaganda.

He nationalised the Suez Canal.

He constructed the Aswan High Dam.

He elevated the status of women e.g. allowed them to vote and participate in politics.

He diversified the economy.

He improved the education system of Egypt.

Improved health conditions

Opened up friendly ties with neighbouring African states etc.

However he had some failures.

\* Food shortages due to failure to control population increase

Urban unemployment.

\* Egypt's indebtedness due to high interest rates on loans.

\* Corruption continued.

\* Inflation

\* Heavy losses and destruction in the 1967 six days' war with Israel the Canal was closed up to 1975, hence loss of revenue.

\* Dependence on loans to buy food, for the increasing population.

\* He failed to bring about the desired Arab Unity.

THE 1956 SUEZ CANAL CRISIS/WAR

This was a war in which Egypt fought against Israel and her allies, Britain and France. It began on 29th October 1956 when Israel invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsular. Almost immediately, on 5th November 1956 Britain and France joined the bombing of Egypt.

IT'S CAUSES/ORIGINS:

1. Egypt's desire for full independence led to the crisis. The independence granted to Egypt in 1922 was only theoretical. Europeans still occupied the country and influenced decision-making. When Nasser rose to power following the 1952 coup, he started planning means and ways of ending Egypt's rubber stamp independence. When he drove the British out of Egypt, tension developed and soon produced the Suez Canal war/crisis.

2. Britain's failure to respect the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian agreement. King Farouk had reached an understanding with the British by which they were to evacuate/expedite their troops from Egypt within a maximum period of 20 years. By January 1956, the British hadn't effected this fully and when Nasser reminded them, they seemed hesitant- a thing that caused tension and contributed to the Suez Canal war.

3. Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal contributed to the crisis. On 13th June 1956, the British military occupation of Egypt ended. Nasser nationalised the Canal on 26th July 1956, a factor that annoyed the British and French investors who used to reap close to 100 million US dollars as profits per year. They started working secretly to destabilise Egypt. This caused tension and later the war.

4. Failure by U.S.A. and Britain to complete the Aswan High Dam caused tension and the war. When Nasser was denied the 56 million dollars earlier on promised, he looked for alternative ways of obtaining funds. The major one was nationalising the Suez Canal, which immediately led to a crisis.

5. The co-operation between Nasser and the Communist block led to the crisis. When he opened up political and military links with Russia, Czechoslovakia and China, the British and French were worried. This was because Britain wanted to be the dominant power in the Middle East and France had fears that communist support would lead to the destruction of the young nation of Israel. Hence they took advantage of Russia's involvement in Hungary and attacked Egypt.

6. Nasser's support to the fedeyen commandos led to the crisis. These were terrorist guerrillas against Israel. They had sacrificed their lives to liberate Palestine from Israelite domination. In order to weaken them and stop their sporadic attacks on her important installations, Israel attacked Egypt (the source of help) on 29th October 1956.

7. The closure of Port Aquaba by Egypt produced tension and later the war. The gulf port of Aquaba was very strategic for Israel's international trade and any problem with it meant a decline of the Israelite economy. Egypt's closure of this port was therefore viewed with negativity by Israel and hence the crisis.

8. Nasser's support to the Mau Mau rebels annoyed Britain. Between 1952-1955, Nasser spread revolutionary propaganda against the white settlers in Kenya and other British colonies. Using the Kiswahili programmes on the free Voice of Africa-Radio Cairo, Nasser morale boosted the Mau Mau fighters. To revenge against Nasser, the British joined Israel.

9. France's desire to revenge against Egypt led to the war/crisis. Ever since coming to power, Nasser had provided financial, moral and military support to FLN rebels fighting against the French in Algeria. He also supported both Morocco's and Tunisia's bid for independence. To punish such a man who was undermining their position in Africa, France fell in behind Israel.

10. Israel's military raids in the Gaza strip contributed to the crisis. This happened in 1955 and the revolutionaries felt threatened. When his plans to retaliate leaked to Israel, she decided to strike before being attacked. Hence the crisis.

11. Nasser's opposition to the 1955 Baghdad pact led to the war. In 1955, an agreement was reached between Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan to collaborate against the Soviet Union. As an architect of the non-alignment movement, Nasser opposed such a pact and incited other Arabs to oppose it. This made Britain annoyed and planned to destroy him. They only waited for an excuse which Israel provided, hence the crisis.

12. The long standing mistrust between Egypt and Israel led to the war. Such mistrust and suspetion made Egypt lead the Arabs against Israel during the 1948/49 Palestine war. When Egypt nationalised the Canal, Israel's interpretation was that Nasser intended to cripple Israel's economy.

13. The conspiracy between Britain, France and Israel led to the war. Both Britain and France made a secret defense pact and confirmed their continued interest in the Suez Canal project for the mutual benefit of both countries. But since their attack on Egypt would look unfair, they approached Israel and secretly conspired to help her fight Egypt. They drew a secret timetable by which Israel was to attack first since she had genuine grievances- Egypt's support of fedeyen commandos.

14. Nasser's rejection of the Free Users' association led to the crisis. Britain and France referred the Suez Canal question to the UNO and proposed an international management of the Suez Canal but Nasser rejected it. They proposed the free users' association to have a scratch on the profits accruing from the Suez Canal but even this was rejected. Nasser wanted to obtain full revenue from the Suez Canal and complete the Aswan High dam project.

15. The character of Nasser also led to the crisis. He was flamboyant, assertive, principled and ready to frown at any power. He stated clearly that as long as he was working for the interests of Egypt he was ready to defy any power. Such utterances and his practical disrespect for the traditional world powers Britain and France earned him enemity and war.

16. The immediate cause was Israel's occupation of the Sinai peninsular on 29th October 1956. When Israel started bombing Egyptian Installations, Nasser responded with fire. On 5th November 1956 Anglo-French forces joined the war but were soon stopped by the alarming messages from America, USSR and the international community all of whom condemned the Anglo-French conspiracy. The UN Security Council demanded the immediate withdrawal of Anglo-French forces and this saved Cairo from falling.

EFFECTS OF THE SUEZ CANAL WAR/CRISIS

1. Egypt was militarily defeated. Over 3,000 Egyptian soldiers who were manning the anti-air craft artilleries died in the Sinai peninsular. At Port Said, a number of civilians lost their lives. There was also great loss of property e.g. Egypt lost Sharm as Shaik military post for quite sometime. Hadn't it been for the intervention of USA and the Soviet Union, Egypt would have been overrun in a few days.

2. Egypt obtained diplomatic victory out of the crisis. This was because the entire world condemned Britain and France for their conspiracy against a sovereign state. The two world's super powers U.S.A. and USSR for the first time jointly agreed that France and Britain had made a blunder. The UN Security Council demanded withdraw of the foreign forces from Egypt.

3. The personality and status of Nasser was elevated. Throughout Africa and the Middle East, he was praised as a great nationalist, a pan-Africanist and pan-Arabist. He became a man of his times, leading a small state that made big powers to sneeze. He was admired for his principles and by the time of his death, his name had almost turned into a cult. City streets, restaurants, children throughout the middle East and Africa were named after "Nasser".

4. Egypt lifted the ban on the gulf of Aquaba. Nasser was clearly informed and he understood that Israel's grievances over the closed gulf of Aquaba had partly caused the war. He lifted the ban enabling Israel's shipments to and from the gulf.

5. It facilitated Arab unity under Nasser. Arab countries that shared a common enemy in Palestine- Israel, gave moral and financial support to Nasser during and after the crisis. They looked at him as a hero and a leader of Arabs against Israel and he didn't disappoint them. He tried to unite them using the means at his disposal.

6. Egypt gained full control of the Suez Canal. The French and British shareholders were frozen once and for all. Nasser enlarged the Canal and obtained vast revenue from it. Hence fulfilling his dreams.

7. The Aswan High dam was constructed. It had been Nasser's aim to nationalise the Canal and use its revenue to finance the Aswan High Dam project. After shaking off the Anglo-French hangover over the Canal, he fulfilled this. Money out of the Canal together with Soviet help led to progressive work on the dam and other industries.

8. Egyptians got employment opportunities. With the Canal fully in government hands, with the Aswan High Dam project and other industries in progress, the common man in Egypt benefited in form of jobs. Hence improved standard of living.

9. It led to Afro-Asian solidarity. Following the crisis, nationalists from all over Asia and Africa held a conference in Cairo in 1957. They reiterated their commitment to the principle of non-alignment (positive neutrality) and condemned colonialism in Africa.

10. It strengthened Egyptian nationalism. The allied invaders had thought that their brutal bombardment of Cairo, Alexandria and other places would turn the masses against Nasser. However the reverse was true. Soldiers accepted to sacrifice their lives for their mother nation. So did the civilians. Hence strengthening Egyptian nationalism against foreigners.

11. Egypt supported nationalists all over Africa. Following withdraw of the Anglo- French forces; Nasser confiscated their abandoned arms and froze their remaining businesses. He sent the arms to nationalists fighting against colonial rule in various parts of Africa e.g. the FLN of Algeria who were given up to date Long range fierce and destructive guns to harass the French colonialists.

12. It led to the formation of the UAR (United Arab Republic), which was a political union between Syria and Egypt in 1958. Yemen also joined the union. However the union was short lived but Egypt retained the title and flag of the UAR.

13. It marked the full political and economic independence of Egypt. There was no further doubt that the Canal belonged to Egypt and that the British military base in the Suez Canal zone was egyptianised.

14. There was an increase in socialist influence in Egypt due to support obtained from the Eastern block. However Nasser refused to be a puppet of the Soviet Union. If any thing, Nasser didn't share power with extreme socialists at home. Rather he imprisoned a number of them and fixed powers fully in the hands of the revolutionary free officers.

15. Nasser stopped giving support to fedeyen commandos. This was because such support had partly caused the destructive Suez Canal war.

16. Divisions and suspetions within the NATO.

17. Israel continued building up her military capacity and this scared Arabs up to date.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1952 Egyptian Revolution was inevitable. Discuss.

2. How did Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser attain and consolidate power in Egypt?

3. To what extent was the 1952 Egyptian Revolution a Revolution?

4. To what extent did Nasser fulfilled the aspirations of the Egyptian people?

5. Discuss the causes and effects of the Nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

6. Examine the causes and impact of the 1956 Suez Canal crisis.

7. The downfall of King Farouk was inevitable. Discuss.

8. King Farouk was responsible for his own downfall. Discuss.

# CHAPTER FOUR

THE DECOLONISATION OF Gold-coast/Ghana AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Ghana obtained her independence from the British on 5th May 1957 under Kwame Nkrumah. During the colonial period, the country was known as Gold Coast. Ghana was therefore an independence name signifying a return to political, economic and social freedom such as had existed in the ancient but mighty empire of Ghana. The great changes that accompanied the struggle for independence amounted to a revolution. It is worth noting that Ghana attained independence earlier than any black African colony.

FACTORS FOR THE EARLY INDEPENDENCE OF GHANA

1. Gold-coast was Ethnically united-a factor that contributed to her speedy acquisition of independence. Gold coast had a homogeneous population and therefore did not suffer so much from the ethnic differences as did other African countries. Almost 50% of the entire population were Akan speakers. Even the non-Akan peoples such as the Ewe, Ga and Twi had adopted Akan culture and language. Such people were easy to mobilise for meaningful nationalist activities unlike other African communities which were torn apart by ethnicism/ parochialism.

2. The historical perspective also played to Ghana’s advantage. Historically, the people of Gold Coast hated colonial rule. The Asante for instance had fought and defeated the British twice during the imposition of colonial rule in the 19th century. Though they were defeated during the third battle, the nationalistic spirit remained. In the 1930s, the youths formed nationalistic parties and agitated for independence so as to move in the footsteps of their ancestors. This enabled Ghana to spearhead independence in black Africa.

3. Ghana also had a Manageable population: The size and population of Gold cost was small, compact and manageable. In the 1950s, her population stood at only 5 million and such a population was easy to mobilize and organise.

4. The influence of elites also accelarated Ghana’s early independence. Unlike other African colonies, Gold coast had a well- developed education system. As early as the 1950s she had a number of lawyers, doctors, teachers and businessmen. Elites included J.B. Danquah, Ako Adjei, William Ofori Atta, Edward Akuffo Addo and Francis Awoonor. These provided able leadership.

5. Gold coast also had a stable economy: Gold coast's economy was more advanced than that of many African colonies at the time. From the wealth obtained out of cocoa sales, the peoples of Gold Cost were in position to support anti-colonial struggles.

6. Efficient communication network also deserves credit in facilitating the early independence of Gold coast. Gold coast had a well-developed network of roads and railways. These facilitated the movement of nationalists to and from the various corners of the colony. In the process, nationalistic ideas were spread to towns and villages.

7. Among the factors that contributed to the early independence of Ghana is the influence of the 2nd world war. The ex-service men found life unbearable and either formed or joined political parties. They explained the nature of western democracy and awakened nationalistic feelings. Negatively, the war led to inflation, overcrowding in towns, unemployment and the introduction of the quota system by which Africans were pushed out of business. This led to the rise of early nationalism.

8. Economic exploitation: The British businessmen had monopolised the import and export trade. They determined and offered very low prices to cocoa farmers and Gold miners. This aroused anger, more so due to rampant unemployment and inflation. This forced Ghanaians to fight for their independence early enough.

9. The cutting of cocoa tress also led to the rise of early nationalism in Gold coast. Due to the outbreak of the cocoa swollen shoot disease, the British colonialists ordered farmers to cut down the cocoa trees without compensation. People became annoyed, joined political parties and agitated for self-rule.

10. The 1941 Atlantic Charter also inspired nationalists in Gold coast to fight for independence. The Charter clearly stated the sovereign rights of all colonised peoples to advocate for self-rule. Nationalists of U.G.C.C. and CPP made use of the Charter to demand for self-government from the British.

11. The inadequate constitutional changes also aroused early nationalism in Gold coast. The 1946 Burns constitution expanded African representatives on the Legco. -Unfortunately, the British appointed the old colonial chiefs who were puppets. Besides, the constitution left the executive under the domination of whites. This made Dr. J.B. Danquah, Kwame Nkrumah and others to reject and decompaign the 1946 Burns constitution. Their explanations led to nationalist feelings.

12. The role of Governor Burns also led to the early independence of Gold Coast. He was understanding, sympathetic, co-operative and accommodative of nationalistic views.

13. The 1946 and 1948 riots also pressurized the British to speed up Gold Coast's independence. They were led by ex-service men, joined by farmers, elites and businessmen. These riots led to the imprisonment of Kwame Nkrumah and J.B. Danquah but this only led to more political awareness and bitterness in Gold Coast. Riots worried the British that the same could happen in the rest of British West Africa since Gold Coast was taken as a model – hence they hurried to grant her independence.

14. The role of political parties: The early formation of mass political parties led to the early independence of Gold Coast. Such parties as the United Gold Coast convention (U.G.C.C.) and the Convention Peoples Party (CCP) formed in 1947 and 1949 respectively, led to sensitization and easy mobilisation of the masses for independence.

15. The Charismatic leadership of Kwame Nkrumah also led to early independence. He was tall, handsome, young, and eloquent and had exceptional organisational ability. He was friendly to school leavers, ex-service men, elites, traders, jobless people etc. He returned to Ghana from abroard in 1947 and gave new life to the politics of Gold Coast. Ten years later, he led Ghana to independence.

16. The role of Sir Arden Clarke. Gold Coast was blessed with the appointment of a new Governor- Sir Charles Arden Clarke. He, too, worked closely with Kwame Nkrumah leading to the early independence of Gold Coast.

17. The role of the press also led to the early independence of Gold Coast. Newspapers like the Accra Evening News & the Cape Coast Daily Mail led to political awakening in Gold Coast and exerted pressure on the British to grant independence.

18. The influence of the labour party. Upon its rise to power in 1945, the Labour Party advocated for decolonization of the entire British colonial Empire. Atlee instructed Governor Burns to make constitutional changes in favour of Africans in Gold Coast- Hence the 1946 Burns constitution.

19. The influence of the UNO, which called for, a speedy decolonisation of Africa led to early self-rule in Ghana. In 1956, the UNO organised a referendum amongst the Ewe tribe living in Western Togo. The Ewe had caused political insecurity because they wanted to join their Ewe tribesmates in Gold Coast. The referendum led to the unity of the entire Ewe under Gold Coast administration. This increased the pace of nationalism in the country.

20. The Manchester Conference of 1945 also influenced nationalism in Gold Coast. Kwame Nkrumah attended this 5th Pan African Congress and adopted the strategy of positive Action, which he used to lead to Gold Coast's independence.

21. The harsh British reaction to the 1948 riots also led to anger and radical nationalism. Instead of discussing with ex-service men, the British shot some of them in the chests and imprisoned Danquash and Nkrumah. This led to increased speed and radicalism in demanding for Gold Coast's independence.

Obstacles in Gold Coast's search for Independence

1. The first political party (U.G.C.C.) was under the leadership of lawyers who were a little proud and failed to reach out to the common man

2. The U.G.C.C. insisted on the use of constitutional methods so as to obtain independence. Even when it was clear that negotiations with the British were producing partial results, the U.G.C.C. insisted on non-radicalism.

3. There was a split of nationalistic efforts when Nkrumah broke off from the U.G.C.C. in 1949 and formed the C.P.P. The two parties remained antagonistic throughout the struggle for independence; the U.G.C.C. accused Nkrumah of being a self-seeker etc.

4. After winning the 1951 elections, Nkrumah became rather dictatorial. He stopped listening to the advice of his comrades and instead expelled a number of them from the C.P.P. This scared other C.P.P. members who voluntarily resigned from the party between 1951 - 1952. This threatened to tear the C.P.P. apart.

5. The internal self-government, which Nkrumah headed between 1951-1956, was characterised by corruption. Public funds went into the pockets of parliamentarians and ministers.

6. Tribal and regional feelings tended to surface and sabotage nationalism in Gold Coast. The Asante felt proud and feared that national unity would sub-merge their traditional greatness. Due to their resistance against the British, the Asante were backward. They wished to use the money from their Cocoa to develop their hospitals and schools. However part of their money went to develop other areas. This nearly alienated the Asante from the struggle.

7. The formation of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) by the Asante in 1954 threatened national Unity in Gold Coast. The NLM under Dr. Busia became so antagonistic with the CPP that several clashes occurred in Kumasi between the supporters of both parties Deaths and destruction occurred.

8. The Ewe of Gold Coast wanted to unite with their tribesmates in Togo. This posed a big challenge to nationalists until 1956 when the UNO organised a referendum by which the Ewe of Togo were brought under the control of Gold Coast.

9. The Northern tribes of Dagomba and Mamprusi felt jealousy of the Southerners and formed their own party called "The Northern Peoples' Party" (NPP). This parochialism endangered the quick pace towards independence.

10. Religious divisions also slowed down the pace of the independence struggle. Muslims formed their Muslim Association Party (MAP) with its headquarters in Kumasi. This tended to work for only the interest of Moslems.

11. Divisions over the suitable form of government also worked against the quick pace towards independence. While some elites like Nkrumah advocated for a Unitary form of Government, the leaders of NLM, MAP and NPP wanted federal governments and therefore advocated for a federal constitution.

12. The British desire to continue exploiting the Gold and Cocoa resources of Gold Coast also proved an obstacle.

13. The use of violent/harsh means to calm down strikes also scared a number of nationalists and delayed Gold Coast's independence. Between 1950-51 the British declared a state of emergency in Gold Coast and jailed a number of nationalists e.g. Kofi Bako and J. Marckhan - the editor of Accra Evening news were jailed for writing seditious articles.

STAGES IN GHANA'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

1. The 1944 Burns constitution. In 1944, Governor Burns introduced a constitution by which African representatives on the Legco were increased. This was a constitutional step towards the independence of Gold Coast. The Legislative Council was the colonial parliament.

2. The 1946 Burns constitution. After the 2nd world war, the labour government in Britain instructed Governor Burns to issue another constitution providing majority seats for Africans in the Legislative Council. This led to the issuing of the 1946 Burns constitution, which was a big step towards Gold Coast's independence.

3. The formation of the U.G.C.C. In 1947, a mass political party- the United Gold Coast convention (U.G.C.C.) was formed by elites and businessmen e.g. J.B. Danquah, William Ofori Atta and George Grant. The U.G.C.C. vowed to use constructional means to fight for Gold coast's independence.

4. The return of Kwame Nkrumah to Gold Coast in 1947 was also a big step towards the country's independence. After studying in America and London for 12 years, he was invited by the U.G.C.C. Using his Charisma, he expanded the U.G.C.C. from 2 to 500 branches within only six months of his return. He was a great orator and organiser who even persuaded the influential Asante to join the U.G.C.C.

5. The 1948 riots in Accra and Kumasi were also great landmarks in Gold Coast's search for independence. The riots were organised by dissatisfied ex-service men. They planned a match to Accra to present their grievances to the governor. Unfortunately, a certain British officer opened fire and killed two of them. This only widened the riots throughout Accra and Kumasi. The white men's property was destroyed or looted. The British cooled the riots by shooting at least 29 Africans. This provided U.G.C.C. with more ground for criticising the British.

6. The arrest of nationalists in 1948 was also a big step towards Gold coast's Independence. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. J.B. Danquah were accused of instigating /causing the 1948 riots and were jailed. However, this led to the more determination amongst nationalists to fight for their independence. It turned Nkrumah into a hero overnight.

7. The appointment of Arden Clarke as the new governor of gold Coast in 1949 also facilitated the road to independence. He was flexible and co-operative with nationalists like Nkrumah. He believed in self-government and prepared Gold Coast for the same.

8. The 1949 Coussey report was also a big step towards Gold Coast's independence. Sir HenleyCoussey was appointed to head a commission of inquiry into the causes of the 1948 riots. The result was the Coussey report, which recommended an increase of African representatives on the Legco, the formation of an executive council of 11 ministers, 8 of whom to be Africans. Colonial masters accepted the proposals.

9. The formation of the CPP in 1949 was also a big step towards Gold Cost's independence. In June 1949, Nkrumah disagreed with other U.G.C.C. leaders. Consequently, he broke away from the U.G.C.C. and formed a new mass Party- the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP). It was radical with a motto "Forward Ever, Backward Never". He recruited into the Party, radical street boys.

10. The Ghana Peoples' Representative Assembly of 1949 also quickened the pace for Gold Coast's independence. Convened by Nkrumah to study the Coussey Report, the Assembly pointed out the loopholes of the report.

11 The call for positive Action. Nkrumah travelled the whole country in 1950 calling for positive action against colonialists. This included the use of non-violent but radical methods e.g. strike, boycotts, protests, writing articles in newspapers etc.

12. The adoption of radical slogans, like "self government now," "Freedom Now" etc ... created a strong sense of determination amongst nationalists to fight for Gold coast's independence.

13. The 1950 arrest of Nkrumah also quickened Gold Coast's pace towards independence. He and others were arrested due to the rampant 1950 riots. He was charged of inciting the public by appealing for "positive action". His second arrest just like the first one just increased his fame.

14. The 1951 elections to the Legco also played a big role in Gold coast's path towards independence. The CPP won 34 out of 38 seats. The 34 elected members included a prisoner- Nkrumah, who was elected to represent Accra constituency in the colonial parliament. This was a surprise which made Sir Arden Clarke to release Nkrumah.

15. The appointment of Nkrumah as the "leader of government business" was also a big step towards Gold Coast's independence- Convinced about Nkrumah's greatness, Sir Charles A. Clarke made him the head of the colonial government with a title "leader of government business". He used his position to demand for the complete independence of Gold Coast. From 1951 onwards there existed cordial relations between the British colonialists and Gold Coast's nationalists.

16. The 1954 elections still showed the power of the CPP over other political parties. It won 79 out of 104 seats. However this legislative victory brewed regional and sectarian opposition against the CPP.

17. The 1956 elections were organised by the British to prove the CPP's strength. All the opposition parties namely UGCC, NLM, MAP, NPP made an alliance against CPP but were overwhelmingly defeated. The masses had reiterated the popular choice of CPP.

18. On 5th May 1957, Britain granted independence to Gold Coast at Mid night with Kwame Nkrumah as the country's first president..

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE ATTAINMENT OF GHANA'S INDEPENDENCE

Two major parties struggled for Gold Coast's independence, namely: the UGCC and the CPP. Both were mass political parties and in both Kwame Nkrumah played a leading role.

The UGCC was formed in 1947 by a group of intellectuals e.g. J.B. Danquah, Grant, Ofori Atta and others. Its main objective was to fight for Gold Coast's independence through the use of constitutional means.

The UGCC was a mass party, which recruited people from all, walks of life e.g. lawyers, disgrunted cocoa farmers and ex-service men, traders etc. This non-sectarian approach won the UGCC a number of supporters.

The UGCC came out as a voice of the aggrieved farmers whose cocoa plants had been cut down by government officials due to the outbreak of the Swollen Shoot Cocoa disease. UGCC interpreted this as a deliberate move to make Gold Coastians poor. It called for the compensation of farmers.

It also condemned the wide spread unemployment, exploitation of farmers by English businessmen and inflation. This attracted a number of people to join the party.

In 1947, Nkrumah returned home and was made the secretary general of the UGCC. Having witnessed Western politics and democracy, and having attended the 5th Pan African Congress Nkrumah gave the UGCC new life. He worked tirelessly for the party.

The UGCC pointed out the weaknesses of the 1946 Burns constitution. It had favoured the illiterate chiefs and left the elites out of the legislative Assembly. It had also vested too much power into the hands of colonial masters since they occupied the ministerial posts (the executive). It had also ignored the needs of Northern Gold Coast. The UGCC demanded for a more representative constitution.

The UGCC reached out to the influential but parochial Asante people and attracted them in to the party. This was a big step towards national unity.

In 1948, the UGCC backed up the ex-service men when they organised a peaceful demonstration to Accra. The ex-service men were poor, unemployed and hungry. Yet they had been promised heaven on earth before being recruited to serve in the Second World War.

When the colonial police shot at the demonstrators, the UGCC openly criticized this action. It called upon all Ghanaians to unite against such acts of terrorism. Although this earned Nkrumah and Danquah an arrest, at least it served to widen support for the UGCC and its leaders.

On their release, the UGCC leaders toured the whole country mobilising the people to fight for independence. They succeeded in recruiting a number of new members.

The UGCC pointed out the weaknesses of the 1949 Coussey report, which had been appointed to study the causes of the 1948 riots. It recommended the expansion of African representatives in the Legco and colonial cabinet but to the UGCC, this was not enough. It advocated for full independence.

Misunderstandings between Nkrumah and Danquah led to his breaking away from the UGCC to form the CPP. Nkrumah's breaking away greatly weakened the UGCC but the party still pressed for Gold Coast's independence - this is a credit.

The UGCC must be hailed for participating in the various pre-independence elections e.g. in 1951, 1954 and 1956 parliamentary/Legco elections. It is credited for struggling to Africanise Ghana's politics.

The UGCC sensitised people about the oppressive and exploitative nature of the British colonialists.

It also reminded the people about their past glories e.g. the Anglo-Asante wars of the 19th Century during which the Asante had defeated the British twice, the great ancient Ghana Empire etc. All these aroused nationalistic feelings. However,

The U.G.C.C. became too peaceful and constitutional. This made it fail to lead Gold Coast to independence.

It failed to appreciate Nkrumah's radicalism and instead forced him to resign and form a rival party- the CPP.

Its leaders were mainly lawyers who were proud and distant from the entire masses. It failed to be a spokes mouth for street boys.

It insisted on peaceful methods even when they couldn't produce results.

U.G.C.C. became an unhealthy competitor against Nkrumah whom it smeared black.

The role of the CPP.

The CPP was formed in 1949 by Kwame Nkrumah and Y.K., Djin as a breakaway group from the U.G.C.C. It was radical and soon became more popular than its mother - the U.G.C.C.

Its aims were to fight for Gold Coast's independence, put an end to oppression, exploitation, unemployment and inflation - In short, to improve the living standards of the people in a free and independent Ghana.

It recruited a number of disgruntled but militant youths, mainly from Accra's and Kumasi's verandahs. It also recruited farmers, ex-service men, traders, elites etc. Hence it became a mass political party.

Its boss- Nkrumah started a newspaper- the Accra Evening News, which sensitised the masses about the way forward. It transmitted hostile propaganda against colonialists and called upon all the peoples of Gold coast to unite against colonialists.

The CPP coined revolutionary slogans such as "Self-government now", "Forward Ever, Back ward never"-, "Seek Ye the political Kingdom first and the rest will follow..." etc. All these aroused peoples' nationalistic sentiments.

The CPP identified itself with the peoples' grievances e.g. Ic condemned the payment of low prices to Cocoa farmers, the cutting down of Cocoa plants without compensation, the slow pace of Africanizing Gold Coast politics etc.

It pointed out the loopholes of the Cousse report of 1949. To the U.G.C.C., the British were promoting the old illiterate chiefs as a way of prolonging their colonial rule in Gold Coast.

CPP had a number of journalists who covered all topics of oppression and exploitation in all corners of the country. This led to the arrest of three of its journalists- but this didn't scare the party members.

Nkrumah adopted Ghandism or positive action as a method of fighting for independence. All the CPP members followed suit. Hence boycotts, strikes, and demonstrations became rampant in 1950 leading to the imprisonment of CPP leaders, the banning of the Accra Evening Newspaper and jailing of journalists. But this didn't scare the remaining CPP leaders.

The CPP junior leaders kept on demanding for the release of their jailed leaders. They also effectively organised the 1951 elections which the CPP won with a majority of 34 seats out of 38. To the surprise of the colonial government, the imprisoned Nkrumah won the Accra constituency seat.

Nkrumah's electoral victory made the governor, Sir Ardcn Clarke to release him and appoint him as the head of the government business. Ik was asked to form his own government and did this by appointing ministers from all over Gold Coast. Hence the CPP had won the semi-independence of Gold coast.

The CPP's leadership of the internal self-government was characterised by a number of achievements.

\* In 1953, the CPP bosses submitted proposals for a new constitution. These formed the core of the 1954-revised constitution.

\* The CPP internal self-government carried out infrastructural development. It constructed roads and railways e.g. the line from Kumasi to Accra, then to Tokoradi port.

\* It improved health services e.g. it set up Kumasi hospital.

\* It carried out agricultural reforms by providing quality seeds, marketing the farmers' Cocoa, paying reasonable prices to farmers etc.

\* It advocated for environmental protection.

\* It set up a Cocoa purchasing company in 1952.

\* It established several schools.

\* It put up housing schemes.

\* Constructed banks, hotels.

\* It improved the security of the country.

\* It participated in the 1954 elections and won.

\* It helped Gold Coast to obtain a new and more representative constitution in 1954.

\* It tried to control its members from fighting against rival parties like MAP, NPP, NLM.

\* It won the 1956 pre-independence elections by defeating an alliance of all opposition parties. Hence on 5th/6th March 1957, the British granted independence to Gold Coast under CPP leadership.

\* The CPP renamed the country "Ghana" and dropped the colonial and exploitative name "Gold Coast".

GHANA AND THE DECOLONISATION OF THE REST OF AFRICA

Under the leadership of Nkrumah, Ghana played a significant role in the decolonisation process in Africa.

1. The independence of Ghana on 5th March 1957 inspired other African colonies to demand for their independence. It brought a new wind of change to blow across Africa. Just as Ghana had obtained self-rule, even other British African colonies wanted the same. They therefore pressurised Britain to grant them self- rule. Hence the independence of Tanganyika and Sierraleone in 1961,Uganda in 1962, Kenya and Zanzibar in 1963, Gambia in 1965 etc.

2. Ghana provided proper guidance to other African countries still struggling for independence. Before, during and after independence, Nkrumah declared that the independence of Ghana alone would be meaningless if the rest of Africa remained under colonial rule. He therefore vowed to use all resources at his disposal to fight for Africa's independence. He moved to many African countries providing guidance to the nationalists.

3. Nkrumah declared the 20th Century as a century for Africa and the 1960s as a decade of decolonisation. This made nationalists to fight hard and obtain self-rule before the end of the Century.

4. A lesson to endure sufferings: Other African nationalists came to learn that independence could not be obtained on a silver plate. They learnt of the imprisonment and torture of J.B. Danquah, Kwame Nkrumah and other nationalists in Gold Coast. They learnt about the killings of peaceful demonstrators in 1948 etc. Such experiences made nationalists in other African countries to endure suffering e.g. in Uganda, South Africa and Angola.

5. Ghana as a base of Pan-Africanism: Soon after independence, Nkrumah organised Pan African congresses in Accra. The first congress of independent states was in April 1958, followed by the December 1958 congress for all African states- whether or not independent. These became breeding grounds for nationalistic ideas and strategies for independence. Participants like Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Tom Mboya of Kenya and Roberto Holden of Angola spearheaded the struggles for independence in their home countries.

6. It became a propaganda base for African nationalists. This was because a number of African nationalists used Radio Accra to spread anti-colonial propaganda. They condemned the colonial oppression and exploitation and called upon the masses to unite against the colonial masters.

7. African States adopted Ghandism or positive action as a method of fighting for independence. This was because it had proved successful in Ghana. Hence strikes, boycotts, protests and demonstrations became rampant in Uganda, Nigeria, Zambia, and South Africa etc.

8. Ghana extended financial help to nationalists in various parts of Africa, e.g. Malawi, Belgium Congo, South Africa Angola and Guinea. The abrupt French withdrawal from Guinea and their destruction of property and refusal to extend economic aid to the country had threatened to demean Guinea's independence. This made Nkrumah to extend a Ghanaian loan of £ 4,500,000 to Guinea for economic reconstruction.

9. Formation of political parties: Ghana called upon all African nationalists to organise themselves into political parties or liberation movements. Hence Tom Mboya of Kenya formed the Convention Party to fight for Kenya's self-rule. Its name was close to Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party.

10. Ghana advocated for African Unity: In 1958, it initiated the Ghana -Guinea Union and described it as the nucleus of a United States of Africa. It was later joined by Mali and the three presidents - Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and Modibo Keita started discussing the prospects of African Unity and extended support to liberation movements in other African countries.

11. It provided a training base for the guerrillas of the ANC, MPLA, ZANU, ZAPU, SWAPO and FRELIMO. Most of these were given academic and military training in Ghana, Were issued with Ghanaian passports and identity cards etc.

12. It reconciled nationalists who had developed conflicts. These included individuals like Lumumba against Kasavubu in Congo and parties like the ZANU against the ZAPU in Zimbabwe.

13. Ghana influenced the UNO to speed up the decolonisation of Africa. Nkrumah did this by exposing the atrocities of colonialists in Africa e.g. in 1960, he described the situation in Algeria as pathetic and won the UNO's sympathy for the Algerians. He also criticised the Portuguese brutality in Africa. This made the UNO to pressurize both France and Portugal to decolonise.

14. Ghana condemned secessionism in Africa. For example it condemned the 1960 64 Katanga secessionist movement and even dispatched troops to assist Lumumba against the secessionists.

15. Ghana called for African Unity. As a strong Pan African state, Ghana was unhappy with the divisions between the radical Casablanca nationalists and the moderate Monrovia group. Nkrumah worked hard to convince both groups to dissolve their differences. The effect of this was the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

16. Ghana's non-alignment ideology was quickly adopted by other African states in relation to superpower politics.

17. Nkrumah was an environmentalist who fought for the protection of the environment in Africa. He condemned the 1959 nuclear bomb tests at Reggane in Algeria. At a special security conference in Accra, he stated that such tests were dangerous to African health and independence. He even complained about the same issue during the 1960 UNO summit. This made the UNO to follow up the matter.

NKRUMAH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR GHANA'S INDEPENDENCE

Nkrumah was a Nzima by tribe, born to a gold Smither around 1909. He was educated in catholic schools and qualified as a teacher. He attended Achimota College, Accra T.T.C. and Universities in both America and England where he qualified as a lawyer.

While in America, he joined the politics of Africans in the diaspora. He was soon elected as the president of the African Students' Organisation in America and Canada. He took keen interest in the writings of Marx, Lenin, Mazzini and Marcus Garvey. Their ideas, the knowledge of history and economics from American Universities, his observation of the democratic American society and his law course in England all sharpened him and made him a tough and charismatic person.

While in America, he learnt about the Italian aggression against Ethiopia (1935-41) and became deeply nationalistic.

He participated in organising the 1945 Manchester conference, which brought him fame, popularity and friends.

His active role in fighting for Ghana's independence started in 1947 when he returned to Gold Coast and was appointed as the secretary general for the UGCC. Using his experience and personal charisma as a young, handsome, intelligent and eloquent politician, he revolutionalised the UGCC and expanded its operations.

He condemned colonial exploitation and oppression and called upon all Gold Coastians to join the struggle for independence. He attracted doctors, teachers, journalists and market mummies into the party. He even succeeded in convincing the influential Asante to join the party.

As an admirer of Ghandism, he called for a more radical approach of the UGCC towards the question of Gold Coast's independence. However, this caused him misunderstandings with some UGCC bosses who believed in the use of constitutionalism to win Gold Coast's independence.

He was jailed in 1948 allegedly for engineering the 1948 riots in Accra and Kumasi. However, this only served to increase his popularity and fame. On his release from prison therefore, he was given a thundering welcome.

He was the founder of the Accra Evening Newspaper, which sensitized the people of Gold coast about their political, economic and social rights and condemned colonial evils.

In 1949, he broke off from the UGCC to form his own radical party- the CPP. This was a party of militant youths- mainly from the verandahs of Accra and Kumasi. He sensitised them about the urgent need for independence as a way of solving their problems.

Nkrumah also recruited other categories of Ghanaians into the CPP. These included traders, elites, peasants, farmers, students etc. Hence the CPP became a mass party.

He worked closely with trade unionists whose aims were not far from those of the CPP. These trade Unions helped him get wider membership.

Due to his call for positive action, there occurred several riots in 1950 and this earned Nkrumah another arrest. This, just like the first imprisonment, earned him more popularity.

While in St. James Fort prison in 1951, Nkrumah was elected as a representative of Accra constituency in the Legislative Assembly. This indicated the peoples' love for him as a fighter against colonialism, unemployment, inflation, low prices to farmers etc.

In 1951 still, he was released from prison and given a great task of heading the colonial government in pre-independent Gold Coast. He was given a title of "leader of government business" and was asked to appoint his ministers, which he did with impartiality - he chose them from various regions of Gold Coast.

As a leader of government business, Nkrumah demonstrated his abilities and great concern for Gold Coast by carrying out several reforms. These were as follows:

He improved transport and communication by setting up a number of roads, railways and bridges e.g. the Kumasi -Accra line and Accra - Tokoradi highway. These enabled farmers to transport their crops to markets.

Piped water and electricity were extended to most towns and villages.

There were improvements of ports and harbours e.g. Tokoradi and Tema harbours were expanded.

He improved health by setting up health centres such as Kumasi Hospital. He set up district and regional hospitals.

He reformed the education system by constructing several primary, secondary and tertiary institutions e.g. the Cape Coast University. He even sent students abroad for further education. He provided free primary education for all and later in 1961 it was made compulsory.

He combated the swollen shoot Cocoa disease by compensating farmers in return for cutting down the Cocoa trees.

His government set up a Cocoa purchasing company in 1952 to market the farmers' produce. It paid fair prices to farmers.

Scientific methods of farming were introduced e.g. irrigation, mechanised farming, the use of fertilisers and pest sides etc.

He diversified agriculture by introducing palm oil and rubber growing.

He emphasised the need to respect African culture and the African personality.

He supported local artists to compose songs and plays against colonialism.

He called for unity and argued that the basic principle behind African unity is the black skin.

He Africanised the civil service by replacing European expatriates with African elites. He created elective urban and district councils, which catered for local needs.

He proposed constitutional reforms and this resulted into the 1954 constitution with 104 legislative seats. All members were to be elected by the people.

As head of government business he exercised financial discipline.

He defeated sectarian and regional tendencies by defeating all the sectarian parties such as MAP, NLM and NPP in the 1954 and 1956 elections. After winning them, he called for unity.

He advocated for the full independence of Gold Coast and this was granted on 5th March 1957 with him as the first president.

THE SHORT COMINGS AND DOWN FALL OF KWAME NKRUMAH

By 1966, the once popular Nkrumah had become so unpopular that he was removed from power on 24th February 1966 through a coup de tat planned by Major Afrifa, Colonel Kotoka and Colonel Ocran. The origins of the coup can be traced in the following circumstances

1. Nkrumah's change of character. The once humble, co-operative and flexible Nkrumah turned into a selfish, indifferent and arrogant leader. His admirers termed him as "Osagyefore" (Redeemer) which increased his arrogance. From 1960 on, he trusted himself more than any other person and stopped accepting constructive advice. This made him insensitive to the needs of the people.

2. He harassed his critics. When he became a dictator, some of his colleagues abandoned him and joined the opposition. He resorted to acts of intimidation against them. For instance, when the United Party (UP) was formed in October 1957, Nkrumah introduced the Preventive Detention Act in July 1958. It empowered the government to imprison, without trial, any person suspected of ill intentions against the government. This saw the harassment of UP opponents and led to the imprisonment of 1361 people between 1960 - 1965. These included J.B. Danquah and Atta Ofori. Danquah died in prison.

3. He destroyed democracy by issuing a republican constitution in 1960. The constitution gave him the title of president with excessive powers to appoint, transfer or dismiss civil servants. He used these powers to tamper with the judiciary e.g. after his attempted assassination at Kalungugu in August 1962 he ordered the arrest and trial of Tawia Adamafio, Kofi Crabbe and Ako Adjei. Though Nkrumah insisted that Adamafio was guilty, court found no evidence and acquitted him. In reaction, Nkrumah dismissed the chief justice and other judges! He appointed his judge; re tried the 3 ministers and sentenced them to death. Nkrumah reduced the punishment to life imprisonment.

4. He censored the press. As a real dictator who feared political competition and criticism, Nkrumah reduced the freedom of journalists. Apart from the "Ghanaian Times" and the "Accra Evening News", other opposition newspapers e.g. "The Daily Graphic" was under strict censorship.

5. He created new security organs to protect him and prolong his stay in power. He set up a presidential Guard, which was run by Russians and a special intelligence unit led by Ambrose Yankey. Spies were sent all over the country; a number of actual and potential enemies of Nkrumah were harassed.

6. He rigged the electoral process. In January 1964, a referendum was held to decide whether Ghana was to become a one party state or remain a multi-party state. Also to decide whether the president had powers to dismiss high court judges. Nkrumah rigged the voting process and got 2,773,920 in favour of his views and only 2,452 against.

Then in 1965 early in the morning on the day of electing parliamentarians, Nkrumah simply announced the names of his appointed MPs on Radio. This was an abuse of democracy since some of the MPs didn't even know the locations of their constituencies.

7. He interfered with the police. In 1964, there was another assassination attempt against Nkrumah. This was followed by the dismissal and detention of a number of policemen suspected of the plot. This alienated the police from Nkrumah. The police commissioner Harlley and his deputy Deku joined the coup plotters.

8. Divisions within the army. Nkrumah had created his Presidential Guard, which was highly paid and favoured. However the rest of the army suffered from low payments, lack of food, weapons, uniforms and vehicles. Such divisions in the army led to the coup.

9. Dismissal of army officers. The 1960 constitution had given him powers to dismiss, transfer, promote or demote army officers without consultation. In August 1965, he dismissed the chief of staff- Major General Ottu and his deputy It. General Ankrah. Ottu was replaced by the incompetent Charles Barwah who was wrongly promoted to the rank of Major General. These acts annoyed soldiers like Colonel Kotoka, Major Afrifa and Colonel Ocran who organised a coup against Nkrumah.

10. He used the army for personal aims. Soldiers were tired of fighting "useless" wars. For instance between 1961-1965, Nkrumah sent the Ghanaian army to Congo to crash the Katanga Secessionists. Many soldiers like General Afrifa wondered why they were intervening in the affairs of another country at a great cost of lives and finances. They gave this as one of the reasons for the coup.

11. Excessive ambition also led to Nkrumah's downfall. He embarked on a number of expensive projects simultaneously e.g. The 10 mile Accra to Tema Motor Highway, the Volta River project, schools, state farms and 27 state factories. This was good but for a poor country like Ghana, it was too much and reflected excessive ambition. Soon there was no money to complete the projects and Nkrumah turned to borrowing. He left Ghana with foreign debts.

12. Corruption in government. His socialist friends whom he had appointed to key posts in the CPP, Trade Union Congress, banks, journalism and the civil service became very corrupt. They embezzled public funds, bought expensive cars, built mansions and yet they ironically preached socialism! This was a mockery especially because Nkrumah, too, opened up accounts in foreign banks and spent excessively on his girl friends and birthdays.

13. Economic hardships and bankruptcy. By December 1965, the CPP government had run bankrupt due to extravagancy, useless external missions, ambitious projects, corruption and mismanagement. On the side of commoners, they suffered from inflation, unemployment and poverty due to the fall of Cocoa prices on the world market.

14. The failure of socialism also caused him problems. He appointed socialists to key posts, set up an institute at Winneba to teach the socialist ideology and soldiers were also politicised. In 1961, he toured socialist countries and got a number of foreign socialist advisers. He persecuted politicians who did not succumb to the socialist ideology and this cost him popularity.

15. Foreign intrigue also led to the 1966 coup against Nkrumah. Having become a socialist, Nkrumah put restrictions on European capitalists. This annoyed USA and the Western block who instigated and funded the army to organise a coup against Nkrumah.

16. The failure of constitutional means to remove Nkrumah also led to the coup. Nkrumah had turned himself into the irreplaceable leader of Ghana "the Osagyefore". He had to be removed through the gun.

17. The influence of other coups in Africa also contributed to the 1966 coup against Nkrumah e.g. the 1952 coup in Egypt, the 1963 in Togo, the 1965 coup in Congo etc ... had a demonstration effect on soldiers in Ghana.

18. He weakened the parliament. To prevent opposition in parliament. Nkrumah bribed the opposition parliamentarians to cross the carpet. Those who refused were harassed e.g. Dr Busia who fled into exile. By 1960, the number of opposition parliamentarians had fallen from 27 in 1957 to only 08. Then in 1965, he appointed his own parliamentarians instead of them being elected by the people. This meant that the parliament became a mere stooge of Nkrumah.

CONSEQUENCES OF NKRUMAH’S DOWNFALL.

The February 1966 coup was planned by colonel Kotoka of the Kumasi 2nd infantry Brigade who recruited Major Akwasi Afrifa of the Tamale garrison, colonel Ocran of the Accra garrison and the retrenched policemen such as Police commissioner J.W.K. Hartley and his deputy, A.K. Deku. Early morning on 24th February, they attacked the Presidential guard units in Flagstaff House and other key points in Accra. There was limited resistance. Nkrumah was over thrown when attending a common wealth Peace meeting on Vietnam. Consequences were as follows.

* Some soldiers died in the fighting e.g. the new Chief of Staff- Major General Charles Barwah (Nkrumah's sycophant).
  + A number of political prisoners jailed by Nkrumah were released- about 600 of them. A number of corrupt officials during Nkrumah's government were brought to book e.g. Ministers, MPs and CPP officials. Those who proved innocent before the commission of inquiry were released.
  + The CPP was dissolved and a National Liberation Council was set up under General Ankrah. It was composed of army and police officers.
  + There was massive rejoicing throughout the country.
  + The competent opposition chiefs whom Nkrumah had replaced with his CPP yes- men were recalled and restored to power
  + For reconciliation purposes, a number of CPP civil servants with qualifications were retained in the civil service.
  + The NLC granted freedoms of speech, the press and worship.
  + The NLM made economic reforms. Firstly it set up an economic committee led by E.N. Omaboe. It was staffed with graduates from Cambridge, Harvard, and London etc. They had degrees in economics and statistics.
  + A 2-year development plan was put in place to replace Nkrumah's 7-year development plan. The 2-year development plan concerned itself with the development of agriculture, fisheries and water supplies,
  + New managers of state corporations were appointed as a means of combating corruption and inefficiency.
  + Redundant labourers were retrenched with fair packages.
  + Salaries and wages for civil servants were raised to enable them earn a living wage. Nkrumah's ambitious projects were abandoned as well as other luxurious expenditures in the offices of the president and ministers.
  + Ghana's external debts were rescheduled.
  + Ankrah's NLC government asked for assistance from capitalist countries. Hence America provided Ghana with food relief e.g. powdered milk.
  + The NLC tried to improve health by importing drugs and receiving some drugs as donations from Britain.
  + The NLC government convinced the IMF to provide Ghana with grants to solve her balance of payments problems.
  + The NLC made preparations to return the country to civilian rule. It drew up anew constitution and organised the 1969 parliamentery elections, which were won by the Progressive Party of Dr. Ivone uusia.

However, the following problems remained;

-The people had lost confidence in African leaders and preferred whites

-Unemployment.

-A fall of prices of cocoa on the world market.

- High prices for foodstuffs and imports.

-Police corruption

- A heavy national debt

- An increase in the defence budget at the expense of their sectors.

These and many other problems made Dr Kofi Busia's government unpopular.

Nowonder he was overthrown by Acheampong in the January 1972 coup.

CAUSES OF THE 1972 COUP IN GHANA

It was organised by the puritanical army officer Colonel Ignatius Acheampong against Dr Kofi Busia on 13th January 1972. It was a bloodless coup and after it, Acheampong established a National Redemptive Council and made several reforms.

1. Excessive corruption: Dr. Busia's ministers became too corrupt and began competing with one another in buying expensive cars, setting up expensive houses, businesses, estates etc.

2. Tribalism: Dr Busia began promoting his Asante tribesmates in the civil service, army etc and discriminated against smaller tribes e.g. the Ewe.

3. Poor administration: Dr. Busia was a poor administrator who could not take quick decisions. He was more theoretical than practical.

4. His dialogue with South Africa costed him popularity both at home and abroad. At - a time when all African states hated the South African apartheid regime, he wasn't decided whether to cut off relations with South Africa or not.

5. Expulsion of African nationalists: Dr. Busia ordered the expulsion of the citizens of other African countries living and working in Ghana. This undermined his reputation and regime.

6. Economic crisis: This was due to the fall in cocoa prices on the world market in 1971. He was advised to devalue the cedi by 20 - 25% but he imposed a 44% devaluation of the cedi. This led to an immediate rise in the prices of imported goods and made life hard for Ghanaians.

7. Grievances of Cocoa farmers: Previously, the Cocoa Marketing Board used to supply finances to its agents to buy Cocoa at the beginning of each harvesting season. During Busia's rule, the system was changed. The agents of the Board could only pay farmers after selling the Cocoa. This produced resentment.

8. The disappointment of the army: In 1971. Dr. Busia's government decided to cut down the budget of the army by 10%. He argued that he was finding solutions to the country's economic problems. Officers' vehicle allowances were abolished, the movement and training of the army were reduced etc. This annoyed the armed forces.

9. Dictatorship: Dr Busia had stopped representing the Liberal views that had supported him to power. He, like Nkrumah, became power drank and became a dictator. For example, he arbitrarily dismissed an editor of a government owned newspaper, cut the army budget and imprisoned some of his critics.

10. Confrontation with the Trade Unions: Dr Busia tried to influence the Trade Union Congress (TUC) to give leadership posts to his PP supporters. When the TUC rejected the orders, a confrontation ensued. He proposed a law to disband/ban the TUC but this only led to strikes and imprisonments.

11. Oppression of opponents: His dictatorship made people to start talking about the return of Nkrumah. Any journalists reporting about this were arrested, businessmen selling Nkrumah photos were arrested and beaten etc.

NB. There have been several other coups in Ghana e.g. the 1978 coup, 1979 coup 1981 coup.

NKRUMAH AS A PAN AFRICANIST.

- He advocated for African unity and formed the Ghana-Guinea Union - later Ghana- Guinea- Mali Union, as a nucleus for African unity.

He advocated for the independence of the entire continent because the independence of Ghana alone would be meaningless if the rest of Africa remained colonised.

- He organised the April 1958 Pan African Congress in Accra. It was attended by all the independent African states. He arged them to assist those African territories still under colonial yoke.

- He organised a second Pan African Congress in Accra in December 1958. It was attended by all African states including those that were not yet liberated. He called for unity against colonialism.

- He decampaigned colonialism all over Africa.

- He played a significant role in the formation of the OAU in 1963.

- He articulated the idea of the African personality.

- He promoted African culture and called upon all fellow African nationalists to respect it and feel proud of it.

- He intervened in conflicts between nationalists all over the continent and called for reconciliation.

- He changed the colonial name of Gold Coast to Ghana.

He sent financial assistance to African nationalists fighting for independence.

- He decampaigned the French nuclear tests on African soil.

- He cut off diplomatic ties with France when General Charles de-Gaulle refused to stop carrying out nuclear tests at Reggane in Algeria.

For an assessment of Nkrumah, do the following:

Give his political, economic and social contributions to Ghana's independence.

- Give his failures which resulted into a coup against him..

Observations

- It is true he was a great man but became more of an African than a Ghanaian.

- He strained Ghana's resources by sending help to other African countries- yet unemployment inflation and the like were still prevailing in Ghana.

- He advocated for democracy, freedom, liberty and equality all over the continent. Paradoxically, he denied all these to the Ghanaians!

- At home, he became a dictator, who persecuted political rivals, political parties, detained his opponents e.g. Dr. Danquah etc.

# CHAPTER FIVE

THE DECOLONISATION OF BRITISH EAST AFRICA

# NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA

# The Road to independence

Tanganyika was colonised by the Germans during the 19th Century. German rule was authoritative, oppressive and exploitative- a thing which led to a number of resistances, the most famous being the Maji Maji rebellion of 1905-1907.

During the 1st and 2nd World Wars, Tanganyika became a battlefield in the struggle between the Germans against the British who had colonised Uganda and Kenya. Besides acquiring military tactics, the peoples of Tanganyika came to learn that the allied powers were fighting to end German Nazism (a form of colonialism). It is not surprising that nationalism in Tanganyika grew at a fast rate after the 2nd World War. It should also be noted that after the 2nd world war, the UNO mandated Tanganyika to Britain. This meant that Britain had the responsibility of preparing her for independence.

THE POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS TOWARDS TANGANYIKA'S INDEPENDENCE

1. Appointments to the Legco. In 1945, two Africans were appointed to represent fellow Tanganyikans in the Legislative council (colonial parliament). These were the first Africans ever to sit on the Legco and therefore a major constitutional step towards Tanganyika's independence. They used their position to demand for more African representation and for the right of self-government. Due to their pressure, a third African was appointed to the Legco in 1946.

2. The T.A.A. became political in 1945. The Tanganyika African Association- T.A.A. had been formed way back in 1929. It was an Association for teachers, doctors, salt and sisal workers which originally aimed at improving the living and working conditions of African worke. By 1945, largely due to the impact of the2nd World War, the TAA had transformed itself into a political pressure group. It made nationalistic demands for self-government and recruited Tanganyikans of all tribes, sexes, professions and ages into its membership.

3. The end of the 2nd World War. In 1945, the 2nd World War came to an end but left the minds of Tanganyikans enlightened. They had come to learn that the allied powers were fighting to end German colonialism. This inspired them to demand for an end to colonialism in Tanganyika. In the same year, Tanganyika's son abroad- Julius Nyerere attended the 1945 Manchester conference in which colonialism was condemned. He learnt a lot from fellow pan Africanists.

4. Transition into a UN trust territory. In 1946, Tanganyika became a UN mandated "territory” and was entrusted to Britain to take care of it. With its new status, Tanganyika enjoyed periodic supervision by UN officials. The UN trusteeship council and decolonisation committee attentively listened to the demands of Tanganyika's nationalists like Japhet Kirilo and Julius Nyerere.

5. The 1947 workers' strike. Owing to poor conditions of work such as low salaries, various workers like teachers, doctors, salt and sisal workers organised a nation wide strike in 1947. It was supported by the TAA and was characterised by peaceful demonstrations and nationalistic demands for independence.

6. The 1947 protest against the E.A.F. The British had an idea of creating an East Africa Federation (EAF). Their intention was to bring all the East African countries under a uniform administration. However this was vehemently opposed by the TAA which feared that the British intended to turn Tanganyika into white man's country as the case was in Kenya. The protest against the idea of a closer Union in East Africa (EAF) was an expression of growing Tanganyikan nationalism.

7. Kirilo's visit to UNO headquarters. Following the eviction of 3,000 Meru people from their land by white settlers, their leader Japhet Kirilo formed the Meru Citizens' Union of freemen in 1951. In the following year Japhet Kirilo visited the UN headquarters in New York and presented a petition against confiscating the land of the Meru. This was a step ahead in Tanganyika's nationalism.

8. The 1951 UN visit to Tanganyika. As part of its supervisory role, the UNO sent a mission to Tanganyika to report on the situation. The UN mission carefully listened to TAA's demands which included the demand for self government.

9. The 1953 local government ordinance. Due to the increasing demand for the reform of indirect rule, the British governor issued a local government ordinance in 1953. His ordinance/law advocated for the creation of locally elected councils to replace the traditional chiefs.

10. Nyerere became TAA president in 1953. Having experienced political advancement in Britain, Julius Nyerere returned to Tanganyika in 1946 and joined the TAA. In 1953, he was elected its president and re-organised it into a more political and nationalistic association.

11. The formation of the TANU in 1954. On 9th July 1954, Nyerere and his colleagues transformed the TAA into TANU- Tanganyika African National Union. Its avowed aims were to achieve Tanganyika's independence under an African government and to end all forms of divisionism in Tanganyika. Hence a positive step towards Tanganyika's independence.

12. The 1954 UN mission to Tanganyika. A UN inspectorate mission to Tanganyika in 1954 listened to the proposals of TANU. It consequently demanded Britain to set up a timetable for the quick decolonisation of Tanganyika.

13. Appointment of Africans to the executive. In 1954, the British appointed more Africans and Asians to the executive council and started training them to handle ministerial duties. This was a key step towards independence.

14. Nyerere's visit to UN Headquarters in 1955. The new president of TANU visited the UN headquarters in New York and demanded for world support for Tanganyika's independence.

15. The 1955 Legco elections. For the first time Africans were allowed by the British to elect their representatives to the Legco in 1955. Hence a major constitutional development.

16. Nyerere became a full time politician. In 1956, Julius Nyerere who had been serving as a school teacher resigned from teaching and dedicated all his energies to organising the activities of TANU.

17. The policy of multi racialism. In 1956, those who opposed TANU formed the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) to oppose the transition of Tanganyika into an independent government under African control. In 1957, the British officially introduced the multi-racial policy whereby Africans, Europeans and Asians were to be equally represented in administration at all levels of government. This policy made Africans scared of foreign influence and joined the TANU in big numbers. In 1958, TANU membership shot to almost 250,000 people.

18. The 1958 riots in Geita. Africans in Geita rioted against the multi-racial policy of the British. Their fear was that Europeans and Asians could easily make claims over African land and could out vote African interests.

19. Persecution of TANU members. Due to the increasing radicalism of TANU, a number of demonstrators were arrested and jailed. TANU had been banned in 11 (eleven) districts by 1958 and Nyerere was banned from addressing TANU rallies without permission. However this persecution only hardened the nationalists.

20. The January 1958 TANU conference resolved that TANU was to contest with the UTP in that years' election with a hope of winning. The 1958/59 elections were won by the TANU which was a major constitutional development towards Tanganyika's independence.

21. The appointment of Sir Richard Turnbull. In 1958, a new governor was sent to Tanganyika with instructions to prepare it for independence. He was a liberal who co-operated closely with Julius Nyerere and having served in Kenya at the height of the Mau Mau rebellion, was careful to avoid a similar situation in Tanganyika. Hence he quickened the process of independence.

22. The creation of the council of ministers. In June 1959, the executive council was replaced with a council of ministers and 5 Africans belonging to TANU were appointed ministers. These acted as a nucleus from which a fully independent government could grow.

23. The 1960 Legco elections were held on the basis of a wide suffrage. All Tanganyikas who earned £75 and above a year and all those who were literate were allowed to vote. Out of the 71 representatives elected to the Legco only one belonged to the UTP. The rest (70 seats) were won by the TANU and Nyerere was asked to form a government.

24. In March 1961, a constitutional conference was held in Dar-es-Salaam and on 1st May 1961, Tanganyika was granted internal self government which was accompanied by full independence on 9th December 1961 at midnight.

## FACTORS FOR THE GROWTH OF NON-ETHNIC NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA.

A number of factors can be advanced to explain the speedy and smooth growth of nationalism in Tanganyika.

1. Tanganyika's scattered population. Tanganyika didn't have concentrated populations and therefore there was absence of tribal competitions. This enabled Julius Nyerere from an insignificant Wazanaki tribe to be accepted by most tribes of Tanganyika.

2. Absence of powerful and wealth tribes. None of Tanganyika's tribes could claim to be richer or more powerful than others. The 120 or so tribes were small and none was large enough to acquire a predominant status. This can also be credited on the Germans who never favoured or promoted any one tribe at the expense of others.

3. The Uniting role of Swahili Language. There was a long tradition of interaction between the tribes of Tanganyika. They used to trade with one another and the language of trade was Swahili. It was a neutral language and became a uniting factor for all native tribes. Good enough even the German colonialists supported it in schools. So it helped to unite the elites and peasants. Hence when Japhet Kirilo travelled across Tanganyika warning against land alienation (as in Meru), he was clearly understood. Even Nyerere used the same language later.

4. The example of the Maji Maji rebellion. Between 1905-1907, a number of Tanganyika's tribes e.g. the Ngoni, Pogoro, Wagindo etc had united and fought against German colonialism. Though defeated, the spirit of Unity amongst tribes remained and this helped to prevent ethnic nationalism in Tanganyika.

5. Adoption of non-violence. During the Maji Maji, the Germans had used extreme violence to suppress the violet rebellion. This taught Tanganyikans a lesson that violence only leads to death and economic decline. After the 2nd World War therefore, Tanganyika adopted non-violence or Ghandism as a method of struggling for their independence. This pleased the British who decided to speed up Tanganyika's independence.

6. The role of welfare associations. After the first World War, the Germans allowed Africans to form a number of trade Unions so as to improve their working conditions e.g. the Bukoba-Buhaya Union (1924), the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association (1925), the Tanganyika African Association and the Usangi Sports and Welfare Club. These brought people together, sensitised them about their rights etc. They became the basis of nationalism in Tanganyika.

7. The role played by the TAA. Formed by civil servants in 1929, the TAA later became a nationalistic Association. Originally, its avowed task was to improve the working conditions of civil servants but with time, it recruited other categories of workers including peasants. It was non-ethnic, recruited both men and women, avoided religious bias, recruited the literate and illiterate, used Swahili as a mode of communication and opened lip branches in almost all towns and rural villages. By 1948, it had 39 branches and had done a lot to unite the Tanganyikans. In 1954, the TAA was transformed into TANU.

8. The role of TANU. In 1954, the TANU-Tanganyika African National Union was formed with an aim of leading Tanganyika to political, economic and cultural independence under African leadership. It was a mass party which was organised along the lines of CPP in Ghana. It opened up branches all over Tanganyika. So, unlike Uganda where a number of parties e.g. UPC, UNC, DP, KY, PP delayed independence, in Tanganyika, it was mainly one party that led the country to independence.

9. The role of the UNO. In 1946, Tanganyika became a U.N. trust territory under British super vision. The UNO took keen interest in political developments in Tanganyika, listened to its nationalists and demanded Britain to speed up its independence process.

10. The role of Julius Nyerere. He was educated in Tanganyika, Makerere University in Uganda and Edinburg University in Scotland. By character, He was humble, kind, respectful of all classes of people and intelligent. His travels abroad introduced him to democratic governance and good organisation. He used "his abilities” and the acquired knowledge to bring about unity in Tanganyika, hence speedy independence.

11. Absence of religious divisions. German colonialists had not divided the peoples of Tanganyika along religious lines as did the British in Uganda. Nationalists in Tanganyika therefore addressed real issues but not religious ones. This explains why Julius Nyerere-a catholic was acceptable even to the big Moslem community in Tanganyika. This favoured quick independence.

12. Land alienation united the people. Colonialists were not only oppressive but also exploitative. They over taxed the people, applied forced labour and worst of all grabbed African land for their own settlement e.g. the land of the Meru was confiscated and 3,000 original natives were evicted. This scared other communities of Tanganyika that their land was not safe. It were such common grievances which united the people. This helped to bring quick nationalism and to prevent ethnic nationalism.

13. Economic hardships united the people. After World War II, price controls were imposed, wages reduced and some workers laid off. This led to the 1947 workers' strikes which united the people and led to nationalistic feelings.

13. The forced agricultural programmes of the 1950s contributed to more economic 'hardships. Farmers were forced to dip their cattle and had to pay fees for it, to destock their cattle which was looked at as thefty of their cattle by European settlers and to carry out compulsory terracing. Such common economic grievances united the Tanganyikans.

14. The Asian domination of the economy. Indians had control over the import and export trade who priced their products highly yet paid very low prices to farmers. All these caused resentment. Hence the Lake Province Growers' Association (later the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Union) was set up in Mwanza district. It was headed by Bomani who demanded the creation of African marketing boards to replace Indian ones.

15. Political dissatisfaction. The peoples of Tanganyika were unhappy at the slow rate of training Africans for self government. By 1951, the British had appointed only 1 African to the executive council and only 4 out of 29 to the Legco. Africans hated this and termed it as a deliberate British attempt to leave Africans behind. This helped to arouse non ethnic nationalistic feelings.

16. Plans for a federation. When the British colonial secretary suggested the formation of the East African Federation, Tanganyikans reacted negatively. They feared that it would lead to the increase of settlers in Tanganyika as the case was in Kenya. It was the fear of settler domination in Tanganyika that led to the rise of nationalistic feelings.

17. The Mau Mau rebellion (1952 - 55) scared the British in Tanganyika. They cooperated with the emerging nationalists in Tanganyika so as to avoid violent nationalism in Tanganyika as the case had been in Kenya (Mau Mau rebellion) and in Uganda (the Kabaka crisis of 1953).

18. The role of Sir Richard Turnbull. He was the new governor in Tanganyika in 1958. He was a liberal, calm, experienced and interested in peace. He had witnessed the violent Mau Mau rebellion when he was serving as a colonial secretary in Kenya. He was prepared to work closely with nationalists in Tanganyika which helped to speed up her independence. He had respect for Julius Nyerere's opinions.

But to crown it all, the peoples of Tanganyika had patriotic feelings for their country. They had their country at heart and didn't express greed for power as was the case in other African countries-hence the smooth road to independence in Tanganyika.

## Reasons why Tanganyika acquired independence earlier than Uganda

At first, both Uganda and Kenya were far ahead of Tanganyika in terms of education, economic advancement and constitutional development. Surprisingly, Tanganyika achieved independence earlier than both. This is attributed to the following;

1. Tanganyika had one Mass Party - TANU, unlike Uganda that had a number of conflicting parties e.g. UPC, DP, KY, UNC, etc....

2. While Tanganyika was a territory under UN trusteeship, Uganda was under full British control. So, while the UN pressurized for the speedy independence of Tanganyika, in Uganda the case was different.

3. There was ethnic rivalry in Uganda as compared to the unity of all tribes in Tanganyika.

4. Uganda had no serious and urgent economic grievances as the case was in Tanganyika, e.g. People of Tanganyika suffered from forced labour and land alienation which were absent in Uganda.

5. There was no threat of white settlers in Uganda and hence Ugandans moved at a slower pace despite the numerous advantages they had.

6. Tanganyika had patriotic nationalists while Uganda had greedy ones.

7. The exclusiveness and sectarianism of the Baganda explains the delayed struggle for independence in Uganda. Baganda refused to co-operate with governor Cohen while the peoples of Tanganyika co-operated with their governors, especially Turnbull.

8. Tanganyika enjoyed the advantages of a common language -Swahili, unlike Uganda which had a number of competing languages.

9. The personality of Nyerere who was intelligent, humble, tactical, non violent and non sectarian helped to speed up Tanganyika's independence.

10. Unlike Uganda where colonialists had divided people along religious lines, In Tanganyika the Germans hadn't divided people. Even Moslems rallied behind Julius Nyerere and moved smoothly and speedily towards independence.

11. There existed strong trade Unions in Tanganyika vis-avis the absence of such workers' associations in Uganda. The Trade Unions and workers' associations in Tanganyika helped to enlighten the people about their political, economic and social rights.

12. The role played by Turnbull enabled Tanganyika to obtain independence earlier than Uganda. Like Arden Clarke of Ghana who helped Kwame Nkrumah, governor Richard Turnbull also helped Julius Nyerere to obtain quick independence for Tanganyika. Hence on 9th December, 1961 at Mid-night, the Duke of Edin burg granted independence to Tanganyika on behalf of the Queen of England. Hence Tanganyika became a pace maker in East Africa which was surprising because Uganda had earlier proved to be the pace maker. Uganda's independence was to be granted 10 months later on 9th October, 1962.

## THE ROLE OF TANU IN FIGHTING FOR TANGANYIKA'S INDEPENDENCE

The Tanganyika African National Union- TANU was founded by Dr. Julius Nyerere and his colleagues on 7th July, 1954 at a meeting in Dar-es-Salam. In the meeting, the humble, intelligent and far-sighted Nyerere convinced his comrades to transform the TAA into a national party known as TANU- Tanganyika African National Union.

1. It had good aims. The avowed aims of the TANU were: to fight for the independence of Tanganyika and work for the unity of all its people. It adopted a motto "freedom and unity" and all party members worked hard to attain the ideals of this motto.

2. It was a mass party. In order to attain National Unity, the TANU transformed itself into a mass party comprising of the elites and illiterate peasants, rich and poor, men and women, blacks and non-blacks. This enabled the party to receive support from all sections of the people living in Tanganyika.

3. It took over TAA branches. In 1929, civil servants in Tanganyika had formed the Tanganyika African Association to bargain for better working conditions. The TAA had established a number of branches towns and rural areas. When TANU was formed in 1954, it simply took over the existing network of TAA branches. This enabled her to expand quickly throughout the country.

4. It had effective leadership. The TANU was blessed with a capable, hardworking, forward looking, patriotic and non-sectarian leader in the names of Dr. Julius Nyerere or "Mwalimu" as he came to be popularly known. He was a persuasive and eloquent speaker, tactical and respectful of all people. This helped to attract a wide membership for the TANU.

5. It gained support from trade Unions. There existed a number of trade unions in Tanganyika especially in Sukuma land and Dar-es-Salam. When the TANU was formed in 1954, it explained its aims which were broad and national. These aims, coupled with the party's good leadership attracted a number of trade unions to surrender their offices and loyalty to the TANU.

6. It became the peoples' voice. TANU was quick in studying the peoples' grievances and promised to rectify them. It condemned the grabbing of African land by British settlers in Meru, the cutting of coconut shambas in Dar-es-Salam, the fall in the prices of agricultural products etc. By acting as the voice of the oppressed and exploited Africans, TANU won quick support from all sections of Tanganyikans.

7. It called for unity. Having set itself a task of building nationalistic feelings amongst the Tanganyikans, TANU worked hard to break down the tribal and sectional feelings in Tanganyika. In this respect, it played a role similar to that of the CPP in Gold Coast.

8. TANU adopted Ghandism. The leaders of TANU were radical but non-violent. They used peaceful methods of fighting for Tanganyika's independence. These included peaceful demonstrations, writing of critical articles in newspapers etc... In this way, they followed the example of Mahtama Ghandi of India and Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast. The advantage of Ghandism was the protection of human lives and property.

9. It won British admiration. TANU's peaceful approach to the question of independence in Tanganyika pleased the British who reacted positively by effecting political and constitutional reforms.

10. It established links with the UNO. In 1954, TANU invited the supervisory committee of the UNO to Tanganyika and presented it with a petition demanding for Tanganyika's independence. In the petition, TANU demanded Britain to set up a time-table to be followed in granting independence to Tanganyika. Subsequently, the UNO pressurized Britain to speed up the process for the country's independence.

11. Wide membership. TANU’s effective mobilisation campaign led to an ever growing number of supporters. By 1958, TANU's membership had grown close to 250,000 people. This population included Africans, Asians and whites. The effective and non-sectarian mobilisation approaches worried the British who even put a ban on TANU activities in some eleven districts by 1958.

12. TANU accepted the multi-racial policy. In 1957, the British introduced the multiracial policy which advocated for equal representation of Africans, Asians and Europeans at all levels of administration. This was aimed at weakening the position of TANU and at first a number of TANU supporters rejected the policy. However, with the advice of Julius Nyerere, TANU endorsed the multi-racial policy. The non- sectarian Nyerere was confident that some Asians and Europeans would support TANU and lead it to victory.

13. TANU won the 1958 elections. In the 1958, the British organised elections to the legislative council. Two parties contested for the seats in the Legco, Colonial parliament. These parties were TANU and UTP- United Tanganyika Party which was a racist party set up in 1956 to rival TANU. The end results of the 1958 multiracial elections was an over whelming victory of TANU over the UTP. This was because it had attracted a number of Asians and whites into its ranks due to its non- sectarian principles.

14. TANU got ministerial posts. In 1959, the British appointed five TANU supporters to form part of the 12 man-council of ministers. This was a major political reform and development towards independence. TANU was now in position to bargain for speedy return of political leadership into the hands of Africans.

15. It co-operated with Richard Turnbull. In 1958, a new governor Richard Turnbull was sent to Tanganyika to oversee the process of Independence. TANU leaders worked closely with him and smoothly worked an agenda for Tanganyika's independence.

16. It won the 1960 elections. Fresh elections to the Legco were organised in 1960 and TANU emerged victorious. It won 70 out of 71 seats. This resounding victory not only buried the hopes of the UTP but also convinced the British colonial master that TANU was the only strong and well organised party to take over Tanganyika's leadership in the wake of British withdrawal. Consequently a responsible government was formed in September 1960 with Julius Nyerere as the Chief Minister.

17. It led Tanganyika to independence. As a result of its Africanisation policy, Ghandism (positive action), non-racialism, co-operation with both the UNO and British colonialists, the TANU successfully led Tanganyika to independence on 9th December 1961.

## THE ROLE OF JULIUS NYERERE IN FIGHTING FOR TANGANYIKA'S INDEPENDENCE

Born in 1922, Nyerere was educated at Mwrisenge Primary School in Musoma, Tabora Secondary School, Makerere University in Uganda and Edinburgh University in Scottland.

1. He hated colonialism. Nyerere was born and grew up at a time when colonialism had entrenched itself in Tanganyika and Africa in general. He witnessed colonial oppression and exploitation which he detested. At the same time, this was a period of great nationalistic outbursts throughout Africa. So, it is not surprising as to why Nyerere joined politics and threw himself into the anti-colonial struggles in his home country.

2. He attended the Manchester conference. While still overseas, Nyerere attended the 5th Pan African Congress that was held in Manchester. This enabled him to come in to contact with great Negro Pan -Africanists such as WEB Dubois and fellow black Pan-Africanists such as Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Akintola, Kamuzu Banda and others. He left the conference ready to fight for Tanganyika's independence.

3. His travels widened his vision. His travels to Uganda, Scotland and later New York as leader of TANU widened his vision and scope of understanding. At Makerere, he studied with a number of emerging African nationalists with whom he shared the vision of liberating Africa. In Scotland and New York, he witnessed democratic governance, made friendship with democrats and socialists etc. These influenced him to exercise democratic principles in Tanganyika.

4. He joined the TAA. In 1947, Julius Nyerere returned home to Tanganyika and started teaching. He quickly joined the Tanganyika African Association and in 1953 was elected as its president. Hence, though he was a trained teacherMwalimu, Nyerere joined politics with an aim of struggling for Tanganyika's freedom.

5. He formed the TANU. In 1954, Julius Nyerere and his colleagues transformed the TAA into TANU with an aim of fighting for Tanganyika's independence. He also set himself a task of creating unity in the country by fighting all forces of divisionism. To achieve these aims, Nyerere resigned from teaching and became a full time politician.

6. He was non-sectarian. Right from his school days, Nyerere emphasised the equality and value of all persons. When he joined the TAA, he re-organised it by recruiting peasants into its ranks instead of keeping it as a party strictly for civil servants and elites. Equally true is that he transformed the TANU into a mass nationalist party comprising of elites, illiterate peasants, blacks and non-blacks. This in turn widened TAN membership to 250,000 by 1958.

7. He applied non-violent methods while struggling for Tanganyika's independence. This was partly due to the lessons from the 1905 -1907 Maji Maji rebellion in Tanganyika which had been so violent and cruel, leading to the sufferings of local Tanganyikans. Partly, his non-violent approach was due to the inspiration of both Mahtama Ghandi of India and Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast. His use of non-violence/constitutional means to fight for Tanganyika's independence won him cooperation from the British.

8. He had a good personality. Much of TANU's political success resulted from Nyerere's warm character. He was loving, humble, cool headed, non-sectarian and a magnetic speaker (eloquent). A combination of these qualities attracted many Tanganyikans into the TANU. Though a catholic from an insignificant Wazanaki tribe, Nyerere obtained support even from Moslems and the so-called significant tribes of Tanganyika. Such support was essential for Tanganyika's quick path to independence.

9. He was a Mwalimu/teacher. True, Nyerere abandoned classroom teaching and concentrated, on politics but throughout his political career, he found himself continuously teaching his people. For instance his Ujaama policy required a lot of teaching.

10. He established links with UNO. In 1955 and 1956, he visited the UNO headquarters in New York and solicited for international support for Tanganyika's independence. This made the trusteeship council to exert pressure on Britain to decolonise Tanganyika.

11. He was appointed to the Legco in 1957 and together with Rashid Kawawa, they pressurised for Tanganyika's independence.

12. He attended the 1958 all African Peoples' conference in Accra-Ghana and got a chance of exchanging views with other radical pan-African nationalists. In particular, he admired Kwame Nkrumah's policy of "positive action" which he adopted on his return home.

13. At one time, (1958) he served as the secretary general of Tanganyika Federation of labour. He used his post to spread nationalistic awareness to all trade unions.

14. He is credited for having worked closely with Governor Richard Turnbull who concluded that TANU leaders were politically mature and would manage Tanganyika's post-independence politics.

15. Nyerere is credited for having convinced his fellow party members to accept the 1958 multi-racial elections to the Legco which TANU swept. He also led TANU into the 1960 elections. In both cases. TANU's support was due to his great tactics. Hence he has been referred to as a master tactician and a philosopher King.

16. When a responsible government was formed in September 1960, he became the chief minister and later the president of the Independent republic of Tanganyika from 9th December, 1961.

17. He advocated for the political union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar which led to the formation of the republic of Tanzania in 1964.

## NATIONALISM IN KENYA

Kenya was colonised by the British in 1895 and they ruled it up to 12th December 1963

when it was granted full independence. Nationalism in Kenya took both constitutional and violent forms and this depended on the nature of colonial policies and the colonial response to African demands for reforms.

## FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN KENYA

1. Western education. Christian missionaries had emphasised the dignity and equality of all persons. This made the educated Kenyans e.g. James Gichuru, Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga, Jomo Kenyatta and Eluid Mathu to condemn the white man's superiority in Kenya. They claimed that white discrimination against the blacks was incompatible with Christianity. Those who studied abroad e.g. Jomo Kenyatta and Eluid Mathu had witnessed western democracy and called for democratic and political reforms in Kenya. Their activities contributed to nationalistic feelings in Kenya.

2. The role of the mass media. Newspapers such as Muigwithania (started in 1928 by Jomo Kenyatta), Sauti ya Mwafrika and the Kenya Weekly News exposed the attrocities of the British colonialists and called upon Kenyans to fight for their freedoms. To the newspapers was added Radio Cairo's Swahili service which fuelled nationalistic feelings to increase the morale of the fighters during the Mau Mau insurrection.

3. The formation of welfare Associations. These included the Kikuyu Association, the Young Kikuyu Association the Young Kavirondo Assocaition, the North Kavirondo Central Association, Ukamba members Association, and the Kavirondo Tax payers' Association. These associations demanded land, tax and political reforms and helped to arouse nationalistic feelings amongst their members

4. The role of independent Churches. African clergy who were discriminated broke off from the white missionary Churches and formed native Churches/independent Churches. These pastors included Bildad Kaggia and Elijah Masinde who preached the need for a black Messiah, condemned colonial evils and called upon all Africans to rise up and defend their culture, land and future generations. This led to nationalistic feelings.

5. The emergency of political parties also stimulated nationalism in Kenya. The earliest and most active nationalistic party was the Kenya African union (KAU) which spread nationalistic ideas firstly amongst the Kikuyu and later in areas outside Kikuyu land. It was formed in 1944 by Eluid Mathu and later followed by other parties like Tom Mboya's Nairobi Peoples' Convention Party (1957), KANU and KADU in 1960 etc. These spread nationalistic ideas.

6. Trade Unions also fuelled nationalism in Kenya. Before, during and after the 2nd world war, Trade Unions played a big role of sensitising Kenyan workers about their rights. In 1939, trade unionists organised the Mombasa African Workers' general strike. After the 2nd world war, Chege Kibachia- the Trade Unions leader led the Mombasa general strike of 1947. He was able to win a minimum wage for all Kenyan workers. Then he formed the African workers' federation which earned him imprisonment in 1947. Then in 1949 Mkhan Singh and Fred Kubai formed the East African Trade Union Congress (EATUC) which was denied registration. However between 1952-57, trade Unions helped to keep the nationalistic zeal since political parties had been banned.

7. Urbanization played a major role in stimulating Kenyan nationalism. This was especially true with Nairobi City which attracted Africans from various tribes and regions. Due to the hard conditions in the city, they became united and became the nucleus of revolutionary propaganda that led to the Mau Mau rebellion.

8. Easy transport and communication facilitated the movement of nationalists and nationalistic ideas throughout Kenya. The roads and railways put in place by colonialists enabled nationalists to connect easily between the rural and urban areas and to prepare for their war of independence.

9. The loss of political independence also agitated nationalistic feelings in Kenya. The whites dominated Kenya's politics and left the traditional African chiefs powerless. On top of Kenya's administration was a governor, followed by the executive and legislative councils which for long were occupied by whites, followed by provincial commissioners, district commissioners, and finally at the bottom came the African chiefs- implementers of unpopular colonial policies. This displeased Africans and led to rise of nationalism.

10. White settler influence led to nationalistic feelings. After 2nd world war, more settlers were encouraged into Kenya and it seemed the British wanted to turn Kenya into a white man's country. This led to nationalistic feelings.

11. Land alienation especially in the fertile Kenya highlands and Rift valley area aroused nationalistic feelings. By 1915, 9,200 kilometres of land had been grabbed from Africans and the 1930 Native Lands Trust ordinance was ignored. It had recommended the return of land to the natives especially Kikuyu.

12. Poverty amongst Africans led to nationalistic feelings. This was due to living in overcrowded areas where no meaningful agriculture could be conducted. Also, the oppressive taxes that made their incomes useless, hence poverty, suffering and nationalism.

13. Forced labour led to strong feelings of determination to send away the white men.

14. Colour bar in residential areas, schools, hospitals etc made Africans develop a desire to chase away the white man. Africans were discriminated in employment and paid low wages for the same jobs as the whites did. The white man's discrimination was evident in schools where the government spent only 5 pounds per year on the education of an African child while it spent 35 pounds on a European child! These figures were quoted by Tom Mboya in 1960.

15. Unfair political representation also fanned nationalism in Kenya. Until 1944, no African was allowed to sit on the colonial legislative councils. In that year, only one African was appointed to the Legco and by 1951 the number had only risen to five. Yet Africans were the majority. As for the colonial executive council, the first African was appointed in 1954. This was seen as a great political injustice and hence the rise of nationalistic feelings.

16. The Kipande system which deprived Africans of their right to move freely in their country also fanned nationalistic feelings.

17. The British divide and rule policy whereby they favoured and promoted other tribes of Kenya at the expense of the Kikuyu led to a rise of Kikuyu nationalism.

18. Swahili language helped in the rise of Kenyan nationalism. It was commonly used and understood by the majority of Kenyans. So, it made communication and coordination between elites, peasants and soldiers very easy.

19. The missionary attempt to undermine Kikuyu culture stimulated cultural nationalism. The Kikuyu cherished circumcision but whiche the whites wanted to abolish. This created resentment and nationalistic feelings.

20. The unfair agricultural policies also led to nationalistic feelings. These included forced soil conservation, de-stocking of Ukamba cattle and preventing Africans from growing profitable cash crops. All this led to ill feelings and thus the rise of nationalism.

21. The domination of Kenya's economy by Asians also fanned nationalistic feelings. Whereas Asians were prospering Africans were growing poorer.

22. The banning of political parties and imprisonment of Kenya nationalists only served to fuel Kenyan Nationalism.

23. The impact of the 2nd world war did more to arouse Kenyan nationalism than anything else. That's why after 1945, the pace towards independence grew faster.

(A) Kenyan soldiers who had come into contact with the outside world returned full of democratic and nationalistic ideas. They had shared experiences with Asian nationalists and once back in Kenya, demanded for independence.

(b) They had learnt military skills and had seen the defeat of the white man e.g. In Burma. So, they no longer feared the white man and were ready to use force to uproot colonialism. These ex-service men included Bildad Kaggia who fought in North Africa and Waruhui Itote who fought in Burma.

( c) They had learnt the white man's language, had listened to the wireless and read newspapers. Their horizon of reasoning was therefore widened.

(d) Some of them, like Bildad Kaggia had been discriminated in the colonial armies whereby as a sergeant he had reprimanded an untidy European corporal but was warned never to give orders to his white juniors.

(e) Bildad Kaggia had travelled in U.K. where he met social equality and democracy. He even worked with a democratic American doctor in North Africa. All these made him think about fighting to end colour bar in Kenya.

(f) On returning to Kenya, ex-service men were again exposed to colour bar, unemployment, poor living standards etc. Moreover they were not given the compensation they were promised. This fanned nationalistic feelings and made them resort to violence.

(g) The adverse effects of the 2nd world war made whites to allow Kenyans grow cash crops which they were originally denied. This made them obtain money to sponsor nationalistic activities.

(h) Ex-service men joined KAU.

(i) Ex-service men formed independent Churches e.g. Kaggia.

24. The formation of the 40 group led to the rise of nationalistic feelings in Kenya. After the Second World War, the radicals within the KAU formed a secret militant group called the fourty group or Anake wa 40. This comprised ex-service men, the unemployed, lumpens etc. It helped to spread nationalistic feelings. However this can also be related to the impact of the 2nd world war.

25. The declaration of a state of emergence. On October 20th and 21st, Sir Evelyn Barring ordered a state of emergency in which a number of K.A.U. leaders and other nationalists were arrested and detained for 7 years. This only served to harden Kenyan nationalists who took off to the bush to avoid arrests. In the bush, they joined the Mau Mau.

26. The influence of the labour party. After the 2nd world war, the labour party rose to power in Britain and started preparing the British colonial empire for independence. In Kenya, the labour party called for an expansion of African representation on the Legco. Hence the number was raised from one in 1944 to four in 1948. This helped to fuel Kenyan nationalism.

27. The formation of the UNO also fanned nationalism in Kenya. The UN Charter emphasised the right of self-government for all the colonised people in Africa and Asia, Kenyan nationalists made use of this U.N.O. provision to pressurise the British to grant independence.

28. The 1945 Manchester conference stimulated nationalistic feelings in Kenya. This was because Kenya's son abroad-Jomo Kenyatta, attended it and adopted its slogans "Self-government now", "positive action", "Mass action" etc. On his return to Kenya in 1946, he put to use the Pan African principles and this fanned nationalistic feelings in Kenya.

29. The independence of India in 1947 had a great influence on the growth of Kenyan nationalism. Indian's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru supported Kenya's struggle for independence and appointed A.B. Pant as the Indian High Commissioner to Nairobi in 1948. He instructed him to give legal advice scholarship, finances and at times arms to Kenyan nationalists.

30. The breach of the 1930 Native land trust ordinance aroused bitter feelings leading to Kenyan nationalism. It had suggested that land for Africans would be left untouched and that reserves would by use by Africans for their benefits. But when gold was discovered at Kakamega (western Kenya) the Native lands ordinance was broken and land grabbing continued. KCA sought audience with the British government and sent Kenyatta to England to speak for the party but in vain.

31. The 1958 Accra conference. This was an All-African Peoples' conference called by Kwame Nkrumah. It was attended by some of Kenya's freedom fighters e.g. Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga who returned to Kenya with sharpened nationalistic feelings.

32. The independence of other African Countries e.g. the Egyptian coup of 1952, Libya's independence in 1951, Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, Ghana 1957, Congo 1960 made Kenyans to dance to the tune of the wind of change in Africa.

## THE MAU MAU REBELLION 1952-1956

This was an armed struggle staged by the Kenyans against the British colonialists who had become oppressive, exploitative and discriminative. It was one of the earliest wars of independence in modern Africa. Its name is said to be an abbreviation for a Swahili phrase "Muzungu Ayende Ulaya, Mwafrica Apate Uhuru" which means "The white man should return to Europe and leave Africans in total independence". It occurred in areas around central Kenya, areas predominantly occupied by the Kikuyu and under Kikuyu leadership.

## CAUSES

1. Grievances over land alienation. The British colonial government had encouraged a number of white settlers into Kenya. These came from Britain, South Africa, New Zealand, Nether lands, Australia and Southern Rhodesia. Soon they started grabbing all the land that was unoccupied and termed it as no man's land, What they termed as no-man's land, and continued to occupy was in reality African land which had just been left to fallow. Hence this unprincipled grabbing of unoccupied African lands contributed to war moods amongst the Kenyans. More annoying however, was the removal of settled African tribes from their fertile land to drier and less productive land, e.g. the Maasai were tricked out of their fertile Uasin Gishu plateau to Laikipia and were later pushed out of Laikipia plateau to • Ngong reserves. The same fate befell the Kikuyu who were pushed out of the fertile and conducive Kenya Highlands for the white man to settle! Such land alienation resulted into a rebellion.

2. The suffering of Africans in reserves contributed to the Mau Mau rebellion. Reserves were created for Africans whose land had been grabbed. These unfortunate Africans included the Kikuyu, Maasai and Nandi. Reserves were overcrowded, unproductive, dirty and disease infested. Africans had never lived under such conditions before colonial rule. They became annoyed and joined the rebellion.

3. The desire to end their squatter status. Land grabbing by whites had rendered the majority of Kenyans landless. Hence they had no choice but to live as squatters on the white man's farms offering cheap manual labour. The feeling of living as squatters on land that was formerly theirs pained them to the point of revolt. They felt a sense of "nothingness" since traditionally, any Kikuyu man without land was no man.

4. The desire to please the ancestral spirits. Kikuyu land had religious values. The land had been handed down to them by their ancestors and contained the ancestral burial grounds. A fear arose amongst the young that their ancestors would be angered by their failure to drive away the white man. As war songs put it: "they will be asked... Why did you sell our land?"

5. The unpopular agricultural programmes. The colonial government introduced a soil conservation policy by which all the Kikuyu were expected to carry out compulsory terracing across the ridges. This was designed as a way of controlling soil erosion. However, due to the small size of farms, this policy was seen as a mockery to Africans. In Ukamba land, government introduced a policy of cattle de-stocking as a way of preventing overgrazing. But even this was received with suspicion, leading to war.

6. Grievances over idle land. White settlers owned large pieces of land which were idle /unused. This brewed feelings of jealousy amongst the landless Africans who appealed to the colonial government for land reforms but in vain. The land commission of the 1930s had left the problem largely unsolved. This made the radical members of the Kenya African Union to form the Land Freedom Army (the official name of the Mau Mau).

7. Urban unemployment contributed to the rebellion. Having been uprooted from their land, most Kikuyu flocked to towns- especially Nairobi in search of jobs. Unfortunately, the few who chanced to get jobs were poorly paid while the majority remained jobless, redundant, ready to smash and grab. Such people provided the manpower for the Land Freedom Army.

8. Cash crop restrictions. Indegenous Kenyans were prevented from growing cash crops such as coffee, pyrethrum and sisal. Since these were the most profitable cash crops at the time, Africans interpreted the British restriction as a calculated move to impoverish them. Chief Koinange tried to grow coffee but ended up in courts of law where he was seriously reprimanded to stop the act. This goaded Africans into arms against the British.

9. The introduction of the Kipande system also drove Kenyans into rebellion. This was a kind of identity card or certificate of registration given to the Africans to restrict their movements. Restrictions on movements were aimed at keeping Africans busy working on European farms. The Kipande stated one's name, age, village and thumb print etc.

10. Africans hated forced labour. Africans were not only forced to work on European plantations but were also required to offer labour on public works like roads, railways and buildings. This forced labour was unknown in pre-colonial societies and therefore became unpopular, leading to the Mau Mau rebellion.

11. Famine and starvation. Most Africans were busy producing cash crops on white man's plantations. This made them neglect food crop production for their own up keep. In overcrowded reserves, the situation was worse. The land was limited and dry, leading to low food output- hence famine and starvation. This annoyed the people to the point of revolt since they related it to loss of land.

12. Racial discrimination contributed to the Mau Mau rebellion. Kenyans were not only discriminated in residential areas but also in other aspects of life. Right from the reserves, the colour bar policy was followed to the restaurants, schools, hospitals and even toilets which were labeled "Europeans' "Asians" and "Africans". Africans were taken as inferior to the whites and Asians in all aspects. However it is true that whites even segregated the Asians.

13. Over taxation and poverty. Colonialists introduced high taxes and initially it were only the Africans to pay. Due to lack of land, the poor Africans had to seek for employment on white owned farms to get money for taxes. The high taxes made the sweat of Africans virtually useless. It was this exploitation of man by man that led to the Mau Mau.

14. Religious and cultural clashes also led to the Mau Mau rebellion. Traditionally, the Kikuyu had their gods who were serving them well. They had a strong culture that emphasised the circumcision of both male and female as per the instruction of the founders of the Kikuyu society- Gikuyu and Mumbi. When the Scottish missionaries established a mission in Kikuyu land, they branded female circumcision as primitive, barbaric and un-Christian. When some Kikuyu women started giving up female circumcision, the stage was set for the Mau Mau insurrection.

15. The influence of the ex-service men also led to the Mau Mau rising. On their return from the Second World War, Kenyan ex-service men such as Waruhiu Itote, Bildad Kaggia and Paul Ngei found life very miserable. This was due to the colour bar system, unemployment and unfulfilled promises of the colonial masters. During the war, they had come into contact with Asian nationalists, European democrats and socialists etc. Soon, they became impatient with KAUs peaceful struggle for independence and spearheaded the Mau Mau rebellion. They started by forming the Fourty-group.

16. The desire for independence. Kenya's politics was dominated by whites who were assisted by local African chiefs to implement the unpopular colonial policies. The local African chiefs were illiterate and served the interests of the Europeans at the expense of African interests. This was hated by the young educated Kenyans who were deliberately sidelined by colonial masters for fear of criticism. No wonder why the elites were among the leaders of the rebellion.

17. The failure of peaceful methods led to the Mau Mau rebellion. In 1944, Eluid Mathu founded the Kenya African Union (KAU) and demanded for political, economic and social reforms. However KAU's major demand throughout the 1930s and 1940s was land reform e.g. the KAU sent its representatives- Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng Oneko to meet the colonial secretary and discuss land reforms. Unfortunately, the colonial secretary refused to meet the KAU delegates. This convinced the radical members of the KAU that violence was the only language the whites could understand.

18. The Kikuyu desire to control Kenya's politics. Since all Kenyans were tired of white settler dominance in Kenya, the Kikuyu hatched a secret desire of taking over Kenya's politics after the departure of the whites. This partly explains why they were the majority in the Mau Mau rebellion.

19. Unfair political representation. By 1945, there was only one African on the colonial legislative council (colonial parliament), and by 1951, they were only five. To make matters worse, there was no single African representative on the colonial executive council until 1954. This was looked at with negativity by the Kenyan elites who were suffering from serious unemployment. Without representation, there was no way African interest would be championed.

20. The 20th October 1952 state of emergency led to the rebellion. Sir Evelyn Baring declared a state of emergence on 20th October 1952 and this led to the arrest and detention of Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Bildad Kaggia, Kungu Karumba and Paul Ngei. They were sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. For fear of being arrested, a number of unemployed Kikuyu joined the Kenya Land and freedom Army (Mau Mau).

21. The conducive terrain also contributed to the outbreak of the rebellion. The thicker bamboo forests on the slopes of Mountain Kenya plus the valley and hilly Abadare ranges provided ideal zones which made Kenyan nationalists to think about guerrilla war fare.

22. The influence of West African nationalism led to the Mau Mau rebellion. Both the British and French were busy reforming their colonial policies in Western Africa. Already, the 1944 Brazzaville conference had recommended a reform of French colonialism in Africa. The British had taken similar steps e.g. by granting constitutions to both Nigeria and Gold Coast in 1946. It was such a wind of change across Africa at the time that ushered in a revolutionary spirit amongst Kenyans. Hence the Mau Mau rebellion.

23. The Egyptian revolution of 1952 also fuelled militant nationalism in Kenya. The news of the overthrow of King Farouk and the British encouraged the Fourty group to fight and overthrow the British plus their African sympathisers (puppets). Hence the Mau Mau rebellion.

24. The domination of Kenya's economy by Asians also fuelled feelings of nationalism amongst the largely hungry and unemployed Africans. Hence they joined the Kenya Land and Freedom Army to fight for a return of Kenya's economy into African hands.

## CONSEQUENCES OF THE MAU MAU REBELLION

1. The Mau Mau fighters were militarily defeated. This was achieved through the deployment of British troops, police, local African collaborators, armoured vehicles, artillery fire and Lancaster bomber-planes. The capture of Waruhiu Itote (General China) in February 1954 and Dedan Kimathi in October 1956 signalled the British victory over the Mau Mau fighters. However, though they lost the battle, Mau Mau fighters won the war.

2. There was a colossal loss of human lives. At the end of the rebellion in 1956, the number of people who had died in battle were 11,503 Mau Mau fighters, 1,920 loyal Africans fighting for the British (a total of 13423 Africans in all), 66 European soldiers, 29 European civilians (a total of 95 Europeans in all) and 29 Asian civilians. Added to these were a number of innocent women and children who died of disease and starvation in overcrowded camps.

3. Destruction of property. From the start in 1952, the Land Freedom Army /Mau Mau raided shops and police stations to obtain fire arms e.g. in March 1953, they raided Naivasha police station, looted a number of arms and released 173 prisoners. They also attacked European farms and mutilated their cattle, destroyed crops, burnt the farms and houses of African chiefs and headmen who were loyal to British colonialists etc. This caused some economic setback.

4. It resulted into a state of emergency. The violent nature of the freedom fighters made the Governor- Sir Evelyn Baring, to declare a state of emergency in Kenya starting from 20th October 1952- 1956. This was a risky period characterised by night curfew, arrests, beatings and imprisonment of nationalists suspected of connections with Mau Mau e.g. KAU leaders like Jomo Kenyatta, Bildad Kaggia, Fred Kubai Kungu Karumba and Paul Ngei were arrested, tried at Kapenguria court and sentenced to 7 years hard labour.

5. Fortified villages were created by the government as a means of separating civilians from the guerrillas. Hundreds of thousands of Kikuyu were forced into the protected villages. Other tribes like the Embu, Kamba, Luo etc also existed in camps but in smaller numbers e.g. during the "Operation Anvil" of 1954 in Nairobi police and soldiers rounded up to about 100,000 Africans (mostly Kikuyu) and held them in detention camps. They were accused of being idle in Nairobi.

6. It led to the torture of suspects. Although the original aim of detention camps was to reform the detainees and divert their attention from the Mau Mau struggle, Later the detention camps were turned into places of torture e.g. at Hola camp, several Kikuyu youths aged between 16-35 years were roughly questioned, subjected to hard labour, tortured and some killed. Areas neighbouring the detention camps and fortified villages were set on fire and trees cut to create free fire zones, prevent detainees from escaping unnoticed and cut off rebel supplies.

7. Political parties were banned. Due to its suspected role in organising the Mau Mau insurrection, the KAU and other minor parties were banned in 1953. And with the arrest of its leaders, the party (KAU) went into oblivion. Even after the rebellion, it became hard for it to -re-organise. During the rebellion, its roles were taken over by trade unions and after the rebellion, new stronger parties emerged to replace it.

8. It contributed to ethnic tensions in Kenya. The British decampaigned the Mau Mau as a Kikuyu tribal affair that was barbaric and atavistic. They advised other ethnic groups to shun the rebellion and to help crush it. Those who fought against the Mau Mau guerrillas were rewarded while the Kikuyu were humiliated. They were removed from the civil service, many were arrested, detained, tortured and some were killed. The Kikuyu were angered and started assassinating moderates of other tribes, e.g. Tom Mbotela (the KAU Vice president originating from the coast), Ambrose Ofata (Luo fromNyanza), chief Waruhiu of Kiambu etc. These inter-ethnic hostilities led to delayed nationalism since even future political parties were formed along ethnic lines.

9. There was a temporary set back in Kenyan nationalism. This was due to the banning of the KAU, imprisonment of patriots, inter-ethnic hostilities and divisions between the loyal conservatives and the young nationalists. Hence it became difficult to have a united front against colonial rule. Even the future political parties were formed on ethnic/regional basis. These were the KANU and KADU.

10. It delayed the early return to independence. Though at first Kenya was ahead of Tanganyika in terms of political, educational, economic and constitutional development, her independence came much later than that of Tanganyika because of the Mau Mau rebellion. During the period of violent exchanges, no meaningful negotiations could be made for the independence of Kenya.

11. Positively, it shattered the British intentions of turning Kenya into a white man's country. The political domination of the white settlers came to an end and the British government came in seriously to run the politics of Kenya which it had hitherto left into white settler hands. Without the Mau Mau, Kenya would possibly have been turned into a white man's country like South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

12. It laid the foundation for self rule. The British came to realise that Kenyans wanted self government. So, they carried out political reforms which catalysed the process of independence. For example in 1954, as the rebellion raged on, the colonial secretary Oliver Lythelton introduced a multi racial council of ministers. The first African to the colonial cabinet was appointed. He was B.A. Ohanga from Nyanza province. He became minister for community development. A number of other Kenyans were recruited in the civl service.

13. African political parties were released. As a result of the Mau Mau, the ban which had been put on political parties as lifted in 1955. These parties were at first allowed only at a provincial but later at a national level. Hence in 1956, the Nairobi District African Congress (NDAC) was founded by Argwings Kodhek, in 1957 the Nairobi Peoples' Convention Party was formed by Tom Mboya; in July 1959 the Kenya National Party was formed and in August the Kenya Independence movement was formed. These later became KADU and KANU respectively.

14. It led to land reforms. The British government adopted the Swynnerton Plan by which the Kikuyu and other aggrieved Africans were allocated land and even allowed to grow the cash crops that had originally been restricted. Hence between 1954-1959, African coffee planting rose from 4,000 to 26,000 acres. By 1960, almost 90,000 Africans (89,000 in 1959) were growing coffee. This led to some improvements in the standard of living. However, land allocation mainly benefited the Home guards those who fought against the Mau Mau. Most Kikuyu were allocated swampy or arid lands.

15. It led to constitutional progress. In 1957, six Africans were elected to the legislative assembly. They included Oginga Odinga, Ronald Ngala, Tom Mboya and Daniel Arap Moi. In 1958, the new colonial secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd increased the African membership on the Legco to fourteen elected members plus four special appointees. These Africans used their position on the Legco to demand for speedy independence and the release of political prisoners. They adopted a slogan "Uhuru na Kenyatta", which meant "No Kenyatta, no independence".

16. It led to the release of political prisoners. For instance in August 1961 Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was released, elected to the Legislative Assembly and made president of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Not to forget the 173 prisoners who were released by rebels during the height of the Mau Mau rising.

17. The colour bar policy was dropped. After the war, the British government announced plans of removing all sorts of discrimination based on skin colour. The "White Highlands" were opened to Africans and the health of Africans got more funding, Africans were appointed to top posts in the civil service, African cultural development was allowed and Trade Union activities were permitted. Hence an African felt a sense of belonging to his country.

18. It acceleratcd the independence of other east african countries. For fear of the re-occurance of such a disastrous revolt, the British hurried to grant independence to Tanganyika in 1961 and Uganda in 1962. It even made them adjust their policies in Central African Countries like Malawi and Rhodesia. They hurried to send troops there having realised the weakness and vulnerability of white settlers.

19. It led to the 1960 and 1962 constitutional conferences in Lancaster House- London. These provided for an elected African majority in the legislative council.

20. It cost Britain about 50 million pounds to suppress it. This led to economic strain on the British and Kenyan tax payer. Temporary economic decline also beset Kenya due to the fleeing of some white investors along with their capital. It challenged ex-service men in all countries of Africa to step up and lead the independence struggles e.g. In Algeria and Portuguese colonies.

WAS THE MAU MAU A NATIONALIST MOVEMENT?

The Corfield Report published by the British in 1960 termed the Mau Mau as a primitive, backward and ethnic/tribal movement. However, Roseberg and Nottingham in their book "The Myth of the Mau Mau” (1966) portrays it as a nationalist movement. Professor B.A. Ogot termed it as both nationalistic and sub-nationalistic. How can we reconcile those views, and what conclusion can we make? To a larger extent, it was a nationalist movement as evidenced below:

\* In their book "The Myth of the Mau Mau", Roseberg and Nottingham correctly observed that it was a nationalistic rebellion arising out of unpopular colonial policies.

\* B.A. Ogot, a celebrated African historian - and a professor at Nairobi University pointed out that the Mau Mau aimed at ending colonial rule and bringing about political freedom in Kenya. Hence a nationalist revolt.

\* The Mau Mau made an effort to recruit members of other tribes into the movement e.g. Dedan Kimathi sent his ambassadors to make recruitments in Nyanza, Ukambani and coastal areas. Few recruits however were made.

\* Not all top leaders of the Mau Mau were Kikuyu e.g. Paul Ngei was an Akamba and in 1953, was arrested and tried along with other Kikuyu nationalists at Kepenguria and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.

\* The Kikuyu fought so as to get fair representation on the legislative and executive councils. This was a desire for all Kenyans. Hence it was nationalistic in nature.

\* The Mau Mau fought against land alienation and aimed at returning land into the hands of Africans. This had not only affected the Kikuyu but also other tribes like the Massai and Nandi. The issue of land was a national but not a tribal affair.

\* They demanded an end to the Kipande system which was a desire by many other Kenyans.

\* They wanted an improvement in the conditions of Africans in reserves and this can't be dismissed as a tribal affair.

\* They demanded a share in the growth of profitable cash crops and in retail trade which had been monopolised by white settlers and Asians respectively. This was not an ethnic demand.

\* The Mau Mau helped to alert the British that the Kenyans wanted majority rule. They therefore started preparing Kenyans for self government. This didn't only benefit the Kikuyu but all the Kenyans. Hence a nationalist movement.

\* Benefits of the Mau Mau didn't go to the Kikuyu alone but also to other tribes e.g. racial discrimination was reduced and later dropped, Africans were appointed into the civil service etc.. Hence a nationalistic movement.

\* African membership to the Legco was expanded to 8 in 1957 and to 14 by Alan Lennox Boyd in 1958. Africans were also appointed to the executive. Incidentally the first African to be appointed to the executive as Minister for Community development was not a Kikuyu but a Luo from Nyanza by names of B.A. Ohanga. Hence a nationalist revolt.

\* Eventually the British granted independence to Kenya and this didn't benefit only the Kikuyu fighters. So the MAU Mau can be credited for having laid a foundation for Kenya's but not Kikuyu independence.

\* When political parties were released as a result of pressure from the Mau Mau, other tribes also benefited by forming regional political parties.

\* The fact that the rebellion took place in central parts of Kenya around Nairobi doesn't qualify the rebellion to be a tribal affair. Naturally it took place amongst people who were more politically conscious and these were the Kikuyu. They had a number of elites, ex-service men, landless and unemployed people and had earlier been sensitised by the Kenya Central Association. They could read newspapers etc. So, the out break of the rebellion among the Kikuyu is little wonder and doesn't reduce it to a simple tribal affair.

However to a smaller extent it was a ethnic or sub nationalistic as shown below:

\* The name Mau Mau is from a Kikuyu vocabulary meaning "Go, go"

\* It broke out in the Central parts of Kenya which were largely occupied by the Kikuyu and the majority of the Mau Mau fighters were indeed Kikuyu people. The hymns sang during the course of the Mau Mau rebellion was in Kikuyu language. Few of them were in Swahili. This had the impact of cutting off other ethnic groups from understanding the nationalistic message contained in them. The Kikuyu had a secret plan of taking over political power from the whites and ruling Kenya after the white man's departure.

\* When the rebellion broke out, the Kikuyu were retrenched from the civil service. The Kikuyu took religious oaths while recruiting their members. These oaths were taken in the name of Gikuyu and Mumbi- the founders of the Kikuyu tribe. This was an oath of secrecy (keeping the activities of the movement secret). Such oaths basically appealed to the Kikuyu rather than the non-Kikuyu.

\* Female circumcision which was one of the major grievances that led to the Mau Mau was mainly practised by the Kikuyu.

\* The Fourty group which was the heart of the Mau Mau was comprised of Kikuyu radicals.

\* Most of the dissidents arrested were Kikuyu.

\* Kikuyu terrorist activities were not only directed against whites but also some Africans of other tribes e.g. the assassination of Tom Mbotela and Ambrose Ofafa.

\* Kikuyu hymns emphasised that they were fighting for Kikuyu land given to them long ago by Gikuyu and Mumbi.

## REASONS WHY THE MAU MAU REBELLION WAS DEFEATED

Although Africans won the war (due to the positive impact that accrued), they lost the battle (were militarily defeated). This was due to the following reasons:

1. Inadequate weapons. The Mau Mau fighters had few, very old, locally manufactured and rudimentary guns. Some of them fought using pangas, sticks, stones and metal bars. Such weapons couldn't win a war.

2. British military superiority. The colonial army had up to date weapons, some of which had been applied during the Second World War against Germany. These included armoured vehicles, artilleries, Engfield guns, Lancaster bomber planes etc. With these, they over powered the Mau Mau guerrillas.

3. Betrayal by fellow Africans. The British trained some Africans, gave them favours like land and sent them to the bushes to pretend as if they were part of the Mau Mau fighters. These managed to kill and arrest a number of the guerrillas because they were not easy to detect.

4. The nature of the terrain. Though they provided good hiding bases, the ridges /hills also proved a barrier to communication. Since the Mau Mau guerrillas camped on various ridges, it was easy for the British to isolate them and fight them ridge by ridge. Hence ridges were a barrier to effective co-ordination.

5. The British divide and rule policy whereby they spread the anti-revolutionary propaganda- terming the Mau Mau as a Kikuyu tribal affair. They discouraged other tribes from joining the rebellion.

6. The British scotched earth policy. The British plus their African collaborators set forests and gardens on fire. This not only led to the death of some guerrillas but also destroyed their means of survival. Many guerrillas had become accustomed to hiding in nearby forests and farms where they obtained food and took to fellow guerrillas. The scotched earth policy ended this and weakened the fighters. They started living on roots, birds, berries yet some of these were poisonous.

7. Opposition from the landed aristocrats. Most of the old men including Kikuyus opposed the use of violence and this undermined the struggle.

8. Lack of KAU support. Since the Mau Mau fighters were a breakaway group from the moderate KAU, this prevented full co-operation between the KAU moderates and Mau Mau radicals (the 40 group). This too, weakened the Mau Mau fighters.

9. The destruction of rebel bases in Nairobi. The Mau Mau had its urban Headquarters at Mathare valley, a slum for Africans. Ii was used as a channel for new recruits, pistols, medicine and it even had workshops for manufacturing locally made guns. However it was discovered and destroyed by government forces in 1953.

10. The capture of its leaders. During the course of the fighting, Mau Mau leaders were captured e.g. Itote (General China) was captured in February 1954 while Dedan Kimathi was captured in October 1956 and hanged. This demoralised the fighters.

11. False protection from their gods. The Mau Mau fighters wrongly believed that the founders of their society- Gikuyu and Mumbi plus other gods and ancestral spirits were fighting on their side. This belief was cemented through a number of oaths and rituals the fighters under went. The oaths gave the fighters psychological courage and many went on the battle field armed with nothing but courage! Hence they were killed in big numbers and defeated.

12. Lack of foreign support explains the defeat of the Mau Mau. Unlike the Algerian and Angolan nationalists who received financial and military support fellow Africans and the Eastern block, the Mau Mau fighters were disadvantaged. It was a self-reliant movement which was destroyed due to this fact.

13. The British obtained re-enforcement troops from Uganda and even U.K. Among Ugandan commanders against the Mau Mau fighters was the youthful and militarily genius Idi Amin Dada.

14. The timing of the revolt was wrong. This is because the British colonialists were still deeply entrenched in Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Uganda.

15. The area of operation was small. Mau Mau fighters failed to capture large bases and were easily rounded up.

16. Internal rivalries led to disputes, in-fightings, delayed decision making and poor organisation. All these led to the defeat of the Mau Mau.

## STAGES IN KENYA'S PATH TO INDEPENDENCE

Kenyan nationalism grew in phases.

1. Between 1919 - 1940, a number of quasi-political associations were formed. These included the Kikuyu Central Association, the Young Kikuyu Association, the Young Kavirondo Association, the Ukamba Members' Association and the Taita Hills Association of 1938. These welfare Associations were the nursery beds of Kenyan nationalism. They mainly demanded land reforms.

2. The emergence of independent schools. Due to discrimination in the education field, the Kikuyu independent schools and Kikuyu Karinga Education Associations were formed. They aimed at giving standard education to Africans as opposed to European dilute education for Africans.

3. The emergence of independent Churches. A conflict arose between white missionaries and African clergy concerning the customs of circumcision and polygamy. Besides, Africans hated the way white missionaries discriminated against them. So, throughout the 1930s and 40s, a number of independent Churches were formed by Africans seeking for political independence via religious independence. Examples of these churches included the African Independent Pentecostal Church, the Dini Ya Yesu Kristo, Dini Ya Musambwa, the African Orthodox church etc. Some leaders of these churches were ex-service men e.g. Bildad Kaggia.

4. The formation of KAU in 1944. The Kenya African Union was formed by Eliud Mathu and James Gichuru. Some historians say it was formed in 1946. The KAU was a moderate nationalist party which opposed colour bar, called for land, constitutional and political reforms.

5. Appointments of Africans to the Legco. In 1944, Eliud Mathu was appointed to be the first African representative on the colonial legislative Assembly. In 1946, the number was increased to two, then to four in 1948 and to five in 1951. This was a step forward towards independence.

6. The return of ex-service men. In 1945 and 1946, a number of Kenyan soldiers returned after the end of the 2nd world war and started influencing the course of Kenya's politics e.g. Bildad Kaggia returned in 1946 and both joined the KAU and the independent church movement in which he became an inspiring leader.

7. The return of Jomo Kenyatta to Kenya. Kenyatta who had been away for 15 years of study in England, returned to Kenya in 1946 and was soon made president of the KAU. Having witnessed Western democracy and having attended the 1945 Manchester conference, he gave the KAU new life and better organisation. However his methods of struggle were non-violent. He put his Headquarters at Githunguri Training College.

8. The formation of the Fourty group. In 1946, radical members of the KAU-mainly ex-service men formed a militant wing of the KAU- the Anake wa 40 or Fourty group which opted for violence as a means of obtaining independence. They were unhappy with KAU's gradualistic approach and resorted to physical assault and intimidation. However it at first operated underground.

9. The visit of the colonial secretary to Kenya. In 1951, the British colonial secretary visited Kenya and met the leaders of the KAU. The KAU representatives presented the colonial secretary with a memorandum asking for equal African representation with whites and Asians on the Legco and an end to colour bar.

10. The outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion. In 1952, the fourty group formed the Kenya land and Freedom Army and started raiding the white men's farms, mutilating cattle, looting Asian shops etc. The land Freedom Army (Mau Mau) awakened colonialists who started addressing the needs of Kenyans.

11. Declaration of a state of emergence. In October, 1952, Governor Sir Evelyn Baring declared a state of emergency which lasted up to 1960. This forced a number of Kikuyu to the bush so as to avoid being tortured in detention camps.

12. The banning of political parties. In 1953, the KAU was banned and its leaders Kaggia, Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei and Kungu Karumba were imprisoned. This made the Trade Unions to step up and keep the nationalistic zeal. Trade Unions survived under Chege Kibacliia, Tom Mboya, Makhan Singh and others.

13. Formation of a multi-racial executive. All along, Kenya's executive/ministerial council was dominated by whites but in 1954, the first African, B.A. Ohanga was appointed minister for Community Development. This was a big political step towards independence

14. The Release of political parties. In 1955, political party activities were allowed once again but with restrictions e.g. they were to operate at provincial but not at a national level. Among the earliest parties were the Nairobi District African Congress formed by Argwings-Kodhek in 1956 and the Nairobi Peoples' Convention Party by Tom Mboya.

15. The 1957 elections to the Legco was a land mark in Kenya's path to independence. Six Africans, including Oginga Odinga for Central Nyanza, Tom Mboya for Nairobi Daniel Arap Moi for the rift Valley and Ronald Ngola for the coast constituency were elected and strongly advocated for reforms. In 1958, Alan Lennox Boyd increased the African membership on the Legco to 14. All the elected parliamentarians demanded for the release of Kenyatta and adopted a slogan "Uhuru na Kenyatta".

16. In 1959, African representatives on the Legco boycotted the Legislative council meetings so as to pressurize for the release of Kenyatta and the making of an independence constitution for Kenya. In 1959, the colonial government allowed national political parties to be formed. Hence in July and August 1959, the Kenya National Party and Kenya Independence Movement were formed. October 1959, government announced the abolition of colour bar.

17. In 1960, the first constitutional conference was held at Lancaster House-London. It was chaired by the Liberal Macleod (the new colonial secretary) who lifted the ban on political parties and expanded African membership on both the Legco and executive.

18. Creation of new political parties. In March 1960. The KANU-Kenya African National Union was formed with James Gichuru as acting president- other wise its real president was the detained Kenyatta. Mboya Tom was its general secretary and Oginga Odinga its vice president. It was a Kikuyu -Luo party. The KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union) was also formed by other ethnic tribes. KADU was under Ngala and was deputised by Muliro.

19. In February 1961, Legislative elections were held and won by KANU which got 67% of the votes as against 16% for KADU. KANU won 19 while KADU won 11 seats. However, KANU refused to form a government without Kenyatta. Therefore KADU and NKP (New Kenya Party of Michael Blundeil) formed a coalition government. The NKP was a European party but sympathetic to the African cause.

20. In August 1961, Kenyatta was released from prison and made an effort to unite the KANU and KADU.

21. The 2nd Lancaster House conference of March 1962 worked out modalities for Kenya's independence. It was chaired by Riginald Maulding and agreed on a Federal constitution.

22. On 1st June 1963, Kenya was granted internal independence with Kenyatta as a Prime Minister. Finally on 12th December 1963, Kenya obtained full independence.

## THE ROLE OF Political PARTIES IN ATTAINING KENYA'S INDEPENDENCE

A number of pre-independence parties were formed in Kenya but the roles played by the KAU and KANU were two higher.

The KAU-Kenya African Union was formed in 1944 by Eluid Mathu together with James Gichuru. That same year, Eluid Mathu was appointed as Kenya's first African representative to the colonial legislative council.

The KAU naturally emerged from the earlier quasi-political associations such as the Kikuyu Central Association. Consequently, it was dominated by the Kikuyu.

The Kenya African Union was dominated by the elites most of whom were unemployed as a result of discrimination by whites. So, it decampaigned colour bar.

The KAU also called for land, political and constitutional reforms in Kenya.

The KAU leaders made an attempt to recruit members from other tribes in an attempt to make it a mass nationalist party. Some members of other tribes joined and were even appointed to top offices e.g. Achieng Oneko and Ambrose Ofafa from Nyanza, Paul Ngei from Ukambani and Tom Mbotela from the coast.

An attempt was also made to open up KAU branches in Kisumu and other areas so as to attract wide membership.

The KAU preferred the use of non-violent methods to achieve independence. It wanted land, political and constitutional reforms.

KAU worked hand in hand with independent church and school movements to spread nationalistic zeal. It also worked in close co-operation with Trade Unionists.

When Kenyatta returned from England in 1946, he joined the KAU and soon became its president. But him too was moderate.

In the mid 1940s, the youths and ex-service men felt dissatisfied with KAU's constitutional methods and split off from the KAU. They formed the fourty group and threatened to use violence to attain independence.

Soon, the forty group formed the Kenya Land and freedom army which formed the core of the Mau Mau rebellion.

KAU maintained remote contacts with the Mau Mau and this led to the arrest and detention of KAU leaders including the moderate Jomo Kenyatta. He wasn't released until 1961.

KAU was banned in 1953, never to rise again. New political parties and trade Unions took over from where the KAU had stopped. Among the new parties, KANU was the most prominent.

The KANU was formed in July 1960 by African Members of the Legislative council. It was a party mainly for the Kikuyu and Luo but included a number of Meru, Embu, Akamba and Kissi. Its leaders were James Gichuru. Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga.

KANU's demands were:

\* Independence for Kenya and the return of political power to Africans,

\* The release of Jomo Kenyatta and other political prisoners.

\* The return of land to Africans.

\* Respect of African cultures.

\* Equal educational and job opportunities.

\* An end to colour bar.

\* The unity of all Kenyans.

\* Economic emancipation/independence.

The KANU campaigned widely for support in urban and rural areas.

A rival party- the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was formed in 1960 for fear of a possible Kikuyu-Luo alliance, it was under the leadership of Ngala deputised by Muliro. However, the KANU remained more popular.

General elections to the Legislative Assembly brought the KANU as winner. However the party refused to make a government when Kenyatta was still in prison. The government was instead formed by the KADU in coalition with the KNP of Blundwell.

In 1961, Kenyatta was released and James Gichuru stood down for him as president of KANU. He dedicated his energy and time to uniting the KANU and KADU and partially succeeded when the two formed a coalition government in 1962.

In 1962, KANU sent delegates to attend the 2nd Lancaster House conference at London.

The May 1963 elections brought out the KANU as victorious over KADU with 83 seats versus 41. Hence on 1st June, in internal self-government was formed by KANU with Kenyatta as Prime Minister and on 13 December 1963 full independence was granted to Kenya.

However, the delayed independence of Kenya can be explained by the following:

\* The deliberate failure by the British to train Africans for leadership.

\* The slow rate of constitutional and political development.

\* The use of Ghandism by KAU.

\* The British intention to turn Kenya into a white man's country.

\* The banning of political parties e.g. KAU in 1953.

\* The harsh treatment of nationalistic figures e.g. the imprisonment of all top KAU leaders in 1953.

\* The declaration of a state of emergency in 1952.

\* The economic poverty of Africans due to lack of land.

\* Disunity/Ethnicism amongst Kenyan tribes.

\* Military superiority of the British during the Mau Mau.

\* The British policy of divide and rule whereby even the post Mau Mau parties were formed along regional lines.

\* Disunity amongst nationalist leaders e.g. Tom Mboya of KANU disagreed with Ngala of KADU during the constitutional debates at Lancaster in London.

\* The presence of a large body of white settlers.

Highlights of Kenyatta's life and career

\* He was a Kikuyu, born around 1894 in Nairobi. He received Western education first in Kenya and later abroad in England.

\* He was a forward looking man, a nationalist, whose involvement in Kenya's politics started in the 1920s when he participated in the March 1922 protest against white domination. The protest was led by Harry Thuku for whom he was a disciple from 1921.

\* He joined the Kikuyu Central Association and became its general secretary

\* He served as a civil servant in the colonial government and was pressurized to give up his roles in the KCA but to no avail.

\* He became founder and editer of KCA news paper – Muigwithania. He founded it in 1929 and it became KCA's mouth piece.

\* He was sent by KAU to England to present the Peoples' grievances about land to the British government. He travelled widely and even visited Moscow where he got in touch with socialist ideas.

\* He also protested against the proposed federation of the three East African states in the 1920s and this made Britain to drop the scheme in 1931.

\* In the early 1930s, he wrote an article in the London times showing the grievances of Kenyans and the aims of the KCA. He pointed out the injustices of land alienation, educational imbalance, high taxes even on women, lack of representation on the Legco and executive, racial discrimination, undermining Kikuyu cultures etc.

\* He protested against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and vowed never to shave his beard until Italy left Ethiopian soil. Hence a great pan-Africanist. He wrote "Facing Mount Kenya" in 1938 in which he defended Kenyan cultures particularly Kikuyu circumcision. He attacked British cultural imperialism. He attended the 1945 Manchester conference in London where he came into contact with pan-Africanists like WEB Dubois, Kwame Nkrumah and adopted the ideology of mass action /positive action.

\* He returned to Kenya from England in 1946 and joined the KAU. He soon became its president in 1947.

\* He put his Headquarters at Githunguri training College and mobilized teachers, students and parents to join the KAU.

\* He was arrested in 1952 allegedly for organising the Mau Mau and was sentenced to 7 years of hard labour.

\* KANU was formed in 1960 and though Kkenyatta was still in prison, was its president. However the acting president of KAU until the release of Kenyatta was James Gichuru assisted by Odinga Oginga and Tom Mboya.

\* After his release in august 1961, he took over KANU and gave it new life. He called for unity and promised security to white settlers even after Kenya's independence.

\* He attended the 1962 Lancaster House conference which finalized the plans for Kenya's independence and became Kenya's prime minister on 12th December 1963 when Kenya became fully independent.

## Problems Kenyatta met at and after independence

\* Tribal rivalries, suspicions and fears. Other Kenyan tribes feared KANU and branded it as a kikuyu-Luo alliance. They therefore joined the KADU in protest. Antagonism between various districts and district politicians.

\* Racial tensions continued.

\* Conflicts between the landless and the land owners which the colonial government had created through the rewards of the 1950s.

\* Conflicts between those who had participated in the Mau Mau rebellion and those who had shunned it.

\* Within the KANU itself there were internal wrangles for power. Hence individual KANU candidates could stand against KANU's official candidate. Oginga Odinga became radical and demanded the nationalization of the economy. This brought him into conflict with Tom Mboya- the party's secretary. There was an army mutiny in 1964.

\* Tribalism cropped up in parliament as the Luo parliamentarians complained about Kikuyu domination.

\* In 1966, Oginga Odinga broke away from KANU and formed an opposition party called the Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU).

\* On 5th July 1969, Tom Mboya was assassinated by a Kikuyu yet he was the only loyal Luo remaining in KANU. This was interpreted as a conspiracy by Kikuyu to rule Kenya for ever.

\* Neighbouring Somalia attacked Kenya claiming that the North Eastern province of Kenya was part of Somalia since it was occupied by Somalis.

\* Kenyans were very poor, most commercial agriculture was in British hands and retail trade in Indian hands. This too was a problem.

## How did Kenyatta solve the problems?

\* He was against ethnic rivalries and formulated a phrase "Harambee" meaning, "Let us pull together". This guided him throughout.

\* He called for unity of all Kenyans, moving from region to region sensitizing the people about nationalism. He did this in Swahili, which was commonly understood.

\* He reconciled those who had fought during the Mau Mau and those who had betrayed Kenya's cause.

\* Kenyatta asked KANU members who had joined KPU to resign from parliament and seek re-election. The new elections for parliamentarians were organised in 29 constituencies and KANU won 20. This constitutionally weakened the KPU. KANU government also imprisoned some KPU leaders including Oginga Odinga accusing them of dividing the country.

\* Then Kenyatta resorted to peace talks with the KPU and reconciled with Oginga Odinga who returned to KANU on 8th September 1971.

\* He called upon elites to work for Kenya's progress rather than self interests. He negotiated with the Somali government in 1967 and border conflicts relaxed for some good time.

\* He Africanised Kenya's civil service by replacing foreigners with educated Kenyans.

\* He also tried to Kenyanise the business sector but also allowed private enterprises under Asians to continue

\* He reconciled with white settlers whose land he didn't confiscate but rather bought most of the farms and redistributed them to Kenyans.

\* He didn't persecute Asians but even granted them Kenyan citizenship, if they so wished.

\* Encouraged agricultural development and coffee, tea, sisal, wheat etc were grown and exported by Kenyans.

\* He encouraged Swahili language to attain national unity and the goals of Harambee.

\* Encouraged industrialization using foreign aid, e.g. He developed the textiles, oil refining, cement, paper and tyre making industries. Even soft drinks.

\* Improved the tourist industry.

\* Nairobi became the centre of East Africa's communications, marketing and banking.

\* Encouraged the setting up of Harambee schools, which expanded education to rural areas.

\* In 1970, he established the University of Kenya.

\* He nationalised some few industries but left individual capitalists to develop the economy (mixed economy).

\* Established and funded self-help co-operatives (Harambee co-operative societies).

\* Provided fertilizers, farm tools and technical experts to re-enforce Harambee schemes.

\* Harambee schemes/projects were even extended to the health field.

\* Harambee was even extended to matters of local village defence.

. REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the political and constitutional developments that led to the rise of Kenyan nationalism.

2. Account for the high momentum of Kenyan nationalism after 1945.

3. The land question was responsible for the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. Discuss.

4. To what extent was the Mau Mau rebellion a nationalistic movement?

NATIONALISM IN UGANDA

Uganda officially became a British colony in 1894 and only regained her independence on 9th October 1962. The pace of nationalism in Uganda was slow and it wasn't until 1952 that mass nationalist parties were formed.

Reasons for delayed nationalism in Uganda.

1. Colonial legacy, whereby the British applied the divide and rule policy in Uganda, led to delayed nationalism. This policy was calculated at keeping the tribes of Uganda far apart from each other. The districts they created were curved along ethnic lines. The Baganda were made to think that they were the only people fit for office jobs, northerners fit for holding the gun and westerners to provide manual labour. This later created suspicions, fears and abuses between tribes and hindered genuine nationalism.

2. The British favours on Buganda hindered mass nationalism in Uganda till the 1950s. In pursuit of their indirect rule, the British sent a number of Baganda agents to rule other tribes e.g. Semei Kakungulu was sent to Eastern Uganda, James Miti to Bunyoro, etc. This created anti-Baganda sentiments in Uganda. To make matters worse, the British rewarded their Baganda collaborators with social economic developments such as good schools, hospitals and roads. This made them proud and brewed the jealousy of other tribes towards Buganda. Mass nationalism had to delay.

3. Religious divisions in Uganda also led to delayed nationalism. In their divide and rule policy, the British aimed at keeping the Christians apart from the Moslems. They also favoured the Protestants more than Catholics and thereby creating further divisions, suspicions and fears. Earlier political parties were formed along religious lines e.g. UNC for Protestants and DP for Catholics. This hindered mass nationalism and concerted efforts in Uganda.

4. The absence of common grievances against the British colonialists led to delayed nationalism in Uganda. Uganda didn't suffer so much from the oppressive and exploitative colonial policies as compared to Kenya, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, Algeria and Belgian Congo where African land was grabbed by white settlers, where Africans were forced to work on the white men's plantations, were discriminated etc. The relationship between whites and Africans in Uganda was fairly peaceful and hence the delay of nationalism.

5. Colonial developments such as roads, urban centres, schools, hospitals and factories made Ugandans generally friendly and loyal to the British colonialists. The British colonial economy made most Ugandans busy cultivating cash crops such as coffee, cotton and tea. They were pre-occupied with the desire to become rich and had no time for politics. Hence delayed nationalism.

6. There was massive illiteracy in Uganda. The few educated Ugandans before 1950 were mainly in Buganda e.g. Ignatius Musaazi, J. Mukasa, J. Kakonge, Abubaker Mayanja etc. This left the rest of Uganda in ignorance. The majority of Ugandans looked at the British as God-sent masters to rule them. The few educated Baganda didn't help the situation since they were fighting for Buganda's interest.

7. Most elites were colonial puppets. The British provided employment opportunities to the elites in the colonial civil service. Such Africans were prevented from joining politics and any who did were retrenched from the colonial sjobs. This made most elites to shy away from politics and hence delayed nationalism.

8. The absence of a common language hindered the quick growth of nationalism in Uganda. Each ethnic group had its own language which it valued above other languages and this hindered inter-tribal co-operation. Between 1937 - 1950 Kingdom and District parliaments discussed in their local languages and this suited the British divide and rule policy.

9. The absence of trade. The British discouraged the formation of trade unions because - they could enlighten Ugandans. The few, which existed, were in Buganda and were religiously divided.

10. The limited nature of the press. The earliest newspapers were written in one language- Luganda e.g. "Uganda Eyogera", "Munno" etc. These only appealed to the Baganda monarchical sentiments.

11. The delay of political parties. The British did not favour the formation of political parties and even when these emerged later, the British promoted religious divisions between them. This prevented unity and hence delayed independence.

12. Lack of contacts with the Western world also led to the delayed nationalism in Uganda. Before 1950s, few Africans mainly from Buganda had visited Europe or USA. These few included J. Mukasa and Ignatius Musaazi. This meant that most Ugandans were ignorant about political party activities and the ideas of self rule.

13. The absence of Asian and European politics in Uganda also led to delayed nationalism in Uganda. Unlike south Africa or Southern Rhodesia where whites formed political parties, there were no such exposures for Ugandans. Even the Asians were pre-occupied with business and not politics. So, Ugandans took long to gain the concept of political parties.

14. The harsh reaction of the British to riots led to delayed nationalism in Uganda e.g. the 1945 and 1949 riots in Buganda were crushed violently and this scared a number of nationalists all over Uganda.

15. The ideological differences between the newly formed parties also delayed the independence of Uganda e.g. the UNC and UPC became socialist oriented due to the activities of strong socialist members e.g. Chango -Macho, Bidandi Sali, Kirunda Kivejinja etc. The DP was capitalist while the Uganda National Movement was positive in action. Such differences led to delayed nationalism.

16. The slow rate of urbanisation also hindered quick nationalism. The majority of Uganda's population was rural based, poverty-stricken and couldn't finance political party activities.

17. Monarchism in Uganda hindered political advancement e.g. in 1922, the Kingdoms of Buganda, Toro and Busoga rejected the idea of creating a single political unit in Uganda and continued opposing it until the 1950s. The Kings decampaigned political parties because they tended to reduce their traditional powers. Even some educated Baganda such as Serwano Kulubya opposed political parties in Buganda.

18. Buganda's secessionist tendencies also hindered the growth of nationalism in Uganda. Buganda which had the best social and economic infrastructure wanted to break away from the rest of Uganda. It was opposed to unitarism and favoured federal government. This provoked the jealousy of other tribes.

19. The absence of charismatic leaders. The majority of earlier politicians can be termed as "week-end politicians" who had their full time jobs as teachers, doctors, businessmen and lawyers. They only converged on weekends in suburbs like Katwe to discuss politics. Hence lack of full time politicians and political leaders led to delayed nationalism.

THE AWAKENING OF NATIONALISM IN UGANDA

The year 1945 was a turning point in the history of Uganda. The 2nd world war ex- service men returned to Uganda with democratic, socialist, nationalistic and militant ideas. These ex-service men spearheaded the 1945 riots against the conservative Baganda chiefs who were supporting British colonialism. This was a big political step towards independence.

Still in 1945, three Ugandans one from Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga were appointed to the legislative council for the first time in the history of Uganda. This was the first constitutional step in Uganda's transition from colonialism to independence. This was in turn influenced by the labour party, which advocated for the quick Africanisation of politics in British African colonies.

Still in 1945, Ignatius Musaazi formed the Uganda Farmers' Federation (UFF) to help farmers export their produce and to break the Asian and British exploitation. The UFF was turned into the Uganda farmers' Union (UFU) in 1946, condemned Asian monopoly of trade and demanded for more representation of commoners in the Lukiiko- At least 60 elected members.

In 1949, riots broke out in Buganda for the second time. Riots demanded for an end of the oppressive monarchy, demanded for democratic governance, the election of their local chiefs and representatives to the Lukiiko, permission to gin and export their cotton without hinderances from Asian and European traders etc. These riots spread to the rest of Uganda but were suppressed. However the nationalistic feelings remained.

The appointment of Sir Andrew Cohen as Governor of Uganda in 1952 was a big step towards Uganda's independence. He advocated for a unitary form of government rather than federal government in Uganda. This helped to awaken mass nationalism in Uganda.

Still in 1952, a new political party- the Uganda National Congress (UNC) was formed by middle Class Baganda under the leadership of Ignatius Musaazi. Its motto was "Self government now" and it soon spread to other parts of Uganda calling for unity.

On 11th August 1953, Andrew Cohen started Africanising Uganda's politics by increasing the African representatives in the Legco to 14 out of 28. This was a big constitutional step towards independence.

Still in 1953, Sir Andrew Cohen arrested Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda and exiled him to London. However the deportation of the Kabaka led to nation-wide protests and represented for the 1st time, the efforts of Ugandans to come together and oppose the unpopular colonial policies. This was a big step towards the growth of nationalism in Uganda.

The formation of the Democratic Party in 1954 was another political step towards independence. It was a party for Catholics, led by Joy Kasolo and demanded for independence. Though at first a party for Catholic Baganda, the DP later toured the rest of Uganda canvassing for support and soon became a nation wide nationalist party.

Still in 1954, Professor Keith Hancock arrived in Uganda to investigate the sources of misunderstandings between Andrew Cohen and Buganda. His mission resulted into the 1954 Namirembe conference and the 1955 Buganda Agreement by which Buganda was declared as part of Uganda; it was to continue sending its representatives to the Legco, and her Kabaka was to be returned in the same year 1955.

Still in 1955, the Progressive Party was formed under Eridad Mulira and it demanded for independence.

Still in 1955, the United Congress Party (UCP) was formed as a break away group from the UNC. It convassed for support outside Buganda.

In 1956, the first direct elections of the members of the Legco were held in Buganda. However the Lukiiko opposed it claiming that it was the duty of the Lukiiko to nominate Buganda's representatives to the Legco. In 1957, direct elections of Legco members were demanded in other parts of Uganda.

Elections to the Legislative council were organised in 1958 but were boycotted by Buganda, Ankole, Busoga and Bugishu. Teso elected Obwangor while Lango elected Milton Obote- a UNC member.

Still in 1958, members of the Legco outside Buganda formed the Uganda Peoples Union (UPU) under Nadiope. The UPU aimed at unity and was against Buganda's secessionist tendencies.

Still in 1958, the "wild committee" was put in place to plan for the 1961 elections. The "wild committee report" suggested direct elections based on the universal adulthood suffrage of one-man one vote. It suggested the expansion of the Legco and that any party that would win elections would go ahead and form a government.

Again in 1958/1959, Obote broke off from Musaazi's UNC and formed the Obote UNC wing.

In 1959, the Uganda National Movement (UNM) was formed.

In 1960, the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) was formed under Milton Obote. It was a result of a merger between UPU of William Restiba and the Obote UNC wing. The UPC was a nation wide political party though dominated by Protestants.

The March 1961 elections to the Legco were won by the DP, which formed a government headed by Benedicto Kiwanuka.

In July 1961, the Munster commission was set up under Earl Munster. It recommended that Buganda should remain part of Uganda but under a federal relationship with the Central government.

Still in 1961, a constitutional conference was held in London in Lancaster house and adopted most recommendations of the Munster commission. The British secretary of state announced that Uganda would become an independent state on 9th October 1962.

In 1961, a new political party "Kabaka Yekka" (KY) was formed to contest for power in the 1962 pre-independence elections. It hated the DP that had won the earlier elections and made an alliance with the UPC to uproot the DP from power.

In March 1962, a self-government constitution which had been negotiated in London became operational Ben Kiwanuka became the first Prime Minister by this constitution. However the April pre-independence elections brought the UPC to power and the DP government stepped down. A UPC-KY alliance was formed.

On 9th October 1962, Uganda was granted independence at Kololo airstrip with Obote as the first Prime Minister and Muteesa II as the first President. The British Union Jack (flag) was lowered and the Uganda flag was raised.

Factors for the rise of nationalism in Uganda

1. The influence of the 2nd world war. Ugandans who served in West Africa, India etc developed militant nationalism.

2. The influence of the labour party, which advocated for the Africanisation of African politics, led to the appointment of 3 Ugandans on the Legco in 1945.

3. The formation of the UNO, which advocated for the right of self-government.

4. The 1945 Manchester conference, which called for positive action and influenced the 1945 and 1949 riots in Buganda.

5. The colonial infrastructure such as roads and railways enabled the emerging nationalists e.g. Ignatius Musaazi, Milton Obote, Godfrey Binaisa and Nadiope Kadumbula to travel to various parts of Uganda and communicate their nationalistic ideas.

6. Western education sharpened Ugandans and enabled them grasp democracy and party politics e.g. Ignatius Musaazi studied in England, returned home full of inspiration and he condemned colonialism.

7. The formation of political parties such as UNC, UPC, PP, DP and KY awakened nationalistic ideas.

8. The economic exploitation of Uganda by Asian and European businessmen led to nationalistic sentiments.

9. The development of urban centres like Kampala and Jinja led to the rise of a big multi-tribal population with common grievances. This population gave audience to emerging politicians.

10. The British favourism toward Buganda and Buganda's secessionist attempts united other tribes of Uganda.

11. Asian countries gave moral, academic and financial assistance to Ugandan nationalists e.g. In 1949, the Indian High Commissioner to East Africa gave an inspiring lecture at Makerere University. It was attended by among others, Abubaker Mayanja. Then in 1960, Nehru (Prime Minister of India) invited Milton Obote at Bangalore and gave him tips on struggling for Uganda's independence

12. The 1952 Egyptian Revolution influenced Ugandan nationalism e.g. Ignatius Musaazi opened up UNC offices in Cairo and received Nasser's support.

13. The news of the 1952-1955 Mau Mau rebellion stepped up nationalistic feelings in Uganda.

14. The 1953-1955 Kabaka crisis for the first time united all Ugandans in demanding for his return.

15. The common hatred against the proposed East African federation led to nationalistic feelings in Uganda.

16. Sir Andrew Cohen's administration led to the growth of nationalism in Uganda. He was a reformer, ready to Africanise the politics of Uganda and called for a unitary government in Uganda.

17. The independence of Ghana in 1957 and the 1958 Accra Pan African congress had a positive impact on the growth of Ugandan Nationalism.

18. The rise of the press led to the awakening of Ugandan nationalism.

19. The constitutional changes in Uganda e.g. the appointment of 3 Ugandans to the Legco in 1945 and increasing the number to 14 in 1953 also led to the growth of nationalism in Uganda.

THE 1953-1955 KABAKA CRISIS

In 1952, Sir Andrew Cohen was appointed as the new Governor of Uganda. Misunderstandings soon cropped up between him and Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda and this made Cohen to depose the Kabaka. On 30th November 1953, he deported the Kabaka to London- where he lived in exile till 1955. The political confusion surrounding the deportation of the Kabaka is referred to as "the Kabaka crisis".

ITS CAUSES/ORIGINS

1. Personality differences. The two men Kabaka Muteesa II and Sir Andrew Cohen had divergent personalities. The Kabaka was a conservative monarch interested in protecting the interests of the Baganda while Cohen was a moderniser. There was no way the radical Cohen could accommodate the out dated views of Kabaka Muteesa II.

2. It was a result of colonial legacy. The British had given a number of priviledges to the Kabaka and the Baganda in general. However, the Buganda agreement of 1900 had reduced the powers of the Kabaka e.g. the Kabaka could no longer pass any new laws in his Kingdom without consulting the British. The British could also dismiss the Saza chiefs without consulting the Kabaka. To Muteesa II, this was tantamount to loss of his powers and was unacceptable. Hence the 1953 - 55 crisis.

3. Disloyalty to the governor. By the terms of the 1900 Buganda agreement, the Kabaka was expected to be loyal to the British governor/central government. However, ever since Andrew Cohen's arrival in Uganda in 1952, the Kabaka had constantly questioned the decisions of the new governor. This led to his deportation He had breached the 1900 agreement.

4. Cohen's Unitarism led to the Kabaka crisis. In his reform agenda Sir Andrew Cohen intended to turn Uganda into a unitary state. However, Kabaka Muteesa II rejected the integration of Buganda into a wider Uganda. He instead called for secession/independence of Buganda or a federal government. Cohen couldn't allow this and hence the crisis.

5. The rejection of Cohen's legislative reforms also led to the deportation of the Kabaka. In October 1953, Muteesa II influenced the Lukiiko to reject the nomination of Buganda's representatives to the Legco. To worsen matters, he also influenced his fellow Kings of Toro, Ankole and Busoga to reject the nominations to the Legislative Assembly. He even attempted to influence the UNC top brass to reject the British proposals. All these annoyed Andrew Cohen to the extent of deporting the Kabaka.

6. Muteesa II's demands for secession persistently annoyed Cohen. When Muteesa threatened to use force, Cohen concluded that the King deserved deportation.

7. Muteesa II's desire to become a hero also earned him a deportation and hence the crisis. Inspired by the traditions of Kabaka Mwanga's resistance against the British (1894 - 97), Muteesa II became determined to follow in the footsteps of his ancestor who was a hero, but this led to his deportation.

8. Muteesa II's rejection of the East African federation plans led to the 1953 crisis. On 20th June 1953, the British secretary of State, Oliver Lyttellen announced that, Britain was going to create a unification of her three East African colonies. This was unacceptable to the Kabaka of Buganda who feared that the Kenyan white settlers could encroach on Buganda's land. More over, he felt that he had to be consulted first before announcing such a plan in London. This annoyed Cohen who deported him.

9. Both men were hard-liners with neither of them ready to concede to the other's ideas.

Effects of the Kabaka crisis

It seriously undermined and terminated the Buganda agreement of 1900.

By disrespecting each other, both the Kabaka and governor Cohen broke the agreement and rendered it null and void.

Kabaka Muteesa II was deported to London where he stayed for two years.

It led to strained relations between Britain and their former Baganda collaborators.

It influenced the British to speed up the independence of Tanganyika- more so because even in Kenya, the Mau Mau rebellion had broken out at the same time of the Kabaka crisis.

It led to widespread anger and discontent within Buganda and fuelbd the growth of Baganda sub-nationalism. All Baganda, including those who had served as British puppets, were united to demand for the return of their King. Muteesa II became a hero. Since a number of Baganda had become tired of the King's dictatorial monarchy, Cohen had hoped that his exile would please some Ganda. However, he was proved wrong because the exiled King became more popular and indeed a hero. He remained the King of the Baganda even in his absence- he wasn't replaced.

It led to countrywide protests. For the first time, other tribes of Uganda cooperated with the Baganda in demanding for Buganda interests - return of the exiled Muteesa II. This proved a key step in the forging of national unity.

It led to the rise of a self styled prophet-Kibuuka Kiganira Omumbale who operated from the hills of Mutundwe. He claimed divine powers from the Ganda gods and ancestors. He assured his followers that his prayers would secure the return of the Kabaka.

The King's sister, collapsed to death on receiving the news of her brothers deportation. This demonstrates the extent of Ganda misery and frustration.

The UNC became militant and radical in demanding for the return of the Kabaka. In 1954, it boycotted Asian and British shops, buses, farms etc. This was intended to pressurise the British to return the Kabaka. This won support for the UNC which had originally been suspected of trying to undermine the Kabaka's powers.

The young Baganda elites in the Lukiiko formed a committee which they sent to London to demand for the return of their Kabaka. The delegation which was led by Ignatius Musaazi included Eridadi Mulira, Thomas Makumbi and Apolo Kironde. However, the colonial secretary rejected their request.

The British stationed troops at Mengo to prevent a possible Baganda riot. Similarly, a state of emergency was declared in the Kingdom but the Baganda remained firm and united in their demand for the return of the Kabaka.

New political parties were formed during the crisis period e.g. DP was formed in 1954 and Progressive Party (PP) in 1955. They demanded for the Kabaka's return and the independence of Uganda.

It led to the fleeing of Ignatius Musaazi to exile in Sudan for fear of being arrested and accused of the 1954 UN C boycott on Asian and European business. It led to internal divisions within the UNC between those who supported and those who didn't support the UNC delegation to London. This later led to splits within the UNC.

It led to a breakdown in the speedy process of independence which Cohen had wanted. The relationship between the Baganda and Cohen remained cool. Other Kings in Kingdom areas lived in fear, unable to predict Cohen's next step.

The Labour Party criticised the ruling conservative party for interfering into the cultural affairs of the Baganda in the House of Commons, a stormy debate erupted between conservatives and the Labour Party representatives.

It led to the formation of the Keith Hancook commission which studied the origins of the crisis and provided solutions. Professor Keith Hancook and his committee tried very much to restore the relationship between the British and Baganda.

It resulted into the signing of the Namirembe Agreement by which the tensions between the Baganda and the British were eased. The position of Buganda and the Kabaka was discussed at length.

The Namirembe Agreement recommended the return of the Kabaka and this was effected in 1955.

A new Buganda agreement of 1955 was signed and it modified the 1900 agreement.

It was agreed that Buganda was to be part of the Uganda protectorate and the Kabaka was to become a constitutional monarch.

A ministerial system was introduced- comprising of 5 Africans, 1 European and 1 Asian.

An appointments board was set up to appoint chiefs in Buganda. However the governor had powers to approve the appointments board.

Buganda was to adopt direct elections in future elections.

BUGANDA'S SECESSIONIST ATTEMPTS

Between 1952 - 1966, Buganda made efforts to break away from the rest of Uganda and form an autonomous state. This was due to the following reasons:

1. To protect her traditional independence. Before colonial rule, Buganda was politically, economically and socially strong and independent. Her system of administration was so good and admired by the British who applied it in other parts of Uganda (Kiganda model of administration). Their attempt to secede was therefore aimed at maintaining their traditional status.

2. To protect her uniqueness. By the terms of the 1900 Buganda agreement, Buganda had been given a favourable position /a special status as compared to other Kingdoms of Uganda. And throughout the colonial period, they had been favoured. By seceding, Buganda hoped to retain her unique status.

3. The Kabaka's powers, respect and dignity would only be retained if Buganda seceded from the rest of Uganda. A unitary government or the East African federation would reduce his powers. So, why not secede?

4. Opposition against Cohen's Unitarism. Sir Andrew Cohen (governor of Uganda from 1952) proposed the formation of a unitary form of government in Uganda. As for Muteesa II, he wanted a federal type of government and when Andrew Cohen hard lined Buganda opted to secede.

5. The fear of the East African federation also led to Buganda's attempts to secede. In 1953, the British colonial secretary (Lyttelen) declared the British intentions of creating a federation/ political union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Buganda feared that this would lead to grabbing of its land by the white settlers of Kenya- Hence the desire to secede from Uganda and escape the E.A.F.

6. Buganda wanted to protect her culture. Buganda feared that both the E.A.F. and the unitary government would undermine her culture. Already, peoples of other tribes had started coming to Kampala and if this trend weren't checked, it would render Buganda's superior culture diluted. Secession was aimed at protecting her culture.

7. The desire to protect her resources. Buganda was richer and superior to other provinces/Kingdoms of Uganda by then. She feared that uniting with other provinces of Uganda would make her resources to be diverted to developing those other parts. This would slow down Buganda's development. Hence her desire to secede.

8. Buganda felt self-sufficient. With her natural endowments, good climate, trade and the colonial developments like schools, hospitals, roads and towns; Buganda felt she was strong enough to manage its own affairs. It felt adequate and needed no-body Hence the rejection of unitarism and opting for secession.

9. Buganda wanted to protect its land from the many immigrants who were trickling into the Kingdom on a daily basis. These included some whites and Ugandans, but mostly the Asians who were buying land from poor Baganda.

10. The question of the lost countries also led to Buganda's desire to secede. In appreciation of the great role the Baganda had played in crushing Bunyoro's resistance and extending colonial rule to the rest of Uganda, the British had rewarded the Baganda with 10 countries of Bunyoro- the lost countries. When President Milton Obote made plans of returning the 10 countries to Bunyoro, Buganda increased her secessionist demands.

11. The introduction of democracy in Uganda was feared by Buganda because it would reduce the Kabaka's powers. Hence Buganda's boycott of the 1958 directs elections and the continued desire to secede. Buganda equally feared the Wild committee's recommendations.

12. Failure of the British to protect Buganda led to her secessionist demands. In 1945 and 1949, the British had used force against the Baganda and in 1953, Cohen had exiled the Buganda King. The Baganda could no longer count on British protection.

13. The hatred from other tribes made Buganda desire to secede. Hence the question; why unite with other tribes who hated Buganda?

REASONS FOR BUGANDA'S FAILURE TO SECEDE

1. Lack of support from elites. The young Baganda elites e.g. Abu Mayanja, Ben Kiwanuka and Ignatius Musaazi did not bless Buganda's secessionist demands; hence its failure.

2. The British determination to create a unitary state led to the failure of Buganda's secession. Governor Cohen and his successor Fredrick Crowford insisted that Uganda was too small to be fragmented into small units of government.

3. The deportation of the Kabaka in 1953 had an effect of intimidating both the conservative diehards and the Kabaka himself. On his return, he was no longer very vocal and this led to the failure of the secession.

4. The absence of a strong army to back up Buganda's secessionist demands led to its failure. Compared to Eritrea which seceded from Ethiopia using force of arms, Buganda lacked a strong army.

5. Buganda's central position undermined her secessionist attempts. The Kingdom, was geographically located in the central part of Uganda and had enormous resource endowments such as Lake Victoria fish grounds and fertile agricultural soils. She also had several up to date schools, hospitals and roads. Other tribes couldn't allow her to secede.

6. Divisions within the Lukiiko undermined Buganda's secessionist efforts. There existed divisions between the supporters of the Kabaka and collaborators of the British within the Lukiiko. Since a number of Ganda wanted favours from the British, they betrayed Buganda's secessionist move.

7. The 1954 Namirembe conference led to the failure of Buganda's secession. It was organised by Sir Keith Hancook and was attended by key figures in Buganda e.g. Bishop Kiwanuka. It recommended that Buganda be integrated into the rest of Uganda and this was a big blow to Buganda's secessionist attempts.

8. The rise of anti-Baganda parties undermined Buganda's secession. Political parties with anti-Ganda sentiments included the DP (1954) Uganda Peoples' Union (1958) and UPC 1960.

9. A post-indepexidence affair- The British termed Buganda's secessionist demands as a simple tribal affair which would be handled by the post independent Ugandan politicians. This attitude of the British led to its failure because no post- independent leader could allow Buganda's secession.

10. The 1955 Buganda agreement/Namirembe agreement led to the failure of Buganda's secession. This was because the Kabaka accepted the recommendations of the 1954 Namirembe conference by which Buganda was to be an integral part of Uganda.

11. Obote's political shrewdness also led to the failure of Buganda's secession. He made an alliance with the KY, allowed the Kabaka of Buganda to be the first President of Uganda etc. However, after obtaining constitutional powers as Prime Minister in 1962, he de-campaigned secessionism.

12. The 1961 Munster committee recommended that Buganda had to remain part of Uganda- hence the failure of secessionism.

13. The 1966 crisis led to the failure of the secessionist attempts. The crisis was between Milton Obote and Muteesa II and arose over Obote's return of Bunyoro's lost counties. It led to armed clashes and ended into the exile of Muteesa II to London. This was a big blow to Buganda's secessionist struggles.

14. The Pan African Movement and the general wind of change across African led to the failure of Buganda's secession. Pan Africanists condemned parochialism in Buganda and sensitised other tribes to reject it. Even some Baganda e.g. Musaazi de-campaigned it seriously.

15. The 1967 constitution finally destroyed Buganda's dreams of secession. It declared Uganda a republic and abolished the Kingdoms.

Consequences of Buganda's secession attempts

1. It led to the army invasion and take over of the Lubiri/palace from Buganda in 1966.

2. It led to the first and second exile of Kabaka Muteesa II i.e. in 1953 and 1966 respectively.

3. It led to the emergence of political parties to oppose the secession e.g. DP, UPU, UPC and others to defend it e.g. KY.

4. It ushered in parochialism in Uganda's politics.

5. It led to the failure of the East African federation plan.

6. It contributed to Sir Andrew Cohen's failure as a governor and his subsequent withdraw from Uganda.

7. It led to the 1962 constitution in which Kingdoms were given semi-federal status.e.g. Ankole, Toro, Busoga and Buganda.

8. It led to the KY- UPC alliance - a mere marriage of convenience.

9. It contributed to the 1954 Namirembe conference and 1955 Buganda agreement

10. Created mistrust and suspicion between Buganda and the rest of Uganda.

11. It led to the abrogation of the 1962 constitution and the promulgation of the 1967 "pigeon hole constitution"

12. It paved way for the rise of the army factor in Uganda's politics. The army under Idi Amin was used to crash Kabaka's Lubiri forces. It gained confidence that it was the only disciplined force to bring about law and order in Uganda.

THE 1971 COUP IN UGANDA

It was carried out on 25th January 1971 by Major-General Idi Amin (the armycommander) against President Milton Obote (the commander-in-chief of the army).

CAUSES:

1. Divisions in the army. Obote created divisions in the army by setting up paramilitary units. He created a special force and a General Service Unit (GSU) as two security bodies to rival the power of the regular army (Uganda Armed forces). The 1 General Service Unit of 1000 elite soldiers acted as both Obote's body guard and intelligence service unit. It was headed by Akena Adoko, Obote's cousin who sent spies in the regular army. This annoyed Amin and his comrades and led to the coup.

2. Obote's tribalistic tendencies also contributed to the coup. Obote's government and especially the army became increasingly tribalistic. In the army and other security organs, he ordered the recruitment of more Langi than other tribes. He went ahead and promoted the Langi who had little experience. This annoyed Idi Amin who had wanted more recruits from West Nile. Soldiers of other tribes were also unhappy and hence the coup.

3. Grievances of the defence council. Since July 1969, the defence council had not met and there was no way the grievances of the regular army could be listened to. To worsen matters, Obote had started making promotions, transfers and demotions without consulting the defence council or the army commander. Rumours that Colonel Oite Ojok was to replace Amin were therefore taken seriously and hence the coup.

4. Political insecurity in Buganda area contributed to the coup. The 1964 referendum which returned the lost countries to Bunyoro, the January 1964 army mutiny and Obote's invasion of the Kabaka's Palace in 1966 all combined to create a state of lawlessness in the centra region. Obote declared a state of emergency in Buganda, arrested a number of suspected opponents including some KY-UPC allies etc. This insecurity, dissatisfaction in Buganda and the indefinite state of emergence gave the army grounds to plot a coup.

5. Obote's dictatorship also led to the coup. He had declared a one party rule and put a ban on political parties, he abrogated the 1962 constitution and made a one man constitution in 1967 (Pigeon hole constitution), persecuted some of his ministers e.g. Grace Ibingira, Dr Lumu, Mathias Ngobi and Magezi. This gave grounds for the coup.

6. Corruption in government. Obote's ministers and elite soldier lived a luxurious life characterised by having fleets of vehicles and many houses at the expense of common man. The easiest interpretation was that they had embezzled public funds and hence the coup.

7. Amin's desire to prove his courage led to the coup. Following an attempted assassination of Obote at Lugogo Stadium in December 1969, there was general disorder in Kampala. Soldiers rushed to Amin's residence to inform him and ask him to restore order. However, seeing them from a distance, he sneaked out of his residence and hid himself for fear that they had come to arrest him. His Deputy, Brigadier Okoya cooled the situation and made fun of Amin as a coward. Amin organised a coup to prove his courage.

8. The murder of Brigadier Okoya and his wife on 25th January 1970 brought about the coup. Obote suspected Amin of murdering the couple in Gulu town. Though Obote lacked the evidence, he had seriously questioned Amin who in turn felt insecure and planned the coup.

9. The personal differences between Obote and Amin also led to the coup. Obote tried to sideline the army commander who in turn frustrated the President's efforts to promote some Langi in the army. The conflict was made worse by Obote's accusations of Amin after Okoya's death. Then came the rumour that Oyite Ojok was to replace Amin etc. This led to the coup.

10. The Auditor General's report also led to the coup. The report showed gross fraud in the ministry of defence. About 35-40 million shillings had been embezzled and Obote asked both Amin and Onama (the Defence minister) to account for it. This created panic around Amin who plotted the coup.

11. Foreign intrigue also contributed to the 1971 coup. Milton Obote had constantly condemned the British supply of weapons to the apartheid regime in South Africa. He also conflicted with the Israelites who were using Northern Uganda to channel their support to the Anyanya rebels fighting against Nimeri's government in Sudan. This made both Britain and Israel to support Amin's coup de tat.

12. Obote's turn to the left also brought about the coup. In his Nakivubo pronouncements, Obote issued out the common man's Charter, which represented his socialist ideas. This annoyed the Western block, which supported Amin's coup. His nationalisation and national service programmes created resentment and gave ground for the coup.

13. The economic crisis of 1969 also contributed to the coup. There was unemployment, increased taxes, high prices for essential commodities /inflation etc. The army took advantage of the economic distress to stage a coup.

14. Failure to organise elections. The army accused the UPC government of its failure to organise democratic elections for a period of eight years. The elections scheduled for 1967 never took place, internal elections within the UPC itself were characterised by fraud and parliamentary arrangements only favoured the rich, infact, a candidate would stand in three or four constituencies.

15. Over-reliance on the army also led to the 1971 coup. Obote had introduced the army in politics by sending it to oust the Kabaka from Mengo. This made the army develop a feeling that it was indispensable and Amin who had led the successful Lubiri/Mengo mission also staged a successful coup.

16. The influence of other coups in Africa also contributed to the 1971 coup in Uganda. Successful coups had taken place in Togo in 1963, Congo in 1965, Ghana in 1966 Algeria in 1966, Libya in 1969 etc. This gave him a hope of succeeding.

17. Divisions within the UPC also created ground for the coup. Radicals like Grace Ibingira and Bidandi Ssali who challenged Obote were expelled. Even Baganda conservatives within the UPC were expelled. The party was fractured and became easy prey to the coup.

18. The exclusion of Uganda from the EAC also caused problems for Obote. He expelled Kenyan and Tanzanian workers from Uganda, prevented the use of the Kenyan and Tanzanian shillings in Uganda and discouraged their exports to Uganda. This created enemies for Obote who rallied behind Amin and hence the coup.

19. Rampant robbery and murders also led to the coup. A spiral of "Kondoism" in which people lost their lives and property hit the country. Obote's government took no steps to redress this and this provided Amin with another excuse to stage a coup.

20. The order to arrest Amin also led to the coup. While in Singa Pore where he had gone to attend the common wealth conference, Obote telephoned Oyite Ojok in Kampala instructing him to arrest Idi Amin. However, Mussa- a Kakwa tribe's mate of Amin interfered with the telephone call and informed Amin who immediately organised a coup to protect his life.

THE 1972 ECONOMIC WAR IN UGANDA.

This refers to the expulsion of Asians from Uganda by President Idi Amin in 1972. Asians had come to Uganda in 1902 during the construction of the Uganda railway. After its completion, a number of them stayed and involved themselves in private business as well as assisting the colonial masters. The 1962 constitution granted them a right to stay in Uganda and many of them enjoyed dual citizenship.

Obote's common man's charter included plans of expelling Asians and nationalising their property. However, it was Idi Amin who later affected this plan in his famous Tororo pronouncements of 1972. They had to leave Uganda within a period of only 90 days and to take luggage of not more than 10 kilograms each. Their expulsion is termed as the economic war.

ITS CAUSES

1. Asians were exploitative. They paid very low prices to Ugandan farmers yet the prices on the world market were high. Unfortunately, they made no efforts of developing Uganda but rather repatriated all the profits to their mother countries e.g. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Some had fat accounts in USA and British Banks.

2. Asians had dual citizenship. A number of them had citizenship of both Uganda and other countries like Pakistan, Britain and India. The 1962 constitution hadn't provided for this. Amin suspected and expelled them.

3. Fulfillment of the common man's charter. President Obote had already made plans of getting rid of neo-colonialism as outlined in the common man's charter. In trying to effect this, Idi Amin expelled the Asians who he accused of promoting neo-colonialism by operating multi-national corporations like Barclays Bank, shell, Bataetc.

4. The inspiration from Gadaffi also led to the economic war. After the 1969 coup, President Muammar Gadaffi had nationalised all foreigners' property. Idi Amin followed in the footsteps of his Libyan comrade.

5. The desire to revenge against Britain also led to the economic war. Amin had asked Britain for financial assistance to buy modern weapons but none was given to him. He retaliated by expelling Asians many of whom were British citizen

6. Asians were racists. They took themselves over and above the Africans whom they regarded as inferior. They had separate schools, residential areas, hospitals and a religion which was secret and unknown to Africans. They befriended African girls but the reverse was not true. Amin expelled them.

7. They monopolised trade. Having huge sums of capital, Asians monopolised all the import and export trade. They owned wholesale and even retail shops. Yet they were Pseudo (false) investors who repatriated all the profits. Idi Amin had to chase them so as Africanise business.

8. The desire to create jobs. Idi Amin wanted to create employment opportunities for Africans. Most well paying jobs in the civil service were in the hands of Asians- yet a number of educated young Ugandans were jobless and had proved a threat to Obote's government.

9. Amin wanted to reward his supporters. Being new in the position of presidency, Amin wanted to win the support of Ugandans- firstly by rewarding those who had supported his coup and secondly by "buying" more friends. Hence he expelled Asians, gave their property to his henchmen and thereby created a class of "Mafuta Mingi".

10. The increasing Asian population also worried Idi Amin. By 1972, there were about 83,000 Asians, 60,000 of who were non-citizens of Uganda. Their increasing birth rate was a risk to Ugandans whose population was only about 9.7 millions.

11. The harshness of Asians also led to the economic war. Asians mistreated Ugandans who worked for them. Africans were not allowed to rest, go for burials, arrive late for work, go for sick leaves etc. They were often abused, slapped etc.

12. The denial of sex to Amin by an Indian widow also led to the economic war. Amin had become attracted to an Asian widow but who refused to have a love affair with him. This maddened the president who interpreted it as a superiority complex of Asians. Feeling humiliated. Amin gave Asians 90 days to vaccate Uganda.

13. Asians practised price discrimination. They used to sell goods to Ugandans at high prizes and yet sold similar products to fellow Asians at lower prices. This earned them an expulsion.

14. Amin's dream in Tororo led to the economic war. While touring Tororo, Amin had a dream that Asians were milking Uganda and not developing it. He believed in the dream, which influenced him to expel them.

15. Amin wanted to create an indigenous managerial class.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE ECONOMIC WAR

1. Uganda lost the skilled manpower, which had given her a lead in the industrial, medical and educational sectors. Asians were replaced by men of no experience and this led to a decline in the standards of education, industry etc.

2. There was a decline of the production sector. This was because factories broke down and the international community refused to provide spare parts for these factories.

3. An economic embargo was imposed on Uganda's coffee, cotton and other crops. This led to extreme sufferings of Ugandan farmers, many of whom cut down the coffee trees.

4. A new class of rich business people- "Mafuta Mingi" was created in Uganda. The replaced the Asians in business and commerce and became equally exploitative as Asians had been.

5. Smuggling of Uganda's goods into Kenya and vice versa became the order of business along the Kenya-Uganda border. This became termed as Magendoism.

6. Scarcity of essential commodities led to inflation. Lack of market for agricultural products rendered a number of Ugandans unemployed. This was also due to the collapse of industries.

7. Uganda's relations with Britain, Israel and India became soiled.

8. Idi Amin opened up diplomatic relations with the Arab world to which he turn for financial and technical assistance.

9. It led to the Africanisation of all sectors of Uganda e.g. Major David Oyite Ojok became the chairman of coffee marketing board.

10. It led to the decline of the Tourist industry. This was due to the unreliable political conditions in Uganda.

11. It blocked the capital infllow to Uganda. This was because foreign investors feared to risk their capital in the unstable Uganda.

12. Uganda was ranked amongst racist countries. This was because Amin had expelled Indians and later Israelites and whites.

13. Uganda became a dumping ground for Kenyan industrial products.

AMIN'S RULE - Its main features.

He expelled foreigners from Uganda e.g. Asians and Israelites. This created him some local popularity and prolonged his rule.

He favoured and strengthened the Moslem community in Uganda. He relied on them for prolonged rule.

He established ties with militarily strong African states like Libya under Gadafi and Congo under Mobutu. These enabled him consolidate his power.

He returned the remains of the Late Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda in 1972 and this won him the support of the Baganda. With their support, his rule had to be prolonged.

His retraditionalisation policy also won him great support. He made an effort of protecting African culture by abolishing the wearing of short (mini) dresses and trousers by women. This improved peoples' morals and won him support. He dealt mercilessly with thieves and corrupt officials and this earned him support-hence prolonged rule.

He created a strong army on which he relied to entrench his dictatorial rule for quite a long period of time.

He obtained assistance from the Arab world USSR and communist China- hence his prolonged rule.

He dealt mercilessly with his critics and opponents. Some were imprisoned; others were killed under mysterious circumstances while others disappeared without trace. Victims included: Chief Justice Kiwanuka, Vice chancellor Franck Kalimuzo, Arch Bishop Jonani Luwum, Joseph Mubiru of Central Bank, ministers Oboth Ofumbi and Oryema Mayor Nakibinge, James Bwogi of Radio Uganda etc.

He abrogated the 1967 constitution and this left the country with no justice. He established a strong spying espionage network, which helped him to track down his opponents e.g. the State Research Bureau.

He established grass root democracy by appointing Chiefs right from village level (They were locally known as "10-houses of chiefs.

He censored the press e.g. Munno newspaper so as to deny Ugandans information. This prolonged his stay in power.

There was general poverty due to the economic problems that accompanied the expulsion of Asians. This poverty made Africans politically inactive thus enabling Amin's prolonged stay in power.

Amin's attack on Kenya in 1976 made him a feared man and prolonged his stay in power.

Under Amin, Uganda pulled out of the East African Community in 1977. This isolated Uganda and turned Amin's rule into a local Ugandan affair.

The nature of Ugandans during that decade (1970-79) enabled Idi Amin exercise his dictatorial powers for long. Ugandans were very compromising and not assertive about their rights.

Idi Amin had the charisma to attract people to himself, to play on ethnic and ideological divisions etc. This helped him prolong his stay in power.

The downfall of idi amin- causes

He came to power in 1971 and his 1979 downfall was inevitable due to the following reasons.

1. Dictatorship. Amin centralised all powers in his hands and declared himself the life president of Uganda. He became a fascist who could not accept advice. He was termed as the Hitler of Africa.

2. Violation of human rights. This included the killing of between 100,000 - 300,000 innocent Ugandans.

3. Tribalism. Idi Amin favoured his Kakwa tribes mates and neighbours like Lugbara and Madi. He hated the Acholi and Langi in the army.

4. Expulsion of Asians, Israelites and the British denied him of international support - and led to his down-fall.

5. The decline of the economy led to his unpopularity and downfall. Production came to a stand still, unemployment and inflation reigned etc.

6. International isolation whereby Uganda faced a trade embargo, could no longer receive spare parts for broken down factories etc.

7. Amin's expansionist tendencies into Kenya only brought him hostility from Kenya. Kenya blocked Uganda's trade and this forced Amin to back down.

8. The use of Anyanya ex-rebels also created unpopularity for Idi Amin. He recruited them in his State Research Bureau to terrorise his opponents.

9. A break down of social services like schools, education and health services created him problems. Indian doctors, teachers and investors in the social services had left.

10. The influence of Ugandans in exile. A number of persecuted Langi and Acholi soldiers fled into exile. So did a number of educated Ugandans. These mobilised against Idi Amin.

11. Amin's conflicts with Nyerere sealed his fate. President Nyerere of Tanzania was internationally respected as a peace lover. When Amin bombed Bukoba in 1972 and in later years occupied Kagera of Tanzania, the OAU and the entire international community supported Ugandan exiles in Tanzania to over throw Idi Amin.

12. Amin's religious intolerance. He had come all-out to promote Islam and Moslems at the expense of Christians. This denied him of majority support.

13. Land grabbing by Amin's indisciplined security men had started and this fetched him unpopularity.

14. Black marketing /Magendoism also added to the pile of grievances. Thuggery /Buyaye became a common feature in Uganda.

However, Amin had some achievements and if he had consolidated on them, his - government would have stayed longer.

1. He was a fighter against corruption and theft.

2. He made a land reform decree in 1975.

3. He Africanised Uganda's economy and this provided a number of Ugandans with jobs.

4. He builds infrastructure like Entebbe airport, roads, and Kampala Conference centre.

5. He created a strong army.

6. He imported teachers from Ghana to fill the gap created by the departure of Asians and Israelites.

7. He promoted African culture by allowing polygamy and banning the wearing of minis and immoral practices.

8. He was a strong Pan Africanist who strengthened ties with Libya, Morocco etc.

9. He fought against neo-colonialism.

THE NRM RULE

In January 1986, the National Resistance Army took over power in Uganda. This ended the 1980-1985 dictatorial rule characterised by rape, killings, looting, rigging of votes, censorship, tribalism, unemployment, inflation, Magendoism, Kibandaism etc.

The National Resistance Movement came in with great determination to carry out political, economic and social transformation. While still in the bush, the NRA top brass had come up with a ten-point programme upon which it has based its transformations.

The 10 Point Programme

1. Restoration of Democracy.

2. Restoration of the security of the Person and Property.

3. Consolidation of national unity and elimination of all forms of sectarianism.

4. Defending and consolidating national independence.

5. Building an independent, integrated and self sustaining national economy.

6. Restoration and improvement of social services and the rehabilitation of war ravaged areas.

7. Elimination of corruption and misuse of power.

8. Redressing errors that had resulted in the dislocation of some sections of the population.

9. Co-operation with other African countries.

10. Following an economic strategy of a mixed economy.

Achievements of the NRM governance (1985- to present)

1. It has put an end to state-inspired violence in Uganda's politics and has ensured the security of both the person and property.

2. It has established a strong and well-disciplined army, which it has used to create peace and security in the largest part of the country. Of recent it has embarked on professionalising the army.

3. It has provided a conducive atmosphere for the return of political exiles. These include the former president the deceased Godfrey Binaisa who returned in 2001. Massive political exiles of West Nile origin were repatriated from Congo and Sudan in the early years of NRM rule.

4. It has provided Amnesty to rebels. A number of them have been retrained and integrated into the national army.

5. It has organised democratic elections right from the grass root levels to the national level. Defeated but aggrieved parties are free to petition the election results e.g. the famous col. Kiiza Besigye presidential petitions of 2001 and 2006. Voting is done in the open and votes are counted the same day.

6. It has granted freedom of the mass media e.g. Over 100 F.M. stations have been licenced and people are free to exchange political views via the Radio, Television and newspapers.

7. Political participation is free to all- including civil servants who are free to stand and if defeated, to return to their jobs. Former exiles are also free to stand for elections.

8. A new constitution was promulgated on 8th May 1995 and took in the views of various sections of Ugandans and from all regions. Article 1 state that all power rests in the hands of the people.

9. Formally marginalised groups like women, disabled persons, and youths have been promoted into politics.

10. It has provided Universal Primary Education, which it is presumed, will increase the literacy levels in Uganda. It has also liberalised the education sector- A number of private nursery, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions have been set up. Universal secondary education is also in a pipeline.

11. It has improved the health services in the country.

12. Efforts have been made to provide safe water, electricity and improve on sanitation.

13. There has been infrastructural development e.g. the Sironko to Kapchorwa road, the extension of the Owen falls dam, etc.

14. The telecommunications sector has been improved by allowing in a number of privately owned telephone services e.g. MTN, Airtel, Africel etc .... to compete with UTL. This has led to improved services.

15. It has introduced new measures to increase government revenue e.g. In 1991, the Uganda Revenue Authority was set up, Value Added Tax was introduced etc. The result has been increased revenue collections. Government expenditure has been controlled.

16. It has liberalised the import and export trade by removing some export taxes and breaking the monopoly of marketing boards like coffee and Lint marketing Boards.

17. It has liberalised the trade in foreign currencies and this has made life easy for businessmen who used to suffer from the "Kibanda" foreign exchange business, which was rather crude.

18. The public service sector has been improved by removing Ghost workers from the payrolls, raising the salaries of civil servants etc.

19. It has encouraged the privatisation process by which wasteful enterprises have been liquidated. This has a number of advantages but also limitations.

20. It has made strategies for poverty eradication. The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) had been launched to improve the incomes of the poor, offer them credit facilities etc.

21. It has negotiated with the World Bank and the Donor community to cancel some of Uganda's debt and to reschedule the repayment of other loans. Through the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), a number of debts have been cancelled.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Assess the rule of Idi Amin.

2. The downfall of Idi Amin was inevitable. Discuss.

3. Examine the causes and effects of the civil war in Uganda.

4. Account for the increased political instabilities in the great lakes region.

# CHAPTER FIVE

THE DECOLONISATION OF BRITISH EAST AFRICA

# NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA

# The Road to independence

Tanganyika was colonised by the Germans during the 19th Century. German rule was authoritative, oppressive and exploitative- a thing which led to a number of resistances, the most famous being the Maji Maji rebellion of 1905-1907.

During the 1st and 2nd World Wars, Tanganyika became a battlefield in the struggle between the Germans against the British who had colonised Uganda and Kenya. Besides acquiring military tactics, the peoples of Tanganyika came to learn that the allied powers were fighting to end German Nazism (a form of colonialism). It is not surprising that nationalism in Tanganyika grew at a fast rate after the 2nd World War. It should also be noted that after the 2nd world war, the UNO mandated Tanganyika to Britain. This meant that Britain had the responsibility of preparing her for independence.

THE POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS TOWARDS TANGANYIKA'S INDEPENDENCE

1. Appointments to the Legco. In 1945, two Africans were appointed to represent fellow Tanganyikans in the Legislative council (colonial parliament). These were the first Africans ever to sit on the Legco and therefore a major constitutional step towards Tanganyika's independence. They used their position to demand for more African representation and for the right of self-government. Due to their pressure, a third African was appointed to the Legco in 1946.

2. The T.A.A. became political in 1945. The Tanganyika African Association- T.A.A. had been formed way back in 1929. It was an Association for teachers, doctors, salt and sisal workers which originally aimed at improving the living and working conditions of African worke. By 1945, largely due to the impact of the2nd World War, the TAA had transformed itself into a political pressure group. It made nationalistic demands for self-government and recruited Tanganyikans of all tribes, sexes, professions and ages into its membership.

3. The end of the 2nd World War. In 1945, the 2nd World War came to an end but left the minds of Tanganyikans enlightened. They had come to learn that the allied powers were fighting to end German colonialism. This inspired them to demand for an end to colonialism in Tanganyika. In the same year, Tanganyika's son abroad- Julius Nyerere attended the 1945 Manchester conference in which colonialism was condemned. He learnt a lot from fellow pan Africanists.

4. Transition into a UN trust territory. In 1946, Tanganyika became a UN mandated "territory” and was entrusted to Britain to take care of it. With its new status, Tanganyika enjoyed periodic supervision by UN officials. The UN trusteeship council and decolonisation committee attentively listened to the demands of Tanganyika's nationalists like Japhet Kirilo and Julius Nyerere.

5. The 1947 workers' strike. Owing to poor conditions of work such as low salaries, various workers like teachers, doctors, salt and sisal workers organised a nation wide strike in 1947. It was supported by the TAA and was characterised by peaceful demonstrations and nationalistic demands for independence.

6. The 1947 protest against the E.A.F. The British had an idea of creating an East Africa Federation (EAF). Their intention was to bring all the East African countries under a uniform administration. However this was vehemently opposed by the TAA which feared that the British intended to turn Tanganyika into white man's country as the case was in Kenya. The protest against the idea of a closer Union in East Africa (EAF) was an expression of growing Tanganyikan nationalism.

7. Kirilo's visit to UNO headquarters. Following the eviction of 3,000 Meru people from their land by white settlers, their leader Japhet Kirilo formed the Meru Citizens' Union of freemen in 1951. In the following year Japhet Kirilo visited the UN headquarters in New York and presented a petition against confiscating the land of the Meru. This was a step ahead in Tanganyika's nationalism.

8. The 1951 UN visit to Tanganyika. As part of its supervisory role, the UNO sent a mission to Tanganyika to report on the situation. The UN mission carefully listened to TAA's demands which included the demand for self government.

9. The 1953 local government ordinance. Due to the increasing demand for the reform of indirect rule, the British governor issued a local government ordinance in 1953. His ordinance/law advocated for the creation of locally elected councils to replace the traditional chiefs.

10. Nyerere became TAA president in 1953. Having experienced political advancement in Britain, Julius Nyerere returned to Tanganyika in 1946 and joined the TAA. In 1953, he was elected its president and re-organised it into a more political and nationalistic association.

11. The formation of the TANU in 1954. On 9th July 1954, Nyerere and his colleagues transformed the TAA into TANU- Tanganyika African National Union. Its avowed aims were to achieve Tanganyika's independence under an African government and to end all forms of divisionism in Tanganyika. Hence a positive step towards Tanganyika's independence.

12. The 1954 UN mission to Tanganyika. A UN inspectorate mission to Tanganyika in 1954 listened to the proposals of TANU. It consequently demanded Britain to set up a timetable for the quick decolonisation of Tanganyika.

13. Appointment of Africans to the executive. In 1954, the British appointed more Africans and Asians to the executive council and started training them to handle ministerial duties. This was a key step towards independence.

14. Nyerere's visit to UN Headquarters in 1955. The new president of TANU visited the UN headquarters in New York and demanded for world support for Tanganyika's independence.

15. The 1955 Legco elections. For the first time Africans were allowed by the British to elect their representatives to the Legco in 1955. Hence a major constitutional development.

16. Nyerere became a full time politician. In 1956, Julius Nyerere who had been serving as a school teacher resigned from teaching and dedicated all his energies to organising the activities of TANU.

17. The policy of multi racialism. In 1956, those who opposed TANU formed the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) to oppose the transition of Tanganyika into an independent government under African control. In 1957, the British officially introduced the multi-racial policy whereby Africans, Europeans and Asians were to be equally represented in administration at all levels of government. This policy made Africans scared of foreign influence and joined the TANU in big numbers. In 1958, TANU membership shot to almost 250,000 people.

18. The 1958 riots in Geita. Africans in Geita rioted against the multi-racial policy of the British. Their fear was that Europeans and Asians could easily make claims over African land and could out vote African interests.

19. Persecution of TANU members. Due to the increasing radicalism of TANU, a number of demonstrators were arrested and jailed. TANU had been banned in 11 (eleven) districts by 1958 and Nyerere was banned from addressing TANU rallies without permission. However this persecution only hardened the nationalists.

20. The January 1958 TANU conference resolved that TANU was to contest with the UTP in that years' election with a hope of winning. The 1958/59 elections were won by the TANU which was a major constitutional development towards Tanganyika's independence.

21. The appointment of Sir Richard Turnbull. In 1958, a new governor was sent to Tanganyika with instructions to prepare it for independence. He was a liberal who co-operated closely with Julius Nyerere and having served in Kenya at the height of the Mau Mau rebellion, was careful to avoid a similar situation in Tanganyika. Hence he quickened the process of independence.

22. The creation of the council of ministers. In June 1959, the executive council was replaced with a council of ministers and 5 Africans belonging to TANU were appointed ministers. These acted as a nucleus from which a fully independent government could grow.

23. The 1960 Legco elections were held on the basis of a wide suffrage. All Tanganyikas who earned £75 and above a year and all those who were literate were allowed to vote. Out of the 71 representatives elected to the Legco only one belonged to the UTP. The rest (70 seats) were won by the TANU and Nyerere was asked to form a government.

24. In March 1961, a constitutional conference was held in Dar-es-Salaam and on 1st May 1961, Tanganyika was granted internal self government which was accompanied by full independence on 9th December 1961 at midnight.

## FACTORS FOR THE GROWTH OF NON-ETHNIC NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA.

A number of factors can be advanced to explain the speedy and smooth growth of nationalism in Tanganyika.

1. Tanganyika's scattered population. Tanganyika didn't have concentrated populations and therefore there was absence of tribal competitions. This enabled Julius Nyerere from an insignificant Wazanaki tribe to be accepted by most tribes of Tanganyika.

2. Absence of powerful and wealth tribes. None of Tanganyika's tribes could claim to be richer or more powerful than others. The 120 or so tribes were small and none was large enough to acquire a predominant status. This can also be credited on the Germans who never favoured or promoted any one tribe at the expense of others.

3. The Uniting role of Swahili Language. There was a long tradition of interaction between the tribes of Tanganyika. They used to trade with one another and the language of trade was Swahili. It was a neutral language and became a uniting factor for all native tribes. Good enough even the German colonialists supported it in schools. So it helped to unite the elites and peasants. Hence when Japhet Kirilo travelled across Tanganyika warning against land alienation (as in Meru), he was clearly understood. Even Nyerere used the same language later.

4. The example of the Maji Maji rebellion. Between 1905-1907, a number of Tanganyika's tribes e.g. the Ngoni, Pogoro, Wagindo etc had united and fought against German colonialism. Though defeated, the spirit of Unity amongst tribes remained and this helped to prevent ethnic nationalism in Tanganyika.

5. Adoption of non-violence. During the Maji Maji, the Germans had used extreme violence to suppress the violet rebellion. This taught Tanganyikans a lesson that violence only leads to death and economic decline. After the 2nd World War therefore, Tanganyika adopted non-violence or Ghandism as a method of struggling for their independence. This pleased the British who decided to speed up Tanganyika's independence.

6. The role of welfare associations. After the first World War, the Germans allowed Africans to form a number of trade Unions so as to improve their working conditions e.g. the Bukoba-Buhaya Union (1924), the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association (1925), the Tanganyika African Association and the Usangi Sports and Welfare Club. These brought people together, sensitised them about their rights etc. They became the basis of nationalism in Tanganyika.

7. The role played by the TAA. Formed by civil servants in 1929, the TAA later became a nationalistic Association. Originally, its avowed task was to improve the working conditions of civil servants but with time, it recruited other categories of workers including peasants. It was non-ethnic, recruited both men and women, avoided religious bias, recruited the literate and illiterate, used Swahili as a mode of communication and opened lip branches in almost all towns and rural villages. By 1948, it had 39 branches and had done a lot to unite the Tanganyikans. In 1954, the TAA was transformed into TANU.

8. The role of TANU. In 1954, the TANU-Tanganyika African National Union was formed with an aim of leading Tanganyika to political, economic and cultural independence under African leadership. It was a mass party which was organised along the lines of CPP in Ghana. It opened up branches all over Tanganyika. So, unlike Uganda where a number of parties e.g. UPC, UNC, DP, KY, PP delayed independence, in Tanganyika, it was mainly one party that led the country to independence.

9. The role of the UNO. In 1946, Tanganyika became a U.N. trust territory under British super vision. The UNO took keen interest in political developments in Tanganyika, listened to its nationalists and demanded Britain to speed up its independence process.

10. The role of Julius Nyerere. He was educated in Tanganyika, Makerere University in Uganda and Edinburg University in Scotland. By character, He was humble, kind, respectful of all classes of people and intelligent. His travels abroad introduced him to democratic governance and good organisation. He used "his abilities” and the acquired knowledge to bring about unity in Tanganyika, hence speedy independence.

11. Absence of religious divisions. German colonialists had not divided the peoples of Tanganyika along religious lines as did the British in Uganda. Nationalists in Tanganyika therefore addressed real issues but not religious ones. This explains why Julius Nyerere-a catholic was acceptable even to the big Moslem community in Tanganyika. This favoured quick independence.

12. Land alienation united the people. Colonialists were not only oppressive but also exploitative. They over taxed the people, applied forced labour and worst of all grabbed African land for their own settlement e.g. the land of the Meru was confiscated and 3,000 original natives were evicted. This scared other communities of Tanganyika that their land was not safe. It were such common grievances which united the people. This helped to bring quick nationalism and to prevent ethnic nationalism.

13. Economic hardships united the people. After World War II, price controls were imposed, wages reduced and some workers laid off. This led to the 1947 workers' strikes which united the people and led to nationalistic feelings.

13. The forced agricultural programmes of the 1950s contributed to more economic 'hardships. Farmers were forced to dip their cattle and had to pay fees for it, to destock their cattle which was looked at as thefty of their cattle by European settlers and to carry out compulsory terracing. Such common economic grievances united the Tanganyikans.

14. The Asian domination of the economy. Indians had control over the import and export trade who priced their products highly yet paid very low prices to farmers. All these caused resentment. Hence the Lake Province Growers' Association (later the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Union) was set up in Mwanza district. It was headed by Bomani who demanded the creation of African marketing boards to replace Indian ones.

15. Political dissatisfaction. The peoples of Tanganyika were unhappy at the slow rate of training Africans for self government. By 1951, the British had appointed only 1 African to the executive council and only 4 out of 29 to the Legco. Africans hated this and termed it as a deliberate British attempt to leave Africans behind. This helped to arouse non ethnic nationalistic feelings.

16. Plans for a federation. When the British colonial secretary suggested the formation of the East African Federation, Tanganyikans reacted negatively. They feared that it would lead to the increase of settlers in Tanganyika as the case was in Kenya. It was the fear of settler domination in Tanganyika that led to the rise of nationalistic feelings.

17. The Mau Mau rebellion (1952 - 55) scared the British in Tanganyika. They cooperated with the emerging nationalists in Tanganyika so as to avoid violent nationalism in Tanganyika as the case had been in Kenya (Mau Mau rebellion) and in Uganda (the Kabaka crisis of 1953).

18. The role of Sir Richard Turnbull. He was the new governor in Tanganyika in 1958. He was a liberal, calm, experienced and interested in peace. He had witnessed the violent Mau Mau rebellion when he was serving as a colonial secretary in Kenya. He was prepared to work closely with nationalists in Tanganyika which helped to speed up her independence. He had respect for Julius Nyerere's opinions.

But to crown it all, the peoples of Tanganyika had patriotic feelings for their country. They had their country at heart and didn't express greed for power as was the case in other African countries-hence the smooth road to independence in Tanganyika.

## Reasons why Tanganyika acquired independence earlier than Uganda

At first, both Uganda and Kenya were far ahead of Tanganyika in terms of education, economic advancement and constitutional development. Surprisingly, Tanganyika achieved independence earlier than both. This is attributed to the following;

1. Tanganyika had one Mass Party - TANU, unlike Uganda that had a number of conflicting parties e.g. UPC, DP, KY, UNC, etc....

2. While Tanganyika was a territory under UN trusteeship, Uganda was under full British control. So, while the UN pressurized for the speedy independence of Tanganyika, in Uganda the case was different.

3. There was ethnic rivalry in Uganda as compared to the unity of all tribes in Tanganyika.

4. Uganda had no serious and urgent economic grievances as the case was in Tanganyika, e.g. People of Tanganyika suffered from forced labour and land alienation which were absent in Uganda.

5. There was no threat of white settlers in Uganda and hence Ugandans moved at a slower pace despite the numerous advantages they had.

6. Tanganyika had patriotic nationalists while Uganda had greedy ones.

7. The exclusiveness and sectarianism of the Baganda explains the delayed struggle for independence in Uganda. Baganda refused to co-operate with governor Cohen while the peoples of Tanganyika co-operated with their governors, especially Turnbull.

8. Tanganyika enjoyed the advantages of a common language -Swahili, unlike Uganda which had a number of competing languages.

9. The personality of Nyerere who was intelligent, humble, tactical, non violent and non sectarian helped to speed up Tanganyika's independence.

10. Unlike Uganda where colonialists had divided people along religious lines, In Tanganyika the Germans hadn't divided people. Even Moslems rallied behind Julius Nyerere and moved smoothly and speedily towards independence.

11. There existed strong trade Unions in Tanganyika vis-avis the absence of such workers' associations in Uganda. The Trade Unions and workers' associations in Tanganyika helped to enlighten the people about their political, economic and social rights.

12. The role played by Turnbull enabled Tanganyika to obtain independence earlier than Uganda. Like Arden Clarke of Ghana who helped Kwame Nkrumah, governor Richard Turnbull also helped Julius Nyerere to obtain quick independence for Tanganyika. Hence on 9th December, 1961 at Mid-night, the Duke of Edin burg granted independence to Tanganyika on behalf of the Queen of England. Hence Tanganyika became a pace maker in East Africa which was surprising because Uganda had earlier proved to be the pace maker. Uganda's independence was to be granted 10 months later on 9th October, 1962.

## THE ROLE OF TANU IN FIGHTING FOR TANGANYIKA'S INDEPENDENCE

The Tanganyika African National Union- TANU was founded by Dr. Julius Nyerere and his colleagues on 7th July, 1954 at a meeting in Dar-es-Salam. In the meeting, the humble, intelligent and far-sighted Nyerere convinced his comrades to transform the TAA into a national party known as TANU- Tanganyika African National Union.

1. It had good aims. The avowed aims of the TANU were: to fight for the independence of Tanganyika and work for the unity of all its people. It adopted a motto "freedom and unity" and all party members worked hard to attain the ideals of this motto.

2. It was a mass party. In order to attain National Unity, the TANU transformed itself into a mass party comprising of the elites and illiterate peasants, rich and poor, men and women, blacks and non-blacks. This enabled the party to receive support from all sections of the people living in Tanganyika.

3. It took over TAA branches. In 1929, civil servants in Tanganyika had formed the Tanganyika African Association to bargain for better working conditions. The TAA had established a number of branches towns and rural areas. When TANU was formed in 1954, it simply took over the existing network of TAA branches. This enabled her to expand quickly throughout the country.

4. It had effective leadership. The TANU was blessed with a capable, hardworking, forward looking, patriotic and non-sectarian leader in the names of Dr. Julius Nyerere or "Mwalimu" as he came to be popularly known. He was a persuasive and eloquent speaker, tactical and respectful of all people. This helped to attract a wide membership for the TANU.

5. It gained support from trade Unions. There existed a number of trade unions in Tanganyika especially in Sukuma land and Dar-es-Salam. When the TANU was formed in 1954, it explained its aims which were broad and national. These aims, coupled with the party's good leadership attracted a number of trade unions to surrender their offices and loyalty to the TANU.

6. It became the peoples' voice. TANU was quick in studying the peoples' grievances and promised to rectify them. It condemned the grabbing of African land by British settlers in Meru, the cutting of coconut shambas in Dar-es-Salam, the fall in the prices of agricultural products etc. By acting as the voice of the oppressed and exploited Africans, TANU won quick support from all sections of Tanganyikans.

7. It called for unity. Having set itself a task of building nationalistic feelings amongst the Tanganyikans, TANU worked hard to break down the tribal and sectional feelings in Tanganyika. In this respect, it played a role similar to that of the CPP in Gold Coast.

8. TANU adopted Ghandism. The leaders of TANU were radical but non-violent. They used peaceful methods of fighting for Tanganyika's independence. These included peaceful demonstrations, writing of critical articles in newspapers etc... In this way, they followed the example of Mahtama Ghandi of India and Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast. The advantage of Ghandism was the protection of human lives and property.

9. It won British admiration. TANU's peaceful approach to the question of independence in Tanganyika pleased the British who reacted positively by effecting political and constitutional reforms.

10. It established links with the UNO. In 1954, TANU invited the supervisory committee of the UNO to Tanganyika and presented it with a petition demanding for Tanganyika's independence. In the petition, TANU demanded Britain to set up a time-table to be followed in granting independence to Tanganyika. Subsequently, the UNO pressurized Britain to speed up the process for the country's independence.

11. Wide membership. TANU’s effective mobilisation campaign led to an ever growing number of supporters. By 1958, TANU's membership had grown close to 250,000 people. This population included Africans, Asians and whites. The effective and non-sectarian mobilisation approaches worried the British who even put a ban on TANU activities in some eleven districts by 1958.

12. TANU accepted the multi-racial policy. In 1957, the British introduced the multiracial policy which advocated for equal representation of Africans, Asians and Europeans at all levels of administration. This was aimed at weakening the position of TANU and at first a number of TANU supporters rejected the policy. However, with the advice of Julius Nyerere, TANU endorsed the multi-racial policy. The non- sectarian Nyerere was confident that some Asians and Europeans would support TANU and lead it to victory.

13. TANU won the 1958 elections. In the 1958, the British organised elections to the legislative council. Two parties contested for the seats in the Legco, Colonial parliament. These parties were TANU and UTP- United Tanganyika Party which was a racist party set up in 1956 to rival TANU. The end results of the 1958 multiracial elections was an over whelming victory of TANU over the UTP. This was because it had attracted a number of Asians and whites into its ranks due to its non- sectarian principles.

14. TANU got ministerial posts. In 1959, the British appointed five TANU supporters to form part of the 12 man-council of ministers. This was a major political reform and development towards independence. TANU was now in position to bargain for speedy return of political leadership into the hands of Africans.

15. It co-operated with Richard Turnbull. In 1958, a new governor Richard Turnbull was sent to Tanganyika to oversee the process of Independence. TANU leaders worked closely with him and smoothly worked an agenda for Tanganyika's independence.

16. It won the 1960 elections. Fresh elections to the Legco were organised in 1960 and TANU emerged victorious. It won 70 out of 71 seats. This resounding victory not only buried the hopes of the UTP but also convinced the British colonial master that TANU was the only strong and well organised party to take over Tanganyika's leadership in the wake of British withdrawal. Consequently a responsible government was formed in September 1960 with Julius Nyerere as the Chief Minister.

17. It led Tanganyika to independence. As a result of its Africanisation policy, Ghandism (positive action), non-racialism, co-operation with both the UNO and British colonialists, the TANU successfully led Tanganyika to independence on 9th December 1961.

## THE ROLE OF JULIUS NYERERE IN FIGHTING FOR TANGANYIKA'S INDEPENDENCE

Born in 1922, Nyerere was educated at Mwrisenge Primary School in Musoma, Tabora Secondary School, Makerere University in Uganda and Edinburgh University in Scottland.

1. He hated colonialism. Nyerere was born and grew up at a time when colonialism had entrenched itself in Tanganyika and Africa in general. He witnessed colonial oppression and exploitation which he detested. At the same time, this was a period of great nationalistic outbursts throughout Africa. So, it is not surprising as to why Nyerere joined politics and threw himself into the anti-colonial struggles in his home country.

2. He attended the Manchester conference. While still overseas, Nyerere attended the 5th Pan African Congress that was held in Manchester. This enabled him to come in to contact with great Negro Pan -Africanists such as WEB Dubois and fellow black Pan-Africanists such as Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Akintola, Kamuzu Banda and others. He left the conference ready to fight for Tanganyika's independence.

3. His travels widened his vision. His travels to Uganda, Scotland and later New York as leader of TANU widened his vision and scope of understanding. At Makerere, he studied with a number of emerging African nationalists with whom he shared the vision of liberating Africa. In Scotland and New York, he witnessed democratic governance, made friendship with democrats and socialists etc. These influenced him to exercise democratic principles in Tanganyika.

4. He joined the TAA. In 1947, Julius Nyerere returned home to Tanganyika and started teaching. He quickly joined the Tanganyika African Association and in 1953 was elected as its president. Hence, though he was a trained teacherMwalimu, Nyerere joined politics with an aim of struggling for Tanganyika's freedom.

5. He formed the TANU. In 1954, Julius Nyerere and his colleagues transformed the TAA into TANU with an aim of fighting for Tanganyika's independence. He also set himself a task of creating unity in the country by fighting all forces of divisionism. To achieve these aims, Nyerere resigned from teaching and became a full time politician.

6. He was non-sectarian. Right from his school days, Nyerere emphasised the equality and value of all persons. When he joined the TAA, he re-organised it by recruiting peasants into its ranks instead of keeping it as a party strictly for civil servants and elites. Equally true is that he transformed the TANU into a mass nationalist party comprising of elites, illiterate peasants, blacks and non-blacks. This in turn widened TAN membership to 250,000 by 1958.

7. He applied non-violent methods while struggling for Tanganyika's independence. This was partly due to the lessons from the 1905 -1907 Maji Maji rebellion in Tanganyika which had been so violent and cruel, leading to the sufferings of local Tanganyikans. Partly, his non-violent approach was due to the inspiration of both Mahtama Ghandi of India and Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast. His use of non-violence/constitutional means to fight for Tanganyika's independence won him cooperation from the British.

8. He had a good personality. Much of TANU's political success resulted from Nyerere's warm character. He was loving, humble, cool headed, non-sectarian and a magnetic speaker (eloquent). A combination of these qualities attracted many Tanganyikans into the TANU. Though a catholic from an insignificant Wazanaki tribe, Nyerere obtained support even from Moslems and the so-called significant tribes of Tanganyika. Such support was essential for Tanganyika's quick path to independence.

9. He was a Mwalimu/teacher. True, Nyerere abandoned classroom teaching and concentrated, on politics but throughout his political career, he found himself continuously teaching his people. For instance his Ujaama policy required a lot of teaching.

10. He established links with UNO. In 1955 and 1956, he visited the UNO headquarters in New York and solicited for international support for Tanganyika's independence. This made the trusteeship council to exert pressure on Britain to decolonise Tanganyika.

11. He was appointed to the Legco in 1957 and together with Rashid Kawawa, they pressurised for Tanganyika's independence.

12. He attended the 1958 all African Peoples' conference in Accra-Ghana and got a chance of exchanging views with other radical pan-African nationalists. In particular, he admired Kwame Nkrumah's policy of "positive action" which he adopted on his return home.

13. At one time, (1958) he served as the secretary general of Tanganyika Federation of labour. He used his post to spread nationalistic awareness to all trade unions.

14. He is credited for having worked closely with Governor Richard Turnbull who concluded that TANU leaders were politically mature and would manage Tanganyika's post-independence politics.

15. Nyerere is credited for having convinced his fellow party members to accept the 1958 multi-racial elections to the Legco which TANU swept. He also led TANU into the 1960 elections. In both cases. TANU's support was due to his great tactics. Hence he has been referred to as a master tactician and a philosopher King.

16. When a responsible government was formed in September 1960, he became the chief minister and later the president of the Independent republic of Tanganyika from 9th December, 1961.

17. He advocated for the political union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar which led to the formation of the republic of Tanzania in 1964.

## NATIONALISM IN KENYA

Kenya was colonised by the British in 1895 and they ruled it up to 12th December 1963

when it was granted full independence. Nationalism in Kenya took both constitutional and violent forms and this depended on the nature of colonial policies and the colonial response to African demands for reforms.

## FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN KENYA

1. Western education. Christian missionaries had emphasised the dignity and equality of all persons. This made the educated Kenyans e.g. James Gichuru, Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga, Jomo Kenyatta and Eluid Mathu to condemn the white man's superiority in Kenya. They claimed that white discrimination against the blacks was incompatible with Christianity. Those who studied abroad e.g. Jomo Kenyatta and Eluid Mathu had witnessed western democracy and called for democratic and political reforms in Kenya. Their activities contributed to nationalistic feelings in Kenya.

2. The role of the mass media. Newspapers such as Muigwithania (started in 1928 by Jomo Kenyatta), Sauti ya Mwafrika and the Kenya Weekly News exposed the attrocities of the British colonialists and called upon Kenyans to fight for their freedoms. To the newspapers was added Radio Cairo's Swahili service which fuelled nationalistic feelings to increase the morale of the fighters during the Mau Mau insurrection.

3. The formation of welfare Associations. These included the Kikuyu Association, the Young Kikuyu Association the Young Kavirondo Assocaition, the North Kavirondo Central Association, Ukamba members Association, and the Kavirondo Tax payers' Association. These associations demanded land, tax and political reforms and helped to arouse nationalistic feelings amongst their members

4. The role of independent Churches. African clergy who were discriminated broke off from the white missionary Churches and formed native Churches/independent Churches. These pastors included Bildad Kaggia and Elijah Masinde who preached the need for a black Messiah, condemned colonial evils and called upon all Africans to rise up and defend their culture, land and future generations. This led to nationalistic feelings.

5. The emergency of political parties also stimulated nationalism in Kenya. The earliest and most active nationalistic party was the Kenya African union (KAU) which spread nationalistic ideas firstly amongst the Kikuyu and later in areas outside Kikuyu land. It was formed in 1944 by Eluid Mathu and later followed by other parties like Tom Mboya's Nairobi Peoples' Convention Party (1957), KANU and KADU in 1960 etc. These spread nationalistic ideas.

6. Trade Unions also fuelled nationalism in Kenya. Before, during and after the 2nd world war, Trade Unions played a big role of sensitising Kenyan workers about their rights. In 1939, trade unionists organised the Mombasa African Workers' general strike. After the 2nd world war, Chege Kibachia- the Trade Unions leader led the Mombasa general strike of 1947. He was able to win a minimum wage for all Kenyan workers. Then he formed the African workers' federation which earned him imprisonment in 1947. Then in 1949 Mkhan Singh and Fred Kubai formed the East African Trade Union Congress (EATUC) which was denied registration. However between 1952-57, trade Unions helped to keep the nationalistic zeal since political parties had been banned.

7. Urbanization played a major role in stimulating Kenyan nationalism. This was especially true with Nairobi City which attracted Africans from various tribes and regions. Due to the hard conditions in the city, they became united and became the nucleus of revolutionary propaganda that led to the Mau Mau rebellion.

8. Easy transport and communication facilitated the movement of nationalists and nationalistic ideas throughout Kenya. The roads and railways put in place by colonialists enabled nationalists to connect easily between the rural and urban areas and to prepare for their war of independence.

9. The loss of political independence also agitated nationalistic feelings in Kenya. The whites dominated Kenya's politics and left the traditional African chiefs powerless. On top of Kenya's administration was a governor, followed by the executive and legislative councils which for long were occupied by whites, followed by provincial commissioners, district commissioners, and finally at the bottom came the African chiefs- implementers of unpopular colonial policies. This displeased Africans and led to rise of nationalism.

10. White settler influence led to nationalistic feelings. After 2nd world war, more settlers were encouraged into Kenya and it seemed the British wanted to turn Kenya into a white man's country. This led to nationalistic feelings.

11. Land alienation especially in the fertile Kenya highlands and Rift valley area aroused nationalistic feelings. By 1915, 9,200 kilometres of land had been grabbed from Africans and the 1930 Native Lands Trust ordinance was ignored. It had recommended the return of land to the natives especially Kikuyu.

12. Poverty amongst Africans led to nationalistic feelings. This was due to living in overcrowded areas where no meaningful agriculture could be conducted. Also, the oppressive taxes that made their incomes useless, hence poverty, suffering and nationalism.

13. Forced labour led to strong feelings of determination to send away the white men.

14. Colour bar in residential areas, schools, hospitals etc made Africans develop a desire to chase away the white man. Africans were discriminated in employment and paid low wages for the same jobs as the whites did. The white man's discrimination was evident in schools where the government spent only 5 pounds per year on the education of an African child while it spent 35 pounds on a European child! These figures were quoted by Tom Mboya in 1960.

15. Unfair political representation also fanned nationalism in Kenya. Until 1944, no African was allowed to sit on the colonial legislative councils. In that year, only one African was appointed to the Legco and by 1951 the number had only risen to five. Yet Africans were the majority. As for the colonial executive council, the first African was appointed in 1954. This was seen as a great political injustice and hence the rise of nationalistic feelings.

16. The Kipande system which deprived Africans of their right to move freely in their country also fanned nationalistic feelings.

17. The British divide and rule policy whereby they favoured and promoted other tribes of Kenya at the expense of the Kikuyu led to a rise of Kikuyu nationalism.

18. Swahili language helped in the rise of Kenyan nationalism. It was commonly used and understood by the majority of Kenyans. So, it made communication and coordination between elites, peasants and soldiers very easy.

19. The missionary attempt to undermine Kikuyu culture stimulated cultural nationalism. The Kikuyu cherished circumcision but whiche the whites wanted to abolish. This created resentment and nationalistic feelings.

20. The unfair agricultural policies also led to nationalistic feelings. These included forced soil conservation, de-stocking of Ukamba cattle and preventing Africans from growing profitable cash crops. All this led to ill feelings and thus the rise of nationalism.

21. The domination of Kenya's economy by Asians also fanned nationalistic feelings. Whereas Asians were prospering Africans were growing poorer.

22. The banning of political parties and imprisonment of Kenya nationalists only served to fuel Kenyan Nationalism.

23. The impact of the 2nd world war did more to arouse Kenyan nationalism than anything else. That's why after 1945, the pace towards independence grew faster.

(A) Kenyan soldiers who had come into contact with the outside world returned full of democratic and nationalistic ideas. They had shared experiences with Asian nationalists and once back in Kenya, demanded for independence.

(b) They had learnt military skills and had seen the defeat of the white man e.g. In Burma. So, they no longer feared the white man and were ready to use force to uproot colonialism. These ex-service men included Bildad Kaggia who fought in North Africa and Waruhui Itote who fought in Burma.

( c) They had learnt the white man's language, had listened to the wireless and read newspapers. Their horizon of reasoning was therefore widened.

(d) Some of them, like Bildad Kaggia had been discriminated in the colonial armies whereby as a sergeant he had reprimanded an untidy European corporal but was warned never to give orders to his white juniors.

(e) Bildad Kaggia had travelled in U.K. where he met social equality and democracy. He even worked with a democratic American doctor in North Africa. All these made him think about fighting to end colour bar in Kenya.

(f) On returning to Kenya, ex-service men were again exposed to colour bar, unemployment, poor living standards etc. Moreover they were not given the compensation they were promised. This fanned nationalistic feelings and made them resort to violence.

(g) The adverse effects of the 2nd world war made whites to allow Kenyans grow cash crops which they were originally denied. This made them obtain money to sponsor nationalistic activities.

(h) Ex-service men joined KAU.

(i) Ex-service men formed independent Churches e.g. Kaggia.

24. The formation of the 40 group led to the rise of nationalistic feelings in Kenya. After the Second World War, the radicals within the KAU formed a secret militant group called the fourty group or Anake wa 40. This comprised ex-service men, the unemployed, lumpens etc. It helped to spread nationalistic feelings. However this can also be related to the impact of the 2nd world war.

25. The declaration of a state of emergence. On October 20th and 21st, Sir Evelyn Barring ordered a state of emergency in which a number of K.A.U. leaders and other nationalists were arrested and detained for 7 years. This only served to harden Kenyan nationalists who took off to the bush to avoid arrests. In the bush, they joined the Mau Mau.

26. The influence of the labour party. After the 2nd world war, the labour party rose to power in Britain and started preparing the British colonial empire for independence. In Kenya, the labour party called for an expansion of African representation on the Legco. Hence the number was raised from one in 1944 to four in 1948. This helped to fuel Kenyan nationalism.

27. The formation of the UNO also fanned nationalism in Kenya. The UN Charter emphasised the right of self-government for all the colonised people in Africa and Asia, Kenyan nationalists made use of this U.N.O. provision to pressurise the British to grant independence.

28. The 1945 Manchester conference stimulated nationalistic feelings in Kenya. This was because Kenya's son abroad-Jomo Kenyatta, attended it and adopted its slogans "Self-government now", "positive action", "Mass action" etc. On his return to Kenya in 1946, he put to use the Pan African principles and this fanned nationalistic feelings in Kenya.

29. The independence of India in 1947 had a great influence on the growth of Kenyan nationalism. Indian's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru supported Kenya's struggle for independence and appointed A.B. Pant as the Indian High Commissioner to Nairobi in 1948. He instructed him to give legal advice scholarship, finances and at times arms to Kenyan nationalists.

30. The breach of the 1930 Native land trust ordinance aroused bitter feelings leading to Kenyan nationalism. It had suggested that land for Africans would be left untouched and that reserves would by use by Africans for their benefits. But when gold was discovered at Kakamega (western Kenya) the Native lands ordinance was broken and land grabbing continued. KCA sought audience with the British government and sent Kenyatta to England to speak for the party but in vain.

31. The 1958 Accra conference. This was an All-African Peoples' conference called by Kwame Nkrumah. It was attended by some of Kenya's freedom fighters e.g. Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga who returned to Kenya with sharpened nationalistic feelings.

32. The independence of other African Countries e.g. the Egyptian coup of 1952, Libya's independence in 1951, Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, Ghana 1957, Congo 1960 made Kenyans to dance to the tune of the wind of change in Africa.

## THE MAU MAU REBELLION 1952-1956

This was an armed struggle staged by the Kenyans against the British colonialists who had become oppressive, exploitative and discriminative. It was one of the earliest wars of independence in modern Africa. Its name is said to be an abbreviation for a Swahili phrase "Muzungu Ayende Ulaya, Mwafrica Apate Uhuru" which means "The white man should return to Europe and leave Africans in total independence". It occurred in areas around central Kenya, areas predominantly occupied by the Kikuyu and under Kikuyu leadership.

## CAUSES

1. Grievances over land alienation. The British colonial government had encouraged a number of white settlers into Kenya. These came from Britain, South Africa, New Zealand, Nether lands, Australia and Southern Rhodesia. Soon they started grabbing all the land that was unoccupied and termed it as no man's land, What they termed as no-man's land, and continued to occupy was in reality African land which had just been left to fallow. Hence this unprincipled grabbing of unoccupied African lands contributed to war moods amongst the Kenyans. More annoying however, was the removal of settled African tribes from their fertile land to drier and less productive land, e.g. the Maasai were tricked out of their fertile Uasin Gishu plateau to Laikipia and were later pushed out of Laikipia plateau to • Ngong reserves. The same fate befell the Kikuyu who were pushed out of the fertile and conducive Kenya Highlands for the white man to settle! Such land alienation resulted into a rebellion.

2. The suffering of Africans in reserves contributed to the Mau Mau rebellion. Reserves were created for Africans whose land had been grabbed. These unfortunate Africans included the Kikuyu, Maasai and Nandi. Reserves were overcrowded, unproductive, dirty and disease infested. Africans had never lived under such conditions before colonial rule. They became annoyed and joined the rebellion.

3. The desire to end their squatter status. Land grabbing by whites had rendered the majority of Kenyans landless. Hence they had no choice but to live as squatters on the white man's farms offering cheap manual labour. The feeling of living as squatters on land that was formerly theirs pained them to the point of revolt. They felt a sense of "nothingness" since traditionally, any Kikuyu man without land was no man.

4. The desire to please the ancestral spirits. Kikuyu land had religious values. The land had been handed down to them by their ancestors and contained the ancestral burial grounds. A fear arose amongst the young that their ancestors would be angered by their failure to drive away the white man. As war songs put it: "they will be asked... Why did you sell our land?"

5. The unpopular agricultural programmes. The colonial government introduced a soil conservation policy by which all the Kikuyu were expected to carry out compulsory terracing across the ridges. This was designed as a way of controlling soil erosion. However, due to the small size of farms, this policy was seen as a mockery to Africans. In Ukamba land, government introduced a policy of cattle de-stocking as a way of preventing overgrazing. But even this was received with suspicion, leading to war.

6. Grievances over idle land. White settlers owned large pieces of land which were idle /unused. This brewed feelings of jealousy amongst the landless Africans who appealed to the colonial government for land reforms but in vain. The land commission of the 1930s had left the problem largely unsolved. This made the radical members of the Kenya African Union to form the Land Freedom Army (the official name of the Mau Mau).

7. Urban unemployment contributed to the rebellion. Having been uprooted from their land, most Kikuyu flocked to towns- especially Nairobi in search of jobs. Unfortunately, the few who chanced to get jobs were poorly paid while the majority remained jobless, redundant, ready to smash and grab. Such people provided the manpower for the Land Freedom Army.

8. Cash crop restrictions. Indegenous Kenyans were prevented from growing cash crops such as coffee, pyrethrum and sisal. Since these were the most profitable cash crops at the time, Africans interpreted the British restriction as a calculated move to impoverish them. Chief Koinange tried to grow coffee but ended up in courts of law where he was seriously reprimanded to stop the act. This goaded Africans into arms against the British.

9. The introduction of the Kipande system also drove Kenyans into rebellion. This was a kind of identity card or certificate of registration given to the Africans to restrict their movements. Restrictions on movements were aimed at keeping Africans busy working on European farms. The Kipande stated one's name, age, village and thumb print etc.

10. Africans hated forced labour. Africans were not only forced to work on European plantations but were also required to offer labour on public works like roads, railways and buildings. This forced labour was unknown in pre-colonial societies and therefore became unpopular, leading to the Mau Mau rebellion.

11. Famine and starvation. Most Africans were busy producing cash crops on white man's plantations. This made them neglect food crop production for their own up keep. In overcrowded reserves, the situation was worse. The land was limited and dry, leading to low food output- hence famine and starvation. This annoyed the people to the point of revolt since they related it to loss of land.

12. Racial discrimination contributed to the Mau Mau rebellion. Kenyans were not only discriminated in residential areas but also in other aspects of life. Right from the reserves, the colour bar policy was followed to the restaurants, schools, hospitals and even toilets which were labeled "Europeans' "Asians" and "Africans". Africans were taken as inferior to the whites and Asians in all aspects. However it is true that whites even segregated the Asians.

13. Over taxation and poverty. Colonialists introduced high taxes and initially it were only the Africans to pay. Due to lack of land, the poor Africans had to seek for employment on white owned farms to get money for taxes. The high taxes made the sweat of Africans virtually useless. It was this exploitation of man by man that led to the Mau Mau.

14. Religious and cultural clashes also led to the Mau Mau rebellion. Traditionally, the Kikuyu had their gods who were serving them well. They had a strong culture that emphasised the circumcision of both male and female as per the instruction of the founders of the Kikuyu society- Gikuyu and Mumbi. When the Scottish missionaries established a mission in Kikuyu land, they branded female circumcision as primitive, barbaric and un-Christian. When some Kikuyu women started giving up female circumcision, the stage was set for the Mau Mau insurrection.

15. The influence of the ex-service men also led to the Mau Mau rising. On their return from the Second World War, Kenyan ex-service men such as Waruhiu Itote, Bildad Kaggia and Paul Ngei found life very miserable. This was due to the colour bar system, unemployment and unfulfilled promises of the colonial masters. During the war, they had come into contact with Asian nationalists, European democrats and socialists etc. Soon, they became impatient with KAUs peaceful struggle for independence and spearheaded the Mau Mau rebellion. They started by forming the Fourty-group.

16. The desire for independence. Kenya's politics was dominated by whites who were assisted by local African chiefs to implement the unpopular colonial policies. The local African chiefs were illiterate and served the interests of the Europeans at the expense of African interests. This was hated by the young educated Kenyans who were deliberately sidelined by colonial masters for fear of criticism. No wonder why the elites were among the leaders of the rebellion.

17. The failure of peaceful methods led to the Mau Mau rebellion. In 1944, Eluid Mathu founded the Kenya African Union (KAU) and demanded for political, economic and social reforms. However KAU's major demand throughout the 1930s and 1940s was land reform e.g. the KAU sent its representatives- Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng Oneko to meet the colonial secretary and discuss land reforms. Unfortunately, the colonial secretary refused to meet the KAU delegates. This convinced the radical members of the KAU that violence was the only language the whites could understand.

18. The Kikuyu desire to control Kenya's politics. Since all Kenyans were tired of white settler dominance in Kenya, the Kikuyu hatched a secret desire of taking over Kenya's politics after the departure of the whites. This partly explains why they were the majority in the Mau Mau rebellion.

19. Unfair political representation. By 1945, there was only one African on the colonial legislative council (colonial parliament), and by 1951, they were only five. To make matters worse, there was no single African representative on the colonial executive council until 1954. This was looked at with negativity by the Kenyan elites who were suffering from serious unemployment. Without representation, there was no way African interest would be championed.

20. The 20th October 1952 state of emergency led to the rebellion. Sir Evelyn Baring declared a state of emergence on 20th October 1952 and this led to the arrest and detention of Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Bildad Kaggia, Kungu Karumba and Paul Ngei. They were sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. For fear of being arrested, a number of unemployed Kikuyu joined the Kenya Land and freedom Army (Mau Mau).

21. The conducive terrain also contributed to the outbreak of the rebellion. The thicker bamboo forests on the slopes of Mountain Kenya plus the valley and hilly Abadare ranges provided ideal zones which made Kenyan nationalists to think about guerrilla war fare.

22. The influence of West African nationalism led to the Mau Mau rebellion. Both the British and French were busy reforming their colonial policies in Western Africa. Already, the 1944 Brazzaville conference had recommended a reform of French colonialism in Africa. The British had taken similar steps e.g. by granting constitutions to both Nigeria and Gold Coast in 1946. It was such a wind of change across Africa at the time that ushered in a revolutionary spirit amongst Kenyans. Hence the Mau Mau rebellion.

23. The Egyptian revolution of 1952 also fuelled militant nationalism in Kenya. The news of the overthrow of King Farouk and the British encouraged the Fourty group to fight and overthrow the British plus their African sympathisers (puppets). Hence the Mau Mau rebellion.

24. The domination of Kenya's economy by Asians also fuelled feelings of nationalism amongst the largely hungry and unemployed Africans. Hence they joined the Kenya Land and Freedom Army to fight for a return of Kenya's economy into African hands.

## CONSEQUENCES OF THE MAU MAU REBELLION

1. The Mau Mau fighters were militarily defeated. This was achieved through the deployment of British troops, police, local African collaborators, armoured vehicles, artillery fire and Lancaster bomber-planes. The capture of Waruhiu Itote (General China) in February 1954 and Dedan Kimathi in October 1956 signalled the British victory over the Mau Mau fighters. However, though they lost the battle, Mau Mau fighters won the war.

2. There was a colossal loss of human lives. At the end of the rebellion in 1956, the number of people who had died in battle were 11,503 Mau Mau fighters, 1,920 loyal Africans fighting for the British (a total of 13423 Africans in all), 66 European soldiers, 29 European civilians (a total of 95 Europeans in all) and 29 Asian civilians. Added to these were a number of innocent women and children who died of disease and starvation in overcrowded camps.

3. Destruction of property. From the start in 1952, the Land Freedom Army /Mau Mau raided shops and police stations to obtain fire arms e.g. in March 1953, they raided Naivasha police station, looted a number of arms and released 173 prisoners. They also attacked European farms and mutilated their cattle, destroyed crops, burnt the farms and houses of African chiefs and headmen who were loyal to British colonialists etc. This caused some economic setback.

4. It resulted into a state of emergency. The violent nature of the freedom fighters made the Governor- Sir Evelyn Baring, to declare a state of emergency in Kenya starting from 20th October 1952- 1956. This was a risky period characterised by night curfew, arrests, beatings and imprisonment of nationalists suspected of connections with Mau Mau e.g. KAU leaders like Jomo Kenyatta, Bildad Kaggia, Fred Kubai Kungu Karumba and Paul Ngei were arrested, tried at Kapenguria court and sentenced to 7 years hard labour.

5. Fortified villages were created by the government as a means of separating civilians from the guerrillas. Hundreds of thousands of Kikuyu were forced into the protected villages. Other tribes like the Embu, Kamba, Luo etc also existed in camps but in smaller numbers e.g. during the "Operation Anvil" of 1954 in Nairobi police and soldiers rounded up to about 100,000 Africans (mostly Kikuyu) and held them in detention camps. They were accused of being idle in Nairobi.

6. It led to the torture of suspects. Although the original aim of detention camps was to reform the detainees and divert their attention from the Mau Mau struggle, Later the detention camps were turned into places of torture e.g. at Hola camp, several Kikuyu youths aged between 16-35 years were roughly questioned, subjected to hard labour, tortured and some killed. Areas neighbouring the detention camps and fortified villages were set on fire and trees cut to create free fire zones, prevent detainees from escaping unnoticed and cut off rebel supplies.

7. Political parties were banned. Due to its suspected role in organising the Mau Mau insurrection, the KAU and other minor parties were banned in 1953. And with the arrest of its leaders, the party (KAU) went into oblivion. Even after the rebellion, it became hard for it to -re-organise. During the rebellion, its roles were taken over by trade unions and after the rebellion, new stronger parties emerged to replace it.

8. It contributed to ethnic tensions in Kenya. The British decampaigned the Mau Mau as a Kikuyu tribal affair that was barbaric and atavistic. They advised other ethnic groups to shun the rebellion and to help crush it. Those who fought against the Mau Mau guerrillas were rewarded while the Kikuyu were humiliated. They were removed from the civil service, many were arrested, detained, tortured and some were killed. The Kikuyu were angered and started assassinating moderates of other tribes, e.g. Tom Mbotela (the KAU Vice president originating from the coast), Ambrose Ofata (Luo fromNyanza), chief Waruhiu of Kiambu etc. These inter-ethnic hostilities led to delayed nationalism since even future political parties were formed along ethnic lines.

9. There was a temporary set back in Kenyan nationalism. This was due to the banning of the KAU, imprisonment of patriots, inter-ethnic hostilities and divisions between the loyal conservatives and the young nationalists. Hence it became difficult to have a united front against colonial rule. Even the future political parties were formed on ethnic/regional basis. These were the KANU and KADU.

10. It delayed the early return to independence. Though at first Kenya was ahead of Tanganyika in terms of political, educational, economic and constitutional development, her independence came much later than that of Tanganyika because of the Mau Mau rebellion. During the period of violent exchanges, no meaningful negotiations could be made for the independence of Kenya.

11. Positively, it shattered the British intentions of turning Kenya into a white man's country. The political domination of the white settlers came to an end and the British government came in seriously to run the politics of Kenya which it had hitherto left into white settler hands. Without the Mau Mau, Kenya would possibly have been turned into a white man's country like South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

12. It laid the foundation for self rule. The British came to realise that Kenyans wanted self government. So, they carried out political reforms which catalysed the process of independence. For example in 1954, as the rebellion raged on, the colonial secretary Oliver Lythelton introduced a multi racial council of ministers. The first African to the colonial cabinet was appointed. He was B.A. Ohanga from Nyanza province. He became minister for community development. A number of other Kenyans were recruited in the civl service.

13. African political parties were released. As a result of the Mau Mau, the ban which had been put on political parties as lifted in 1955. These parties were at first allowed only at a provincial but later at a national level. Hence in 1956, the Nairobi District African Congress (NDAC) was founded by Argwings Kodhek, in 1957 the Nairobi Peoples' Convention Party was formed by Tom Mboya; in July 1959 the Kenya National Party was formed and in August the Kenya Independence movement was formed. These later became KADU and KANU respectively.

14. It led to land reforms. The British government adopted the Swynnerton Plan by which the Kikuyu and other aggrieved Africans were allocated land and even allowed to grow the cash crops that had originally been restricted. Hence between 1954-1959, African coffee planting rose from 4,000 to 26,000 acres. By 1960, almost 90,000 Africans (89,000 in 1959) were growing coffee. This led to some improvements in the standard of living. However, land allocation mainly benefited the Home guards those who fought against the Mau Mau. Most Kikuyu were allocated swampy or arid lands.

15. It led to constitutional progress. In 1957, six Africans were elected to the legislative assembly. They included Oginga Odinga, Ronald Ngala, Tom Mboya and Daniel Arap Moi. In 1958, the new colonial secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd increased the African membership on the Legco to fourteen elected members plus four special appointees. These Africans used their position on the Legco to demand for speedy independence and the release of political prisoners. They adopted a slogan "Uhuru na Kenyatta", which meant "No Kenyatta, no independence".

16. It led to the release of political prisoners. For instance in August 1961 Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was released, elected to the Legislative Assembly and made president of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Not to forget the 173 prisoners who were released by rebels during the height of the Mau Mau rising.

17. The colour bar policy was dropped. After the war, the British government announced plans of removing all sorts of discrimination based on skin colour. The "White Highlands" were opened to Africans and the health of Africans got more funding, Africans were appointed to top posts in the civil service, African cultural development was allowed and Trade Union activities were permitted. Hence an African felt a sense of belonging to his country.

18. It acceleratcd the independence of other east african countries. For fear of the re-occurance of such a disastrous revolt, the British hurried to grant independence to Tanganyika in 1961 and Uganda in 1962. It even made them adjust their policies in Central African Countries like Malawi and Rhodesia. They hurried to send troops there having realised the weakness and vulnerability of white settlers.

19. It led to the 1960 and 1962 constitutional conferences in Lancaster House- London. These provided for an elected African majority in the legislative council.

20. It cost Britain about 50 million pounds to suppress it. This led to economic strain on the British and Kenyan tax payer. Temporary economic decline also beset Kenya due to the fleeing of some white investors along with their capital. It challenged ex-service men in all countries of Africa to step up and lead the independence struggles e.g. In Algeria and Portuguese colonies.

WAS THE MAU MAU A NATIONALIST MOVEMENT?

The Corfield Report published by the British in 1960 termed the Mau Mau as a primitive, backward and ethnic/tribal movement. However, Roseberg and Nottingham in their book "The Myth of the Mau Mau” (1966) portrays it as a nationalist movement. Professor B.A. Ogot termed it as both nationalistic and sub-nationalistic. How can we reconcile those views, and what conclusion can we make? To a larger extent, it was a nationalist movement as evidenced below:

\* In their book "The Myth of the Mau Mau", Roseberg and Nottingham correctly observed that it was a nationalistic rebellion arising out of unpopular colonial policies.

\* B.A. Ogot, a celebrated African historian - and a professor at Nairobi University pointed out that the Mau Mau aimed at ending colonial rule and bringing about political freedom in Kenya. Hence a nationalist revolt.

\* The Mau Mau made an effort to recruit members of other tribes into the movement e.g. Dedan Kimathi sent his ambassadors to make recruitments in Nyanza, Ukambani and coastal areas. Few recruits however were made.

\* Not all top leaders of the Mau Mau were Kikuyu e.g. Paul Ngei was an Akamba and in 1953, was arrested and tried along with other Kikuyu nationalists at Kepenguria and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.

\* The Kikuyu fought so as to get fair representation on the legislative and executive councils. This was a desire for all Kenyans. Hence it was nationalistic in nature.

\* The Mau Mau fought against land alienation and aimed at returning land into the hands of Africans. This had not only affected the Kikuyu but also other tribes like the Massai and Nandi. The issue of land was a national but not a tribal affair.

\* They demanded an end to the Kipande system which was a desire by many other Kenyans.

\* They wanted an improvement in the conditions of Africans in reserves and this can't be dismissed as a tribal affair.

\* They demanded a share in the growth of profitable cash crops and in retail trade which had been monopolised by white settlers and Asians respectively. This was not an ethnic demand.

\* The Mau Mau helped to alert the British that the Kenyans wanted majority rule. They therefore started preparing Kenyans for self government. This didn't only benefit the Kikuyu but all the Kenyans. Hence a nationalist movement.

\* Benefits of the Mau Mau didn't go to the Kikuyu alone but also to other tribes e.g. racial discrimination was reduced and later dropped, Africans were appointed into the civil service etc.. Hence a nationalistic movement.

\* African membership to the Legco was expanded to 8 in 1957 and to 14 by Alan Lennox Boyd in 1958. Africans were also appointed to the executive. Incidentally the first African to be appointed to the executive as Minister for Community development was not a Kikuyu but a Luo from Nyanza by names of B.A. Ohanga. Hence a nationalist revolt.

\* Eventually the British granted independence to Kenya and this didn't benefit only the Kikuyu fighters. So the MAU Mau can be credited for having laid a foundation for Kenya's but not Kikuyu independence.

\* When political parties were released as a result of pressure from the Mau Mau, other tribes also benefited by forming regional political parties.

\* The fact that the rebellion took place in central parts of Kenya around Nairobi doesn't qualify the rebellion to be a tribal affair. Naturally it took place amongst people who were more politically conscious and these were the Kikuyu. They had a number of elites, ex-service men, landless and unemployed people and had earlier been sensitised by the Kenya Central Association. They could read newspapers etc. So, the out break of the rebellion among the Kikuyu is little wonder and doesn't reduce it to a simple tribal affair.

However to a smaller extent it was a ethnic or sub nationalistic as shown below:

\* The name Mau Mau is from a Kikuyu vocabulary meaning "Go, go"

\* It broke out in the Central parts of Kenya which were largely occupied by the Kikuyu and the majority of the Mau Mau fighters were indeed Kikuyu people. The hymns sang during the course of the Mau Mau rebellion was in Kikuyu language. Few of them were in Swahili. This had the impact of cutting off other ethnic groups from understanding the nationalistic message contained in them. The Kikuyu had a secret plan of taking over political power from the whites and ruling Kenya after the white man's departure.

\* When the rebellion broke out, the Kikuyu were retrenched from the civil service. The Kikuyu took religious oaths while recruiting their members. These oaths were taken in the name of Gikuyu and Mumbi- the founders of the Kikuyu tribe. This was an oath of secrecy (keeping the activities of the movement secret). Such oaths basically appealed to the Kikuyu rather than the non-Kikuyu.

\* Female circumcision which was one of the major grievances that led to the Mau Mau was mainly practised by the Kikuyu.

\* The Fourty group which was the heart of the Mau Mau was comprised of Kikuyu radicals.

\* Most of the dissidents arrested were Kikuyu.

\* Kikuyu terrorist activities were not only directed against whites but also some Africans of other tribes e.g. the assassination of Tom Mbotela and Ambrose Ofafa.

\* Kikuyu hymns emphasised that they were fighting for Kikuyu land given to them long ago by Gikuyu and Mumbi.

## REASONS WHY THE MAU MAU REBELLION WAS DEFEATED

Although Africans won the war (due to the positive impact that accrued), they lost the battle (were militarily defeated). This was due to the following reasons:

1. Inadequate weapons. The Mau Mau fighters had few, very old, locally manufactured and rudimentary guns. Some of them fought using pangas, sticks, stones and metal bars. Such weapons couldn't win a war.

2. British military superiority. The colonial army had up to date weapons, some of which had been applied during the Second World War against Germany. These included armoured vehicles, artilleries, Engfield guns, Lancaster bomber planes etc. With these, they over powered the Mau Mau guerrillas.

3. Betrayal by fellow Africans. The British trained some Africans, gave them favours like land and sent them to the bushes to pretend as if they were part of the Mau Mau fighters. These managed to kill and arrest a number of the guerrillas because they were not easy to detect.

4. The nature of the terrain. Though they provided good hiding bases, the ridges /hills also proved a barrier to communication. Since the Mau Mau guerrillas camped on various ridges, it was easy for the British to isolate them and fight them ridge by ridge. Hence ridges were a barrier to effective co-ordination.

5. The British divide and rule policy whereby they spread the anti-revolutionary propaganda- terming the Mau Mau as a Kikuyu tribal affair. They discouraged other tribes from joining the rebellion.

6. The British scotched earth policy. The British plus their African collaborators set forests and gardens on fire. This not only led to the death of some guerrillas but also destroyed their means of survival. Many guerrillas had become accustomed to hiding in nearby forests and farms where they obtained food and took to fellow guerrillas. The scotched earth policy ended this and weakened the fighters. They started living on roots, birds, berries yet some of these were poisonous.

7. Opposition from the landed aristocrats. Most of the old men including Kikuyus opposed the use of violence and this undermined the struggle.

8. Lack of KAU support. Since the Mau Mau fighters were a breakaway group from the moderate KAU, this prevented full co-operation between the KAU moderates and Mau Mau radicals (the 40 group). This too, weakened the Mau Mau fighters.

9. The destruction of rebel bases in Nairobi. The Mau Mau had its urban Headquarters at Mathare valley, a slum for Africans. Ii was used as a channel for new recruits, pistols, medicine and it even had workshops for manufacturing locally made guns. However it was discovered and destroyed by government forces in 1953.

10. The capture of its leaders. During the course of the fighting, Mau Mau leaders were captured e.g. Itote (General China) was captured in February 1954 while Dedan Kimathi was captured in October 1956 and hanged. This demoralised the fighters.

11. False protection from their gods. The Mau Mau fighters wrongly believed that the founders of their society- Gikuyu and Mumbi plus other gods and ancestral spirits were fighting on their side. This belief was cemented through a number of oaths and rituals the fighters under went. The oaths gave the fighters psychological courage and many went on the battle field armed with nothing but courage! Hence they were killed in big numbers and defeated.

12. Lack of foreign support explains the defeat of the Mau Mau. Unlike the Algerian and Angolan nationalists who received financial and military support fellow Africans and the Eastern block, the Mau Mau fighters were disadvantaged. It was a self-reliant movement which was destroyed due to this fact.

13. The British obtained re-enforcement troops from Uganda and even U.K. Among Ugandan commanders against the Mau Mau fighters was the youthful and militarily genius Idi Amin Dada.

14. The timing of the revolt was wrong. This is because the British colonialists were still deeply entrenched in Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Uganda.

15. The area of operation was small. Mau Mau fighters failed to capture large bases and were easily rounded up.

16. Internal rivalries led to disputes, in-fightings, delayed decision making and poor organisation. All these led to the defeat of the Mau Mau.

## STAGES IN KENYA'S PATH TO INDEPENDENCE

Kenyan nationalism grew in phases.

1. Between 1919 - 1940, a number of quasi-political associations were formed. These included the Kikuyu Central Association, the Young Kikuyu Association, the Young Kavirondo Association, the Ukamba Members' Association and the Taita Hills Association of 1938. These welfare Associations were the nursery beds of Kenyan nationalism. They mainly demanded land reforms.

2. The emergence of independent schools. Due to discrimination in the education field, the Kikuyu independent schools and Kikuyu Karinga Education Associations were formed. They aimed at giving standard education to Africans as opposed to European dilute education for Africans.

3. The emergence of independent Churches. A conflict arose between white missionaries and African clergy concerning the customs of circumcision and polygamy. Besides, Africans hated the way white missionaries discriminated against them. So, throughout the 1930s and 40s, a number of independent Churches were formed by Africans seeking for political independence via religious independence. Examples of these churches included the African Independent Pentecostal Church, the Dini Ya Yesu Kristo, Dini Ya Musambwa, the African Orthodox church etc. Some leaders of these churches were ex-service men e.g. Bildad Kaggia.

4. The formation of KAU in 1944. The Kenya African Union was formed by Eliud Mathu and James Gichuru. Some historians say it was formed in 1946. The KAU was a moderate nationalist party which opposed colour bar, called for land, constitutional and political reforms.

5. Appointments of Africans to the Legco. In 1944, Eliud Mathu was appointed to be the first African representative on the colonial legislative Assembly. In 1946, the number was increased to two, then to four in 1948 and to five in 1951. This was a step forward towards independence.

6. The return of ex-service men. In 1945 and 1946, a number of Kenyan soldiers returned after the end of the 2nd world war and started influencing the course of Kenya's politics e.g. Bildad Kaggia returned in 1946 and both joined the KAU and the independent church movement in which he became an inspiring leader.

7. The return of Jomo Kenyatta to Kenya. Kenyatta who had been away for 15 years of study in England, returned to Kenya in 1946 and was soon made president of the KAU. Having witnessed Western democracy and having attended the 1945 Manchester conference, he gave the KAU new life and better organisation. However his methods of struggle were non-violent. He put his Headquarters at Githunguri Training College.

8. The formation of the Fourty group. In 1946, radical members of the KAU-mainly ex-service men formed a militant wing of the KAU- the Anake wa 40 or Fourty group which opted for violence as a means of obtaining independence. They were unhappy with KAU's gradualistic approach and resorted to physical assault and intimidation. However it at first operated underground.

9. The visit of the colonial secretary to Kenya. In 1951, the British colonial secretary visited Kenya and met the leaders of the KAU. The KAU representatives presented the colonial secretary with a memorandum asking for equal African representation with whites and Asians on the Legco and an end to colour bar.

10. The outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion. In 1952, the fourty group formed the Kenya land and Freedom Army and started raiding the white men's farms, mutilating cattle, looting Asian shops etc. The land Freedom Army (Mau Mau) awakened colonialists who started addressing the needs of Kenyans.

11. Declaration of a state of emergence. In October, 1952, Governor Sir Evelyn Baring declared a state of emergency which lasted up to 1960. This forced a number of Kikuyu to the bush so as to avoid being tortured in detention camps.

12. The banning of political parties. In 1953, the KAU was banned and its leaders Kaggia, Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei and Kungu Karumba were imprisoned. This made the Trade Unions to step up and keep the nationalistic zeal. Trade Unions survived under Chege Kibacliia, Tom Mboya, Makhan Singh and others.

13. Formation of a multi-racial executive. All along, Kenya's executive/ministerial council was dominated by whites but in 1954, the first African, B.A. Ohanga was appointed minister for Community Development. This was a big political step towards independence

14. The Release of political parties. In 1955, political party activities were allowed once again but with restrictions e.g. they were to operate at provincial but not at a national level. Among the earliest parties were the Nairobi District African Congress formed by Argwings-Kodhek in 1956 and the Nairobi Peoples' Convention Party by Tom Mboya.

15. The 1957 elections to the Legco was a land mark in Kenya's path to independence. Six Africans, including Oginga Odinga for Central Nyanza, Tom Mboya for Nairobi Daniel Arap Moi for the rift Valley and Ronald Ngola for the coast constituency were elected and strongly advocated for reforms. In 1958, Alan Lennox Boyd increased the African membership on the Legco to 14. All the elected parliamentarians demanded for the release of Kenyatta and adopted a slogan "Uhuru na Kenyatta".

16. In 1959, African representatives on the Legco boycotted the Legislative council meetings so as to pressurize for the release of Kenyatta and the making of an independence constitution for Kenya. In 1959, the colonial government allowed national political parties to be formed. Hence in July and August 1959, the Kenya National Party and Kenya Independence Movement were formed. October 1959, government announced the abolition of colour bar.

17. In 1960, the first constitutional conference was held at Lancaster House-London. It was chaired by the Liberal Macleod (the new colonial secretary) who lifted the ban on political parties and expanded African membership on both the Legco and executive.

18. Creation of new political parties. In March 1960. The KANU-Kenya African National Union was formed with James Gichuru as acting president- other wise its real president was the detained Kenyatta. Mboya Tom was its general secretary and Oginga Odinga its vice president. It was a Kikuyu -Luo party. The KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union) was also formed by other ethnic tribes. KADU was under Ngala and was deputised by Muliro.

19. In February 1961, Legislative elections were held and won by KANU which got 67% of the votes as against 16% for KADU. KANU won 19 while KADU won 11 seats. However, KANU refused to form a government without Kenyatta. Therefore KADU and NKP (New Kenya Party of Michael Blundeil) formed a coalition government. The NKP was a European party but sympathetic to the African cause.

20. In August 1961, Kenyatta was released from prison and made an effort to unite the KANU and KADU.

21. The 2nd Lancaster House conference of March 1962 worked out modalities for Kenya's independence. It was chaired by Riginald Maulding and agreed on a Federal constitution.

22. On 1st June 1963, Kenya was granted internal independence with Kenyatta as a Prime Minister. Finally on 12th December 1963, Kenya obtained full independence.

## THE ROLE OF Political PARTIES IN ATTAINING KENYA'S INDEPENDENCE

A number of pre-independence parties were formed in Kenya but the roles played by the KAU and KANU were two higher.

The KAU-Kenya African Union was formed in 1944 by Eluid Mathu together with James Gichuru. That same year, Eluid Mathu was appointed as Kenya's first African representative to the colonial legislative council.

The KAU naturally emerged from the earlier quasi-political associations such as the Kikuyu Central Association. Consequently, it was dominated by the Kikuyu.

The Kenya African Union was dominated by the elites most of whom were unemployed as a result of discrimination by whites. So, it decampaigned colour bar.

The KAU also called for land, political and constitutional reforms in Kenya.

The KAU leaders made an attempt to recruit members from other tribes in an attempt to make it a mass nationalist party. Some members of other tribes joined and were even appointed to top offices e.g. Achieng Oneko and Ambrose Ofafa from Nyanza, Paul Ngei from Ukambani and Tom Mbotela from the coast.

An attempt was also made to open up KAU branches in Kisumu and other areas so as to attract wide membership.

The KAU preferred the use of non-violent methods to achieve independence. It wanted land, political and constitutional reforms.

KAU worked hand in hand with independent church and school movements to spread nationalistic zeal. It also worked in close co-operation with Trade Unionists.

When Kenyatta returned from England in 1946, he joined the KAU and soon became its president. But him too was moderate.

In the mid 1940s, the youths and ex-service men felt dissatisfied with KAU's constitutional methods and split off from the KAU. They formed the fourty group and threatened to use violence to attain independence.

Soon, the forty group formed the Kenya Land and freedom army which formed the core of the Mau Mau rebellion.

KAU maintained remote contacts with the Mau Mau and this led to the arrest and detention of KAU leaders including the moderate Jomo Kenyatta. He wasn't released until 1961.

KAU was banned in 1953, never to rise again. New political parties and trade Unions took over from where the KAU had stopped. Among the new parties, KANU was the most prominent.

The KANU was formed in July 1960 by African Members of the Legislative council. It was a party mainly for the Kikuyu and Luo but included a number of Meru, Embu, Akamba and Kissi. Its leaders were James Gichuru. Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga.

KANU's demands were:

\* Independence for Kenya and the return of political power to Africans,

\* The release of Jomo Kenyatta and other political prisoners.

\* The return of land to Africans.

\* Respect of African cultures.

\* Equal educational and job opportunities.

\* An end to colour bar.

\* The unity of all Kenyans.

\* Economic emancipation/independence.

The KANU campaigned widely for support in urban and rural areas.

A rival party- the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was formed in 1960 for fear of a possible Kikuyu-Luo alliance, it was under the leadership of Ngala deputised by Muliro. However, the KANU remained more popular.

General elections to the Legislative Assembly brought the KANU as winner. However the party refused to make a government when Kenyatta was still in prison. The government was instead formed by the KADU in coalition with the KNP of Blundwell.

In 1961, Kenyatta was released and James Gichuru stood down for him as president of KANU. He dedicated his energy and time to uniting the KANU and KADU and partially succeeded when the two formed a coalition government in 1962.

In 1962, KANU sent delegates to attend the 2nd Lancaster House conference at London.

The May 1963 elections brought out the KANU as victorious over KADU with 83 seats versus 41. Hence on 1st June, in internal self-government was formed by KANU with Kenyatta as Prime Minister and on 13 December 1963 full independence was granted to Kenya.

However, the delayed independence of Kenya can be explained by the following:

\* The deliberate failure by the British to train Africans for leadership.

\* The slow rate of constitutional and political development.

\* The use of Ghandism by KAU.

\* The British intention to turn Kenya into a white man's country.

\* The banning of political parties e.g. KAU in 1953.

\* The harsh treatment of nationalistic figures e.g. the imprisonment of all top KAU leaders in 1953.

\* The declaration of a state of emergency in 1952.

\* The economic poverty of Africans due to lack of land.

\* Disunity/Ethnicism amongst Kenyan tribes.

\* Military superiority of the British during the Mau Mau.

\* The British policy of divide and rule whereby even the post Mau Mau parties were formed along regional lines.

\* Disunity amongst nationalist leaders e.g. Tom Mboya of KANU disagreed with Ngala of KADU during the constitutional debates at Lancaster in London.

\* The presence of a large body of white settlers.

Highlights of Kenyatta's life and career

\* He was a Kikuyu, born around 1894 in Nairobi. He received Western education first in Kenya and later abroad in England.

\* He was a forward looking man, a nationalist, whose involvement in Kenya's politics started in the 1920s when he participated in the March 1922 protest against white domination. The protest was led by Harry Thuku for whom he was a disciple from 1921.

\* He joined the Kikuyu Central Association and became its general secretary

\* He served as a civil servant in the colonial government and was pressurized to give up his roles in the KCA but to no avail.

\* He became founder and editer of KCA news paper – Muigwithania. He founded it in 1929 and it became KCA's mouth piece.

\* He was sent by KAU to England to present the Peoples' grievances about land to the British government. He travelled widely and even visited Moscow where he got in touch with socialist ideas.

\* He also protested against the proposed federation of the three East African states in the 1920s and this made Britain to drop the scheme in 1931.

\* In the early 1930s, he wrote an article in the London times showing the grievances of Kenyans and the aims of the KCA. He pointed out the injustices of land alienation, educational imbalance, high taxes even on women, lack of representation on the Legco and executive, racial discrimination, undermining Kikuyu cultures etc.

\* He protested against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and vowed never to shave his beard until Italy left Ethiopian soil. Hence a great pan-Africanist. He wrote "Facing Mount Kenya" in 1938 in which he defended Kenyan cultures particularly Kikuyu circumcision. He attacked British cultural imperialism. He attended the 1945 Manchester conference in London where he came into contact with pan-Africanists like WEB Dubois, Kwame Nkrumah and adopted the ideology of mass action /positive action.

\* He returned to Kenya from England in 1946 and joined the KAU. He soon became its president in 1947.

\* He put his Headquarters at Githunguri training College and mobilized teachers, students and parents to join the KAU.

\* He was arrested in 1952 allegedly for organising the Mau Mau and was sentenced to 7 years of hard labour.

\* KANU was formed in 1960 and though Kkenyatta was still in prison, was its president. However the acting president of KAU until the release of Kenyatta was James Gichuru assisted by Odinga Oginga and Tom Mboya.

\* After his release in august 1961, he took over KANU and gave it new life. He called for unity and promised security to white settlers even after Kenya's independence.

\* He attended the 1962 Lancaster House conference which finalized the plans for Kenya's independence and became Kenya's prime minister on 12th December 1963 when Kenya became fully independent.

## Problems Kenyatta met at and after independence

\* Tribal rivalries, suspicions and fears. Other Kenyan tribes feared KANU and branded it as a kikuyu-Luo alliance. They therefore joined the KADU in protest. Antagonism between various districts and district politicians.

\* Racial tensions continued.

\* Conflicts between the landless and the land owners which the colonial government had created through the rewards of the 1950s.

\* Conflicts between those who had participated in the Mau Mau rebellion and those who had shunned it.

\* Within the KANU itself there were internal wrangles for power. Hence individual KANU candidates could stand against KANU's official candidate. Oginga Odinga became radical and demanded the nationalization of the economy. This brought him into conflict with Tom Mboya- the party's secretary. There was an army mutiny in 1964.

\* Tribalism cropped up in parliament as the Luo parliamentarians complained about Kikuyu domination.

\* In 1966, Oginga Odinga broke away from KANU and formed an opposition party called the Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU).

\* On 5th July 1969, Tom Mboya was assassinated by a Kikuyu yet he was the only loyal Luo remaining in KANU. This was interpreted as a conspiracy by Kikuyu to rule Kenya for ever.

\* Neighbouring Somalia attacked Kenya claiming that the North Eastern province of Kenya was part of Somalia since it was occupied by Somalis.

\* Kenyans were very poor, most commercial agriculture was in British hands and retail trade in Indian hands. This too was a problem.

## How did Kenyatta solve the problems?

\* He was against ethnic rivalries and formulated a phrase "Harambee" meaning, "Let us pull together". This guided him throughout.

\* He called for unity of all Kenyans, moving from region to region sensitizing the people about nationalism. He did this in Swahili, which was commonly understood.

\* He reconciled those who had fought during the Mau Mau and those who had betrayed Kenya's cause.

\* Kenyatta asked KANU members who had joined KPU to resign from parliament and seek re-election. The new elections for parliamentarians were organised in 29 constituencies and KANU won 20. This constitutionally weakened the KPU. KANU government also imprisoned some KPU leaders including Oginga Odinga accusing them of dividing the country.

\* Then Kenyatta resorted to peace talks with the KPU and reconciled with Oginga Odinga who returned to KANU on 8th September 1971.

\* He called upon elites to work for Kenya's progress rather than self interests. He negotiated with the Somali government in 1967 and border conflicts relaxed for some good time.

\* He Africanised Kenya's civil service by replacing foreigners with educated Kenyans.

\* He also tried to Kenyanise the business sector but also allowed private enterprises under Asians to continue

\* He reconciled with white settlers whose land he didn't confiscate but rather bought most of the farms and redistributed them to Kenyans.

\* He didn't persecute Asians but even granted them Kenyan citizenship, if they so wished.

\* Encouraged agricultural development and coffee, tea, sisal, wheat etc were grown and exported by Kenyans.

\* He encouraged Swahili language to attain national unity and the goals of Harambee.

\* Encouraged industrialization using foreign aid, e.g. He developed the textiles, oil refining, cement, paper and tyre making industries. Even soft drinks.

\* Improved the tourist industry.

\* Nairobi became the centre of East Africa's communications, marketing and banking.

\* Encouraged the setting up of Harambee schools, which expanded education to rural areas.

\* In 1970, he established the University of Kenya.

\* He nationalised some few industries but left individual capitalists to develop the economy (mixed economy).

\* Established and funded self-help co-operatives (Harambee co-operative societies).

\* Provided fertilizers, farm tools and technical experts to re-enforce Harambee schemes.

\* Harambee schemes/projects were even extended to the health field.

\* Harambee was even extended to matters of local village defence.

. REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the political and constitutional developments that led to the rise of Kenyan nationalism.

2. Account for the high momentum of Kenyan nationalism after 1945.

3. The land question was responsible for the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. Discuss.

4. To what extent was the Mau Mau rebellion a nationalistic movement?

NATIONALISM IN UGANDA

Uganda officially became a British colony in 1894 and only regained her independence on 9th October 1962. The pace of nationalism in Uganda was slow and it wasn't until 1952 that mass nationalist parties were formed.

Reasons for delayed nationalism in Uganda.

1. Colonial legacy, whereby the British applied the divide and rule policy in Uganda, led to delayed nationalism. This policy was calculated at keeping the tribes of Uganda far apart from each other. The districts they created were curved along ethnic lines. The Baganda were made to think that they were the only people fit for office jobs, northerners fit for holding the gun and westerners to provide manual labour. This later created suspicions, fears and abuses between tribes and hindered genuine nationalism.

2. The British favours on Buganda hindered mass nationalism in Uganda till the 1950s. In pursuit of their indirect rule, the British sent a number of Baganda agents to rule other tribes e.g. Semei Kakungulu was sent to Eastern Uganda, James Miti to Bunyoro, etc. This created anti-Baganda sentiments in Uganda. To make matters worse, the British rewarded their Baganda collaborators with social economic developments such as good schools, hospitals and roads. This made them proud and brewed the jealousy of other tribes towards Buganda. Mass nationalism had to delay.

3. Religious divisions in Uganda also led to delayed nationalism. In their divide and rule policy, the British aimed at keeping the Christians apart from the Moslems. They also favoured the Protestants more than Catholics and thereby creating further divisions, suspicions and fears. Earlier political parties were formed along religious lines e.g. UNC for Protestants and DP for Catholics. This hindered mass nationalism and concerted efforts in Uganda.

4. The absence of common grievances against the British colonialists led to delayed nationalism in Uganda. Uganda didn't suffer so much from the oppressive and exploitative colonial policies as compared to Kenya, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, Algeria and Belgian Congo where African land was grabbed by white settlers, where Africans were forced to work on the white men's plantations, were discriminated etc. The relationship between whites and Africans in Uganda was fairly peaceful and hence the delay of nationalism.

5. Colonial developments such as roads, urban centres, schools, hospitals and factories made Ugandans generally friendly and loyal to the British colonialists. The British colonial economy made most Ugandans busy cultivating cash crops such as coffee, cotton and tea. They were pre-occupied with the desire to become rich and had no time for politics. Hence delayed nationalism.

6. There was massive illiteracy in Uganda. The few educated Ugandans before 1950 were mainly in Buganda e.g. Ignatius Musaazi, J. Mukasa, J. Kakonge, Abubaker Mayanja etc. This left the rest of Uganda in ignorance. The majority of Ugandans looked at the British as God-sent masters to rule them. The few educated Baganda didn't help the situation since they were fighting for Buganda's interest.

7. Most elites were colonial puppets. The British provided employment opportunities to the elites in the colonial civil service. Such Africans were prevented from joining politics and any who did were retrenched from the colonial sjobs. This made most elites to shy away from politics and hence delayed nationalism.

8. The absence of a common language hindered the quick growth of nationalism in Uganda. Each ethnic group had its own language which it valued above other languages and this hindered inter-tribal co-operation. Between 1937 - 1950 Kingdom and District parliaments discussed in their local languages and this suited the British divide and rule policy.

9. The absence of trade. The British discouraged the formation of trade unions because - they could enlighten Ugandans. The few, which existed, were in Buganda and were religiously divided.

10. The limited nature of the press. The earliest newspapers were written in one language- Luganda e.g. "Uganda Eyogera", "Munno" etc. These only appealed to the Baganda monarchical sentiments.

11. The delay of political parties. The British did not favour the formation of political parties and even when these emerged later, the British promoted religious divisions between them. This prevented unity and hence delayed independence.

12. Lack of contacts with the Western world also led to the delayed nationalism in Uganda. Before 1950s, few Africans mainly from Buganda had visited Europe or USA. These few included J. Mukasa and Ignatius Musaazi. This meant that most Ugandans were ignorant about political party activities and the ideas of self rule.

13. The absence of Asian and European politics in Uganda also led to delayed nationalism in Uganda. Unlike south Africa or Southern Rhodesia where whites formed political parties, there were no such exposures for Ugandans. Even the Asians were pre-occupied with business and not politics. So, Ugandans took long to gain the concept of political parties.

14. The harsh reaction of the British to riots led to delayed nationalism in Uganda e.g. the 1945 and 1949 riots in Buganda were crushed violently and this scared a number of nationalists all over Uganda.

15. The ideological differences between the newly formed parties also delayed the independence of Uganda e.g. the UNC and UPC became socialist oriented due to the activities of strong socialist members e.g. Chango -Macho, Bidandi Sali, Kirunda Kivejinja etc. The DP was capitalist while the Uganda National Movement was positive in action. Such differences led to delayed nationalism.

16. The slow rate of urbanisation also hindered quick nationalism. The majority of Uganda's population was rural based, poverty-stricken and couldn't finance political party activities.

17. Monarchism in Uganda hindered political advancement e.g. in 1922, the Kingdoms of Buganda, Toro and Busoga rejected the idea of creating a single political unit in Uganda and continued opposing it until the 1950s. The Kings decampaigned political parties because they tended to reduce their traditional powers. Even some educated Baganda such as Serwano Kulubya opposed political parties in Buganda.

18. Buganda's secessionist tendencies also hindered the growth of nationalism in Uganda. Buganda which had the best social and economic infrastructure wanted to break away from the rest of Uganda. It was opposed to unitarism and favoured federal government. This provoked the jealousy of other tribes.

19. The absence of charismatic leaders. The majority of earlier politicians can be termed as "week-end politicians" who had their full time jobs as teachers, doctors, businessmen and lawyers. They only converged on weekends in suburbs like Katwe to discuss politics. Hence lack of full time politicians and political leaders led to delayed nationalism.

THE AWAKENING OF NATIONALISM IN UGANDA

The year 1945 was a turning point in the history of Uganda. The 2nd world war ex- service men returned to Uganda with democratic, socialist, nationalistic and militant ideas. These ex-service men spearheaded the 1945 riots against the conservative Baganda chiefs who were supporting British colonialism. This was a big political step towards independence.

Still in 1945, three Ugandans one from Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga were appointed to the legislative council for the first time in the history of Uganda. This was the first constitutional step in Uganda's transition from colonialism to independence. This was in turn influenced by the labour party, which advocated for the quick Africanisation of politics in British African colonies.

Still in 1945, Ignatius Musaazi formed the Uganda Farmers' Federation (UFF) to help farmers export their produce and to break the Asian and British exploitation. The UFF was turned into the Uganda farmers' Union (UFU) in 1946, condemned Asian monopoly of trade and demanded for more representation of commoners in the Lukiiko- At least 60 elected members.

In 1949, riots broke out in Buganda for the second time. Riots demanded for an end of the oppressive monarchy, demanded for democratic governance, the election of their local chiefs and representatives to the Lukiiko, permission to gin and export their cotton without hinderances from Asian and European traders etc. These riots spread to the rest of Uganda but were suppressed. However the nationalistic feelings remained.

The appointment of Sir Andrew Cohen as Governor of Uganda in 1952 was a big step towards Uganda's independence. He advocated for a unitary form of government rather than federal government in Uganda. This helped to awaken mass nationalism in Uganda.

Still in 1952, a new political party- the Uganda National Congress (UNC) was formed by middle Class Baganda under the leadership of Ignatius Musaazi. Its motto was "Self government now" and it soon spread to other parts of Uganda calling for unity.

On 11th August 1953, Andrew Cohen started Africanising Uganda's politics by increasing the African representatives in the Legco to 14 out of 28. This was a big constitutional step towards independence.

Still in 1953, Sir Andrew Cohen arrested Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda and exiled him to London. However the deportation of the Kabaka led to nation-wide protests and represented for the 1st time, the efforts of Ugandans to come together and oppose the unpopular colonial policies. This was a big step towards the growth of nationalism in Uganda.

The formation of the Democratic Party in 1954 was another political step towards independence. It was a party for Catholics, led by Joy Kasolo and demanded for independence. Though at first a party for Catholic Baganda, the DP later toured the rest of Uganda canvassing for support and soon became a nation wide nationalist party.

Still in 1954, Professor Keith Hancock arrived in Uganda to investigate the sources of misunderstandings between Andrew Cohen and Buganda. His mission resulted into the 1954 Namirembe conference and the 1955 Buganda Agreement by which Buganda was declared as part of Uganda; it was to continue sending its representatives to the Legco, and her Kabaka was to be returned in the same year 1955.

Still in 1955, the Progressive Party was formed under Eridad Mulira and it demanded for independence.

Still in 1955, the United Congress Party (UCP) was formed as a break away group from the UNC. It convassed for support outside Buganda.

In 1956, the first direct elections of the members of the Legco were held in Buganda. However the Lukiiko opposed it claiming that it was the duty of the Lukiiko to nominate Buganda's representatives to the Legco. In 1957, direct elections of Legco members were demanded in other parts of Uganda.

Elections to the Legislative council were organised in 1958 but were boycotted by Buganda, Ankole, Busoga and Bugishu. Teso elected Obwangor while Lango elected Milton Obote- a UNC member.

Still in 1958, members of the Legco outside Buganda formed the Uganda Peoples Union (UPU) under Nadiope. The UPU aimed at unity and was against Buganda's secessionist tendencies.

Still in 1958, the "wild committee" was put in place to plan for the 1961 elections. The "wild committee report" suggested direct elections based on the universal adulthood suffrage of one-man one vote. It suggested the expansion of the Legco and that any party that would win elections would go ahead and form a government.

Again in 1958/1959, Obote broke off from Musaazi's UNC and formed the Obote UNC wing.

In 1959, the Uganda National Movement (UNM) was formed.

In 1960, the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) was formed under Milton Obote. It was a result of a merger between UPU of William Restiba and the Obote UNC wing. The UPC was a nation wide political party though dominated by Protestants.

The March 1961 elections to the Legco were won by the DP, which formed a government headed by Benedicto Kiwanuka.

In July 1961, the Munster commission was set up under Earl Munster. It recommended that Buganda should remain part of Uganda but under a federal relationship with the Central government.

Still in 1961, a constitutional conference was held in London in Lancaster house and adopted most recommendations of the Munster commission. The British secretary of state announced that Uganda would become an independent state on 9th October 1962.

In 1961, a new political party "Kabaka Yekka" (KY) was formed to contest for power in the 1962 pre-independence elections. It hated the DP that had won the earlier elections and made an alliance with the UPC to uproot the DP from power.

In March 1962, a self-government constitution which had been negotiated in London became operational Ben Kiwanuka became the first Prime Minister by this constitution. However the April pre-independence elections brought the UPC to power and the DP government stepped down. A UPC-KY alliance was formed.

On 9th October 1962, Uganda was granted independence at Kololo airstrip with Obote as the first Prime Minister and Muteesa II as the first President. The British Union Jack (flag) was lowered and the Uganda flag was raised.

Factors for the rise of nationalism in Uganda

1. The influence of the 2nd world war. Ugandans who served in West Africa, India etc developed militant nationalism.

2. The influence of the labour party, which advocated for the Africanisation of African politics, led to the appointment of 3 Ugandans on the Legco in 1945.

3. The formation of the UNO, which advocated for the right of self-government.

4. The 1945 Manchester conference, which called for positive action and influenced the 1945 and 1949 riots in Buganda.

5. The colonial infrastructure such as roads and railways enabled the emerging nationalists e.g. Ignatius Musaazi, Milton Obote, Godfrey Binaisa and Nadiope Kadumbula to travel to various parts of Uganda and communicate their nationalistic ideas.

6. Western education sharpened Ugandans and enabled them grasp democracy and party politics e.g. Ignatius Musaazi studied in England, returned home full of inspiration and he condemned colonialism.

7. The formation of political parties such as UNC, UPC, PP, DP and KY awakened nationalistic ideas.

8. The economic exploitation of Uganda by Asian and European businessmen led to nationalistic sentiments.

9. The development of urban centres like Kampala and Jinja led to the rise of a big multi-tribal population with common grievances. This population gave audience to emerging politicians.

10. The British favourism toward Buganda and Buganda's secessionist attempts united other tribes of Uganda.

11. Asian countries gave moral, academic and financial assistance to Ugandan nationalists e.g. In 1949, the Indian High Commissioner to East Africa gave an inspiring lecture at Makerere University. It was attended by among others, Abubaker Mayanja. Then in 1960, Nehru (Prime Minister of India) invited Milton Obote at Bangalore and gave him tips on struggling for Uganda's independence

12. The 1952 Egyptian Revolution influenced Ugandan nationalism e.g. Ignatius Musaazi opened up UNC offices in Cairo and received Nasser's support.

13. The news of the 1952-1955 Mau Mau rebellion stepped up nationalistic feelings in Uganda.

14. The 1953-1955 Kabaka crisis for the first time united all Ugandans in demanding for his return.

15. The common hatred against the proposed East African federation led to nationalistic feelings in Uganda.

16. Sir Andrew Cohen's administration led to the growth of nationalism in Uganda. He was a reformer, ready to Africanise the politics of Uganda and called for a unitary government in Uganda.

17. The independence of Ghana in 1957 and the 1958 Accra Pan African congress had a positive impact on the growth of Ugandan Nationalism.

18. The rise of the press led to the awakening of Ugandan nationalism.

19. The constitutional changes in Uganda e.g. the appointment of 3 Ugandans to the Legco in 1945 and increasing the number to 14 in 1953 also led to the growth of nationalism in Uganda.

THE 1953-1955 KABAKA CRISIS

In 1952, Sir Andrew Cohen was appointed as the new Governor of Uganda. Misunderstandings soon cropped up between him and Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda and this made Cohen to depose the Kabaka. On 30th November 1953, he deported the Kabaka to London- where he lived in exile till 1955. The political confusion surrounding the deportation of the Kabaka is referred to as "the Kabaka crisis".

ITS CAUSES/ORIGINS

1. Personality differences. The two men Kabaka Muteesa II and Sir Andrew Cohen had divergent personalities. The Kabaka was a conservative monarch interested in protecting the interests of the Baganda while Cohen was a moderniser. There was no way the radical Cohen could accommodate the out dated views of Kabaka Muteesa II.

2. It was a result of colonial legacy. The British had given a number of priviledges to the Kabaka and the Baganda in general. However, the Buganda agreement of 1900 had reduced the powers of the Kabaka e.g. the Kabaka could no longer pass any new laws in his Kingdom without consulting the British. The British could also dismiss the Saza chiefs without consulting the Kabaka. To Muteesa II, this was tantamount to loss of his powers and was unacceptable. Hence the 1953 - 55 crisis.

3. Disloyalty to the governor. By the terms of the 1900 Buganda agreement, the Kabaka was expected to be loyal to the British governor/central government. However, ever since Andrew Cohen's arrival in Uganda in 1952, the Kabaka had constantly questioned the decisions of the new governor. This led to his deportation He had breached the 1900 agreement.

4. Cohen's Unitarism led to the Kabaka crisis. In his reform agenda Sir Andrew Cohen intended to turn Uganda into a unitary state. However, Kabaka Muteesa II rejected the integration of Buganda into a wider Uganda. He instead called for secession/independence of Buganda or a federal government. Cohen couldn't allow this and hence the crisis.

5. The rejection of Cohen's legislative reforms also led to the deportation of the Kabaka. In October 1953, Muteesa II influenced the Lukiiko to reject the nomination of Buganda's representatives to the Legco. To worsen matters, he also influenced his fellow Kings of Toro, Ankole and Busoga to reject the nominations to the Legislative Assembly. He even attempted to influence the UNC top brass to reject the British proposals. All these annoyed Andrew Cohen to the extent of deporting the Kabaka.

6. Muteesa II's demands for secession persistently annoyed Cohen. When Muteesa threatened to use force, Cohen concluded that the King deserved deportation.

7. Muteesa II's desire to become a hero also earned him a deportation and hence the crisis. Inspired by the traditions of Kabaka Mwanga's resistance against the British (1894 - 97), Muteesa II became determined to follow in the footsteps of his ancestor who was a hero, but this led to his deportation.

8. Muteesa II's rejection of the East African federation plans led to the 1953 crisis. On 20th June 1953, the British secretary of State, Oliver Lyttellen announced that, Britain was going to create a unification of her three East African colonies. This was unacceptable to the Kabaka of Buganda who feared that the Kenyan white settlers could encroach on Buganda's land. More over, he felt that he had to be consulted first before announcing such a plan in London. This annoyed Cohen who deported him.

9. Both men were hard-liners with neither of them ready to concede to the other's ideas.

Effects of the Kabaka crisis

It seriously undermined and terminated the Buganda agreement of 1900.

By disrespecting each other, both the Kabaka and governor Cohen broke the agreement and rendered it null and void.

Kabaka Muteesa II was deported to London where he stayed for two years.

It led to strained relations between Britain and their former Baganda collaborators.

It influenced the British to speed up the independence of Tanganyika- more so because even in Kenya, the Mau Mau rebellion had broken out at the same time of the Kabaka crisis.

It led to widespread anger and discontent within Buganda and fuelbd the growth of Baganda sub-nationalism. All Baganda, including those who had served as British puppets, were united to demand for the return of their King. Muteesa II became a hero. Since a number of Baganda had become tired of the King's dictatorial monarchy, Cohen had hoped that his exile would please some Ganda. However, he was proved wrong because the exiled King became more popular and indeed a hero. He remained the King of the Baganda even in his absence- he wasn't replaced.

It led to countrywide protests. For the first time, other tribes of Uganda cooperated with the Baganda in demanding for Buganda interests - return of the exiled Muteesa II. This proved a key step in the forging of national unity.

It led to the rise of a self styled prophet-Kibuuka Kiganira Omumbale who operated from the hills of Mutundwe. He claimed divine powers from the Ganda gods and ancestors. He assured his followers that his prayers would secure the return of the Kabaka.

The King's sister, collapsed to death on receiving the news of her brothers deportation. This demonstrates the extent of Ganda misery and frustration.

The UNC became militant and radical in demanding for the return of the Kabaka. In 1954, it boycotted Asian and British shops, buses, farms etc. This was intended to pressurise the British to return the Kabaka. This won support for the UNC which had originally been suspected of trying to undermine the Kabaka's powers.

The young Baganda elites in the Lukiiko formed a committee which they sent to London to demand for the return of their Kabaka. The delegation which was led by Ignatius Musaazi included Eridadi Mulira, Thomas Makumbi and Apolo Kironde. However, the colonial secretary rejected their request.

The British stationed troops at Mengo to prevent a possible Baganda riot. Similarly, a state of emergency was declared in the Kingdom but the Baganda remained firm and united in their demand for the return of the Kabaka.

New political parties were formed during the crisis period e.g. DP was formed in 1954 and Progressive Party (PP) in 1955. They demanded for the Kabaka's return and the independence of Uganda.

It led to the fleeing of Ignatius Musaazi to exile in Sudan for fear of being arrested and accused of the 1954 UN C boycott on Asian and European business. It led to internal divisions within the UNC between those who supported and those who didn't support the UNC delegation to London. This later led to splits within the UNC.

It led to a breakdown in the speedy process of independence which Cohen had wanted. The relationship between the Baganda and Cohen remained cool. Other Kings in Kingdom areas lived in fear, unable to predict Cohen's next step.

The Labour Party criticised the ruling conservative party for interfering into the cultural affairs of the Baganda in the House of Commons, a stormy debate erupted between conservatives and the Labour Party representatives.

It led to the formation of the Keith Hancook commission which studied the origins of the crisis and provided solutions. Professor Keith Hancook and his committee tried very much to restore the relationship between the British and Baganda.

It resulted into the signing of the Namirembe Agreement by which the tensions between the Baganda and the British were eased. The position of Buganda and the Kabaka was discussed at length.

The Namirembe Agreement recommended the return of the Kabaka and this was effected in 1955.

A new Buganda agreement of 1955 was signed and it modified the 1900 agreement.

It was agreed that Buganda was to be part of the Uganda protectorate and the Kabaka was to become a constitutional monarch.

A ministerial system was introduced- comprising of 5 Africans, 1 European and 1 Asian.

An appointments board was set up to appoint chiefs in Buganda. However the governor had powers to approve the appointments board.

Buganda was to adopt direct elections in future elections.

BUGANDA'S SECESSIONIST ATTEMPTS

Between 1952 - 1966, Buganda made efforts to break away from the rest of Uganda and form an autonomous state. This was due to the following reasons:

1. To protect her traditional independence. Before colonial rule, Buganda was politically, economically and socially strong and independent. Her system of administration was so good and admired by the British who applied it in other parts of Uganda (Kiganda model of administration). Their attempt to secede was therefore aimed at maintaining their traditional status.

2. To protect her uniqueness. By the terms of the 1900 Buganda agreement, Buganda had been given a favourable position /a special status as compared to other Kingdoms of Uganda. And throughout the colonial period, they had been favoured. By seceding, Buganda hoped to retain her unique status.

3. The Kabaka's powers, respect and dignity would only be retained if Buganda seceded from the rest of Uganda. A unitary government or the East African federation would reduce his powers. So, why not secede?

4. Opposition against Cohen's Unitarism. Sir Andrew Cohen (governor of Uganda from 1952) proposed the formation of a unitary form of government in Uganda. As for Muteesa II, he wanted a federal type of government and when Andrew Cohen hard lined Buganda opted to secede.

5. The fear of the East African federation also led to Buganda's attempts to secede. In 1953, the British colonial secretary (Lyttelen) declared the British intentions of creating a federation/ political union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Buganda feared that this would lead to grabbing of its land by the white settlers of Kenya- Hence the desire to secede from Uganda and escape the E.A.F.

6. Buganda wanted to protect her culture. Buganda feared that both the E.A.F. and the unitary government would undermine her culture. Already, peoples of other tribes had started coming to Kampala and if this trend weren't checked, it would render Buganda's superior culture diluted. Secession was aimed at protecting her culture.

7. The desire to protect her resources. Buganda was richer and superior to other provinces/Kingdoms of Uganda by then. She feared that uniting with other provinces of Uganda would make her resources to be diverted to developing those other parts. This would slow down Buganda's development. Hence her desire to secede.

8. Buganda felt self-sufficient. With her natural endowments, good climate, trade and the colonial developments like schools, hospitals, roads and towns; Buganda felt she was strong enough to manage its own affairs. It felt adequate and needed no-body Hence the rejection of unitarism and opting for secession.

9. Buganda wanted to protect its land from the many immigrants who were trickling into the Kingdom on a daily basis. These included some whites and Ugandans, but mostly the Asians who were buying land from poor Baganda.

10. The question of the lost countries also led to Buganda's desire to secede. In appreciation of the great role the Baganda had played in crushing Bunyoro's resistance and extending colonial rule to the rest of Uganda, the British had rewarded the Baganda with 10 countries of Bunyoro- the lost countries. When President Milton Obote made plans of returning the 10 countries to Bunyoro, Buganda increased her secessionist demands.

11. The introduction of democracy in Uganda was feared by Buganda because it would reduce the Kabaka's powers. Hence Buganda's boycott of the 1958 directs elections and the continued desire to secede. Buganda equally feared the Wild committee's recommendations.

12. Failure of the British to protect Buganda led to her secessionist demands. In 1945 and 1949, the British had used force against the Baganda and in 1953, Cohen had exiled the Buganda King. The Baganda could no longer count on British protection.

13. The hatred from other tribes made Buganda desire to secede. Hence the question; why unite with other tribes who hated Buganda?

REASONS FOR BUGANDA'S FAILURE TO SECEDE

1. Lack of support from elites. The young Baganda elites e.g. Abu Mayanja, Ben Kiwanuka and Ignatius Musaazi did not bless Buganda's secessionist demands; hence its failure.

2. The British determination to create a unitary state led to the failure of Buganda's secession. Governor Cohen and his successor Fredrick Crowford insisted that Uganda was too small to be fragmented into small units of government.

3. The deportation of the Kabaka in 1953 had an effect of intimidating both the conservative diehards and the Kabaka himself. On his return, he was no longer very vocal and this led to the failure of the secession.

4. The absence of a strong army to back up Buganda's secessionist demands led to its failure. Compared to Eritrea which seceded from Ethiopia using force of arms, Buganda lacked a strong army.

5. Buganda's central position undermined her secessionist attempts. The Kingdom, was geographically located in the central part of Uganda and had enormous resource endowments such as Lake Victoria fish grounds and fertile agricultural soils. She also had several up to date schools, hospitals and roads. Other tribes couldn't allow her to secede.

6. Divisions within the Lukiiko undermined Buganda's secessionist efforts. There existed divisions between the supporters of the Kabaka and collaborators of the British within the Lukiiko. Since a number of Ganda wanted favours from the British, they betrayed Buganda's secessionist move.

7. The 1954 Namirembe conference led to the failure of Buganda's secession. It was organised by Sir Keith Hancook and was attended by key figures in Buganda e.g. Bishop Kiwanuka. It recommended that Buganda be integrated into the rest of Uganda and this was a big blow to Buganda's secessionist attempts.

8. The rise of anti-Baganda parties undermined Buganda's secession. Political parties with anti-Ganda sentiments included the DP (1954) Uganda Peoples' Union (1958) and UPC 1960.

9. A post-indepexidence affair- The British termed Buganda's secessionist demands as a simple tribal affair which would be handled by the post independent Ugandan politicians. This attitude of the British led to its failure because no post- independent leader could allow Buganda's secession.

10. The 1955 Buganda agreement/Namirembe agreement led to the failure of Buganda's secession. This was because the Kabaka accepted the recommendations of the 1954 Namirembe conference by which Buganda was to be an integral part of Uganda.

11. Obote's political shrewdness also led to the failure of Buganda's secession. He made an alliance with the KY, allowed the Kabaka of Buganda to be the first President of Uganda etc. However, after obtaining constitutional powers as Prime Minister in 1962, he de-campaigned secessionism.

12. The 1961 Munster committee recommended that Buganda had to remain part of Uganda- hence the failure of secessionism.

13. The 1966 crisis led to the failure of the secessionist attempts. The crisis was between Milton Obote and Muteesa II and arose over Obote's return of Bunyoro's lost counties. It led to armed clashes and ended into the exile of Muteesa II to London. This was a big blow to Buganda's secessionist struggles.

14. The Pan African Movement and the general wind of change across African led to the failure of Buganda's secession. Pan Africanists condemned parochialism in Buganda and sensitised other tribes to reject it. Even some Baganda e.g. Musaazi de-campaigned it seriously.

15. The 1967 constitution finally destroyed Buganda's dreams of secession. It declared Uganda a republic and abolished the Kingdoms.

Consequences of Buganda's secession attempts

1. It led to the army invasion and take over of the Lubiri/palace from Buganda in 1966.

2. It led to the first and second exile of Kabaka Muteesa II i.e. in 1953 and 1966 respectively.

3. It led to the emergence of political parties to oppose the secession e.g. DP, UPU, UPC and others to defend it e.g. KY.

4. It ushered in parochialism in Uganda's politics.

5. It led to the failure of the East African federation plan.

6. It contributed to Sir Andrew Cohen's failure as a governor and his subsequent withdraw from Uganda.

7. It led to the 1962 constitution in which Kingdoms were given semi-federal status.e.g. Ankole, Toro, Busoga and Buganda.

8. It led to the KY- UPC alliance - a mere marriage of convenience.

9. It contributed to the 1954 Namirembe conference and 1955 Buganda agreement

10. Created mistrust and suspicion between Buganda and the rest of Uganda.

11. It led to the abrogation of the 1962 constitution and the promulgation of the 1967 "pigeon hole constitution"

12. It paved way for the rise of the army factor in Uganda's politics. The army under Idi Amin was used to crash Kabaka's Lubiri forces. It gained confidence that it was the only disciplined force to bring about law and order in Uganda.

THE 1971 COUP IN UGANDA

It was carried out on 25th January 1971 by Major-General Idi Amin (the armycommander) against President Milton Obote (the commander-in-chief of the army).

CAUSES:

1. Divisions in the army. Obote created divisions in the army by setting up paramilitary units. He created a special force and a General Service Unit (GSU) as two security bodies to rival the power of the regular army (Uganda Armed forces). The 1 General Service Unit of 1000 elite soldiers acted as both Obote's body guard and intelligence service unit. It was headed by Akena Adoko, Obote's cousin who sent spies in the regular army. This annoyed Amin and his comrades and led to the coup.

2. Obote's tribalistic tendencies also contributed to the coup. Obote's government and especially the army became increasingly tribalistic. In the army and other security organs, he ordered the recruitment of more Langi than other tribes. He went ahead and promoted the Langi who had little experience. This annoyed Idi Amin who had wanted more recruits from West Nile. Soldiers of other tribes were also unhappy and hence the coup.

3. Grievances of the defence council. Since July 1969, the defence council had not met and there was no way the grievances of the regular army could be listened to. To worsen matters, Obote had started making promotions, transfers and demotions without consulting the defence council or the army commander. Rumours that Colonel Oite Ojok was to replace Amin were therefore taken seriously and hence the coup.

4. Political insecurity in Buganda area contributed to the coup. The 1964 referendum which returned the lost countries to Bunyoro, the January 1964 army mutiny and Obote's invasion of the Kabaka's Palace in 1966 all combined to create a state of lawlessness in the centra region. Obote declared a state of emergency in Buganda, arrested a number of suspected opponents including some KY-UPC allies etc. This insecurity, dissatisfaction in Buganda and the indefinite state of emergence gave the army grounds to plot a coup.

5. Obote's dictatorship also led to the coup. He had declared a one party rule and put a ban on political parties, he abrogated the 1962 constitution and made a one man constitution in 1967 (Pigeon hole constitution), persecuted some of his ministers e.g. Grace Ibingira, Dr Lumu, Mathias Ngobi and Magezi. This gave grounds for the coup.

6. Corruption in government. Obote's ministers and elite soldier lived a luxurious life characterised by having fleets of vehicles and many houses at the expense of common man. The easiest interpretation was that they had embezzled public funds and hence the coup.

7. Amin's desire to prove his courage led to the coup. Following an attempted assassination of Obote at Lugogo Stadium in December 1969, there was general disorder in Kampala. Soldiers rushed to Amin's residence to inform him and ask him to restore order. However, seeing them from a distance, he sneaked out of his residence and hid himself for fear that they had come to arrest him. His Deputy, Brigadier Okoya cooled the situation and made fun of Amin as a coward. Amin organised a coup to prove his courage.

8. The murder of Brigadier Okoya and his wife on 25th January 1970 brought about the coup. Obote suspected Amin of murdering the couple in Gulu town. Though Obote lacked the evidence, he had seriously questioned Amin who in turn felt insecure and planned the coup.

9. The personal differences between Obote and Amin also led to the coup. Obote tried to sideline the army commander who in turn frustrated the President's efforts to promote some Langi in the army. The conflict was made worse by Obote's accusations of Amin after Okoya's death. Then came the rumour that Oyite Ojok was to replace Amin etc. This led to the coup.

10. The Auditor General's report also led to the coup. The report showed gross fraud in the ministry of defence. About 35-40 million shillings had been embezzled and Obote asked both Amin and Onama (the Defence minister) to account for it. This created panic around Amin who plotted the coup.

11. Foreign intrigue also contributed to the 1971 coup. Milton Obote had constantly condemned the British supply of weapons to the apartheid regime in South Africa. He also conflicted with the Israelites who were using Northern Uganda to channel their support to the Anyanya rebels fighting against Nimeri's government in Sudan. This made both Britain and Israel to support Amin's coup de tat.

12. Obote's turn to the left also brought about the coup. In his Nakivubo pronouncements, Obote issued out the common man's Charter, which represented his socialist ideas. This annoyed the Western block, which supported Amin's coup. His nationalisation and national service programmes created resentment and gave ground for the coup.

13. The economic crisis of 1969 also contributed to the coup. There was unemployment, increased taxes, high prices for essential commodities /inflation etc. The army took advantage of the economic distress to stage a coup.

14. Failure to organise elections. The army accused the UPC government of its failure to organise democratic elections for a period of eight years. The elections scheduled for 1967 never took place, internal elections within the UPC itself were characterised by fraud and parliamentary arrangements only favoured the rich, infact, a candidate would stand in three or four constituencies.

15. Over-reliance on the army also led to the 1971 coup. Obote had introduced the army in politics by sending it to oust the Kabaka from Mengo. This made the army develop a feeling that it was indispensable and Amin who had led the successful Lubiri/Mengo mission also staged a successful coup.

16. The influence of other coups in Africa also contributed to the 1971 coup in Uganda. Successful coups had taken place in Togo in 1963, Congo in 1965, Ghana in 1966 Algeria in 1966, Libya in 1969 etc. This gave him a hope of succeeding.

17. Divisions within the UPC also created ground for the coup. Radicals like Grace Ibingira and Bidandi Ssali who challenged Obote were expelled. Even Baganda conservatives within the UPC were expelled. The party was fractured and became easy prey to the coup.

18. The exclusion of Uganda from the EAC also caused problems for Obote. He expelled Kenyan and Tanzanian workers from Uganda, prevented the use of the Kenyan and Tanzanian shillings in Uganda and discouraged their exports to Uganda. This created enemies for Obote who rallied behind Amin and hence the coup.

19. Rampant robbery and murders also led to the coup. A spiral of "Kondoism" in which people lost their lives and property hit the country. Obote's government took no steps to redress this and this provided Amin with another excuse to stage a coup.

20. The order to arrest Amin also led to the coup. While in Singa Pore where he had gone to attend the common wealth conference, Obote telephoned Oyite Ojok in Kampala instructing him to arrest Idi Amin. However, Mussa- a Kakwa tribe's mate of Amin interfered with the telephone call and informed Amin who immediately organised a coup to protect his life.

THE 1972 ECONOMIC WAR IN UGANDA.

This refers to the expulsion of Asians from Uganda by President Idi Amin in 1972. Asians had come to Uganda in 1902 during the construction of the Uganda railway. After its completion, a number of them stayed and involved themselves in private business as well as assisting the colonial masters. The 1962 constitution granted them a right to stay in Uganda and many of them enjoyed dual citizenship.

Obote's common man's charter included plans of expelling Asians and nationalising their property. However, it was Idi Amin who later affected this plan in his famous Tororo pronouncements of 1972. They had to leave Uganda within a period of only 90 days and to take luggage of not more than 10 kilograms each. Their expulsion is termed as the economic war.

ITS CAUSES

1. Asians were exploitative. They paid very low prices to Ugandan farmers yet the prices on the world market were high. Unfortunately, they made no efforts of developing Uganda but rather repatriated all the profits to their mother countries e.g. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Some had fat accounts in USA and British Banks.

2. Asians had dual citizenship. A number of them had citizenship of both Uganda and other countries like Pakistan, Britain and India. The 1962 constitution hadn't provided for this. Amin suspected and expelled them.

3. Fulfillment of the common man's charter. President Obote had already made plans of getting rid of neo-colonialism as outlined in the common man's charter. In trying to effect this, Idi Amin expelled the Asians who he accused of promoting neo-colonialism by operating multi-national corporations like Barclays Bank, shell, Bataetc.

4. The inspiration from Gadaffi also led to the economic war. After the 1969 coup, President Muammar Gadaffi had nationalised all foreigners' property. Idi Amin followed in the footsteps of his Libyan comrade.

5. The desire to revenge against Britain also led to the economic war. Amin had asked Britain for financial assistance to buy modern weapons but none was given to him. He retaliated by expelling Asians many of whom were British citizen

6. Asians were racists. They took themselves over and above the Africans whom they regarded as inferior. They had separate schools, residential areas, hospitals and a religion which was secret and unknown to Africans. They befriended African girls but the reverse was not true. Amin expelled them.

7. They monopolised trade. Having huge sums of capital, Asians monopolised all the import and export trade. They owned wholesale and even retail shops. Yet they were Pseudo (false) investors who repatriated all the profits. Idi Amin had to chase them so as Africanise business.

8. The desire to create jobs. Idi Amin wanted to create employment opportunities for Africans. Most well paying jobs in the civil service were in the hands of Asians- yet a number of educated young Ugandans were jobless and had proved a threat to Obote's government.

9. Amin wanted to reward his supporters. Being new in the position of presidency, Amin wanted to win the support of Ugandans- firstly by rewarding those who had supported his coup and secondly by "buying" more friends. Hence he expelled Asians, gave their property to his henchmen and thereby created a class of "Mafuta Mingi".

10. The increasing Asian population also worried Idi Amin. By 1972, there were about 83,000 Asians, 60,000 of who were non-citizens of Uganda. Their increasing birth rate was a risk to Ugandans whose population was only about 9.7 millions.

11. The harshness of Asians also led to the economic war. Asians mistreated Ugandans who worked for them. Africans were not allowed to rest, go for burials, arrive late for work, go for sick leaves etc. They were often abused, slapped etc.

12. The denial of sex to Amin by an Indian widow also led to the economic war. Amin had become attracted to an Asian widow but who refused to have a love affair with him. This maddened the president who interpreted it as a superiority complex of Asians. Feeling humiliated. Amin gave Asians 90 days to vaccate Uganda.

13. Asians practised price discrimination. They used to sell goods to Ugandans at high prizes and yet sold similar products to fellow Asians at lower prices. This earned them an expulsion.

14. Amin's dream in Tororo led to the economic war. While touring Tororo, Amin had a dream that Asians were milking Uganda and not developing it. He believed in the dream, which influenced him to expel them.

15. Amin wanted to create an indigenous managerial class.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE ECONOMIC WAR

1. Uganda lost the skilled manpower, which had given her a lead in the industrial, medical and educational sectors. Asians were replaced by men of no experience and this led to a decline in the standards of education, industry etc.

2. There was a decline of the production sector. This was because factories broke down and the international community refused to provide spare parts for these factories.

3. An economic embargo was imposed on Uganda's coffee, cotton and other crops. This led to extreme sufferings of Ugandan farmers, many of whom cut down the coffee trees.

4. A new class of rich business people- "Mafuta Mingi" was created in Uganda. The replaced the Asians in business and commerce and became equally exploitative as Asians had been.

5. Smuggling of Uganda's goods into Kenya and vice versa became the order of business along the Kenya-Uganda border. This became termed as Magendoism.

6. Scarcity of essential commodities led to inflation. Lack of market for agricultural products rendered a number of Ugandans unemployed. This was also due to the collapse of industries.

7. Uganda's relations with Britain, Israel and India became soiled.

8. Idi Amin opened up diplomatic relations with the Arab world to which he turn for financial and technical assistance.

9. It led to the Africanisation of all sectors of Uganda e.g. Major David Oyite Ojok became the chairman of coffee marketing board.

10. It led to the decline of the Tourist industry. This was due to the unreliable political conditions in Uganda.

11. It blocked the capital infllow to Uganda. This was because foreign investors feared to risk their capital in the unstable Uganda.

12. Uganda was ranked amongst racist countries. This was because Amin had expelled Indians and later Israelites and whites.

13. Uganda became a dumping ground for Kenyan industrial products.

AMIN'S RULE - Its main features.

He expelled foreigners from Uganda e.g. Asians and Israelites. This created him some local popularity and prolonged his rule.

He favoured and strengthened the Moslem community in Uganda. He relied on them for prolonged rule.

He established ties with militarily strong African states like Libya under Gadafi and Congo under Mobutu. These enabled him consolidate his power.

He returned the remains of the Late Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda in 1972 and this won him the support of the Baganda. With their support, his rule had to be prolonged.

His retraditionalisation policy also won him great support. He made an effort of protecting African culture by abolishing the wearing of short (mini) dresses and trousers by women. This improved peoples' morals and won him support. He dealt mercilessly with thieves and corrupt officials and this earned him support-hence prolonged rule.

He created a strong army on which he relied to entrench his dictatorial rule for quite a long period of time.

He obtained assistance from the Arab world USSR and communist China- hence his prolonged rule.

He dealt mercilessly with his critics and opponents. Some were imprisoned; others were killed under mysterious circumstances while others disappeared without trace. Victims included: Chief Justice Kiwanuka, Vice chancellor Franck Kalimuzo, Arch Bishop Jonani Luwum, Joseph Mubiru of Central Bank, ministers Oboth Ofumbi and Oryema Mayor Nakibinge, James Bwogi of Radio Uganda etc.

He abrogated the 1967 constitution and this left the country with no justice. He established a strong spying espionage network, which helped him to track down his opponents e.g. the State Research Bureau.

He established grass root democracy by appointing Chiefs right from village level (They were locally known as "10-houses of chiefs.

He censored the press e.g. Munno newspaper so as to deny Ugandans information. This prolonged his stay in power.

There was general poverty due to the economic problems that accompanied the expulsion of Asians. This poverty made Africans politically inactive thus enabling Amin's prolonged stay in power.

Amin's attack on Kenya in 1976 made him a feared man and prolonged his stay in power.

Under Amin, Uganda pulled out of the East African Community in 1977. This isolated Uganda and turned Amin's rule into a local Ugandan affair.

The nature of Ugandans during that decade (1970-79) enabled Idi Amin exercise his dictatorial powers for long. Ugandans were very compromising and not assertive about their rights.

Idi Amin had the charisma to attract people to himself, to play on ethnic and ideological divisions etc. This helped him prolong his stay in power.

The downfall of idi amin- causes

He came to power in 1971 and his 1979 downfall was inevitable due to the following reasons.

1. Dictatorship. Amin centralised all powers in his hands and declared himself the life president of Uganda. He became a fascist who could not accept advice. He was termed as the Hitler of Africa.

2. Violation of human rights. This included the killing of between 100,000 - 300,000 innocent Ugandans.

3. Tribalism. Idi Amin favoured his Kakwa tribes mates and neighbours like Lugbara and Madi. He hated the Acholi and Langi in the army.

4. Expulsion of Asians, Israelites and the British denied him of international support - and led to his down-fall.

5. The decline of the economy led to his unpopularity and downfall. Production came to a stand still, unemployment and inflation reigned etc.

6. International isolation whereby Uganda faced a trade embargo, could no longer receive spare parts for broken down factories etc.

7. Amin's expansionist tendencies into Kenya only brought him hostility from Kenya. Kenya blocked Uganda's trade and this forced Amin to back down.

8. The use of Anyanya ex-rebels also created unpopularity for Idi Amin. He recruited them in his State Research Bureau to terrorise his opponents.

9. A break down of social services like schools, education and health services created him problems. Indian doctors, teachers and investors in the social services had left.

10. The influence of Ugandans in exile. A number of persecuted Langi and Acholi soldiers fled into exile. So did a number of educated Ugandans. These mobilised against Idi Amin.

11. Amin's conflicts with Nyerere sealed his fate. President Nyerere of Tanzania was internationally respected as a peace lover. When Amin bombed Bukoba in 1972 and in later years occupied Kagera of Tanzania, the OAU and the entire international community supported Ugandan exiles in Tanzania to over throw Idi Amin.

12. Amin's religious intolerance. He had come all-out to promote Islam and Moslems at the expense of Christians. This denied him of majority support.

13. Land grabbing by Amin's indisciplined security men had started and this fetched him unpopularity.

14. Black marketing /Magendoism also added to the pile of grievances. Thuggery /Buyaye became a common feature in Uganda.

However, Amin had some achievements and if he had consolidated on them, his - government would have stayed longer.

1. He was a fighter against corruption and theft.

2. He made a land reform decree in 1975.

3. He Africanised Uganda's economy and this provided a number of Ugandans with jobs.

4. He builds infrastructure like Entebbe airport, roads, and Kampala Conference centre.

5. He created a strong army.

6. He imported teachers from Ghana to fill the gap created by the departure of Asians and Israelites.

7. He promoted African culture by allowing polygamy and banning the wearing of minis and immoral practices.

8. He was a strong Pan Africanist who strengthened ties with Libya, Morocco etc.

9. He fought against neo-colonialism.

THE NRM RULE

In January 1986, the National Resistance Army took over power in Uganda. This ended the 1980-1985 dictatorial rule characterised by rape, killings, looting, rigging of votes, censorship, tribalism, unemployment, inflation, Magendoism, Kibandaism etc.

The National Resistance Movement came in with great determination to carry out political, economic and social transformation. While still in the bush, the NRA top brass had come up with a ten-point programme upon which it has based its transformations.

The 10 Point Programme

1. Restoration of Democracy.

2. Restoration of the security of the Person and Property.

3. Consolidation of national unity and elimination of all forms of sectarianism.

4. Defending and consolidating national independence.

5. Building an independent, integrated and self sustaining national economy.

6. Restoration and improvement of social services and the rehabilitation of war ravaged areas.

7. Elimination of corruption and misuse of power.

8. Redressing errors that had resulted in the dislocation of some sections of the population.

9. Co-operation with other African countries.

10. Following an economic strategy of a mixed economy.

Achievements of the NRM governance (1985- to present)

1. It has put an end to state-inspired violence in Uganda's politics and has ensured the security of both the person and property.

2. It has established a strong and well-disciplined army, which it has used to create peace and security in the largest part of the country. Of recent it has embarked on professionalising the army.

3. It has provided a conducive atmosphere for the return of political exiles. These include the former president the deceased Godfrey Binaisa who returned in 2001. Massive political exiles of West Nile origin were repatriated from Congo and Sudan in the early years of NRM rule.

4. It has provided Amnesty to rebels. A number of them have been retrained and integrated into the national army.

5. It has organised democratic elections right from the grass root levels to the national level. Defeated but aggrieved parties are free to petition the election results e.g. the famous col. Kiiza Besigye presidential petitions of 2001 and 2006. Voting is done in the open and votes are counted the same day.

6. It has granted freedom of the mass media e.g. Over 100 F.M. stations have been licenced and people are free to exchange political views via the Radio, Television and newspapers.

7. Political participation is free to all- including civil servants who are free to stand and if defeated, to return to their jobs. Former exiles are also free to stand for elections.

8. A new constitution was promulgated on 8th May 1995 and took in the views of various sections of Ugandans and from all regions. Article 1 state that all power rests in the hands of the people.

9. Formally marginalised groups like women, disabled persons, and youths have been promoted into politics.

10. It has provided Universal Primary Education, which it is presumed, will increase the literacy levels in Uganda. It has also liberalised the education sector- A number of private nursery, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions have been set up. Universal secondary education is also in a pipeline.

11. It has improved the health services in the country.

12. Efforts have been made to provide safe water, electricity and improve on sanitation.

13. There has been infrastructural development e.g. the Sironko to Kapchorwa road, the extension of the Owen falls dam, etc.

14. The telecommunications sector has been improved by allowing in a number of privately owned telephone services e.g. MTN, Airtel, Africel etc .... to compete with UTL. This has led to improved services.

15. It has introduced new measures to increase government revenue e.g. In 1991, the Uganda Revenue Authority was set up, Value Added Tax was introduced etc. The result has been increased revenue collections. Government expenditure has been controlled.

16. It has liberalised the import and export trade by removing some export taxes and breaking the monopoly of marketing boards like coffee and Lint marketing Boards.

17. It has liberalised the trade in foreign currencies and this has made life easy for businessmen who used to suffer from the "Kibanda" foreign exchange business, which was rather crude.

18. The public service sector has been improved by removing Ghost workers from the payrolls, raising the salaries of civil servants etc.

19. It has encouraged the privatisation process by which wasteful enterprises have been liquidated. This has a number of advantages but also limitations.

20. It has made strategies for poverty eradication. The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) had been launched to improve the incomes of the poor, offer them credit facilities etc.

21. It has negotiated with the World Bank and the Donor community to cancel some of Uganda's debt and to reschedule the repayment of other loans. Through the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), a number of debts have been cancelled.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Assess the rule of Idi Amin.

2. The downfall of Idi Amin was inevitable. Discuss.

3. Examine the causes and effects of the civil war in Uganda.

4. Account for the increased political instabilities in the great lakes region.

# CHAPTER SIX THE DECOLONISATION OF FRENCH COLONIES

NATIONALISM IN MOROCCO

Morocco is one of the Maghreb countries that was colonized by France. It became an official French protectorate in 1912. However and as per agreement, some small parts to the North (where Cueta and Melilla are located) and the Ifni region in the South went to Spain. In 1921, a revolt broke out in the Spanish controlled North amongst the Montagnards of the Atlas and Rif regions. The resistance was led by Emir Abdel Krim and was not broken until 1926. There also broke out resistances in the South until 1934 when the French crushed the resistors. Though the resistances were crushed, the nationalistic spirit remained. It is important to note that the French exercised their colonial rule through the existing local leaders, namely the Sultan, Pashas, Emirs, sheikhs and Caids. It was this indirect rule that helped Morocco to retain and maintain its historical uniqueness and saved the country from being wrecked by tribal divisions.

FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF MOROCCAN NATIONALISM

1. The Moroccans hated foreign penetration into their society. To them, the French, Spanish and other Europeans were foreigners who had ill intentions for Morocco. The presence of the French Soldiers, the Resident general and other lower level European administrators was a symbol of foreign domination. Their suspicion of Europeans having ill intentions for Morocco was accentuated by the fact that the French bankers had loaned bigger sums of money to Morocco at very high interest rates. Due to the heavy debt burden, the French financiers had already taken over the supervision of Morocco's finances to guarantee repayment. This happened even before Morocco became an official French colony in 1912. This kind of colonial infiltration/penetration did not please the indigenous Moroccans.

2. Religious differences produced animosities between the French and Moroccans. The French were not only foreigners but also Christians. In pure Islamic teachings, the Spanish and French were infidels (unbelievers). According to the holy Quran, it was the duty of the Moslems to rule over the infidels but not the other way round. In their preaching, the French Catholic missionaries encouraged the Arabs and Berbers to convert to Christianity. They taught that Islam was an inferior religion which was responsible for the technological backwardness and primitivity in Morocco. This annoyed the faithful. They became even more annoyed when they learnt about the French propaganda in which they claimed that the Berbers were not true Moslems but had only been forced to follow Islam by the ancestors of the Arabs.

3. The issuing of the "Berber dahir" of 1930 aroused Moroccan nationalism. The "dahir" was a new decree which stated that the Sharia law (Islamic law) was no longer to apply to the Berbers. Instead, the Berbers were to be governed under their traditional customary laws and the French criminal law. The French hoped that the Berbers would welcome the new decree/law. However, they overlooked the fact that overtime; the Berbers had grown to like Islam and to respect the Sharia law more than their traditional customs. Accordingly, the Berber were offended and joined their Arab brothers in protesting against the "Dahir" and protecting the Sharia law. Crowds moved to mosques to pray for deliverance from the French colons. In Fez, they made pilgrimages to the Shrine of Moulay Idris-the founder and patron saint of the city of Fez to invoke his protection against the French.

4. The French divide and rule policy contributed to animosities. As early as 1865, the French had issued the "Senatus consult", a law which stated that any North African who wished to become assimilated into French culture would be offered French citizenship. The French explained that assimilation would open unlimited opportunities for the Moroccan youths in European countries and beyond. Many would have become assimilated due to the anticipated benefits. However, only a few did since becoming assimilated meant denouncing the Islamic law. This made the Moroccans to hate both the assimilation policy and assimilated Moroccans whom they regarded as traitors. Indeed, they became alienated by the true Moslems, thereby bringing divisions in society.

The French were determined to divide the Moroccans. Marshal Lyautey who conquered Morocco had learnt about the traditional misunderstandings and divisions between the Arabs and Berbers. He made efforts to divide them further, for a divided people would be easier to govern and exploit. Accordingly, the French decided to collaborate with the Caids and religious leaders in the Berber areas. For example they befriended Thami al-Glawi, the influential Pasha of Marrakesh whom they used to decampaign the Moroccan Sultan. In 1951, he assembled 1000 fighters of horsemen to pressurize the Sultan to abandon the nationalistic cause. All this was masterminded by the French who never wished to see united Morocco.

5. Land alienation aroused Moroccan nationalism. Both the Aras and Berbers regarded their land as Moslem land. It was a sacred possession that had been handed down to them by their Moslem ancestors. It was a duty of any faithful Moslem to protect the sacred land and hand it over to their posterity. By the early 1920s, the French colons and settlers had grabbed about one sixteenth (Vis) productive agricultural land (Ayandale). When they made further plans of land alienation, this became intolerable. Already, those who lost land to the settlers had been turned into squatters and labourers on the land that was formerly theirs.

6. The poor labour relations evoked nationalistic feelings. The French had recruited hundreds of thousands of Moroccan workers and soldiers to serve them in both the 1st and 2nd world wars. This was regarded as forced labour in the French armed forces. Then due to economic difficulties, a number of Moroccans kept on migrating to France to seek for temporary work. In France, they suffered exploitation in form of long hours of work at very little pay. They were also constantly harassed by the French police. At home in Morocco, those who worked on white settler farms and on public works were given low pay and most of it went to meet government taxes. All these produced frustrations amongst workers who organized the June-November 1936 strikes. To calm them, the resident general, Nogues, allowed the formation of trade unions. Unfortunately, indigenous Moroccans were prevented from becoming active members of these trade unions. This made the workers join the nationalistic organizations such as the Kut lat.

7. Racism contributed to the growth of Moroccan nationalism. The French colonialists and white settlers considered themselves above the indigenous Moroccans in all ways. French racism was further manifested in their refusal to grant reforms to the Moroccans. For doing a similar job, the wage payment to a French man was far higher than that of an indigenous Moroccan. The Moroccan demands for equal pay for equal work fell on deaf ears. This led to anger and nationalistic outbursts.

8. The emergence of educated Muslims gave impetus to the nationalistic struggle. Those who studied in France had come into contact with French socialists and colonial reformers who inspired them to fight for their political rights. While in Paris, they also learnt about the principles of self determination as emphasized by the US president Woodrow Wilson in his 14 points. This prepared them to lead the nationalist struggles back home in Morocco. This prompted the nationalists to organise themselves in the mid 1920s to discussed the future of Morocco. They formed organisations such as the National group or Jamaa al Watanniyya Which was changed by the Zawiya to the Kut lat which later became the National party in 1937. In 1944 all the nationalist groups merged and formed the Istiqlal party which led Morocco to independence in 1956.

9. The formation of the Istiqlal party aroused Moroccan nationalism. The Istiqlal (independence party) was formed in January 1944. It was better organized and focused. It called upon the Moslem Berbers and Arabs to remain united behind their Sultan and overcome the divisive tendencies that were being cultivated by the French. It used peaceful talks and demonstrations to bring the French colonialists to their knees.

10. The character of Sultan Sidi Mohammed fueled Moroccan nationalism. He attained the throne in 1927 as a successor of Sultan Yusuf (1912-1927). Unlike his Predecessors, Sultan Sidi Mohammed (who assumed the title of Mohammed V) quickly identified himself with the nationalistic aspirations of the Moroccan people. When the French asked him to denounced the Istiqlal, he refused. He rejected a number of French ideas such as the suggestion to remove from his entourage all the sympathizers of the nationalists, the suggestion to punish all Moroccans who opposed Thami al-Glawi (the Pasha of Marrakesh) and the suggestion to nominate for the French, candidates for the posts Pasha and Caids. He also refused to sign decrees that were meant to increase French influence in Morocco. His words and firm character was a source of inspiration to many Moroccan nationalists.

11. The harsh policies of the French ignited Moroccan nationalism. The French who regarded Morocco as part of France took a tough line against the nationalistic agitators. In the 1920s they dealt harshly with Moroccan resistors in the Atlas and Rif and killed a number of them. In 1936, they brutally dispersed the aggrieved Moroccan workers who were demonstrating in various cities. When Sultan Sidi Mohammed (Mohammed V) was deported in 1953 and was replaced by Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Arafa, a number of Moroccans rose up in arms. They formed the "Organisation Secrete," the "Black Crescent" and the "Liberation army." Instead of listening to the Moroccans, the French still applied force and brutality. The people became hardened and resolved to die for their country. The French had to return the Sultan so as to calm the situation.

12. External influences fueled Moroccan nationalism. As a result of the first and second world war events, some Arab countries became independent. For example Egypt and Syria. This became sources of inspiration to Moroccan nationalists. When the "Berber dahir" was issued by the French in 1930, the whole Moslem world condemned it and prayed for the Moroccan people in the various world mosques. This external support revitalized the nationalists. When the UNO was formed, the then six independent Arab states asked the UN to put the Moroccan question on the agenda of the 6th general assembly in 1951. Although this was not achieved, the message had been sent to all UN representatives that Moroccans urgently needed self determination. This inspired the Moroccan nationalists to struggle to the end.

13. The influence of the American President F. D. Roosevelt cannot be undermined. Following the arrival of American troops into North Africa in 1942, the American president visited the area. In January 1943, he met the Moroccan Sultan Sidi Mohammed (Mohammed V) who had brilliant ideas for Morocco. The U.S.A. President Roosevelt not only encouraged the Sultan to continue with his ideas but called upon him to give practical help to the young nationalists. He went further and promised to help the Sultan financially and militarily if the need arose. This positive disposition of the US president greatly inspired the Moroccan nationalists.

14. The military defeats suffered by the French inspired Moroccan nationalists. In 1940, the French troops had been defeated by the axis powers. Then in 1954 at Dien Bien Phur, the French troops were defeated by the Vietnamese. In both cases, the invincibility of the French was destroyed. When in 1954, the Algerian war of liberation broke out, the Moroccans became even more determined to sacrifice lives for their mother country. The French who were eager to maintain trading and diplomatic relations with Morocco decided to negotiate with Moroccans whose Sultan they returned in 1955. Then in March 1956, they granted full independence to Morocco.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY SULTAN MOHAMMED SIDI (MOHAMMED V)

Sidi Mohammed became the Sultan of Morocco in 1927 and assumed a title "Mohammed V." At first, the French thought that they would use him as a puppet to further their colonial interests in Morocco. However, the Sultan turned out to be an intelligent, tactical and determined leader who quickly identified himself with the young nationalists in struggling for the aspirations of the Moroccans. His roles include the following;

- He remained intensely religious. Since 98.7 percent of the Moroccans were Moslems, the sultan's deep religious conviction earned him the respect and loyalty of the majority of the Moslems in Morocco.

- He is hailed for his tactical co-operation with the French colonialists. For example during the 2nd world war, he stood by Charles de Gaulle's side and sent 300,000 Moroccans to assist France in its war efforts. Co-operation with the French allowed them to think that they could use him to turn Morocco into a white man's country. In this they were mistaken!

- In the year 1937, Sultan Sidi Mohammed received the leaders of the nationalists - "the Zawiya" and listened to their nationalists views. Though he did not give them an explicit promise to help them, his acceptance to meet them and the kind of reception he gave them became a source of great inspiration to all Moroccan nationalists.

He called for unity between the Arabs and Berbers. He did this by condemning the Berber dahir of 1930 which was introduced by the French to create divisions between Moroccans Arabs and Berbers.

Sultan Sidi Mohammed rejected the French proposals of increasing France's influence in Morocco. The French had wanted him to sign documents to increase France's role and powers in Morocco but he refused.

He is credited for accepting to meet with President Franklyn D. Roosevelt of U.S.A. in 1943. During this meeting, the two discussed the future of Morocco. Roosevelt encouraged Mohammed Sidi to continue supporting the efforts of young elites. As a great statesman, the sultan took the advice in good faith.

Sultan Sidi Mohammed gave an inspiring speech to a large crowd of Moroccans assembled at Tangier, this was in 1947. He emphasized the need for religious commitment, unity, determination and self sacrifice. He promised the assembled people a brighter future for Morocco.

He rejected the unpopular policies of the French colonial masters. They wanted him to denounce the Istiqlal (constitutional party), remove from his entourage all the people that supported the nationalists, to nominate for the French, candidates for the posts of Pashas and Caids and to punish all people who were opposed to their puppet Pasha-Thami al-Glawi.

He visited France in early 1950 and presented the grievances of Moroccans to the French government. By 1952 he was communicating directly with Paris about the need for political, economic and social reforms.

- In 1953, the Sultan was deported to Corsica and later to Madagascar. He humbly accepted to be exiled other than betray the nationalistic cause of his people.

- While in exile, he remained the spiritual and nationalistic leader of Moroccans. When Moroccans formed various rebel movements to secure his return, the Sultan hailed them. The movements which were formed included the "organisation secrete" (secret organization) of the Istiqlal, the "Black Crescent" and the National Liberation Army.

Due to mounting pressure, the French government under Pierre Mendes-France opened up negotiations with Moroccan nationalists. The first round of negotiations took place in August 1953 at Aix-Les Bain. Then General Catroux was sent to Madagascar to return the sultan to Morocco. Sultan Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Arafa was forced to abdicate.

On 26th November 1955, the rightful Sultan Sidi Mohammed (Mohammad V) was returned to Morocco and addressed an expectant crowd at Rabat. On 2nd March 1956, Morocco was declared an independent state.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE ISTIQLAL PARTY

The Istiqlal (Independence party) was founded in January 1944 with a manifesto demanding for independence. The plans to form the Istiqlal began in December 1943 when Ahmed Balafrej, together with a few other nationalists met and reviewed the policies and operations of the existing National Party. They found it necessary to reconstitute the national party into a more formidable party-hence the formation of the Istiqlal (Independence Party) in January 1944. The new party played the following roles in steering Morocco to independence.

1. It issued a manifesto in which it demanded for self rule in Morocco. The manifesto also demanded for participatory democracy, formation of a representative national Assembly/parliament, respect of human rights, equality before the law and condemned Christian practices.

2. The Istiqlal demanded for the release of all political prisoners. It clearly stated that most of the nationalists who were rotting in prisons within and outside Morocco as well as exiles had been arbitrarily punished. They were being persecuted for demanding for what was rightfully theirs-self government. This led to the release of some political prisoners. They also created an enabling environment for exiles to return. This led to the return of Mohammed Allal al-Fasi in 1946 who was appointed as the supreme leader of the Istiqlal with Balfrej acting as its secretary general. Because he had suffered exile and because he was every religious, A1 Fasi appealed to many nationalists.

3. It recognized the power and influence of Sultan Sidi Mohammed of Morocco. Realising that the Sultan was a respectable leader of the Moslem community, the Istiqlal worked closely with him in demanding for colonial reforms and independence. This co-operation between the Istiqlal and the Sultan made the French grant some reforms in the "detente” after World War II.

4. The Istiqlal sensitized Moroccans about their rights. It made them aware of such rights as the right to live, move, form or join trade unions, express themselves, form or join political parties and so on. They were made aware of their equality with the whites and were asked to rise and struggle for these rights.

5. It called for the unity of all Moroccans. The nationalists observed that their ¦ struggle for independence was being bogged down by internal divisions. There existed the traditional divisions between the Berbers and Arabs. The two peoples were further divided by the French divide and rule policy. There was also a division between the assimilated Moroccans and the orthodox/conservative Muslims. The leaders of the Istiqlal called upon the different sections of Moroccans to come together and struggle for a common goal.

6. The Istiqlal turned itself into a mass political party. Its cadres moved throughout the country recruiting members. They mobilized both rural and urban populations, men and women, French educated evolues and Muslim educated elites, Berbers, Arabs and liberal whites, to join the party. Due to its enthusiastic and vigorous efforts, the Istiqlal had 15000 registered and active members by 1947.

7. The Istiqlal co-operated with trade unions in its nationalist struggles. Together, they organized strikes and demonstrations against the French between 1947-1952. The trade unionists were demanding for improved working conditions which rhymed with the nationalistic demands.

8. It applied peaceful methods of struggle. These included negotiations, writing articles in newspapers and organising peaceful demonstrations. Due to its peaceful approach, the Istiqlal won a number of concessions/reforms from General Juin-the newly appointed Resident general for Morocco. These concessions came in May 1947. According to these reforms, Moroccans were to be included in the council of government that discussed the Moroccan budget and were to be elected in Municipal councils to sit with French men. Among the elected Istiqlal members were Mohammed Lyazidi and Mohammed Lyaghazawi.

9. It condemned the dethronement of Sultan Sidi Mohammed Mohammed V. Using the Pasha and Marraketh, Thami al Glawi, the French deposed the Sultan and deported him to Corsica and later Madagascar. When this happened, the Istiqlal came out in full force to condemn the French. They formed the "Organisation Secrete" and supported other militant groups such as the Liberation Army and Black Crescent in their struggles to demand for the return of the Sultan.

10. It co-ordinated efforts to return the Sultan. At home the Istiqlal mobilized Moroccans to boycott French goods until the Sultan was returned. The economic losses arising out of the boycott forced the French to consider returning Sultan Mohammed V. It also mobilized the Moroccans to boycott Friday prayers until their legitimate Sultan was returned. This weakened the puppet Sultan Mohammed Ibn Arafa whom the French had appointed.

11. The Istiqlal called for external help. It called upon the UNO to put the Moroccan question on its agenda during its 6th general Assembly of 1951. It also called for help from Arab countries against the rule of the infidels.

12. It actively participated in the pre-independence negotiations. These negotiations started in August 1953 at Aix-les Bain and went on until the return of the Sultan on 26th November 1955. Then on 2nd March 1956 the Istiqlal together with their Sultan Mohammed Sidi( Mohammed V) and the entire populance of Morocco were accorded independence.

NATIONALISM IN TUNISIA

Tunisia is one of the Maghreb countries in the North African region. Its capital city is Tunis and its people are the Arabs who form 93% of the population, Berbers (5%) and Europeans (2%). The majority of the Tunisians are Moslems (99.4%) and the official language is Arabic. During the colonial era, Tunisia fell into the French colonial hands in 1881. Originally the French exercised their rule through the existing political structure headed by the Bey assisted by the qaids, Khalifas and tribal Shaikhs. The French also recognized the clerical Muslim class of the Sufx Khaikhs and the Ulama.

With time however, the old administrative system was overlaid and replaced by a new administrative structure single handedly controlled by Europeans. This resulted into arousing hostilities between the Tunisians and French invaders.

FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF TUNISIAN NATIONALISM

1. The desire for political independence/autonomy led to the rise of Tunisian nationalism. In 1881, a French expeditionary force matched over Tunis. On 12th May 1881, the treaty of Bardo was signed between the French and the Bey - the sovereign leader of Tunisia. By this treaty, the country's finances and foreign affairs were to be controlled by the French. Besides, the French military of about 30,000 men remained stationed in Tunisia to keep law and order. The treaty of Bardo was followed by the treaty of La Marsa by which the Bey was stripped of his powers. All policies emanated from the Resident general and his deputy, the secretary general. All the top posts of administration in education, agriculture, public works and so on were occupied by French officials. The Bey and his traditional officials remained mere figure heads. This created dissatisfaction that resulted into the independence struggle.

2. Grievances over land alienation aroused nationalistic feelings. The colonial office encouraged a number of French men and other Europeans to flock to Tunisia. In 1906, there existed close to 128,000 white settlers in Tunisia. By 1910, the number had increased to 130,000 Europeans and it kept on increasing especially in the period between the two world wars. As elsewhere in Africa, the white settlers grabbed the best of Tunisian land. Accordingly, about half of the country's productive agricultural land fell under the control of the minority white settlers who turned the local Tunisians into labourers. When it came to grabbing the Waaf lands and habous (religious lands), matters worsened.

3. The unfair labour relations aroused Algerian nationalism. During the 1st world war, Tunisians were forced to provide different services ranging from cooking to active combat/fighting. Of the 63,000 Tunisians who served in the French army, 10,500 were either killed or went missing. When the Second World War broke out (1939-1945), still hundreds of thousands of Tunisians were conscripted to help the French and their allies. When Moslem scholars started questioning the rationale of forcing Moslems to fight foreign wars, nationalistic feelings arose. They also questioned the issue of forced labour on European farms. They went ahead and pointed out the injustices suffered by Tunisian migrant workers in France e.g. little pay and harassment by the police.

4. The French assimilation policy cultivated nationalistic feelings. The French encouraged the young Tunisians to take up French language and culture. They hoped to use the youths to create divisions in the rather intact Tunisian society. In 1923, they passed a decree/law which granted French citizenship to the educated or qualified Tunisians. The assimilated Tunisians were to denounce Islamic law and take up French law. This resulted into dissatisfaction and demonstrations which were joined by religious leaders and nationalists like Shiekh Thaalibi. The demonstrations reached a climax in 1933 when the French tried to burry an assimilated woman in the Muslim cemetry at Monastir. The Muslims protested bitterly and referred to the woman as a renegade and traitor. The French were forced to bury her in a special cemetery for renegades.

5. The rise of Islamic movements fueled Tunisian nationalism. The earliest of these was the Pan-Islamic movement which called upon all Moslems of the world to unite behind the Sultan of Turkey-the then spiritual leader of Islam, so as to jointly combat colonialism. The Pan Islamic Movement was later replaced by Pan Arabism which called for an urgent need by all Moslems to fight European colonialism and create a united and secure Arab state. One of the major apostles of Pan Islamic and Pan Arabic ideas in Tunisia was Shekib Arslan. A Syrian by origin, Arslan worked in North Africa and Geneva. He wrote books and journals which aroused nationalistic feelings amongst North African Moslem youths, Tunisians inclusive.

6. Western education and external contacts fueled Tunisian nationalism. The Tunisian students who went to France for further education came into contact with French socialists/communists, democrats and colonial reformers who championed the ideas of the French revolution of 1789. They called upon their home government to respect the rights of all the colonized peoples to govern themselves. This provided great impetus to the educated Tunisian youths who returned home and led the nationalistic struggle. These included, among others, Habib Bourguiba.

7. Urbanization contributed to the rise of Tunisian nationalism. In the 1920s and 30s, a number of Tunisian peasants started moving to Tunis and other cities like Safaqis and Aryanah. These easily received information concerning the liberation struggles throughout the Muslim world and other African countries. This prepared them for nationalistic activity.

8. The first and second world wars' stimulated Tunisian nationalism. Tunisians not only came to learn about the weaknesses and invincibility of the Europeans but also made useful contacts. During the 1st world war, they adopted the principles of self determination which were proclaimed by the U.S. President, Woodrow Wilson, in his 14 points. During the Second World War, Tunisians interacted freely with American soldiers who served in North Africa. They called upon Tunisians to use the 2nd world war ideas and skills to struggle for self determination.

9. The formation of the "Young Tunisian Party" aroused Tunisian nationalism. It was formed in 1906 under Ali Basa Hamba who was a lawyer. In 1911, the young Tunisians presented the Resident general with a demand for constitutional reforms. This led to the deportation of its leader Hamba. Its new leader became Shiekh al-Aziz al Thaalbi who was even more radical. In 1911, the young Tunisians clashed with French colons who wanted to register the cemetery at Dzellaz under European laws. This was an Islamic religious cemetery and was highly regarded. Clashes led to arrests and imprisonment which aroused more opposition against French colonialism. When the French tried to allocate the habous (the land of the different Moslem religious groups) to white settlers, more clashes occurred from 1919 on wards.

10. The press contributed to the awakening of Tunisian nationalism. A number educated Muslim reformers wrote books and articles in journals and newspapers calling upon Tunisians to arise and struggle for independence. For example, a Muslim reformer, Amir Shakib Arslan circulated nationalistic ideas in a journal called “La Nation Arabe" (the Arab Nation) and later wrote a book entitled "Our decline and its cases" (Hallet, Page 222). Famous newspapers included "La voix du Tunisien" (The Voice of Tunisians) and "L'Action Tuniesienne" (Tunisian Action). These called for purified Islam, parliamentary democracy and independence.

11. French brutality contributed to Tunisian nationalism. At first the French seemed to respect the Tunisians whom they hoped to easily assimilate. When this failed, they turned to acts of intimidation and harassment. They never hesitated to apply violence whenever the Tunisians organized peaceful demonstrations. As already noted, they forced the leader of the Young Tunisian Party Ali Basa Hamba into exile as early as 1911. They treated other nationalists in similar ways throughout the 1920s and 30s. For example they imprisoned the leading nationalist Habib Bourguiba in 1938, banned the Neo Detour party and other parties, forced many nationalists in exile and so on. Such acts only served to harden the nationalists.

12. The formation of the Destour and Neo-Destour parties aroused Tunisian nationalism. The destour was founded in 1920 by Shiekh Thaabi. In 1919, he had gone to Paris to influence the Versailles peace conference to allow Tunisian independence. He failed. On returning to Tunisia, he founded the Destour (constitution) party. Together with Ahmed Saqqa he wrote a book "La Tunisie Martyre" (The Tunisia Martyr) in which he called upon Tunisians to continue with their nationalistic demands to the point of death. The Destour party was joined by Habib Bourguiba in 1927. However, he later broke away from the gradualistic Destour Party and formed the radical Neo-Destour Party in 1934. This was to lead Tunisia to independence in 1956.

13. Trade unions also fueled Tunisian nationalism. These advocated for workers' rights and organized strikes for improved working conditions. They were coordinated by the "Confederation General des Travailleurs" (CGTT)- the General confederation of Tunisian workers. It organized and co-ordinated a number of workers' strikes that aroused nationalistic consciousness amongst Tunisians.

14. The defeat of France by Vietnam fueled Tunisian nationalism. In July 1954, the French soldiers were humiliatingly defeated at Dien Bien Phur in Indo china (now Vietnam). This not only aroused nationalism amongst Tunisians but also shocked the new French government which rushed to grant several concessions and later independence to Tunisians. The new government in France under PierreMendez- France released Tunisian political prisoners and exiles such as Habib Bourguiba. It also concluded a series of agreements with nationalists whom it granted independence.

15. The formation of armed groups fueled Tunisian nationalism. These included the mountain and coastal Tunisian guerillas known as the fellaga. Numbering about 3000, their activities between 1952-1954 greatly weakened the French colonialists. They attacked police posts, rail stations, trains, settler farms and so on causing great destruction and serious panic.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE DESTOUR AND NEO DESTOUR

The Destour (constitution) party was founded in 1920 by Shiekh Thaalibi. It replaced the Young Tunisians. The Party's name was in memory of the 1857 constitution that the Bey had issued for his people of Tunisia but which the French colonialists had later sidelined.

* The Destour is credited for using peaceful methods of struggle. These included negotiations with the resident general and writing articles in newspapers.
* It criticized the oppressive, racist and exploitative colonial policies. These included land alienation forced labour and unfair pay. For example it criticized the colons for confiscating the habous and Waaf lands which were lands for the religious groups of Tunisia. It called for equal pay between blacks and whites in case they did a similar job.
* The Destour sensitized the Tunisians about their rights. These included the right to participate in the country's parliament, be appointed to high posts of administration for which the Tunisians qualified, equality before the law, a system of separation of powers, the right to equal payment with whites in similar posts, freedom of the press, assembly and so on.
* It called for an end of the immigration of white settlers into their country and an end of assimilation policy which was weakening Islamic culture and ethics. In particular it criticized the 1923 decree which promised French citizenship to Tunisians.
* It published books and newspapers through which the masses were sensitized. For example, its first leader Shiekh Thaalib together with Ahmed Saqqa published a pamphlet called "La Tunisie Martyre" (The Tunisia Martyr) in which they explained the fundamental rights of Tunisians and called upon them to demand for them. The Destour also founded a newspaper called "La voix du Tunisiex" (The Voice of Tunisia).
* It organized a number of political rallies in both rural and urban areas. However, these were usually suppressed by French police.
* The Destour organized demonstrations and strikes against unfair laws. For example it organized protests against the 1923 decree that promised a better citizenship to Tunisian youths. It also protested bitterly against the French attempt to burry an assimilated woman in a respected Muslim Cemetery at Monastir. This led imprisonment of its leaders.
* It demanded for the release of its leaders at various periods. These included sheikh Thaalibi, Saloh ferhat, Ahmed al Aaafi, Mahmud Materi, Tahir Sfar, Bahri Guiga, Habib Bourguiba and others.
* It provided able leaders for the nationalist cause. All its leaders were patriotic and religious and ready to sacrifice their lives for Tunisia.
* It is credited for co -operating with the Bey who in tern supported the nationalist cause. When the French president visited Tunisia in 1921, he stated that the country could always remain linked to France. Members of the Destour questioned this and the resident general threatened to deport them. When he presented the list of proposed deportees, the Bey (Mohammad al Nasri) inquired why his name had not been included. He defended the nationalists before the resident general.

THE NEO Destour PARTY

This was formed in 1934 with Muhmud Materi as its president and Habib Bourguiba as its secretary general. It was formed as a break away group from the old Destour party which the founders of the Neo Destour accused of being too conservative and gradualistic.

The Neo Destour provided focused, charismatic and able leadership to Tunisian nationalists and its major leader was Habib Bourguiba.

It reached out to the masses and explained to them the meaning and advantages of self government. By 1937, the Neo Destour boasted of having 100,000 members and 400 branches spread through out the country.

It called for unity between the French educated youths and the graduates of the Zaituna,- the traditional Muslim education system. It also called for unity between Arabs, Berbers, and Tunisia Jews.

It worked closely with the Bey, and solicited for his support whenever required.

It sensitized the masses about there rights.

It called for land, labour, tax and educational reforms.

It worked closely with the trade unions in Tunisia. For example, it backed up the workers' riots which were organized by the "confederation General des Travialleurs Tunisians" (CGTT), the general confederation of Tunisia workers. These riots broke out in Jan 1958 in Bizeta, following the dismissal of Algerian and Tunisia workmen. Riots went on up to April and left 112 dead while 62 were wounded. Bourguiba and others were arrested and taken to France for jail

The Neo Destour demanded for the release of their political leaders e.g. when Bourguiba and other members of the Destour and prime minister were arrested, the Neo Destour made noise.

The Neo Destour asked for assistance from other Arab countries such as Egypt. Bourguiba actually visited Egypt in 1945 and demanded for help from the Arab league. He later asked for help from colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt.

It participated in the August 23rd 1946 congress in which the members of the old Destour, the Neo Destour and UGTT pledged to work together for the achievement of Tunisia's independence. Though the congress was dispersed by the colonial police, the spirit of nationalism and unity was not killed.

The Neo Destour successfully negotiated for constitutional reforms. In 1945, the French at fast agreed to form a legislative Assembly in which half of the seats were for Tunisia and the other half for the French colonialists. Then in July 1947, a new internal government was formed with Mustafa Kaak as its prime Minister. In this government, the number of Tunisian ministers was made equal that of the French.

Then in August 1950, Mohammad Shanniq was given power to form a new government to be composed of nine (09) Tunisia ministers and only three (03) French men. The secretary of the Neo Destour, Salah B Yusuf became the minister of justice. In March 1954 Mzali became the prime minister and increased the number 01 Tunisian legislators /parliamentarians to 45, and they were to be elected by all adult males. In 1954, the president of France Pierre-Mendes granted Tunisia an autonomous status and asked the Tunisian Bey to choose a team to negotiate the form of independence Tunisia wished to have. The Bey was realistic in choosing the negotiators. The chief negotiator on Tunisia's side was Habib Bourghiba - the leader of the Neo Destour. Tunisia was granted internal self government in June 1955. Though some nationalist like Sal eh ben Yusuf advocated for continued armed resistance by the fellaga, Habib Bourguiba maintained the approach of negotiations.

With the mounting pressure from Algeria and Morocco the French quickly negotiated with the Tunisia nationalists and a protocol recognizing the full independence of Tunisia was signed in Paris on 20th March 1956

THE MALAGASY/MADAGASCAR UPRISING OF 1947

Madagascar is an Island which is adjacent to the South East African Coast. Its capital city is Antananarivo and its people, the Malagasies or Malagache speak both Malagasy and French languages. The European colonial ambitions of the 18th and 19th centuries did not spare this land. Before European colonization, the Merina had set up the most powerful and organized kin'gdom on the Island-the Imerina kingdom.

Both the French and British had colonial interests in Malagasy/Madagascar and sent missionaries to the area. By mid 1890s, there existed about 136,000 Catholic converts and 455,000 Protestants. The rivalry between the British and French over the Island went on for long but were later settled through diplomatic efforts and colonial concessions elsewhere. One of these was the Anglo-French treaty of 1890 in which the British recognized the French protectorate for Malagasy in return for French acceptance of British claims over Zanzibar.

In September 1895, the Merina capital Antananarivo fell into French hands. At first, the French recognized and preserved the existing local institutions and traditional leaders as they had done to Tunisia and Morocco. However, due to a serious revolt that followed the occupation of "Antananarivo”, the French decided to annex the Island as a French colony in August 1896. The new resident general, J.S. Galliene destroyed the Merina ruling monarchy in February 1897, exiled the queen and executed two of the Merina nobles that were implicated in leading the rebellion.

Then he looked for collaborators from amongst the non-Merina people. By mid 1897, the French were in full control of the former Imerina kingdom with minor pockets of resistance here and there. Galliene embarked on the task of developing the Island so as to appease the colonized people. He constructed a series of modern roads, modernized agriculture, set up hospitals and schools, all geared at improving the living standards of Malagasies. Though the earliest resistances were effectively crushed, and though the standard of living was improved, the nationalistic sentiments remained. It expressed itself in the formation of various nationalist groups such as the "Vi Valo iakelika" (iron rock green stem) of 1915 and the "Mouvement democratique pour la renovation /lalgache" (MDRM) formed in 1946.

The French settlers in the coastal areas started mistreating the workers that belonged to or sympathised with the MDRM. As the conflicts mounted, rumours about an imminent uprising started circulating. On 29th March 1947, uprisings broke out in Morenga and Monakera in the Eastern part of the Island. The insurrection/uprising spread rapidly and by July 1947, the rebels controlled a large part of Tanda and Bazzabozana in the Eastern upland area. However, In cities like Antananarivo, Fianarantsoa and Diego Suarez, the movement was limited. Owing to the problem of poor communication, the rebels became surrounded and isolated from August 1947. Though they persisted on, the rebels were finally suppressed by French colonial troops in November 1948.

CAUSES OF THE MADAGASCAR UPRISING OF 1947

1. The unstoppable desire for independence explains the Madagascar uprising. Right from the start, the Madagascans detested foreign rule. This made some Madagascans to rise up in arms against the French. Though they were defeated, another secret nationalist society, the Vi Vato Sakelika (VVS) was founded in Tananarive and later the MDRM. All these aimed at ending foreign rule. All the ethnic groups of Malagasy wanted independence but it were the raerina people who wanted it urgently. The nobility of the former Imerina Kingdom found it frustrating and humiliating to become "sujets"-subjects of the French colons. They had been used to privileges but now, under the "Indegenat" (nature code) were exposed to hard labour and punishments just like their former subjects (the non-merinas) (Hallet). This was unacceptable and made them struggle against foreign rule. The Malagasy representatives to the French general Assembly also emphasized the need for independence.

2. Land alienation by white settlers also caused grievances. Though there were less than 2000 Europeans in the early 1890s, the number had grown to 12 000 by 1921. Most of these came from Reunion Island and acquired farms on the "Hautz-plateaux" or plantations on the East coast. The number of white settlers kept on growing especially during the 2nd World War period and was close to 50,000 by the time of the uprising in 1947. All these settled by grabbing the land of the indigenous Madagascans. Apart from the individual white settlers, there existed big companies which grabbed land for commercial agriculture. Their activities became pronounced during the 2nd World War period hence contributing to the uprising.

3. Forced labour contributed to the uprising. In clearing the large virgin forests for sugar cane, cotton and coffee plantations, the colonialists relied on local peasant labour. The peasants were forced to work under semi-slavery conditions. From the 1920s, the French organized a system of conscription for labour service. The peasants were irked by the system of labour service from which they received very low or no wages at all. To many nonMerinas, slavery under the Merina had been replaced not by liberty but by slavery under the foreigners. This annoyed them, especially because the local administrators become too oppressive in their recruitment of cheap labourers for the foreigners. No wonder they welcomed the 1947 uprising.

4. The French divide and rule tactics also annoyed the Madagascans. Firstly, they encouraged some local people to become assimilated into French culture and become French citizens. The number of these had risen to 8000 by 1939 (Hallet, page). These enjoyed some privileges and supported French colonialism, a factor which alienated them from the masses. Divide and rule only caused more hatred for the French.

5. Madagascans wanted to benefit from the Island's economic activities. They were not only annoyed by the exploitation of their labour but were also tired of the Asian monopoly of trade on the Island. In addition to the European white settlers, there existed a growing number of Indians, Chinese, Pakistanians, Arabs, Jews, Americans and South African Boers who flocked to Madagascar for business. Indians, in particular, controlled a large volume of import and export trade, whole sale and retail businesses and were repatriating profits. Then there existed various companies that dealt in the cutting of trees and exporting timber. This was termed as exploitation of the Island's resources that the indigenous people had preserved for their future generations.

6. Racism also produced grievances that culminated into war. Although the French assimilated policy was aimed at creating African French men, it had a negative effect of making the assimilated ones proud and arrogant towards their unassimilated brothers whom they regarded as primitive. Together with the French, the assimilated Madagascans enjoyed privileges such as higher wages and salaries, better schools, exemption from forced labour, relaxed laws and so on. This annoyed the masses who demanded for equality before the law, a respect of their rights and fair pay. The locals were particularly annoyed by the deteriorating standards of education. By the time J.S. Galliene left Madagascar (1904), there were 23,0000 Madagascan children in school. The resident generals who followed him were racist and never minded about the education of Madagascan children-hence by 1939 the number of school going children was nearly the same as that of 1904 and the facilities were poorer.

7. The formation of nationalist organizations contributed to the uprising. Before the 1st World War, a protestant Minister from Imerina formed the first proto-nationalist group "Union Christienne de Jeunes Gen" but was quickly suppressed. By 1915 a group of young men formed the Yy Vako Sakelika (branches of stones and iron) but were also suppressed for fear that they intended to poison all the French colonialists. Then in 1946, the "Mouvement democratique de la renovation Malagache" (MDRM) was formed in Paris by the two Malagasy deputies to the French national Assembly. The MDRM soon spread rapidly throughout Madagascar cities and rural areas and got supporters from all classes of people. It demanded for independence. Because it was peaceful, some of its radical members broke off and formed the JINY (a name for a night bird) and the Malagasy National Party (PANAMA). The MDRM, JINY and PANAMA sensitized local people about their rights and contributed to the 1947 uprising.

8. The extreme cruelty of the French colonialists drove Madagascans into an uprising. In 1915, the Yi Vako Sakelika nationalist group talked about independence. The French police arrested about 200 of them and gave them long prison sentences. The police and individual white settlers continued harassing and at times killing any emerging nationalists. For example when the nationalist MDRM was formed in 1946, a number of its leaders, members and sympathizers faced actual persecution. They were often arrested on flimsy excuses, imprisoned, tortured in prisons and the like. This provoked a peasant uprising in the countryside in which they used bare sticks, stones and spears in anger, to attack French planters and administrators.

9. The 2nd World War experiences contributed to the 1947 Madagascar uprising. During this war, Madagascan recruits fought alongside the British and American soldiers who argued them to return home and struggle for independence. They even promised to give them financial and military support. In the same war, the French were defeated by Germany forces in 1940 which destroyed their invincibility. Due to a pro-Vichy regime in Madagascar, the British invaded and conquered the Island in 1942 for fear that the pro-Vichy regime might provide bases for Japanese Submarines. The British remained on the Island up to 1946 and this made Madagascans lose respect for the French who could no longer protect them. Above all, during the 2nd World War, Madagascans suffered great famine (1943-44) and scarcity of imported goods which led to black marketing, inflation and the like. Besides, the Atlantic Charter was signed in 1941 and Brazzaville Conference sat in 1944. Both pointed towards future independence which aroused more nationalistic feelings amongst Madagascans, contributing to the 1947 uprising.

10. External influence contributed to nationalistic feelings in Madagascar. The Malagasy deputies to the French National Assembly came into contact with French socialists and democrats, Vietnamese representatives and so on. They shared ideas in which they encouraged Madagascans to demand for independence. Accordingly, when the French granted internal self government to Vietnam in line with the March 1946 Ho-chi-Mich Accord, the Malagasy deputies also tabled a bill demanding for a free state with its own government parliament, army and finance. The French termed the demand as illegal which annoyed all members of the MRDM at home in Madagascar and prepared a fertile ground for the uprising.

11. The role of traditional religion cannot be ignored. There existed a number of traditional priests, seers, sorcerers and witch doctors who variously condemned foreign intruders. They warned that the foreigners would take over the whole country and deny the Malagasy posterity the right over land. This came at time of a rumour that south African whites intended to invade Malagascar. The priests therefore called upon all able bodied men and women to rise and struggle for their beloved country. They promised that the gods would be on the side of fighters and would turn the enemy bullets into drops of water. This inspired many Malagasies to join the uprising when they were armed with nothing but courage. At best they had spears, sticks and stones.

12. The inadequacies of the French reforms fueled Madagascan nationalism. After the 2nd world war, the French made some reforms in Madagascar just as they did in other colonies. The system of indignant forced labour was abolished and political representation was accorded to Madagascans in the French National Assembly in Paris. These were due to the recommendations of the 1944 Brazzaville Conference. These reforms however made Madagascans even more relentless. They demanded for full independence and could settle for nothing less than this, a factor that explains the uprising.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE UPRISING

1. Negatively, it resulted into great loss of human lives. According to the official French statistics, the French killed 11,000 people but the MRDM claimed that the French killed 80,000. Others state that 140 Europeans and 16,000 Madagascan civilians were killed by rebels, while 80,000 rebels died of French gunshots, starvation and misery. The total of this comes close to a figure of 100,000 deaths as given by the French High Commissioner de Chevigne at a press conference in 1949.

2. There was destruction of property such as roads, schools, plantations, hospitals, administrative and police posts which were burnt down by the rebels. This especially happened in Tananarive area which had the biggest number of European plantations.

3. The rebels were defeated. This was due to lack of training, poor planning and co-ordination. By August 1947, they had been surrounded and isolated. They were killed one by one until they were finally suppressed in November 1948.

4. It resulted into massive arrests and trials. After the suppression of the MDRM, many courts were set up throughout the Island purposely to implicate the MDRM members and their sympathisers. The most notorious of the court hearings was the "Tananarive trial of November 1948. It resulted into six death sentences, two of the implicated being former MDRM deputies in the French Assembly-they were Joseph Rasete and Joseph Ravoahangy. Many other people were sentenced to long terms of forced labour.

5. The MDRM was banned and Madagascar remained without an effective voice against oppression and exploitation for quite sometime.

6. Positively it contributed to the attainment of independence in Madagascar on 26th July 1960. Though the insurgents were defeated in 1948, the country's nationalistic aspirations were not killed. Nationalists used the city newspapers to demand for amnesty for the numerous ex-MDRM members and ex-rebels who were rotting in prisons. They also continued demanding for independence. When the French received setbacks in Vietnam and when the Algerian war of independence started, the Madagascan nationalists were given greater impetus.

At this time, they also had the sympathy and support of the Roman Catholic Church which feared that delayed independence could lead to the victory of communist ideas in Malagasy. Accordingly, the "Parti Social Democrate" (PSD) was formed in December 1956 in Mujunga. It was led by Philibert Tsiranana and Andre Resampa. Other parties were also formed and rivaled with the PSD in the race for presidency. However, it was the PSD which gained majority electoral victory and formed the post independence government under Philibert Tsiranana who remained president up to the 1972 student protests when he handed over power to General Gabriel Ramanantsoa.

THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1954-1962

Algeria is a North African country that was colonised by the French in 1830 up to 1962 when she obtained her independence. During the 132 years of French colonialism, a number of French settlers poured into Algeria and greatly infringed on the political, economic, social and religious rights of the indigenous Algerians-the Berbers and Arabs. They introduced a policy of assimilation by which the educated Algerians or "evolues" were proud to behave like French men and to promote French culture. Even Ferhat Abbas, one of the most outspoken Algerian nationalists originally loved and promoted French rule, culture and progress.

However, the oppressive, exploitative, monopolistic and discriminative colonial policies of the French soon stirred feelings of discontent amongst the Algerians. Accordingly, between 1954-1962 Algerians Nationalism expressed its self in form of a militant war of Liberation. Negotiations had failed, the patient of Algerians had run out and soldiers no longer had time for the battle of words.

CAUSES OF THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (ALGERIAN REVOLUTION)

1. The desire for independence provoked the Algerians into war against the French. The French conquest of Algeria had been so violent and was accompanied by a suppression of the authority of traditional Moslem rulers in Algeria. All the top posts in administration, in the army and police were occupied by French settlers/colonialists. The traditional Moslem leaders who had lost powers of decision making mobilised the Algerians to fight against French political domination.

2. Land alienation. French colonialism was immediately resisted by Abdel Kader and others. To contain the rebellions of the Algerian Moslems at the time, the French government encouraged the immigration of a number of French settlers into Algeria. These settlers grabbed Algerian land especially along the coast and pushed the natives into less productive reserves desert lands. Other Algerians were turned into mere squatters on their land. The Algerian war of liberation became inevitable.

3. The French intentions of retaining Algeria as a white man's country fanned Algerian nationalism. After the Second World War, France started preparing her colonies such as Indo-China, Morocco and Tunisia for independence. However, no such plans were made for Algeria. Popular opinion in France was that Algeria had to be turned into a white mans country. In November 1954, the French Prime Minister Pierre- Mende's- France told the parliamentarians: "The departments of Algeria have been French for so long and the situation cannot be altered... Algeria is France". On 9th February 1956, his successor Guy Mollet said in a broad cast "France will remain present in Algeria..." Earlier in January 1955 the governor general of Algeria- Jacques Soustelle said "What ever happens, the destiny of Algeria is French". Such French intentions of turning Algeria into part of France annoyed the Algerian nationalists and drove them into a war of independence.

4. Forced labour. The settlers from France, Alsace, Lorraine, Malta and Spain established large commercial plantations and forced the native Algerians to work for them without pay. This was exploitation of both Algerian land and labour. While exploiting Algerian labour, the French became very brutal, abusing and canning the lazy Algerians. By November 1954, this was no longer tolerable. Hence the militant war of independence.

5. Heavy taxation. Taxes were high and methods of tax collection were very harsh. Most of the money from the high taxes didn't benefit the Algerian taxpayers. Rather, the corrupt French officials swindled it. This too annoyed the Algerians.

6. French racism stirred discontent all spheres of life in Algeria were very discriminative. They lived apart from the Algerians, had separate health and education facilities from those of the native etc. They monopolised city life and forced a number of Algerians into rural areas. This gave them opportunity to mobilise themselves into fighting groups against the French.

7. Religious differences led to war. The Algerians were Moslems while the French colonialists were Roman Catholics. Their ways of life differed e.g. The French didn't allow polygamy while Islamic religion allowed it; the French took wine and pork and moved along with dogs which were acts against Islamic teachings. When the French attempted to force Algerians into Christianity, turne Mosques into churches and promote only those Algerians with Christian names, the ground was prepared for the Algerian war of liberation.

8. The erosion of Algerian culture. Through their assimilation policy, the French intended to create white Africans in black skins. Africans were trained to think, dress, speak, build as French men. Accordingly, French replaced Arabic as the official language of Algeria. It was used in schools, offices, businesses and all diplomatic connections. This angered the vibrant Algerian nationalists and hence the war of independence. The unveiling of Algerian women was also an abuse of Algerian culture.

9. The influence of the 2nd World War. The Algerian ex-service men such as Ahmed Ben Bella and Belkacem Krim developed militant nationalistic ideas and determination to oust the French. They had been exposed to new weapons, tactics and liberal ideas. In particular, the American troops which served in North Africa during the 2nd World War had spread ideas of equality, democracy and self government. Everywhere in Africa, there was a wind of change after the 2nd world war and the Algerians took full advantage of this.

10. The defeat of the French in Vietnam led to the Algerian war of independence. The Vietnamese defeated the French colonialists in the battle of Dien Bien Phurr (19461954). This battle humiliated the French and shattered both their pride and invincibility. It forced the French to withdraw from the whole of Indo-China. The Algerian nationalists such as Ben Bella who served in the Vietnamese war returned to Algeria and spread the propaganda that just as the French were defeated in the jungles of Asia, they could easily be defeated in the desert of Algeria.

11. The indiscriminate massacre of Algerians by the French in May 1945 at Setif led to the war of liberation. On 8th May 1945 as the allied powers celebrated their victory over Germany, the Algerians turned the celebrations into a demonstration against French colonialism. They carried banners demanding freedom e.g. "Down with colonialism", "Algeria for Algerians" "long live Algeria" etc.. The French police reacted brutally by shooting at the demonstrators. This degenerated into 4 days violence in which about 100 colonial officials were killed in Setif, Constantine and Kabylia. French jet fighters and bombers killed nearly 20,000 Algerians. This brewed anger and war.

12. The failure to get independence through constitutional means degenerated into a war of independence. At first, Algerian nationalists like Ferhat Abbas used peaceful means to demand for reforms and democracy. At first the French reacted positively but later rigged elections, banned trade unions, political parties etc. This contrasted with the constitutional progress in British colonies and made the peaceful Ferhat Abbas to comment as follows: "My role today is to stand aside for the chiefs of armed resistance. The methods I have upheld for the last 15 years-co-operation, discussion, persuasion- have shown themselves ineffective. I recognise the armed struggle"

13. The influence of the Egyptian revolution of 1952 also had a role to play. Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser called upon all Africans to resist colonialism. He gave asylum to political fugitives from Algeria and encouraged them to form a revolutionary committee and later a liberation movement. He gave logistics and training to the FLN guerrillas. After the Suez Canal crisis, he gave military equipment to Algeria's FLN and even allowed them to use Radio Cairo for their anti-French propaganda.

14. The unveiling of Algerian women by French police raised nationalistic feelings and ied to war. The French, unveiled any Algerian woman whom they suspected of carrying dangerous weapons such as grenades. This was tantamount to defilement and annoyed both the women and their husbands. Muslim ladies started putting on short dresses to avoid being unveiled but this was demeaning the Islamic ethos. Hence the war.

15. The independence of Morocco and Tunisia in 1956. All over Africa there was a wind of change and the news of granting independence to both Morocco and Tunisia in 1956 aroused nationalistic sentments in Algeria. Earlier the French had decolonised their empires in Indo-China, Lebanon and Syria. The question was "if, Moroccans, Tunisians and others were granted independence, why not Algerians?"

16. The emergence of determined Algerian leaders. These included Ferhat Abbas who wrote "the manifesto of the Algerian People", was arrested, imprisoned but escaped from prison. His mobilisation efforts were strongly felt in Switzerland amongst Algerian economic refugees (job seekers). Another personality was Ben Bella who fought in the Vietnamese war at Dien Bien Phur in 1946-1954. He was arrested in 1950 for his radicalism but escaped from Blida prison in March 1952, went to Cairo and combined with Belkacem Krim to form the CRUA- a revolutionary committee. This later became the FLN-National Liberation Front that led Algeria to independence.

17. The writings of Frantz Fanon aroused nationalistic feelings and led many Algeians into War. He was a black West Indian and a medical doctor who criticized French oppression, exploitation and discrimination. His writings aroused Algerian and -world opinion against French colonialism. In 1952, he wrote Pean Noire Masques Blancs (Black skins, white masks). In 1956 he became the editor of FLN's newspaper "EL Moudjauhid" which spread anti-colonial propaganda. In 1959, he wrote "A dying colonialism" and in 1961, "Les Damne de La Terre” (the Wretched of the earth).

18. The rise of Pan Arabism in North Africa influenced the Algerian war of liberation. In 1923, Messali Hadj had formed the ENA- "Etoile Nord- Africaine" (The North African star) which later became the” Algerian Peoples Party”. It was comprised of radical socialist Algerians who were full of Pan Arabist ideas that were circulating in North Africa at that time. Hence the war for freedom.

19. The Atlantic Charter of 1941 aroused nationalistic sentiments, which made Algerians demand for their independence- at first peacefully but later violently.

20. Western education helped to expose Algerians to studies of liberation struggles all over the world e.g. the American war of independence. This made them grow nationalistic. At the same time, Western education created a small group of priviledged Algerians (evolues) whose action angered fellow Algerians. Some of the assimilated Algerians were however discriminated e.g. Ferhat Abbas was discriminated in the French army and wrote the manifesto for the Algerian people in 1943 in which he criticised the theoretical assimilation policy.

THE WAR AND ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

The revolutionaries in exile in Egypt formed a Revolutionary Committee abbreviated as the CRUA which soon became the National Liberation Front (FLN). With support from Nasser of Egypt, the FLN fought a successful Algerian war of independence.

Real War broke out on 1st November, 1954 when the FLN launched 70 simultaneous attacks on French posts in different parts of Algeria. The bullets fired in these attacks became the first gun shots in the 8 years' war of independence. In 1955, colonel Houari Boumedienne launched fierce attacks against the French in Aures Mountains.

In August 1956, all nationalist leaders met at Soumman valley and formed the Army of National Liberation (ALN). It was the military wing of the FLN. Col. Boumedienne was appointed as its chief of staff i n 1960.

The FLN opened up external delegations in Cairo and Tunis, received support from Egypt, Russia and China. Internally, it was supported by the General Union of workers. Algerians in Egypt formed a provisional government of the republic of Algeria (GPRA) in 1958. In the same year, General Charles de Gaulle assumed power in France and started negotiating with the FLN leaders. On 18th March 1962, a cease fire agreement was signed at EVIAN in Switzerland between the French representatives and Belkacem Krim for the GPRA.

A referendum in April 1962 showed that 90% of the people in France supported Algeria's independence and in July 1962, a referendum in Algeria showed that 99.7% wanted self government. (5,975,581 voles in support and only 16,534 votes against). In September 1962, independence elections were held and brought in Ahmed Ben Bella as the first president.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE FLN

The Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) or the National Liberation Front was the most militant liberation movement ever to be formed by Algerian Nationalists. It was formed in 1952. It aimed at fighting colonialism and returning the country to indigenous leadership. It also aimed at restoring the economic, social and religious freedoms of the Algerian people. The FLN committed itself to the use of peaceful and violent methods to attain its objectives.

The FLN negotiated for colonial reforms. It started peacefully by approaching the colonial administrators for land, tax and labour reforms. The representatives of the FLN also asked for social and economic equality with emphasis on equal education and employment opportunities. Unfortunately, the French were hesitant to grant any of the asked reforms which made the FLN to adopt more radical means.

It is credited for using peaceful demonstrations. These involved the matching of Algerian masses on the main streets of Algiers and other towns, parading in front of colonial offices, matching to markets etc. While matching, they carried pla cards, posters and banners denouncing the oppressive colonial policies, e.g. “Away with French racism". Demonstrators at times shouted and sang Islamic songs. This scared the French colonialists who often reacted by firing in the air to disperse the mobs. However, whenever the mob refused to disperse, the French police would shoot live bullets into Algerian peoples' chests and heads. This caused more annoyance and opened the gates of violence.

It created the Armee Liberation Nationale (ALN). This was the military wing of the FLN and was under an effective guerilla army commander by names of Colonel Houarie Boumedienne. The FLN continued applying peaceful methods of negotiating while the ALN went on with militant campaigns. Note that the successes of the ALN are attributed to its father the FLN.

The FLN politicised the Algerian masses about their rights. It informed the Algerians about their political, economic and social rights. For instance it explained that all people of the world were equal, had a right to choose and form their own governments, to receive fair pay of their labour, enjoy their culture and so on. This helped to awaken Algerian nationalistic consciousness.

It interpreted the international human rights documents to the Algerians. For example it explained the meanings of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, the 1945 UNO provisions and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) document. The contents of these international documents convinced Algerians about the need to fight French colonialism.

The FLN recruited and trained Algerian youths and older men. After giving them politicization lessons, the FLN equipped its recruits with military skills relevant to guerilla warfare. These skills included the hit and run tactics, the shooting of the enemy at long and close ranges, stabbing of the enemy, advancing and retreating in a forest environment, how to use modern riffles, drive military vehicles, set bombs and so on.

It established diplomatic ties with the independent African states. These included Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana and Guinea Conakry. This enabled the FLN to set up external bases from where it effectively co-ordinated the war effort and received foreign assistance.

It is credited for empowering Algerian women. Traditionally, women roles revolved around the Kitchen and garden. With the formation of the FLN women roles changed. The FLN recruited and trained them to serve as spies, liason officers, medical nurses, cooks and actual combatants. They leant to take risks and make quick decisions on behalf of others. They excelled as spies and greatly contributed to FLN's success story.

It turned itself into a mass liberation movement. It did this by calling for unity between Moslem Arabs and Berbers, it also called upon the educated and illiterate to join hands against a common enemy, Furthermore, it invited the peoples in Aures Mountains to unite with these in Kabylia Mountains. It recruited both rural and urban populations, men and women, students, teachers, traditional chiefs, mechanics and peasants. All the above made it a purely mass liberation front.

It applied the hit and run tactics which weakened the French. These hit and run tactics were usually applied at night or at dawn. They took the form of surprise attacks on French police posts, army camps, residential homes and economic installations such as Banks. The guerillas would appear from all directions, fire a few bullets, kill some French men and then disappear into the bushes, plantations or slum areas. This sent the French into panic and they would at times abandon their weapons to the advantage of FLN guerillas.

The FLN set up its mass media to sensitize the masses and spread war propaganda. It had a Radio station known as "The Free Voice of Algeria." This Radio mobilized both the rural and urban masses, kept them informed about the progress of the war and kept them hopeful. It often exaggerated the achievements of the FLN while projecting the French army as a desperate and failing force.

It established liberated zones in Kabylia and Aures Mountains. These are the areas captured by French guerillas. In these places, the FLN set up mobile schools, clinics and introduced grass root democracy. This made it receive mass support.

The FLN is credited for composing war songs and slogans. Through these songs and slogans, the Algerian masses were asked to be determined and focused. They were educated that there is no gain without pain.

It pressurized the colonial government to release all the political prisoners. For instance it demanded for the release of Mohammed Ahmed Ben Bella as a pre requisite for peace talks. President Charles de Gaulle of France released him along with other freedom fighters.

It appealed to the UNO for assistance against French colonialism. It revealed the brutality of French colonial masters and their in human testing of nuclear bombs on Algerian land. This prompted the UN Security Council to send an inspection team to Algeria. The French panicked, abandoned the nuclear bomb tests and granted independence in 1962.

It solicited for military and financial assistance from the socialist block. It was successful when Russia, China and Czechoslovakia sent in weapons, military vehicles, trainers, military uniform, medicine and some funds.

It also appealed for assistance from the Arab world. This was done through the Pan Arabic and Pan Islamic Movements and enabled Algerian nationalists to receive funds, food stuffs, clothes and the like. All these fanned up the morale of the fighters.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE ALGERIAN LIBERATION WAR.

1. Determination on part of Algerian nationalists explains their success. Algerian resistance to French colonialism started way back in the 19th Century under Abdel Qader. It continued in the 20th Century. In 1931, Ben Badis was quoted saying "....This Muslim Algeria is not France, cannot be France and does not want to be France". Then in 1941, Algerian nationalists told governor Bugeaud: "This land is the country of the Arabs. You are here only as passing guests. Even if you stay here as the Turks did for 300 years, you are bound to leave in the end". Such statements expressed the determination of nationalists.

2. The topography of Algeria, characterised by a desert environment, intense drought and hot temperatures proved a problem to the French while the Algerians were used to it. They were fighting on home ground. Hence their success.

3. The hit and ran tactics employed by guerrillas weakened the French. They could attack French police posts, army stations, railway lines etc and run away into Mountains. The French who were not used to guerrilla war were at a disadvantage.

4. The role of women contributed to FLN's success. They acted as spies and liasons who carried medicine, passports and money to guerrillas. Using their religious veils as camouflage, they even smuggled grenade bombs, revolvers and identity cards to guerrillas. At time they assaulted French security men. All this contributed to success.

5. The formation of Liberation movements led to success. After the failure of constitutional means e.g. Ferhat Abbas’s “Manifesto of the Algerian People”, nationalists resorted to violence, e.g. they formed the OS (Organisation Secrete), the FLN, and the ALN (Army of National Liberation). All these carried out sporadic attacks against the French and weakened them. Hence the success of revolutionaries.

6. External support contributed to their success. Algerian nationalists received support from Abdel Nasser of Egypt who gave them political asylum, training bases, access to Radio Cairo, financial and military support, e.g. After the 1956 Suez Canal crisis, he confiscated the abandoned the Engfield guns and donated them to the FLN via Tunisia hence the success.

7. Charismatic leadership contributed to success. The liberation struggle was under dynamic, flamboyant and courageous leaders e.g. Messali Hadj, Ahmed Ben Bella, Belkacem Krim, Houari Boumedienne and Ferhat Abbas. The elitist leaders were good mobilisers. When Abbas and Ben Bella were imprisoned, others carried on with the struggle.

8. The rise of Charles de Gaulle. He rose to power in France on 1st June 1958 and immediately introduced political reforms in Algeria and opened up peace talks with the FLN leaders. He also organised a referendum in which Algerians opted for independence.

9. The role of the Mass Media explains the success. Radio Cairo kept the masses in Algeria informed about the developments in Algeria, France and other parts of Africa. Radio Cairo and the Voice of Free Algeria exposed the attrocities of the French and called upon all the Algerians whether Arabic or Kabylia speakers, to unite behind the FLN. The mass media also won international sympathy for Algerians.

10. The second World War contributed to the military success of the FLN. Algerian nationalists got a chance of interacting with American soldiers who preached to them a gospel of democracy and liberalism. During the war, Algerians came to learn that the allies were fighting to end Germany nazism/colonialism. To them, this was equivalent to French colonialism which they started questioning and fighting.

11. Reforms in liberated areas contributed to the success of the liberation war. Whenever it captured a territory, the FLN would introduce free education, lower taxes and democratic governance under judges and commissioners. News of these reforms made people in other areas, yet to be liberated, to welcome the FLN.

12. The General Union of Algeria workers also contributed to success. In Algiers, this Union mobilised funds, food and medicine for both urban and rural guerrillas. This was especially after the French bombing of Kasbah Muslim flats in Algiers in April 1956 killing 43 Muslims. Also due to the March 1956 execution of Ferradj and Zabanala on treason charges.

13. French brutality led to the success of the revolutionaries. The 8th May 1945 Setif killings, the 1956 executions and bombing of Kasbah Muslim flats, the 1958 bombings in which 68 people were killed and many wounded etc led to determination amongst Algerians to end French brutality. The 1958 bombings also outraged the UNO and NATO members who pressurized France to decolonise or face sanctions.

14. The French democratic reforms. After the Setif massacres, the French made some political reforms e.g. increasing Algerian membership in parliament, legislature, Senate and chamber of deputies. However, these aroused the Algerians to fight for more, leading to success.

15. The twin independence of Tunisia and Morocco. Algerians wondered why the French had granted independence to Morocco and Tunisia and not to Algeria. They intensified the war of liberation and Tunisia helped to provide safe havens for Algerian rebels.

16. Urbanisation. This brought various Muslims together and they learnt to bury their traditional differences. This unity led to success.

17. The writings of Frantz Fanon which catalysed the peoples' desire to fight led to success. He exposed the French evils which incited people to fight on to the end.

18. The role of Pan Africanists contributed to the success of revolutionaries in Algeria e.g. In 1960, Kwame Nkrumah convinced the UNO that French colonialism in Algeria was in human. He exposed the French nuclear bomb tests in Algeria which aroused world concern, made the UNO to follow up the matter and pressurised France to decolonise,

19. War fatigue in France contributed to the success of Algerian nationalists. After the disastrous Vietnamese war, French ex-service men became less willing to involve in another war against the unjustly treated Africans. No wonder why soldiers and youths in France supported de Gaulle's plan to return self rule to Algeria. Soldiers in Roven, Toulon and Valence backed De Gaulle. This was good news for the FLN.

OBSTACLES TO ALGERIAN PATH TO INDEPENDENCE

1. Disunity between the Berbers of the South arid the Arabs of the North. Each of these groups had its own interests to protect. This divergence of interests enabled the French to continue dominating the Algerians for quite some time.

2. The French assimilation policy had created a group of Algerians who were so loyal to the French. The assimilated Algerians regarded themselves as French men and opposed any war attempts against the French. They collaborated with the French as much as possible to flash out FLN rebel activities.

3. The divide and rule policy. The French gave a number of priviledges to their collaborators who in turn fed them with information concerning rebel bases and activities. These yes men (Beni Oui Oui) of the French posed a real problem to the FLN.

4. French military superiority. Whereas the FLN guerrilla had few outdated weapons, the French had a variety of up to date weapons. France could even manufacture its own weapons, which put the FLN at the receiving end most of the time

5. Most young Algerians sympathised with the French and termed any resistance against them as a sign of backwardness and a fight against progress. This undermined the FLN for some time.

6. Lack of a common approach to the French colonialists led to unnecessary delays of independence. Some nationalist leaders like Messali Hadj and Ferhat Abbas for long preferred a peaceful approach while others like Ben Bella preferred war.

7. Internal power struggles between the guerrilla commandos (wilayas) undermined the struggle, e.g. In 1956, most district guerrilla leaders were pre-occupied with power struggles which led to difficulties in co-ordination and gave a chance to the French to kill a number of nationalists.

8. The existance of a big number of settlers proved an obstacle to nationalists. By the time the liberation war broke out, there were over 1 million colonialists who owned land and regarded Algeria as their home land, their birth right. They were ready to die for their land.

9. The harsh French reactions to nationalistics activities were a great obstacle, e.g. In Setif and Kasbah, the French made several arrests, killed some prisoners and burnt villages. Women were unveiled while some nationalists were executed in public. Ben Bella was kidnapped on his way from Morocco to Tunisia and jailed etc. These scared some nationalists who went deeper into hiding.

10. The partial reforms carried out by the French confused some Algerians who saw no reason of resisting the French e.g. Ferhat Abbas was allowed to form a political party- the Union Democratique du Manifesto Algeriene (UDMA). To some Algerians, this was a move in the right direction.

11. The delay of foreign support contributed to the delayed attainment of success.

12. The creation of concentration camps or re-groupment villages by the French made life very hard for the FLN rebels. It denied them support from the civilians and made it easy for French troops to pursue them and to apply the scotched earth policy.

EFFECTS OF THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

1. Algeria became independent in 1962. This ended the 132 years of French colonialism in Algeria and shattered the French intentions of turning Algeria into a white man's country. The politics of Algeria was placed in the hands of indegenous Algerians with Ben Bella as the first president.

2. Democratic governance. Under Ben Bella and his successor Houari Boumedienne, a democratic form of governance was introduced to replace French dictatorship. Democracy started with the free and fair elections of 1962 which were held on the UN basis of universal adult suffrage (one man one vote). Hence Ben Bella was democratically elected. Constitutional governance, freedom of association, public debates, religious and cultural freedoms followed. A new- members was created to represent national interests and replace the FLN.

3. Agrarian /Land reforms were carried out As a number of French settlers fled from Algeria, large pieces of land were left open for Algerians to occupy. The Algerians who had been turned into landless squatters became landowners once again. However some French settlers who had obtained their land genuinely were allowed to repossess them or sell them to Algerians.

4. Working conditions were improved. Forced labour was abolished, employment opportunities were created for all and wages increased. Great emphasis was placed on rural development which solved the problems of rural-urban migration and unemployment. Rural development even attracted some Algerians from towns back to villages. Go back to land policy. Hence a revolution.

5. Agricultural modernisation. The government set up a green dam to provide water for irrigation, to reclaim arid areas and improve on pastoralism. It also extended credit facilities, fertilisers, quality seeds and Radio programmes to farmers. It under took to market farmers' crops abroad, created 190 socialist villages and funded about 6,000 co-operative unions.

6. It created harmony between Algeria and France. The revolutionary government did not cut off the diplomatic relations with France. Rather, it opened up a new phase of co-operation between the two states. For instance Algeria remained a Franco-phone country and continued receiving assistance from France. About 1000 French teachers were employed in Algerian schools. All sorts of colour discrimination ended.

7. There was a cultural revival. The French cultural imperialism was ended and Islamic culture was revived. The Arabic language, Islamic names, Mosques, dressing styles, morals and schools were all revived. Islamic leaders regained their roles and condemned drinking, prostitution, theft and cheating as acts against Koranic teachings.

8. Creation of law and order. The revolutionaries created a new coherent and disciplined police force to keep law and order in urban centres. It also created a national army which comprised of soldiers from all the ex-guerilla war Fighting groups e.g. the ALN and OS. This army was used to defend the boarders and national integrity of Algeria and to flash out government rebels.

9. Algeria adopted a socialist ideology Ben Bella nationalised all the major means of production and assets left behind by foreigners. He invited a number of foreign socialist advisers and intellectuals who advised him on industrialisation. Subsequently, gas, textile, cement and food processing industries were set up. He called for economic and social equality of all Algerians.

10. The War aroused national consciousness amongst the Algerians. FLN leaders called for unity amongst Algerian Moslems of different social and economic backgrounds, e.g. the Kabylia and Arabic speakers were sensitised to come together, fight for independence and later build the new nation.

11. It led to the formation of the Magreb union. Algeria and other North African Magreb countries formed a geo-economic union known as the Magreb union-with a future aim of forming a political union. It emphasised the need of creating self sustaining economies by utilising the locally available resources, the need to preserve Islam, help each other in case of external attacks, avoid ideological bickering and neo-colonialism etc.

12. It contributed to the rise of African nationalism. The news of the violent Algerian war led to a quick pace of political developments in other African countries-especially French speaking Africa south of the Sahara e.g. In Senegal and Guinea. In a bid to avoid more armed uprisings the French speeded up political reforms in all their African colonies.

13. Diplomatic ties were established with outside countries. The FLN's external missions in Egypt, Tunisia, Europe. America and Asia attracted international sympathies for Algerians. This was especially after Kwame Nkrumah had floated the Algerian question in the UNO where he condemned French nuclear bomb tests in Algeria.

14. It enabled Charles de Gaulle to rise to power in France. After 12 years of political silence, General Charles de Gaulle was supported to return to politics in France. The 4th French Republic was too weak to handle the problems of France at home and in Algeria. De Gaulle was trusted as the only man to end the Algerian crisis. After gaining power on 1st June 1958, he speeded up Algeria's independence amidst opposition from the colonialists who formed a secret terrorist army (OAs) in an attempt to assassinate him.

15. All political prisoners were released.

NEGATIVE IMPACT

15. It led to loss of lives and destruction of property. Right from the 8th May 1945 riots up to 1962, the French reaction to Algerian nationalists was horrifyingly brutal. Nearly 1 million Algerians died in the struggle while many were wounded. About 8,000 villages were ransacked (burnt) using napalm bombs and heavy gun fire. A number of Europeans were also killed.

16. It created refugee problems. A number of Algerians (about 300,000) fled to neighbouring Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Libya to seek for assylum. About 2 million Algerians-especially women and children became internally displaced. They were herded into re-groupment villages so as to separate them from guerrillas. In these villages/concentration camps, they suffered from over crowding, hunger and disease. At the end of the war, about 1 million colonialists fled back to France.

17. It paved way for dictatorship in Algeria. Ben Bella became increasingly dictatorial by limiting the peoples' freedom of association, freedom of the press and Assembly. This was a return to the pre-Revolutionary days. Even his successor Boumedienne became a dictator. A sad case of dictatorship was the nullification of the 1992 election results.

18. The rise of the army factor in Algeria's politics. Owing to the great role they had played. During the independence war, soldiers continued influencing post- independence politics in Algeria e.g. In 1965, the army under colonel Boumedienne ousted the elected president-Ben Bella, from power in an almost bloodless coup and power was fixed in the hands of soldiers.

19. It failed to end neo-colonialism in Algeria. Owing to financial constraints, the post -independent Algerian governments found themselves begging for economic and technical aid from their former colonial masters. Soon, Algeria became a strong member of the French Community and the E.E.C. This undermined the independence of Algeria to the extent that in 1992, the French manipulated the democratic elections.

20. It paved way for Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria. This has led to increased acts of terrorism against Christians. It has tarnished the image of Algeria abroad, has led to the deterioration of the tourist industry and has reflected the bankruptcy of principles by revolutionaries. This is because they have replaced French racism with Arab racism against Christians. Hence a counter revolution.

21. It led to economic ruin and stagnation. During the course of war, the terrorist secret Army organisation (OAS) of the French settlers destroyed schools, hospitals, telephones, offices, factories, vehicles, important files, furniture etc.. The Algerian urban guerrilla groups also added to the destruction. Then at the end of the war, the French experts lied, leaving an administrative vacuum. Algerians who grabbed shops, restaurants etc failed to manage them. Hence economic decline. Commenting on this problem Ben Bella said, "When I entered the prefecture in Oran, I personally found just seven employees instead of the 500 who had previously worked there".

22. Power struggle cropped up between the guerrilla leaders who had commanded the six military districts (Wilayas) during the war of liberation. Each of these leaders had supporters and wanted recognition. Many ex-soldiers still possessed guns and perpetuated urban terrorism and robbery.

23. It distabilized traditional family life in Algeria. A big number of men died in war, leaving about half a million widows in 1962 and between 250,000-300,000 orphans. Women were forced to move without veils during war and some took to begging, prostitution and thefty during and after the war. There was real break down of social order and elders lost their roles.

24. It soured relations between Morocco and Algeria. This was due to the support Algeria gave to the POLISARIO.

25. It divided pan-Africanist whereby the radical Casablanca group supported the FLN's military activities while the Monrovia group called for negotiations between the FLN and the French. This division was only bridged in May 1963 at Addis Ababa with the formation of the OAU.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND DOWNFALL OF BEN BELLA.

He was the first president of independent Algeria. When the war of liberation came to a close, the guerrilla commanders (Wilayas) started fighting each other until 9th September 1962 when Colonel Houari Boumedienne - commander of the A.I.N. entered Algiers city in triumph. Eleven days later elections were held to get members of the General Assembly and on 26th September 1962, the General Assembly empowered Ben Bella to form a government. He did so and on 28th September 1962, his cabinet was approved by the General Assembly.

1. He Africanised the politics of Algeria. He did so by appointing a number of Algerians to fill the vacant posts, which had been left by the fleeing French colonialists. For example Boumedienne became the Minister of defence and commander of the National Army, Abdel Aziz Bouteflika became the Minister of defence etc

2. He created a coherent police force. This force was recruited from amongst all the available security units. The police was disciplined and helped to keep law and order in a new state torn by lawlessness.

3. He created a strong nationalistic army. He did this by dissolving the ALN the fighting wing of the FLN. He transformed it into a National Army with a duty of defending the nation against both the internal and external enemies. By January 1963, the army had silenced all rebellions.

4. He carried out land reforms, aimed at availing land to the peasant farmers. A national office for Agrarian reforms was put in place to oversee the land reform process and the management of farms by individuals.

5. He nationalized the property of the departed French. The Algerian state took over the management of large enterprises to as to create social economic equality and prevent capitalist penetration (private ownership of property).

6. He encouraged commercial farming. He did this by setting up marketing boards to market the farmers' products, co-operative and credit societies to extend loans, fertilizers and farm implements to farmers etc.

7. He diversified the economy by encouraging industrialization side by side with agriculture, e.g. he set up a steel rolling industry with the help of the Russians.

8. He encouraged Trade Union Activities. He allowed the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA) to organize themselves. The UGTA took over the supervision and management of some large enterprises nationalized by government.

9. He maintained economic ties with France. Although political tension remained between Algeria and France, Ben Bella worked hard to mend the relationship between the two countries. Not long after the independence of Algeria, trade boomed between France and Algeria. France was mostly interested in Algeria's oil and gas. With time, even the political differences between the two countries were ironed out. The French President Francois Mitterand and President Chadli of Algeria worked hard towards reconciliation.

10. He attracted a number of socialist experts from USSR and China. These became his advisers.

11. He condemned neo-colonialism. This made him very vocal and famous during the inaugural meetings of the OAU.

12. He constantly called for the liberation of South Africa.

13. He called for non-alignment.

14. He called for Arab unity against Israel.

the 1965 coup in Algeria.

On 19th June 1965, Colonel Houari Boumedienne arrested Ben Bella and his leading advisers. Then on 5th July 1965, he announced a new government, which he termed as the Revolutionary Council. This coup against Ben Bella was due to the following;

1. He became a dictator. Within a short time from his election, Ben Bella stopped trusting Boumedienne and his other allies who had supported him to power. This led to the resignation of Ferhat Abbas - the President of the National Assembly and Mohamed Khidder - Secretary General. He had stopped listening to their advice and within one year of independence, 1963 they resigned.

2. He reshuffled the cabinet without consultations. For example in June 1965, he removed Abdel Aziz Bouteflika from the Ministry of foreign affairs and replaced him with his own choice. However, since the dismissed minister was Boumedienne's close friend, this made Boumedienne and his group to fear that Ben Bella intended to eliminate them.

3. He created mistrusts and rivalries between revolutionaries. He did so by planning to create a peoples' militia to which Boumedienne and other revolutionaries were opposed. His former allies thought that Ben Bella intended to strengthen himself and do away with them.

4. Urban unemployment remained abundant. This led to brain drain whereby about 1 million Algerians flocked abroad for jobs. By 1964, over 700,000 Algerians were working as economic exiles in France alone.

5. He failed to control the army. Most soldiers retained their loyalty to their former guerrilla leaders and this contributed to the 1965 coup. During the Algerian war of independence, Ben Bella did not play an active part in actual fighting. This was because he spent most of these years in prison. Most guerrilla commanders who had fought the hot war didn't therefore trust him.

6. He created class inequalities and conflicts in Algeria. The few henchmen who were close to him enjoyed several privileges at the expense of the peasant majority. This contradicted with his socialist ideas.

7. He over concentrated on foreign rather than domestic issues. Many people advised him to consider home first but in vain. The coup became inevitable.

8. He made no efforts to train workers. Most of the workers whom he allocated business were ordinary men of little or no education at all. They were inexperienced and this led to economic collapse. This was made worse by government interference in the business and agricultural sectors.

9. He over emphasized industrialization at the expense of agriculture. This led to mismanagement of state farms, low food production, etc.

10. Educational levels and standards remained low.

11. He interfered into the politics of Morocco by supporting the POLISARIO rebels against Morocco. This provoked conflicts between Morocco and Algeria.

12. He was a poor and haphazard planner who lacked a concrete economic plan to put industrialisation and Agrarian reforms into effect. Even the few industries that took off were constructed and run using borrowed funds. His project for solving the problems of the unemployed was also mismanaged.

In short, Ben Bella was more theoretical than practical. He was very good at making promises and raising the hopes of everybody but did very little on the ground. He was a good mobiliser but a poor administrator. His methods of exciting the public and offering them too little annoyed Boumediinne who removed him through the 1965 coup de tat.

However, in defence of Ben Bella, we should note that he inherited a shattered economy, lacked trained man power and relied on peasants who lacked expertise and led to economic ruin.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the causes and effects of the Algerian war of independence (1954-1962)

2. Examine the facilitating and limiting factors to the Algerian war of independence.

3. Examine Ben Bella's rule in Algeria.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

NATIONALISM IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

REASONS FOR THE SLOW GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The Portuguese were the first to come to African and the last to leave the continent. They had colonies namely Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. The delay of Portugal to grant independence to her African colonies was due to the following.

1. Colonies were overseas provinces. Portugal intended to turn her African colonies into white men's countries. This was to solve her population and unemployment problems. There fore in her constitutional amendments of 1951, all Portuguese possessions in Africa ceased being independent countries and were turned into extended provinces of Portugal. Portugal even started making some economic progress in her "overseas provinces" and refused to submit reports to the UN under article 73(e) of the UN charter. She claimed that hers were not independent/self governing territories but part of the Portuguese empire.

2. High illiteracy levels: The Portuguese deliberately provided an inferior type of education to Africans in all their African colonies. They feared that standard education would awaken nationalistic feelings in Africa. Accordingly, Africans were given a rudimentary type of education aimed at making them docile, e.g By 1960, only 2% of Angolans were literate while 98% were illiterate-hence the delayed growth of nationalism in Portuguese Africa.

3. Indoctrination policy: The Portuguese convinced Africans that they were Portuguese citizens and that any revolt against Portugal was a revolt against them. This belief grew stronger and stronger amongst the few educated Africans who were assimilated into Portuguese culture. These therefore worked hard to prolong Portuguese stay in Africa.

4. Portugal's poverty: Being a poor country at home, Portugal was reluctant to grant independence to Angola, Mozambique and her other colonies. This was because colonies-especially Angola were rich in natural resources. In actual terms Portugal's home budget was substantially financed by the wealth from colonies. Since she used Angola's mineral wealth to offset her balance of payment problems, Portugal couldn't allow the growth of nationalistic feelings in her colonies.

5. The ban on political associations: Portugal rigidly banned any political organisations within her colonies. Even trade union activities were not allowed. The only organizations Portugal allowed were social/cultural ones, and even these were under close supervision by the Portuguese. Once a cultural association showed signs of politicking, it was quickly restructured by removing its leaders and appointing loyal ones.

6. Restrictions on movements: Africans in Portuguese colonies were not free to move within and outside their countries. At best, they were allowed to move either to other Portuguese colonies or to southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Policies in such countries were almost uniform and couldn't awaken nationalistic consciousness. Outside those racist countries, Africans were not free to move. It was feared that uncontrolled movements would awaken Angolans, Mozambicans and the people of Guinea Bissau.

7. An efficient espionage network: The Portuguese police and spying net work (The PIDE) was very efficient in all her African colonies. It checked all the emerging nationalistic movements by arresting their leaders, it even arranged the assassination of some of the abiest nationalist leaders e.g. Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique and Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau. This suppression enabled the Portuguese stay longer in Africa.

8. Portugal had few colonies in Africa. She only had four colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and the islands of Cape verde, Sao Tome and Principe. As compared to either colonial masters with many colonies, Portugal was in position to monitor her four colonies effectively and suppress any emerging nationalistic spirit. Moreover she was strategically located and a long time naval power.

9. Portugal's military supperiority as compared to African military inferiority also enabled Portugal prolong her stay in Africa. By 1970, she had about 200,000 well trained and equipped soldiers who were distributed throughout her African colonies. Using artilleries, napaalm bombs and other weapons, the Portuguese army was able to check African liberation guerrillas and to push them deeper into the forests.

10. Tribal divisions amongst Africans also enabled the Portuguese to stay longer in Africa. A case in point was the ethnic division between the Fuia and Balanie of Guinea Bissau. Even in Angola and Mozambique, the situation was similar to the extent that some liberation movements were formed along ethnic lines e.g the UNITA, MPLA and FNLA in Angola. It was these tribal and regional differences that weakened the opposition against colonialist and gave a chance to the Portuguese to sustain their stay in Africa up to the mid 1970s.

NB. Even the few Angolan nationalists who had traveled abroad didn't grasp the need for unity. This enabled the Portuguese to divide them all the more.

11. Ideological differences between African nationalists enabled the Portuguese stay longer in African colonies. Some nationalists of MPLA became Marxists while others like UNITA were capitalists. This prevented them from uniting against a common enemy. There were also divisions between Protestants and Catholic Africans which prevented unity.

12. The Portuguese divide and rule policy also delayed the attainment of independence in Portuguese colonies. They created social divisions by forming three classes- the assimlados (assimilated Africans) who were Portuguese in black skins and enjoyed some priviledges, the Mesticos who were a product of intermarriages between white and Africans and finally at the bottom of the social strata came the indegena (the indigenous natives) were regarded as primitive and useful only for providing forced labour. The Portuguese tried to widen the differences between these social classes and at times fuelled intertribal wars. All these made them stay longer in Africa.

13. Lack of funds to finance nationalistic operations: The Portuguese economic policies were exploitative. They denied Africans a chance to participate in profitable trade and mining activities. They forced Africans to grow cash crops in return for very low or kno wages at all. All the money out of cash crops and minerals was for whites. This left Africans very poor and unable to finance liberation struggles-hence delayed independence.

14. The dictatorship of the Portuguese delayed the attainment of independence in Portuguese Africa. Dr. Salazar (1928- 1968) established a fascist state (Estado Novo) whose key instrument was the secret police (PIDE). The activities of the PIDE in Portuguese colonies were excessively brutal e.g In 1956, 49 dock workers at port Laurenco Marques in Mozambique were shot dead for striking. In 1960, at Mueda in northern Mozambique, police killed 600 unarmed demonstrators. In 1959, in Guinea Bissau, 50 dock workers were shot in the chests or heads for striking. In Angola in 1960 about 200 people were killed and many wounded for demonstrating against Augustinho Neto's arrest. Such excessive brutality scared and weakened nationalists.

15. Absence of charismatic leadership: The Portuguese had monopolized all the administrative posts and made no effort to groom African leaders as the case was in some British and French colonies. Hence most of the earliest nationalist leaders were scientists but not political scientists. E.g Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique was a medical doctor, Amlacar Cabral of Guinea Bissaue was an agronomist and Augostinho Neto of Angola was a medical doctor. Being science oriented, they found the task of organizing society an uphill one. Moreover, the assassination of nationalist leaders e.g Mondlane in 1969 and Cabral in 1973 some how delayed the move towards independence. It created a leadership vacuum for some time.

16. The existence of conservative politicians in Portugal made her to take long to decolonise her overseas colonies. Dr. Salazar's Estado Novo (new fascist state) aimed at turning colonies into provinces of Portugal. Even his successor Caetano was not committed to the decolonisation of Africa. If he hadn't been toppled in a military coup de tat of 25th April 1974, Portuguese rule in Africa would have continued much longer than it did.

17. The Laissez-faire attitude of superpowers enabled Portugal stay longer in Africa. The two superpowers that emerged after World War II were more concerned at the pace of decolonisation in British and French colonies. They minimized Portugal as an insignificant power and this gave her chance to entrench her colonialism in Africa.

18. The weakness of the OAU which failed to raise funds to support liberation movements in Portuguese Africa also contributed to the delayed decolonisation of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

19. The formation of the triumvrate/tripartite led to delayed decolonisation. Dr Salazar of Portugal, Ina Smith of Southern Rhodesia and Verwoed of South African had met and promised to turn their African colonies into white men's countries. They also promised to help one another against African uprisings. Accordingly, South African troops helped the Portuguese in Angola and thus frustrating nationalistic efforts.

20. The double standards of the UNO explains the prolonged stay of the Portuguese in Africa. Due to cold war politics, prominent UNO members e.g Britain and U.S.A. supported Portuguese colonialism in Africa for fear of the communist influence in those colonies.

21. The delay to establish operational bases within Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau contributed to delayed independence in Portuguese colonies. FRELIMO attacked from Tanzania, MPLA from Zaire and Zambia while the PAIGC attacked from Guinea. This was costly and time wasting and gave the Portuguese a chance to continue with their colonialism.

22. Censorship of the press: Unlike in British or French colonies which enjoyed freedom of the press, the Africans in Portuguese colonies suffered from shortage of information. From the 1920s, the press was rigidly censored in all Portuguese colonies and this was enforced by police activities. Hence Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau took long to catch up with the wave of changes in other African colonies.

23. Nationalism in Portuguese colonies would stir trouble for Portugal at home. At home in Portugal, Dr Salazar had abolished all forms of liberal politics and had established a rigidly fascist regime- the Estado NOVO. This was extended to colonies. Any democratic reforms in colonies would therefore ignite the demand for democracy at home. This explains the Portuguese delay to allow nationalism in her African colonies.

24. The Portuguese wanted to defend their Luso-tropicalism. The Portuguese claimed that their mission in Africa was to civilise and uplift the "Negro". They argued that they had to do this through quality education, equal treatment of all races, respect of indigenous culture etc. They claimed that decolonisation would be a betrayal of their Luso-tropicalism and civilization mission.

25. Economically, decolonisation would mean Portugal's loss of her middle manship position in the trade between Europeans and Africans. This would mean loss of great profits. Hence she wasn't ready to decolonise.

26. Portugal's feared to maintain the neo-colonies. She feared that since she was a poor country, she would easily fail to maintain the neo-colonial territories.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. “Dr Salazar was responsible for the delayed independence of Portuguese colonies”, discuss.

2. Account for the delayed independence of Portuguese African Colonies.

3. Examine the main features of Portuguese rule in Africa.

THE ANGOLAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

Angola is Africa's sixth largest country with abundant mineral resources, rich agricultural land, sufficient timber resources and fishing grounds, not to forget its excessive hydro-electric power potential. Historically Angola was colonized by the Portuguese who embarked on the policy of maximum exploitation of Angola for the benefit of Portugal. No wonder why an armed struggle for independence broke out in Angola in 1961 and continued up to 11th November 1975 when Angola obtained her independence.

CAUSES OF THE ANGOLAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

1. The desire for self rule. The peoples of Angola were tired of the white man's presence in their country. The Portuguese colonialists occupied all the top administrative posts in Angola and made no effort to involving the majority Angolans in top management of their country's politics. The several local chiefs who served them at bottom levels of administration had no powers whatsoever. They were mere irnplementers of the Portuguese unpopular policies. This grieved the Angolans, especially because Portugal intended to turn Angola into a white man's country. Portugal wasn't ready to surrender Angola at any cost.

NB. Dr Salazar (1928 - 68) had turned Angola into a province of Portugal using the 1951 constitutional amendment. SO. like Algeria, Angola was in danger of becoming a white man's country. Hence the armed straggle.

2. Grievances ovar land alienation also caused the Angolan war of liberation. The Portuguese government followed an active policy of encouraging poor whites to move to central Africa and make a fortune. This led to an influx of Portuguese immigrants into Angola. In 1940, there were 44,000 settlers in Angola, the number rose to 75,000 whites in 1950. then 88,000 in 1951, then to 170,000 in 1959 and by 1970, there were over 250,000 whites. These whites settled in Angola by grabbing African land. Africans like the Builundo and Bacongo were displaced and pushed into less productive reserves while others remained as squatters on Portuguese plantations. Landlessness aggrieved them and caused the war.

3. Forced labour also contributed to the war of liberation. Having established large farms on alienated African land, the Portuguese required human labour. But because most Angolans were not willing to work for whites, the Portuguese resorted to forced labour in exchange for little or no pay. African farmners were forced to grow cotton at the expense of food crops which caused famine. They also worked on public roads, railways, bridges and buildings etc. To Angolans this was a kind of slavery and provoked them into war.

4. They also hated the contract labour system. By this, Angolans were recruited by the Portuguese and escorted to go and work in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, on Islands of Sao Tome and Principe. They were supposed to work for a five-year contract but in reality the contracts never expired. While being matched to the coast for shipment, the contract labourers were usually insulted, assaulted and even raped! Their working conditions in mines and on plantations were very harsh and any complaint led to punishment. This led to the war of independence.

5. Resentment of colour bar/racism. The Portuguese settlers were arrogant and considered themselves superior to the Africans. Thinking that theirs was the best culture, they imposed it on Africans and this created a new class of civilized Africans (assimilados). They shared some priviledges such as employment and residence in urban areas. There also existed mesticos (mixed blood Angolans) who were a result of intermarriages between whites and Angolans. These too, had some priviledges. At the bottom of social strata came the "indegena"- the native, who was regarded as uncivilized, good only for labour and was exposed to all forms of discrimination. This only led to war.

6. Exploitation of Angola's resources, such as iron ore, diamonds, oil wealth and agricultural resources only led to anger. All the natural wealth was monopolized by the Portuguese. For lack of enough capital, Portugal had invited a number of multi-national firms from American and Europe to help in the exploitation of Angola's resources. Portugal which acted as a middle man in this spiral of exploitation benefited by charging taxes, rents and transport fares from these foreign firms. To end this exploitation, Angolan's resorted to war.

7. Grinding poverty amongst Angolans contributed to the Angolan war of independence. African farmers on Portuguese farms and in mines were paid very low wages. Even the cotton and coffee farmers were paid very low prices for their products. They had to sell their products to authorized companies which cheated them by offering them prices far below those on the world market. To make matters worse, all this money went back to the Portuguese in form of high taxes on Angolans. The little balance was spent on Portuguese dumped goods like textiles, sugar etc. The result was poverty anger and war.

NB. Angolan poverty was made acute by the fact that even the unskilled jobs like taxi driving were taken up by the white settlers!

8. The inferior social amenities provided to the Angolans also led them to war. Africans were given an inferior type of education aimed at promoting Portuguese language, culture and loyalty to Portugal. To this type of education (ESINO ADOPTICO) was added ESINO PR1MARIO which at primary level. All government schools were occupied by the children of whites and the few poorly funded missionary schools catered for the natives. Even the roads and health centers for Africans were poor.

9. Failure to obtain independence through peaceful means also led to the Angolan war of liberation. In theory, Africans were supposed to be represented in the Portuguese national Assembly through the votes of the assimilados. However in practice, it was a mockery. By 1960, only 0.5% Angolans had become assimilados and even if they voted, they couldn't bring constitutional changes through the parliament/National Assembly. Secondly, any petitions, demonstrations or strikes were banned. In June 1960, the MPLA presented a petition to the Portuguese government in Lisbon calling for reforms but no changes were made. Violence was the remaining solution.

10. The harsh Portuguese rule also drove Africans into armed resistance. After the 2nd world war, Portugal became insensitive to the growing forces of nationalism in Angola and between 1956-1960 she turned to excessive brutality in reaction to nationalistic demands. The 1960, Angolan demands for political reforms led to a spiral of Portuguese violence. Firstly, Augostinho Neto of MPLA was arrested and flogged in public! When Angolans protested against this in the same year, about 200 of them were shot in the chests or heads while many were wounded. Hence the war of independence.

11. The emergence of able leaders. The included Autonio Mariano, Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi and Augostinho Neto-the ablest and most outstanding of all Angolan nationalists. Having studied abroad, he was exposed to democratic and socialist influences and called for political reforms at home. He became leader of MPLA in 1962 and championed the struggle for independence. Angola's leaders made contacts with liberation leaders in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and exchanged ideas and strategies.

12. The formation of liberation movement. These included the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) formed in 1956, the Angola Peoples" Union (UPA), the National Front For the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) formed in 1962 and the National Union for the total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) formed in 1966. These liberation movements spearheaded the independence struggles.

13. The display of Portuguese troops from time to time was very provocative to Angolans and led them into an armed struggle. The Portuguese had about 60,000 troops in Angola alone and used to display their sophisticated weapons so as to scare nationalists. Far from scaring the nationalists, the foreign troops and weapons convinced Angolans that the Portuguese had come to stay. They resolved to die for their mother country.

14. The wind of change which was sweeping across Africa after the 2nd world war continued to the Angolan war of independence. News about the Egyptian revolution, the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, the Algerian war of independence and the independence of neighbouring Congo inspired Angolans not to lag behind hence the war of liberation.

15. The socialist ideology also explains the outbreak of the war of independence. Angolan nationalists within MPLA were influenced by Russian and Cuban ideas of mass democracy and resorted to armed struggle. They received financial and military aid from the socialist block that enabled them confront the experienced and well armed Portuguese army. Congo Braza Ville and Congo Kinshasha also sent help to Angola.

16. The UNO and OAU also contributed to the armed struggle in Angola. They constantly called upon the Portuguese to decolonise and threatened to impose sanction e.g In January 1962, the UN general assembly resolved with a majority of 99 against only two (Spain and South Africa) that Angola had a right to self determination. This inspired Angolan nationalists to fight on.

17. The influence of liberal democratic Portuguese contributed to the Angolan war of liberation e.g Henrique Galvao, a former colonial inspector reported on colonial abuses and called for reforms. He was imprisoned but released and on 22nd January 1961. his group seized a Portuguese liner "Santa Maria" in the Atlantic and demanded for colonial reforms. Such liberal Portuguese influenced the Angolan nationalists to tighten their grips against Portuguese fascism.

18. The rise of Bacongo Nationalism. The Bacongo had had a great African Empire before Portuguese rule in Angola and Belgian rule in Congo. Due to oppression, they developed feelings of reviving their historical empire. They hated Portuguese forced labour, land alienation, and still held sour memories of Portuguese slave trade in the past. This made them fight the Portuguese so as to re-unite with their relatives in Congo. They had the support of Congo Kinshasha and Congo Brazzaville.

THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE

Owing to extreme oppression and exploitation of the Angolans by the Portuguese, Angolan nationalism surged to the fore front. At first they struggled peacefully but later turned to war.

Between 1956 - 1960, Angolans tried to use civil and constitutional means to obtain independence e.g In 1957, the Bacongo tribe formed a political party- the UDNA, under UPA (Angolan Peoples' Union) and its leadership went to Holden Roberto. It organized some demonstrations and demanded for the independence of the Bacongo of Northern Angola. Its major weakness was ethnicism.

In 1956, another party had been formed. This was the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). It was a multi-racial party comprising of black Angolans, Mesticos and some few liberal whites. Its base was Luanda amongst the urban workers and elites. It, too, started off with the use of peaceful means to obtain independence.

In June 1960, the MPLA sent a petition to the Portuguese colonial secretary in Lisbon- capital of Portugal, demanding for political, economic and social reforms in Angola. In reaction, the PIDE arrested Augostinho Neto and had him flogged in public! Other MPLA leaders were also arrested.

Again in 1960, Angolans organised peaceful demonstrations to ask for the release of Neto but the Portuguese response was too brutal e.g at Catete, 30 demonstrators were killed. Then the police raided MPLA supporters in Bengo village, arrested and killed many and even burnt the whole village. In Luanda, MPLA demonstrators were given similar treatment leading to the killing of about 200 people.

The MPLA even appealed to UNO to intervene in the affairs of Angola but in vain. The failure of peaceful approaches set the stage for armed resistance.

In 1961, three separate uprising broke out against the Portuguese. The first one was in Malenge district in North Eastern Angola. It was sparked off by cotton workers demanding for their wages. It was joined by Antonio Mariano-leader of the Maria Messianic cult which demanded for a black Messiah. Mariano's preaching inspired more people to join and the Malenge rising is at times called Maria's war. The Portuguese reacted by bombing African villages, killing thousands of unarmed men, women and children! Mariano was betrayed and died in a Portuguese prison under extreme torture. By the end of February, the uprising had been crushed! About 150,000 Angolans fled to Zaire.

On 4th June 1961, a second rising broke out in Luanda where MPLA men attacked Luanda main prison, killed seven policemen and released some political prisoners. The mission was not fully successful and 40 MPLA men died in the fighting.

The MPLA fighters also tried to capture Radio Luanda but failed and fled while many were killed. This was followed by an indiscriminate massacre of Angolans and Mesticos. The massacre was carried out by mobs of white settlers in the slums and suburbs of Luanda.

On March 15th 1961, the Bacongo coffee workers at Primavera in Northern Angola rioted under the leadership of UPA. Their aims were two- firstly, they wanted to reestablish their old Bacongo kingdom with all its glory and re-unite with their relatives in Zaire. Secondly, they wanted improvements in working conditions. The Portuguese reacted by sending a 25,000 strong force which killed about 20,000 Angolans and displaced about 350,000 of them into Zaire. Villages were destroyed using Napalm bombs.

The Portuguese deployed about 140,000 soldiers to check against future risings but assaults on the Portuguese continued by the use of hit and run tactics.

In 1962, Roberto Holden of UFA made adjustments with in the party and changed its name to the FN LA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola). He opened up its headquarters in Kinshasha and set up a number of guerrilla training bases in Zaire with the assistance of Mobutu. From Kinshasha, the FNLA opened up a liberation front in Eastern Angola and started launching attacks against the Portuguese. The FNLA even set up a revolutionary government in exile in Kinshasa- the GRAE (Government of the Republic of Angola in exile). What spoilt the FNLA was its Bac-ongo ethnicism.

The MPLA on the other hand was a truly nationalistic movement. After Neto's escape from prison in Portugal in 1962, he moved to Morocco and later to Zaire where He set up MPLA headquarters at Kinshasha. As leader of MPLA, Neto was supported by elites throughout Zaire and Angola. He developed a socialist ideology and received help from the USSR in form of weapons and military training.

In 1964, the MPLA launched attacks on the Portuguese island the Cabinda enclave. However in Cabinda there was a secessionist movement- the FLEC (Front for the Liberation of Cabinda). Cabinda wanted to secede break off from Angola. The FLEC didn't welcome MPLA and therefore little success was scored.

In 1965, Mobutu who was a capitalist expelled Neto and his MPLA from Kinshasha due to its socialist ideology. In 1966 therefore the MPLA opened up new bases within Eastern Angola and in Brazzaville. It also opened up training bases and war fronts along the boarder with Zambia. Training bases were also set up in Tanzania . Another serious base was set up in 1968 at Teixeira de Sousa along the Benguela railway near the Zairean boarder.

By 1970, MPLA was receiving considerable successes in battle due to its defeat of ethnicism, ability to canvas for support within the OAU and the Eastern block, able leadership etc.

The major weakness of the MPLA was trying to win Angola's independence on its own. It made no serious attempts to unite with FNLA or UNITA. This was to lead to civil wars before and after independence. MPLA also failed to establish liberated zones.

The UNITA- National Union for the 'Total Liberation of Angola also participated in the Liberation struggle. It formed in 1966 as a break away group from FNLA which was dominated by the Bacongo. But in turn, UNITA under Jonas Savimbi also became a party for the Ovimbundu tribe. Starting from Zambia, UNITA quickly established fighting bases within Angola.

In 1967, UNITA attacked the Benguella railway which carried Zambia's copper to the Atlantic coast and it was expelled from Zambia. Thereafter it strengthened its bases within Angola and killed a number of Portuguese soldiers e.g in and around Luso in December 1967. Like the FNLA, UNITA was backed by Western powers notably USA.

Nationalistic efforts in Angola were only helped by the 1974 coup in Portugal otherwise the struggle had been weakened by ethnicism, power struggles, the Portuguese divide and defeat policy plus the assistance of NATO. In October 1974, Portugal signed a cease-fire with MPLA, UNITA and MPLA and they subsequently agreed on 11th November 1975 as the date of independence. They also agreed to set up a transitional government of all the three parties and this was done on 28th March 1975. However the government was bogged with a civil war. first between MPLA and FNLA and later between MPLA and UNITA.

The two parties (FNLA and UNITA) later combined to fight MPLA. They had support from South Africa and Western /Capitalist block. This prompted Russia to sent its deadly Stalin organs which drove the FNLA-UNITA allies out of Luanda. No wonder why on 11th November 1975, (date of independence) three independent and rival governments were declared in Angola. Civil war went on.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE MPLA

The Movimento - Popular de Libercatacao de Angola (MPLA) or the Popular Movement for the liberation of Angola was formed in 1956 to fight for the rights of indigenous Angolans who were being marginalized by the Portuguese colonial masters. This was a very hard task especially at a time when the Portuguese colonial masters did not favour the formation of nationalistic political associations. The MPLA played a number of inter related political, military, economic and social roles that helped to bring about Angola's independence.

• It condemned Portuguese oppression, exploitation and racism. For instance it criticized forced labour and called for its removal.

• It sensitized the local and urban populations about their rights. These included political, economic and social rights.

• It is credited for applying Ghandism or peaceful methods in an attempt to attain colonial reforms. It carried out negotiations or round table talks, wrote articles in the newspapers and sent a diplomatic mission to Lisbon in 1960 with a peoples' petition. It was headed by Augostinho Neto.

• The MPLA demanded fur the release of its leader Augostinho Neto in 1960. It did this by organizing peaceful demonstrations in urban centers. Unfortunately, police shot at the demonstrators and imprisoned more! MPLA continued demanding for their release.

• The MPLA organized mass political rallies. In these, it informed people about their rights, interpreted the UNO and OAU charters and informed the Angolans about the wind of change in other African countries.

It recruited local Angolans and gave them military training. This transformed them into fearless guerillas.

It recruited and trained Angolan women, thereby transforming them into war spies, nurses and courageous soldiers.

The MPLA succeeded in overcoming ethnicism in Angola. It did this by turning itself into a mass liberation movement in which Angolans of all tribes could rise to rank through ability. It even welcomed liberal Portuguese and Mesticos into its ranks.

It called for unity between the different liberation groups. These included the FNLA under Holden Roberto, UDNA under Mnnuel Barros Necana and UNITA under Jonas Savimbi. Though total unity of the liberation movements was not achieved, at least the MPLA made an effort for which it must be hailed.

The MPLA is credited for opening up military bases first in Congo Zaire and later in Congo Brazzaville. In these, it trained guerillas whom it secretly sent to sabotage Portuguese colonialism back home.

It applied the hit and run guerilla tactics against the Portuguese. These were surprise attacks and were the most appropriate in face of a heavily equipped enemy. For example in 1961, the MPLA guerillas applied surprise hit and run attacks on Luanda city.

The MPLA established liberated zones with Angola, though a bit late. In these zones political science., free formal education, free medical services and grassroots democratic governance were provided. These reforms attracted people to the revolution.

It addressed the problem of poverty amongst Angolans. It did this by calling upon peasants to grow enough food for their consumption and the surplus for sale. It advised them to grow fruits and aim at self sustenance. It provided them with scientific knowledge of food and cash crop production.

It solicited for assistance from the communist countries. These included USSR and China. When the help finally came in form of clothing, weapons, medicine and money, it was put to proper use.

The MPLA appealed to both the UNO and OAU for help. It welcomed the moral, financial and other forms of support against Portuguese colonialism in Angola.

• It is credited for entering into the CONCP alliance. This was an alliance that brought together the MPLA of Angola, FRELIMO of Mozambique and PAIGC of Guinea Bissau.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF AUGOSTINHO NETO

Augostinho Neto was born in 1922 in Bengo. He was one of the luckiest Angolans to attain high education under the restrictive Portuguese colonial setting. His studies took him to Portugal where in 1947, at the age of only 25 years, he joined the Portuguese Democratic Students Union becoming very vocal and a critical writer of anti-colonial literature (poems and articles). He suffered arrests in Portugal due to his nationalistic stance and completed his studies in prison. After his release, he returned to Angola to lead the struggle for independence.

His contribution was as follows:

• He wrote poems and newspaper articles criticizing Portuguese colonial rule.

• Augostinho Neto sensitized Angolan masses about their rights, politicized them and called upon them to rise and fight for there rights.

• He wrote and presented a petition to the Portuguese colonial officials in 1960. The petition listed the grievances and demands of Angolan peoples.

• Though imprisoned in Cape Verde and Lisbon, he escaped, passed via Morocco and Zaire and returned to Angola to lead the anti-colonial struggle.

• He recruited and trained Angolan peasants into guerilla war techniques.

• He empowered Angolan women whom he trained as spies.

• He was the first army commander of the popular armed forces for the liberation of Angola (MPLA), the military wing of the MPLA.

• Being a doctor, he provided treatment to the sick and wounded guerillas.

• He set up external training bases for MPLA in Congo-Zaire and Brazzaville.

• He applied the hit and run surprise attacks which weakened the Portuguese colonialists.

• He called for unity between the Bacongo, Bailundo and Ovimbundu tribes.

• He set up liberated zones in Angola where he carried out experimental revolutionary and democratic governance and provided social services.

• He gave up his paying and dignifying career of a medical doctor and sacrificed his life for his people of Angola.

• Neto appealed for military and financial assistance from the communist countries.

He also solicited for help from both the UNO and OAU.

• He provided able leadership to the liberation struggle. For instance he solved conflicts between guerillas, tried to forge unity with other liberation movements and successfully led Angola to independence in November 1975

FACTORS WHICH FAVORED THE ANGOLA WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

1. Concerted efforts. The people of Angola, though tribally divided rose up in various parts of the country against Portuguese rule. The simultaneous outbreak of risings in the North, North East, and South and even in the capital Luanda weakened the Portuguese and paved way for independence.

2. The formation of liberation movements such as the MPLA, FNLA, UNITA favoured the struggle for independence. These helped to mobilise, sensitise and train Angolans.

3. The assistance from the socialist block also enabled the Angolans fight a successful war of independence. The Soviet Union and Cuba gave weapons and even military training to the MPLA guerrillas.

4. Support from African states. The then independent African states e.g Zaire, Zambia, Congo Brazzaville and Egypt extended some help to the Angolan nationalists. This included money, military training, clothing etc.

5. The O.A.U and its liberation committee did what ever was possible to assist the liberation struggle in Angola. Where it failed, this was due to financial hurdles.

6. The hit and run tactics of the guerrillas helped to weaken the Portuguese. They could attack police stations, offices, radio stations etc. They could injure some few whites and damage some property in the process and then would quickly retreat. This weakened the Portuguese.

7. The Angolan terrain characterised by thick forests in the interior provided the nationalists with natural hideouts where they carried out their guerrilla activities. On the other hand, this environment didn’t favour the Portuguese.

8. The reluctance of African recruits to fight fellow Africans led to the success of the Angolan war of independence. Some Africans were forced into the Portuguese colonial army to help suppress the rebels. Such Africans leaked the Portuguese secrets to the rebels.

9. The aid given to refugees by the UNO and some Western countries played a part of keeping the soldiers hopeful. This also helped to prevent excessive deaths and demoralisation of both soldiers and civilians about the sufferings caused by the war.

10. The 1974 coup in Lisbon which removed Caetano from power and brought in Spinola helped the liberation fighters to succeed. The new military junta of young officers quickly negotiated with the Liberation movements and offered 11th November 1975 as the date of Angola's independence.

11. The role of MPLA. In a special way the MPLA contributed to the success of the Liberation war. It was non-tribal and was well organised. It did more to enlighten the people of Angola and to weaken the Portuguese than did any other liberation movement.

12. The role of CONCP. The leaders of the MPLA, FRELIMO (for Mozambique) and BAIGC (for Guinea Bissau) formed a common party - the CONCP and held regular meetings to share tactics, ideas and the like. This contributed to success in Angola.

13. Some educational and political reforms in liberated zones also won public support for MPLA, though this happened rather belatedly.

14. The Portuguese military response to African militarism only led to more determination, hence leading to success.

OBSTACLES MET IN ANGOLA'S SEARCH FOR INDEPENDENCE

1. The overwhelming military strength of the Portuguese.

2. The support given to the Portuguese by Western powers

3. The formation and activities of the triumvirate "gang of three".

4. The settler determination to retain Angola as a white man's country (an overseas Portuguese province).

5. Restrictions of the free movements of Angolans.

6. The brutal Portuguese reactions to African peaceful demonstrations.

7. Military weakness of Angolans due to poor training and inadequate arms.

8. Ethnicism and disunity amongst the liberation groups.

9. Power struggles due to personal interests e.g in 1973, Daniel Chipenda tried though he failed, to remove Neto from the party leadership. Savimbi broke away from FNLA and formed UNITA.

10. Ideological differences.

11. Delay to form liberated zones.

12. The problem of illiteracy.

13. The Portuguese divide and rule policy.

14. The strong spying network of the Portuguese /PIDE

15. The poverty of Africans.

16. The weaknesses of the O.AU and U.N.O. in handling Angolan grievances.

17. The Portuguese desire to maintain her myths of luso-tropicalism and her civilisation mission.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the causes and effects of the Angolan war of liberation.

2. Discuss the role played by the MPLA in fighting for Angola's independence.

3. Analyse the role played by Augostinho Neto in securing Angola's independence.

THE MOZAMBIQUEAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Like Angola, Mozambique was a Portuguese colony and the features of Portuguese rule in Mozambique didn't differ from what was happening in Angola. It was a very oppressive and exploitative rule- something that provoked Africans into a war of liberation.

CAUSES

1. The Portuguese unwillingness to decolonize. In 1951, Portugal under Dr Salazar declared her African colonies as "Overseas provinces". She had no plans whatsoever of granting independence to Mozambique. This made them take up arms to obtain self-rule.

2. The alienation of Mozambiquan land also contributed to this war. Portugal encouraged a number of poor whites to immigrate to Mozambique. The number of white settlers rose from 19,800 in 1930 to 27,000 in 1940 then to 48,000 in 1950, then 85,000 in 1959, then to 130,000 in 1970 and 200,000 settlers by 1973. These grabbed African land, leaving a number of them landless or squatters. This provoked Angolans into armed resistance to end Portuguese rule.

3. The exploitation of Mozambique's natural resources. Mozambique's cotton, sisal, cashew nuts, sugar and tea were bought by multi-national companies e.g Niassa and Zambezia companies at very low prices and yet Portugal's finished goods e.g clothes, sugar and wines were dumped into Mozambique at high prices. Such exploitation annoyed the Africans and led to war.

4. The forced growth of cotton. African farmers were expected to grow cotton on areas designated by the Portuguese colonial government. By 1955, half the population of Mozarnbicans was growing forced cotton. This made them abandon the growth of food crops, leading to famine. This cotton was bought cheaply, some thing that annoyed them more.

5. Forced labour and contract labour systems contributed to the war of

independence. Africans were required to offer labour on public works like roads, bridges, schools and health centres at very little or no pay. Worse still, Mozarnbicans were recruited and sold to the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. They were taken to work in the rocky region in the southern Transvaal in north-eastern South Africa which contains rich gold deposits and coal and manganese mines of "on contracts" of five years. By 1960, there were more than 400,000 Mozambican workers in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, the contracts never expired! They were turned into slaves and this led the war of independence.

6. High taxes also contributed to the war of liberation. The miserable wages given to Mozarnbicans were again taxed by the Portuguese. Taxes were collected harshly and all the revenue went to develop Portugal but not Mozambique. Unfair taxes left Africans very poor and they took to war to overcome this.

7. The social divisions created by the Portuguese annoyed Mozambicans and led them to war. They created an educated and priviledged class of "assimilados". Also priviledged were the "Mesticos" At the bottom was the "indegena" who was a slave.

8. Brutal Portuguese rule. The Portuguese officials were very brutal while dealing with Africans. Portuguese brutality was spearheaded by the PIDE. e.g In 1956, 49 dock workers were shot dead at Laurenco Marques for striking and in 1960 at. Mueda, 600 unarmed Mozambicans were killed for demonstrating against unpopular agricultural policies. Such brutality forced Africans to take up arms.

9. The failure of constitutional and peaceful means. Secondary school students had set up the NESAM in 1949. it aimed at protecting African culture but was strictly monitored by the PIDE and didn't achieve success. The peaceful workers' strikes between 1945 - 1960 were violently silenced. The peasant cooperative societies at Lazaro Kavundame in the north also made peaceful protests the 1950s but this led to their ban and the banning of Trade Unions. In the Portuguese National Assembly. Mozambique was taken as one province/constituency and she couldn't use the parliament to call for independence. The option left was use of force.

10. Racial discrimination. The Portuguese regarded themselves as superior to Africans and lived apart from them. They even had separate schools and hospitals and yet continued deceiving the world that their mission in Africa was to civilise and develop an African without colour prejudice- the myth of luso-tropicalism. Out of 26,000 pupils in schools in 1963, only 5,200 were Africans! Government schools were for Portuguese while the poor church schools were for Africans. The inferior education given to Africans was aimed at limiting their nationalism. This annoyed Africans to the point of armed struggle,

11. Religious intolerance and under mining of African culture. The Portuguese required Africans to abandon their culture, language and norms before becoming assimilated. This gradually led to anger. In addition, Portuguese missionaries didn’t tolerate Islam and missionaries of other countries. These encouraged Africans to rebel.

12. Mozambicans hated the forced conscription into the Portuguese army. While fighting rebellious Africans, the Portuguese recruited Africans to fight fellow Africans. The conscripts included the already aggrieved 2nd world war ex-service men.

13. The denial of human rights led the Mozambicans into war. African news papers like O. Clamor Africano', '"O' Atricano" and "O Brado Africano" were at first censured and later banned. Trade Unions and political parties were equally banned. Movements were controlled. The educated Africans were denied employment in the civil service. This political marginalisation and denial of human rights led to war.

14. Africans hated the detention camps created by the Portuguese in the name of rehabilitating African labourers. Africans who complained about poor wages or organised strikes were usually taken to "rehabilitation centres" but hundreds were punished severely and some killed. A war of independence was inevitable.

15. The poverty of Africans made them resort to the war of Independence. They were denied even the low skilled jobs like those driving and being office messengers. These were taken over by the Portuguese. Trade was under the Portuguese, and some few Asians. African agricultural products were poorly paid for and what they received was taken away through taxation, the result was grinding poverty anger and war.

16. The supply of Mozambican electricity to south Africa, moreover cheaply led to grievances and the war of liberation. The Cabora Bossa dam in Mozambique, just like the Cunene dam in Angola were primarily built to supply South Africa's industrial electricity needs. Citizens of the countries whose rivers were tapped lived in darkness! Thus provoked a war of independence.

17. The influence of socialist countries also led to the war of liberation. Edwardo Mondlane and Samora Machel were influenced and supported by socialist countries to carry out a war of liberation.

18. The formation of liberation movements like the FRELIMO and COREMO led to the war. These mobilised sensitised and trained the Mozambicans leading them to fight for their rights through armed struggle.

19. The wind of change in Africa as shown by the independence of Mozambique's neighbours- Tanganyika, Malawi, and Zambia led to strong feelings of self determination in Mozambique.

20. The increase of Portuguese in Mozambique to 50,000 by the time of the war made the Angolans feel insecure. It reminded them of the Portuguese intention to stay permanently in Africa.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE FRELIMO

The Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (FRELIMO) or Front for the liberation of Mozambique was a nationalistic movement which spear headed the struggle for Mozambique's independence. Formed in 1962, the FRELIMO was an outcome of the merger (unity) between the three liberation movements that had been formed by Mozambican nationalists in exile in Malawi, Tanzania and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). These movements were UNAMI, MANU and UDENAMO respectively. Having united the nationalists from different political groups, the FRELIMO played a central role in Mozambique's quest for self determination.

• It criticized the unfair Portuguese colonial policies such as forced labour and the contract labour systems.

• It united nationalists of diverse backgrounds. These included people who formerly belonged to the UNAMI, MANU and UDENAMO liberation groups.

• It politicized the local people about the need to end colonial rule. This made the masses to welcome FRELIMO guerillas and to support them.

• The FRELIMO discouraged etlinicism and called for tribal unity between the Nyanja, Yao and Nguni peoples.

• It recruited Mozambican peasants and equipped them with guerilla war tactics of fighting.

• The FRELIMO made use of peaceful and diplomatic methods in an attempt to attain political, economic and social reforms.

• It is credited to recruiting Mozambican women and transforming them into fearless spies and warriors.

• The FRELIMO turned itself into a mass movement composed of elites and peasants, blacks, mesticos and liberal whites.

• The FRELIMO opened up external military bases e. g in Tanzania.

• It equipped its members with leadership skills especially at the Mozambique institute in Dar-es-Salam. For example it trained Samora Machele. This ensured FRELIMO'S continuity after the death of its founder father Edwardo Mondlane Chivambo. After his death, it was Samora M'achel who took over the leadership of the movement.

• The FRELIMO applied appropriate guerilla war tactics. These included the hit and run surprise attacks. In 1964, for instance, it organized simultaneous hit and run assaults against the Portuguese posts in Niassa, Zambezia and Cabo Delgado provinces. These appropriate military strategies considerably weakened the Portuguese army.

• It established liberated zones/freed villages. In these, the FRELIMO improved peoples' living standards by setting up free cost schools and hospitals. encouraging grass root democracy and collective farming as well as road constructions.

• The FRELIMO is credited for its diplomatic ties with freedom movements in Angola and Guinea Bissau. This resulted into the formation of the CONCP which was a strategic planning organ of the FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC.

• It solved the internal divisions between Lazaro Kavandame and Reverend Uriah Simango on the one hand and Edwardo Mondlane Chivambo on the other.

• It solicited for military and financial help from the communist countries such as Russia.

• It appealed for moral and financial support from the UNO.

• It further appealed for help from the OAU.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF EDWARDO MONDLANE CHIVAMBO

Edwardo Mondlane Chivambo was the key nationalist figure in Mozambique's liberation struggle. He was trained as a doctor and after graduating obtained a good job with the United Nations Organisation. However, deeply moved by the suffering and deprivation of his people, and realizing that there was absence of organized leadership to the liberation movement, Chivambo abandoned his UN job and joined the liberation struggle. Though he was assassinated in 1969, Chivambo played a formidable role in the success of Mozambique's struggle for independence.

* Edwardo. M. Chivambo provided charismatic and focused leadership to Mozambican nationalists.
* He groomed Samora Machel and others into good leaders. Accordingly, when he was assassinated in 1969, Samora Macheal ably propelled the FRELIMO towards success.
* He appealed to the Portuguese colonial masters for tax, land and contract labour reforms.
* Chivambo labored to sensitize the Mozambican masses about their rights. He took two years politicizing and sensitizing them before actual war broke out. By the time it broke out, they were ready for it and supported the FRELIMO guerillas.
* He recruited a number of illiterate peasants and trained them to become warriors. He even sent some of them for further military training in Egypt, Algeria and Tanzania.
* He opened up the Headquarters of the FRELIMO in Dar-es Salam in Tanzania. From there he co-ordinated all the anti-Portuguese activities in Mozambique.
* Edwardo. M. Chivambo launched serious war fare against the Portuguese in September 1964.
* He is credited for his strategy of simultaneous hit and run attacks in Cabo Delgado, Zambezia and Niassa Provinces.
* He turned the FRELIMO into a mass liberation movement comprised of blacks, Mesticos, liberal whites, assimilators and indegena.
* He was successful in defeating traditional ethnicism. He achieved this by calling for unity between the Nyanja, Makonde, Yao and Nguni speakers. Chivambo settled the leadership debacles/wrangles between him and Lazaro Kavandame and Reverend Uria Simango. The two were opposed to war against the Portuguese and favoured a peaceful approach. He invited the discontented parties at Niassa in July 1968. Serious talks ensued in which the revolutionary leaders agreed to use violence against the Portuguese rather than peace. Negotiations had been applied for long but had failed to produce positive results.
* Edwardo Chivambo recruited and trained women to serve as spies, war nurses and actual combatants.
* He established liberated zones where he carried out experiments of revolutionary democratic governance. Within the liberated zones, Chivambo provided free cost education and health services.
* He established diplomatic ties between his FRELIMO and the liberation movements in other Portuguese colonies, namely the MPLA of Angola and PAIGC of Guinea Bissau. This led to the formation of the CONCP.
* Chivambo solicited for financial and military assistance from the communist block and received it.
* He appealed to the UNO for assistance against Portuguese colonialism.
* He also appealed for assistance from the OAU. This made the OAU to step up its anti-Portuguese struggle by giving practical help to the FRELIMO.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE MOZAMBIQUE WAR .

1. Able leadership was the key factor leading to the successful Mozambican war of independence. Edwardo Mondlane was dynamic and charismatic. Even his successor Samora Machel was dynamic and forward looking. For instance Mondlane abandoned his job in the United Nations Organisation and committed himself to the liberation of his country.

2. Nationalists had iessentive of purpose. This was evidence when the three smaller nationalist groups combined to form the FRELIMO. Hence the leaders of UDENAMO, UNAMI and MANU must be hailed for sacrificing personal interests in favour of national interests.

3. Appropriate military strategy. The FRELIMO took two years preparing for the struggle during which it sent its cadres for advanced military training in Algeria, Egypt and even within Tanganyika itself. It initially used tactics of ambushing Portuguese troops and administrators. Later it embarked on an effective full scale war . It divided its troops into small fighting groups.

4. The simultaneous attacks on Portuguese posts also led to success. Between September- November 1964, the FRELIMO launched simultaneous attacks in four provinces of Mozambique namely: Cabo Delgado, Zambezi, Tete and Niassa provinces. This disorganised the Portuguese and created panic. They couldn't fight a war on several fronts. Edwardo Mondlane commented that the first phase of the war achieved the objectives of having bases in Cabo Delgado and Niassa.

5. The thick forests in Tete, Niassa and Cabo Delgado, were very ideal for guerrilla activities. They provided natural hiding places for guerrillas. The small foot paths and forests were very ideal for ambushing Portuguese soldiers and were very unfavourable to the Portuguese APC armoured vehicles and jet fighters.

6. FRELIMO was fighting on home ground. The newly recruited soldiers in Tete, Niassa etc. were very familiar with the terrain in which they were fighting as compared to the Portuguese who were just used to their urban residential centres.

7. Support from local people also led to success. In most places, the FRELIMO fighters were welcome and provided with food, shelter and useful information against the Portuguese. The local people had suffered enough at the hands of the Portuguese.

8. Support from the socialist block also led to success. The Mozambican freedom fighters received finances and arms from Russia, China and Czechoslovakia. This enabled FRELIMO to counteract the support received by Portugal from NATO, South Africa and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia.

9. The reforms of FRELIMO in liberated zones attracted massive support from the local people. In liberated areas, FRELIMO introduced a number of political, economic and social reforms e.g It introduced new democratic structures, set up schools, provided health services like mass vaccination against small pox, reduced the taxes, abolished racism, forced labour and brutality.

10. The role played by women also led FRELIMO to success. Women were trained to act as spies and to persuade more men to join the struggle. They also provided food and nursing to the guerrillas.

11. FRELIMO diffused ethnicism in Mozambique. People of different tribes were mixed within the same fighting units/batallions. In schools and army, songs and dances of various tribes were encouraged. The Makonde artists depicted new themes suitable for national consciousness.

12. The role of the world council of Churches cannot be forgotten. It is true that at first the Catholic Church in Mozambique supported Portuguese oppression but later, the Church joined the voices of OAU and UNO in condemning Portuguese brutal rule. For Instance it extended some 7,000 pounds to enable FRELIMO execute the war.

13. The February 1974 coup in Lisbon opened the gates for Mozambique's independence. The young military officers overthrew Caetano and started negotiations with FRELIMO leading to a Transitional government and later independence.

14. Portugal was fighting several wars at the same time. It not only had the rebels in Mozambique but also had similar situations in Angola and Guinea Bissau. It was also fighting criticisms from the UNO, OAU. Vatican, World council of Churches etc.

15. Political discussions and consensus. Right from the time Mondlane died. FRELIMO started the politics of discussions. Mondlane was replaced by a three man presidential committee, which worked with a central committee of 40 revolutionaries. These members used to discuss and reach a consensus. At times it was through voting. Even in the liberated zones, political discussions started right from the grass root. This won great support for the revolutionaries.

Obstacles to the Mozambican struggle for independence.

1. Internal divisions and misunderstandings between FRELIMO leaders were a big problem e.g Rev. Una Simango (FRELIMO's vice president) and Lazaro Kavandame constantly disagreed with their comrades. This even led to a break away group from FRELIMO to form the COREMO - a rival party.

2. Disagreement on the approach to the struggle. Some nationalists like Rev. Simango favoured negotiations with the Portuguese and preserving the party only for elites while others like Mondlane preferred military confrontation.

3. The assassination of Mondlane in 1969 robbed the FRELIMO of a very intelligent, charismatic and committed leader who had the interest of Mozambique at heart.

4. Criticisms from the Catholic Church tended to distract support from the FRELIMO In Mozambique, the Catholic church termed the struggle as a terrorist group with selfish interests. They termed it as anti-Christian and threatened rebels with hell. This scared a number of illiterate peasants from joining.

5. Food shortage. Initially, the FRELIMO lacked enough food, clothes and other necessities. However with time, they received food from peasants and even started growing theirs in liberated zones.

6. The military might of Portugal at first proved a problem. Initially, the FRELIMO had only 250 armed men and by 1967 only 8,000 armed. Yet Portugal had 35,000 in 1964 and 65,000 in 1967. This number, well armed with weapons from NATO was too big and strong for FRELIMO.

7. South Africa and Zimbabwe's support to Portugal. For fear of Marxist ideas, Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia and the racist South Africa constantly fought FRELIMO on the side of Portugal e.g In 1974, hadn't the Lisbon coup occurred, South Africa had planned to conquer Laurenco Marques (Maputo). This would have been a great blow to FRELIMO.

8. The weakness of the OAU which didn't give full-hearted support to FRELIMO caused the movement some psychological and military setbacks.

9. The geography/terrain of Mozambique with thick forests led to increasing deaths of guerrillas either from Malaria or wild animals. They had to move long distances on foot etc.

10. The weakness of the UNO, which had vested interests in Mozambique, affected the struggle for independence. To most UNO members, Portugal was a "partner".

11. The influence of cold war politics whereby USA and other NATO members provided great assistance to Portugal and baptised FRELIMO as a son of Marxism delayed the independence of Mozambique.

12. The attempted coup against the provisional government was also a great obstacle. The 9 months' provisional government was faced with an attempted coup by the white settlers and some rivals of FRELIMO e.g Rev.Simango. However it flopped.

13. Portuguese brutality to peasants during the war costed FRELIMO great support e.g in 1972; General Arriaga ordered the killing of 400 peasants at Wiriyamu. Other massacres followed which scared a number of would-be freedom fighters.

EFFECTS OF THE MOZAMBICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

1. Mozambique obtained her long-desired independence under SOMARA MACHEL. There was Africanisation of politics and other spheres of Mozambique's life.

2. The war of liberation led to the formation of the FRELIMO which still monopolises the politics of Mozambique.

3. It made the freedom fighters and Mozambique in general to adopt the socialist/Marxist ideology. This stemed from the assistance given by the Eastern block to FRELIMO fighters.

4. The Portuguese colonialists fled from Mozambique and returned to Portugal. Of the 230,000 settlers, only 24,000 still remained in the country at independence date.

5. The land and estates of the departed Portuguese were taken up by government and was returned to the masses. Other private businesses of the Portuguese were also nationalised.

6. There was a great destruction of property. Apart from the infrastructure destroyed during the liberation war, the departing Portuguese also deliberately destroyed vehicles, industrial machines, lines of communication, office documents etc.

7. The harsh Portuguese rule was put to an end first in liberated zones and later in the rest of Mozambique e.g forced labour was abolished.

8. Political prisoners were released and given re-orientation cadre courses. They were incorporated into the independent government.

9. There were democratic reforms, first in liberated zones and later in the rest of Mozambique. People started participating in their own governance right from the grass root level.

10. The war created a strong bond of unity amongst the people of Mozambique and strengthened their nationalistic outlook. It triumphed over ethnicism which some sadists like Rev. Simango tried to plant amongst FRELIMO members.

11. There was an improvement in the health conditions of the people due to FRELIMO's extensive vaccination programmes and health sensitisation seminars.

12. There was a drop in the illiteracy levels. By 1966 for example, FRELIMO had set up 100 schools in liberated zones and about 10,000 pupils were in these schools alone. Even after independence the literacy campaign continued.

13. There was a re-organisation of the agricultural sector with great emphasis being put on food stuffs than on cash crops. This helped to create a stable and health society.

14. There was women emancipation whereby women were encouraged not only to participate in actual combat but also in the day to day administration of the liberated zones. They also received big posts in the post independent government.

15. A progressive taxation system was introduced. The oppressive taxes were abolished and the new tax assessment considered one's income levels.

16. Co-operative societies were formed and these monitored the standards of farming in Mozambique. They provided quality seeds, fertilisers, market for the produce and educative seminars to farmers.

17. Negatively, a number of people lost their lives and property. A number of villages and their occupants were burnt by the aggressive Portuguese police and military planes. This left many dead and injured.

18. Negatively also, the superpowers turned Mozambique into a theatre for their cold war politics and in the process, experimented their destructive and poisonous weapons on Mozambican land.

19. The assassination of Mondlane Chivambo in 1969 was one of the saddest events of the struggle. He was one of the ablest of Africa's 20th Century African nationalists.

20. There was economic decline due to the malicious destruction of infrastructure, houses and vehicles by the departing Portuguese. Also due to the many centuries of economic exploitation.

21. It poisoned the relations with south Africa and Southern Rhodesia as FRELIMO fought alongside the forces of ANC and ZANU respectively.

PROBLEMS FACED BY THE POST-INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

Rival elements within FRELIMO tried, on several occasions to overthrow Samora Machel. They did this in collaboration with external forces.

The outbreak of a civil war from 1977 - 1994 led to. national insecurity and high government expenditure. The RENAMO rebels sabotaged communication lines and agriculture.

There was a serious shortage of skilled man power since the Portuguese hadn't bothered to train Africans. Incompetent Mozambicans took up posts in government.

There were high illiteracy levels (Almost 90% of the population was illiterate by 1975)!

Poverty which was a result of the destructive war of independence i.e destruction of property by the Portuguese and poor government policy.

A fall in the sugar prices on the world market led to loss of foreign exchange and affected Mozambique's balance of payments negatively. It also affected the workers' wages and standard of living.

A fall in the wages of Mozambican labourers in S. Africa had a negative effect on Mozambique's economy.

The imposition of sanction on former Rhodesia in 1976 deprived Mozambique of the revenue she had been obtaining from Rhodesia's use of her railways and sea ports. There was a severe drought causing starvation, misery and riots against Samora Machel's government.

Rebel activities led to a refugee outflow from Mozambique to neighbouring countries where they suffered sexual abuses, disease and hunger. It also led to internal displacements and decline of agriculture.

The death of Samora Machel in a planned plane crash in 1986 robbed Mozambique of an outstanding charismatic leader. It is suspected that he was assassinated by South African and Western agents- probably the CIA.

South African interference into Mozambique's affairs whereby it supported RENAMO rebels against Mozambique government. South Africa accused Mozambique of supporting ANC rebels and used this to attack Mozambican territories. The worst attack was on Matolla refugee camp.

The Portuguese settlers who fled to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia continued supporting the RENAMO.

Corruption in the state owned ventures.

Solutions

Samora Machel appealed for assistance from the socialist block and received expatriates and some finances but this only increased the cold war and even the money was spent on the civil war.

Social services were improved by setting up schools and health, centres but were at times bombard by RENAMO.

He nationalised most property but this led to corruption.

He strictly dealt with corrupt officers.

Food rationing was applied in some districts affected by the drought- food was given to people free of charge-

Gradually Samora Machel distanced himself from the socialist block and started seeking for technical and economic aid from the western block.

Negotiations with the South African government led to the signing of the Nkomati Accord by which South Africa was to stop supporting RENAMO rebels and Mozambique was to supply Hydro electric power from Cabora Bossa dam to South Africa.

- Relaxation on trade unions and state control of the economy to allow the private sector invest in the economy.

Joachim Chissano replaced Samora Machei and he turned to the Western for economic assistance.

In 1989, Marxist principles were dropped and a free market economy was adopted.

Negotiations with RENAMO rebels and South Africa continued.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the causes and effects of the Mozambican war of liberation.

2. Account for the success of the liberation war of Mozambique.

3. Examine Eduardo Mondlane's role in fighting for Mozambique's independence.

THE GUINEA BISSAU WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Guinea Bissau was colonised by Portugal up to 1974 when she finally achieved her independence. Nationalism in Guinea Bissau was spearheaded by Amilcar Cabral from Cape Verde. In 1954, he formed a political party known as PAIGC - African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde. Initially the Party tried to use peaceful methods to attain independence but later (from 1963 onwards), it took up arms against the Portuguese.

CAUSES OF THE LIBERATION WAR.

1. The economic exploitation of Guinea Bissau led to the liberation war. The Portuguese paid very low prices to farmers in return for their ground nuts, vegetable oils and palm kernels. This annoyed the farmers - more so because the Portuguese finished goods like wine, sugar, textiles etc. were sold expensively to the peasants of Guinea Bissau. Whenever they complained, the Portuguese explained that the low prices for cash crops were due to the "price mechanism". This led to the war.

2. The desire for independence also led to the Guinea Bissau war of liberation. The Portuguese had deprived the traditional rulers of their authority and even denied the few educated Africans participation in the running of their country's affairs- hence the war of liberation.

3. The declaration of Guinea Bissau as a Portuguese province also led to the war of liberation. By the constitutional clause of 1951, all Portuguese colonies- including Guinea Bissau, were declared as overseas Portuguese provinces. This meant that the Portuguese were not ready to leave the country- hence they had to be forced.

4. Lack of constitutional means to obtain independence. Unlike the British and French who made constitutional changes/reforms in their West African territories, Portugal made no such steps. Any attempts at constitutional progress e.g formation of political parties and Trade Unions was banned by the law.

5. The harsh Portuguese rule also led to the war of liberation. The police (PIDE) arrested intimidated and tortured African nationalists, e.g In 1959 the PIDE massacred 50 dock workers at Pinji Aniti. Nationalists like Edwardo Pinto and Anito Zaino were killed while others like Antonio Texaira were detained and , tortured for long periods. The Portuguese brutality was also witnessed when the police and army dropped napahrn bombs and used gun fire to destroy villages. A war of liberation was essential to end such acts of violence.

6. The formation of the PAIGC in 1954 also led to the war of liberation. This party carried out political awareness programmes and sensitised the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde about the atrocities and exploitation of the Portuguese. It

recruited and trained a number of them for the independence struggle. This put them in mood of fighting the Portuguese.

7. Henrique Galvao's capture of Santa Maria also led to a revolutionary mood in Guinea Bissau. On 22nd January 1961 Henrique Galvao, a former colonial inspector, seized the Portuguese liner- Sta Maria /Sante Maria and demanded for political reforms in African colonies. This made all the nationalists in Portuguese colonies- including Guinea Bissau to expect him to land in Africa with troops to remove Portuguese rule.

8. The increase in the number of troops in Guinea Bissau convinced Africans that the Portuguese intended to stay for good. Hence this annoyed them into war.

9. , The independence of her neighbours also led to the war of liberation. In 1958 French Guinea obtained her independence, Algeria obtained hers in 1962. This led to a revolutionary mood in Guinea Bissau, which didn't wish to be left behind when the rest of Africa was decolonising.

10. Racism was yet another cause of the war of independence. Though there was no much white settlement in Guinea Bissau as the case was in Angola and Mozambique, still colour prejudice and discrimination existed. Despite this, the Portuguese continued propagating their Luso-tropicalism in Guinea Bissau i.e that they had come to bring civilization and equality. This theoretical lusotropicalism/Lusitanification led to annoyance and war.

11. The creation of social classes in Guinea Bissau also led to the war of independence. The Portuguese created a class of assimilados (civilised Africans) whom they favoured with priviledges and the class of indegena (uncivilised Africans) whom they minimised as their labour assets. This divide and rule policy led to annoyance and war.

12. The influence of socialism also led to the war of independence in Guinea Bissau. The nationalists received arms and military training in Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union. This enabled them to fight against Portuguese colonialism.

13. The independence of French-Guinea in 1958 also led to the war of independence in Guinea Bissau. This was because Sekou Toure of Guinea provided safe havens for Guinea Bissau's political refugees and even provided training/hiding grounds for the PAIGC guerrillas.

14. The presence of Amilcar Cabral also caused the war of liberation. He was a Cape Verde agronomist who haled colonial rule. Having worked in the colonial veterinary service and having moved through out the country preparing an agricultural census in 1952, he was aware of the Portuguese discriminative and exploitative tendencies. He formed the PAIGC in 1954 and started decampaigning the Portuguese. This led to a revolutionary mood and later war.

15. Grinding poverty in Guinea Bissau. This was due to a number of factors. Firstly the price mechanism, which set very low, prices for their crops, secondly over taxation and thirdly unemployment. This poverty placed the people in a mood of war.

16. Over-taxation

17. Portuguese dictatorship

18. An inferior education system.

19. Forced recruitment of Africans into the Portuguese army.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE PAIGC

The Partido Africano da Independencia da Guinea e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) or the African independence party for the liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde was a national liberation movement formed by Amilcar Cabral in 1954 to champion the struggle for independence in the Portuguese colony of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. It vowed to apply both peaceful and other methods to secure peoples' rights. Its contribution to the decolonization of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde was as follows.

• It mobilized the masses and sensitized them about their political, economic and social rights.

• PAIGC cadres condemned the oppressive and exploitative Portuguese colonial polices such as forced labour and over taxation. They went ahead and called for reforms.

• Its cadres toured the country and sympathized with the peasant farmers who were .

• The PAIGC is credited for its careful planning of the anti-colonial struggle. It took three years preparing the peasants for the nationalistic struggle. In these years, PAIGC cadres criticized Portuguese rule and imparted the socialist political and economic ideas of self governance and self sustenance.

• The PAIGC opened up training bases inside Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

• It recruited and trained the local people in guerilla war fare and taught them how to use the Chinese and Soviet weapons.

- • The PAIGC also recruited women and trained them to serve as spies, nurses and cooks in crisis times.

• It opened up an external base in Guinea Conakry and secured Sekou Toure's support.

• It provided capable, focused and determined leadership under Amilcar Cabral, a Portuguese trained agronomist who turned himself into a self made guerilla fighter. When he was assassinated in 1973, his brother Luiz Cabral carried the struggle forward.

• The PAIGC turned itself into a mass liberation movement comprising of teachers, traders and peasants.

• It called for the unity of all tribes of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and helped to reconcile the Fula and Balante tribes that were traditional enemies

• It played an active role in instigating the 1959 dock workers strike.

• It solicited for military and financial assistance from the communist countries such as China and the Soviet Union.

• The PAIGC trained some Africans and sent them as spies in the Portuguese army.

• It established liberated zones where it created democratic governance and social- economic reforms.

• The PAIGC opened up a Radio in Guinea Conakry using which it mobilized local people for nationalistic action.

• It entered into alliance with the liberation movements in other Portuguese colonies. These were the MPLA of Angola and FRELIMO of Mozambique.

• It led Guinea Bissau to independence under Luiz Cabral in 1974.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF AMILCAR CABRAL

Amilcar Cabral was the key nationalistic figure in the struggle for independence in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. As a young man, he got the opportunity of studying in both Cape Verde and Portugal. Having graduated as an agronomist, he returned home and served the Portuguese colonial government as an agricultural expert. In 1952, the colonial government entrusted him with the responsibility of carrying out an agricultural census. His country wide travels exposed him to the suffering of the peasants whom he vowed to liberate. His activities contributed, as follows, to the independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

• He provided focused and charismatic leadership to the liberation struggle.

He formed a political party known as the African independence party for Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in 1954. This party originally used peaceful methods to demand for political, economic and social reforms.

He traveled throughout Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, criticizing the unrealistic Portuguese policies.

Amilcar Cabral mobilised, sensitized and educated the local people about their rights.

He is credited for turning the PAIGC into a mass liberation movement comprising of peasant farmers, urban workers and professionals such as doctors and teachers.

Amilcar Cabral reconciled and united the Fula and Balante who were traditional enemies.

He patiently prepared the peasants for the war of liberation. He took three years planning and politicizing the masses about the benefits of independence. His politicization programme was based on the socialist criticisms against the exploitative colonialism.

He established military bases outside Guinea Bissau. For example in Guinea Conakry where he sought for Sekou Toure's military and financial assistance. Cabral recruited and trained local people to serve as liberation guerillas/fighters. Among the recruits were women whom he trained to act as spies, nurses, cooks and actual combatants.

Cabral launched an armed guerilla struggle against the Portuguese in 1963, using hit and run tactics which avoided heavy causalities.

He supported the peaceful dock workers' strike of 1959 at Pinji Aniti. When the Portuguese poilice-the PIDE fired live ammunition against the peaceful demonstrators, Cabral publicized this atrocity world wide.

Amilcar Cabral established liberated zones in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. In these zones, he carried out political and social reforms that attracted the masses to join the liberation struggle.

He groomed a number of young men into Capable leaders. No wonder after his assassination, one of his trainees and his brother, Luiz Cabral carried on with the struggle.

He sacrificed his job as an agronomist in the colonial service to fight for his people and died on duty.

Amilcar Cabral appealed to the UNO for help against Portuguese colonialism. He solicited for military and financial support from the communist countries such as Russia, Czechoslovakia and China.

Cabral also successfully appealed for help from President Sekou Toure of Guinea Conakry.

He forged an alliance between PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA.

Factors for the success of the war of independence in Guinea Bissau.

1. The dynamic and charismatic leadership of Amilcar Cabral. He formed a political party and sensitised the masses about the need for a liberation war.

2. The defeat of ethnicism led to success. Amilicar Cabral and other like Aristidos Paxeira and Luiz Cabral were able to down play ethnic/tribal divisions in Guinea Bissau. Amilicar Cabral brought the Fula and Balante tribes together and politicised them to stop their age-long tribal disunity and fighting. He was successfully and this made them fight a united war against a common enemy. This unity was cemented in 1972 when the Balante mobilised 2000 fighters to rescue the Fula who had later been overran by the Portuguese.

3. PAIGC had efficient military strategy. In the first place it took three years preparing for the war. Secondly, it divided its army into 3 fighting groups. The first group of 2,000 men carried out minor military operations, the 2nd group of 4,000-5,000 men carried out active combat while the 3rd group of about 2,000-3,000 men carried out soldiering and farming in liberated zones. PAIGC also used hit and run tactics that were unfamiliar to the Portuguese.

4. The geography of Guinea Bissau contributed to the success of the PAIGC. It was characterised by Mangrove swamps at the coast and tropical rain forests in the interior. These were suitable for guerrilla activities because they provided a natural cover against Portuguese artillery fire.

5. The unwilling Portuguese army also contributed to PAIGC's success. The 30,000 Portuguese soldiers included a number of Africans who had been forced to join the Portuguese army. These fought reluctantly and in most cases either deflected to the PAIGC or acted as spies for it. This led to the easy defeat of the Portuguese.

6. The independence of Guinea in 1958 led to the success of PAIGC. This was because Sekou Toure gave military training and financial assistance to PAIGC. The PAIGC even set up its headquarters in Guinea from where it launched its operations.

7. The support of women led to the success of PAIGC. They excelled in the field of spying on Portuguese activities, provided food for the guerrilla fighters, mobilised people in liberated zones and some of them physically fought.

8. The poverty of Portugal also led to the success of PAIGC. Most of the wealth Portugal obtained from Guinea Bissau was either swindled by corrupt Portuguese officers or wasted on war. Time came when they couldn't properly sponsor their " soldiers and this demoralised them.

9. The harsh and cruel response of the Portuguese only led to determination amongst nationalists. The cruel suppression of dock strikers, the arrests, torture and assassination of nationalists like Amilcar Cabral made the people of Guinea Bissau more determined to end oppression; Hence their success.

10. The alliance between PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA also contributed to success in Guinea Bissau. These three liberation movements had formed the CONCP which, made periodic meetings to assess the methods and achievements of their struggles.

11. The formation of liberated zones led to PAIGC's success. In the liberated areas/zones, PAIGC carried out practical democratic, economic and social reforms. It organised grass root democracy, involved women and men in the politics and defence of their areas, carried out seminars, made agricultural reforms, set up 127 primary schools, health centres and improved the road networks e.g health centre at Boe. All these won great support for the PAIGC.

12. The support from communist countries e.g Czechoslovakia, Russia and China, which provided up to date weapons, funds and even trained the PAIGC fighters led to its success.

13. The simultaneous outbreak of resistances against the Portuguese in all her African colonies weakened her and led to the success of the PAIGC.

14. The role of written literature also helped to alert the outside world about the atrocities of Portuguese rule in Guinea Bissau. They therefore expressed their sympathies towards the PAIGC. Critical stories were written by Amilcar Cabral and others.

15. The role of the OAU led to the success of the PAIGC. The OAU liberation 'committee gave military and financial assistance to the PAIGC. Even individual OAU member countries e.g. Tanzania, Zambia and Guinea sent in their help. They also intensified the anti-Portuguese propaganda worldwide.

16. The 1974 Lisbon coup just facilitated the collapse of Portuguese rule in Guinea Bissau and opened way for the success of PAIGC.

17. The UNO continuously challenged Portuguese colonialism in Africa and supported the liberation struggle in Guinea Bissau at least morally/verbally by- asserting the right of self-government of all peoples of the world.

Effects of the Guinea Bissau war of Independence.

1. It led to collossal loss of human lives including nationalists like Amilcar Cabral who was assassinated in Conakry and a number of innocent civilians.

2. It led to the independence of Guinea Bissau in 1974 and hence ending the dictatorial Portuguese rule.

3. Agricultural reforms were carried out and this led to self-sufficiency in food

4. There was increased export of cash crops like rice, coconuts and rubber. This led to increased foreign exchange earnings.

5. There was a great destruction of property by both the PAIGC guerrilla and the departing Portuguese.

6. Educational reforms were carried out and this entailed the establishment of 127 new primary schools in liberated zones by December 1968. In these, literacy classes were given. Even after independence, educational reforms continued and this contrasted sharply with the only 50 schools the Portuguese had set up in Guinea Bissau before the war of independence broke out.

7. Racism /Colour bar as well as class divisions in Guinea Bissau were put to an end.

8. Great efforts were made to forge national unity.

9. A number of hospitals were set up in liberated zones e.g. at Boe. Vaccination and health education seminars were provided free of charge. This improved health standards.

10. Democratic rule was ushered in Guinea Bissau-grass root democracy in liberated zones.

11. It led to the formation of the CONCP - an alliance between the freedom fighting movements in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

12. It led to the emancipation of women in Guinea Bissau.

13. It contributed to the refugee crisis in West Africa.

14. It influenced the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorial regime in Portugal in 1974.

15. Colonial exploitation, forced consumption and unfair taxes came to an end.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the causes and effects of the Guinea Bissau war of liberation.

2. Account for delayed nationalism in Portuguese African colonies.

3. Assess the role played by Amilcar Cabral towards the independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

BLOODY REVOLUTIONS

THE RWANDAN REVOLUTION OF 1959

Rwanda was originally a Germany colony but after the 1st World War it was entrusted to Belgium to take care of it. Later after the 2nd World War, Rwanda became a UN mandated territory but still under Belgium supervision. Right from the pre-colonial period Rwanda was a caste class society. It was inhabited by three indegenous tribes known by the names of the three brothers who founded them. These were the Tutsi cattle keepers who constituted only 14% of the population but were the leaders, the Hutu cultivators constituted 85% of the population while the Twa Pygmies constituted only 1% of Rwanda's population.

The three tribes had a lot in common in terms of language, dressing styles, traditional ceremonies, ancestors and other aspects of culture. Yet in November 1959, Rwanda experienced one of the bloodiest revolutions in tropical Africa which some historians have described as a coup against the Belgian colonial masters. Rwanda was granted independence in 1962 but ethnic violence and killings continued in 1963, 1964, 1973, 1974 and in the early 1990s.

CAUSES OF THE Rwanda REVOLUTION OF 1959

1. The Tutsi political domination. The Tutsi minority had established a ruling monarchy/aristocracy, which monopolised political power both before and during the colonial rule. At the top of the hierarchy was a King with a title "Mwami". He had absolute powers in his hands and was assisted by a number of chiefs (Watwale) and sub-chiefs who acted as his spies. They reported anybody suspected of disloyalty of the Mwami. The Hutu majority detested the Tutsi aristocracy because it was a sign of backwardness in Africa at that time, more so because the Tutsi monopolised power. Hence the revolution.

2. Colonial legacy contributed to the revolution. Both the Germans and Belgians adopted indirect rule in Rwanda and used the Tutsi as collaborators partners in politics. Both colonial masters allowed the Mwami to practise feudalism. Hence by 1950, the Tutsi held 43 chiefdoms, occupied 549 out of 559 posts as sub-chiefs and occupied 83% of the posts in the colonial judiciary, Agriculture and veterinary departments. The Hutu majority had no say in politics and turned to violence to change the situation.

3. Unfair land allocation also led to the revolution. The Tutsi minority owned most of the land in Rwanda. Since they were the ones in charge of land allocation in the Belgian colonial government, the Tutsi allocated themselves large tracts of land. The majority of the Hutu remained landless and lived as squatters on Tutsi land- yet 'they were the cultivators. The few Hutu who got land did so in swampy or arid areas. More annoying was the system of grazing Tutsi cattle in Hutu plantations.

4. The cultural arrogance of the Tutsi: They claimed that they were the God-chosen rulers of Rwanda and boasted that Imana (the creator) had endowed them with intelligence divine powers, skills, courage etc. They termed the Hutu majority as serfs of the Tutsi. To create a sharp distinction between the two tribes, the Tutsi never allowed the Hutu to own cattle, prevented them from marrying Tutsi girls and stopped eating the same food they ate. They didn't consider Hutu as serious husbands and often confiscated their women. All these provoked the Hutu into war.

5. Oppressive rule and forced labour. The Belgians employed the Tutsi to mobilise Hutu peasants to work on government projects such as roads, plantations and buildings. In the process of supervising Hutu peasants, the Tutsi became very harsh. At times they diverted Hutu peasants from government projects to personal farms without paying them. While the Hutus suffered, the Tutsi leisured. This annoyed the Hutu who complained to the Belgians but in vain. More annoying was the imposing of forced labour on pregnant women e.g. In 1959, six Hutu women were dragged to plantations and flogged. In the process, they miscarried! A revolution was inevitable.

6. Over-taxation of the Hutu. The Hutu were required to pay taxes both to the Belgian government and to the Mwami. Poll tax went to the government while tributes and land taxes were paid to the Mwami. Taxes were raised from time to time without due consideration of the poverty of the Hutu peasantry. While collecting taxes. The Tutsi became harsh. Beatings and imprisonment were visited on the Hutu who became frustrated and turned to violence.

7. Belgian failure to create ethnic fusion in Rwanda led to the revolution. The Belgians made no attempts to unite the tribes of Rwanda. Through their divide and rule policy, they promoted the living standards of the Tutsi at the expense of both the Hutu and Twa. Social amenities like schools, hospitals and housing facilities were greatly enjoyed by the Tutsi minority. Since the Hutus were meant to provide cheap labour, there was no need of educating them. Few Hutu children ever went to school since they couldn't afford fees.

8. The influence of the Catholic Church: Catholic priests preached equality and brotherhood in Churches. They called upon the Belgian colonialists to stop favouring the Tutsi. In particular, Arch Bishop Perraudin preached that the superiority of the Tutsi and the oppression of the Hutu were anti-Christian and punishable by Hell fire. The Catholic Church started providing higher education to Hutus and sponsored a daily Newspaper "Temps Univerdex d' Afrique" which spread Hutu revolutionary propaganda. Hence the revolution.

9. Natural hazards also contributed to the revolution. Between 1945-1959, the Hutu had suffered from six phases of famine. This was due to lack of land by the majority Hutu. The little land they occupied was infertile and unsuitable for food production. Moreover the Hutu were forced to grow cash crops e.g coffee and wheat to provide raw materials for Belgian industries. This left them with no time to attend to food production and hence famine which led to the starvation of many Hutus.

10. The influence of the 2nd World War. After World War II, Rwanda became a UN trustee territory. The UN was against colonialism and called upon the Belgians to speed up political reforms in Rwanda. However, by 1956 no reforms had been carried out- a factor which made the Hutu elite, to write a manifesto which they presented to the UN visiting mission to Rwanda. In it, the Hutu demanded for equal opportunities in education, politics and economy.

11. The role of the Hutu elites. The few Hutu who went to school worked hard and soon there emerged a small but strong group of Hutu elites. In 1957, the produced the Hutu manifesto in which they called for radical reforms and an end to Tutsi domination. Among the notable Hutu elites were Gregory Kayibanda who formed the "'Societtc Muhutu" and Juvenal Habyarimana who formed the association for social promotion. A number of journalists e.g Kayibanda wrote critical articles in newspapers calling for democracy. This led to an upsurge of Hutu nationalism.

12. The harsh reaction to Hutu demonstrations. After a fruitless attempt to end their 'oppression through negotiations, the Hutu started holding demonstrations, boycotting Belgian farms and destroying the crops. This, in addition to the radical demands in the Hutu Manifesto, made the Tutsi to react brutally towards the Hutu so as to crush their nationalistic spirit. This however made the Hutu more determined to end Tutsi supremacy and hence the 1959 revolution.

13. The Belgian democratisation policy intensified the Hutu hostilities. In an effort to succumb to UN pressure and to calm the growing Hutu unrest, the Belgians made some abrupt democratic reforms and appointed a number of Hutu to senior posts in the colonial administration. This gave chance to the Hutu to study the weaknesses of both the Belgians and Tutsi and to effectively mobilise their fellow Hutu against the Tutsi. However the Tutsi looked at this a pro-Hutu policy as a betrayal of the Tutsi by the Belgians. The Tutsi tried to reverse the reforms and in the process, clashes occurred with the Hutu.

14. The Death of Mwami Matara III paved away for the revolution In July 1959. The death of Matara meant the end of the aristocracy. Henceforth the Belgians decided to declare Rwanda as a republic but before they could do so, the Belgian Resident General was forced by the Tutsi at "Spear point" to approve Kigeri, Matara's hall" brother, as the successor to the throne! This happened at Matara's burial ceremony and was followed by public flogging and killing of thousands of Hutu who in turn decided to use violence to survive.

15. The 1959 Gitamara massacres. The Tutsi murderous regime had trained a number of Twa commandos whom they used to carryout indiscriminate killings of the Hutu. The climax was in 1959 in the northern Gitamara town and Ngaza province where the Tutsi and Twa commandos arrested and killed on spot a number of Hutu leaders. However on their death, they cheered the Hutus to fight for their rights. This sparked off the Hutu peasant uprisings on 1st November 1959. They attacked Tutsi homes, killing , looting and burning Tutsi property. Belgian peace keeping forces were sent to restore order but the violence/genocide continued, forcing a number of Tutsi into exile in Burundi, Uganda etc.

16. External influence. To a small extent, the wave of nationalism across Africa at that time made the Hutu to rise against the Belgians and their Hutu puppets. News of the Egyptian revolution of 1952, the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya 1952-1955 etc led to a revolutionary spirit amongst the elites.

17. The long tradition of Hutu resistance. The Hutu were inspired by stories of the earlier resistances of their ancestors against the Tutsi superiority. The memories of their Nyabingi resistance against the colonialists and their Tutsi collaborators were still fresh in their minds. This inspired the youths to follow in the footsteps of their parents. Hence the 1959 revolution in Rwanda.

EFFECTS OF THE Rwanda REVOLUTION of 1959

1. . The Tutsi aristocracy came to an end. The age long priviledged and arrogant monarchy of the Tutsi ended in December 1959 when Mwami Kigeri fled the country. It was replaced by a republican form of government.

2. Constitutional rule was ushered in Rwanda. In October 1960, Belgians organised elections which led to the formation of a provisional government under Juvenal Habyarimana as President and Gregory Kaibanda as Prime Minister. In September 1961, the UN carried out a referendum by which Rwandese adopted a republican government with a republican constitution.

3. Rwanda obtained her independence. The Tutsi felt threatened by the 1960 provisional government and appealed to the UN for fresh elections. The Hutu formed a Perme Hutu Party which won a land slide victory in the pre-independence elections. Hence on 1st July 1962, Kayibanda became the president of independent Rwanda. This democratic transfer of power into the hands of the Hutu put an end to the oppressive Belgian colonial rule.

4. It led to refugee problems in the great lakes region. For fear of being victimised, a number of Tutsi fled to neighbouring countries like Uganda, Burundi, Congo, and Tanzania while others went as far as Europe and U.S.A. About 22,000 Tutsi became internally displaced.

5. It led to Tutsi nationalism in exile. In a bid to recapture power from the Hutus, the Tutsi refugees in Burundi formed a guerrilla movement called the Cockroach which invaded Rwanda in December 1963. However their coup attempt was foiled by the Hutu with the assistance of a Belgian commander. Nevertheless, Tutsi nationalism never died out and resurrected in the Tutsi attacks of the 1990-1994 when they recaptured power.

6. It ushered in the politics of genocide in Rwanda. Anybody who thought that sense had returned to Rwanda was mistaken. The Hutu government became equally oppressive and discriminative towards the Tutsi. Hence the Tutsi minority dictatorship was replaced with Hutu majority dictatorship and revenge. Many Tutsi chiefs were removed from power, houses and farms. Many were killed and fled the country which degenerated into the 1994 genocide in which about 1,000,000 Hutu and Tutsi moderates were killed by the invading Tutsi from exile.

7. It led to the rise of the array in Rwanda's politics. Gregory Kaibanda failed to form a government of National Unity and this led to tension between him and the army chief of staff- Major General Habyarimana. This resulted into the overthrow of Kaibanda by Habyarimana in the 1973 coup de tat. Habyarimana banned the Perme Hutu Party. Since ihen, soldiers have dominated Rwanda's politics.

8. It triggered off tribal tension in Burundi. Events in Rwanda influenced the Tutsi soldiers in Burundi to massacre a number of Hutu in 1972. This in turn made the Hutu government in Rwanda to kill the Tutsi. Hence instability in the great lakes region.

9. It entrenched neo-colonialism in Rwanda. Belgium and France continued giving economic and military aid to the Hutu government and thereby interfering into Rwanda's politics e.g France trained the presidential guard (interahamwe) to protect the Hutu government against the Tutsi. As for Britain and U.S.A., they started training the Tutsi for a counter revolution e.g they trained Paul Kagame and equipped him with arms.

10. The Tutsi lost dignity in exile. They were exposed to all sorts of abuses in countries where they sought for asylum. e.g they were employed to unblock seweage for very low pay. They also faced threats of expulsion from neighbouring countries- a thing which tortured them psychologically.

11. Tutsi refugees contributed to agricultural changes within the great lakes region. For example, they increased the population of cattle in Western Uganda and became a source of cheap labour in Ankole, Buganda, Kigezi and Congo. They were used to graze cattle and till land in the above mentioned areas.

12. It spoilt the relationship between Uganda and Rwanda. This was because Uganda provided military asistance to the Tutsi refugees. They joined the NRA between 1981 - 1986 and immensely contributed to its successful bush war.

13. Social democracy was witnessed in Rwanda. Though the Hutu were in power, they tried to forge some unity with the Tutsi. All old forms of discrimination in schools were eliminated. Intermarriages between the Hutu and Tutsi became normal e.t.c.

14. It led to cultural fusion between the Tutsi and the peoples of Uganda, Tanzania and Zaire among whom they settled.

15. Dictatorial rule gradually set in Rwanda. This was witnessed when Major General Habyarimana banned the Perme Hutu Party, censured the press and stood as a sole candidate in the 1983 and 1988 elections. He also arrested a number of journalists in 1990 simply because they reported about the famine in Southern Rwanda.

16. Destruction and looting of Tutsi property.

17. It prompted the national reconciliation conference at Ostend in Belgium in January 1961.

THE 1990 INVASION OF Rwanda(CIVIL WAR IN Rwanda, 1990-1994).

The Rwandese (Tutsi) living in exile in Uganda organised themselves into a formidable fighting force and, in October 1990, invaded Rwanda under the command of Major General Fred Rwigyema. They moved very swiftly and offered stiff resistance to the Rwandese (Hutu) government. Unfortunately, Fred Rwigyema was killed very early during the struggle-under unclear circumstances.

An attempt was made to end the civil strife when the RPF (Rwanda Patriotic Front) signed a peace accord with the Habyarimana government on 4th August 1992. However, Habyarimana failed to respect the peace accord and fighting resumed. On 1st November, the UN sent a peace monitoring team to Rwanda- the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). On 6th April 1994 president Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprian Ntalyamira of Burundi died in an apparently planned plane clash on Kanombe airport. The plane is said to have been hit by a rocket fire.

The speaker of parliament, Theodore Vart Sindikubwabo declared himself as president but later in the year the RPF under Major General Paul Kagame overrun Kigali.

CAUSES OF THE 1990 - 1994 WAR/ INVASION

1. The long standing friction between the Tutsi and Hutu caused the 1990 invasion. Historically, the two peoples had never been friendly. So, the 1990 invasion reflected a continuity of the historical divisions between the Tutsi and Hutu.

2. The change in Belgian policy whereby they groomed the Hutu for leadership annoyed the Tutsi. The Tutsi were completely opposed to the Provisional government of 1960, they opposed the 1961 referendum and the transfer of power into the hands of the Hutu in July 1962. This prepared the ground for the future invasion of Rwanda by the Tutsi.

3. The desire to revenge against the Hutu. The Tutsi living in exile had never forgotten how the Hutu murdered the Tutsi in 1963 and early 1964 after the failure of the Cockroach guerrillas. After the defeat of the Cockroach rebels from Burundi, the Hutu government had declared a state of emergency, rounded up and shot Tutsi leaders and appealed to all Hutu to cater for their own security. This led to killings of thousands of Tutsi while others fled into exile and organised to over throw the Hutu government-hence the 1990 invasion.

4. The cultural arrogance of the Tutsi. Though in exile, the Tutsi believed that they were the God-chosen leaders of Rwanda. Though their attempts to return to Rwanda in 1963 was foiled , still they harboured feelings of superiority over the Hutu. Hence the 1990 invasion to re-assert their supremacy.

5. The rise of charismatic Tutsi leaders. These included Fred Rwigyema Paul Kagame, Bunyenyezi and others. These were intelligent and brave military officers with powers of speech, mobilisation and mastery of the battle field. They led fellow Rwandese back home in 1990.

6. The social-economic hardships faced by the Tutsi in exile forced them to form the Rwanda Patriotic front so as to return home. While in exile, they were abused as foreigners and forced to do undignified jobs like cleaning toilets. When they got fed up of social discrimination, they opted to return home. They had suffered poverty, discrimination, disease, rape and death in refugee camps.

7. Habyarimana's dictatorship. At first the Hutu revolution promised reconciliation but later developed suspicions towards the Tutsi. The Hutu government failed to organise democratic elections, censored the press etc.. So, the Tutsi claimed that they invaded Rwanda in order to introduce democratic rule.

8. Harassment by host countries. With time, the governments of East Africa developed negative attitudes towards the Tutsi refugees e.g . In 1981-1982, the government of Obote II tried to repatriate the Tutsi back home-calling them a security risk. This actually drove a number of Tutsi youths into the hands of the NRA. In Zaire/Congo, the hardworking and rich Rwandese were accused of enjoying the country's wealth. All these made the Tutsi fed up and to mobilise themselves to return home.

9. The Hutu attempt to block the return of the Tutsi also contributed to their invasion of Rwanda in 1990. At a time when the Tutsi were being harassed in Uganda and Congo, the international community appealed to Habyarimana to allow them return to Rwanda. However, Habyarimana resorted to a closed door policy and prevented the Tutsi from returning home on the excuse that Rwanda was too small to accommodate them. The only option left was a forceful return.

10. The influence of the NRM in Uganda. During the 1981 -1986 bush war in Luwero triangle a number of Tutsi joined the National Resistance Army to escape Obote's persecution. This exposed them to military science and modern arms. This influenced them to fight the dictatorial Hutu government in Kigali. It is believed that during the NRA bush war, the NRM leadership promised to assist the Tutsi in a future struggle to return home. This, too, inspired them to invade Rwanda in 1990.

11. Super power influence. Both USA and Britain provided military training and supplied arms to the Tutsi guerrillas, e.g strong man Paul Kagame was U.S. trained.

12. The success of the NRM revolution boosted the morale of the RPF. Four years after the victory of the NRA, the National Resistance movement government had brought about several social and economic reforms. This inspired the Tutsi, some of whom served in NRM government, to return home and model their country's politics along the lines of the NRM. If they had contributed to NRA/NRM's success, why not do it in their motherland?

13. The abrupt death of Habyarimana in April 1994 in an aeroplane crash created a political vacuum which gave the RPF chance to intensify the struggle against the Hutu government in Kigali. Shortly after, the RPF took over Kigali.

14. The 1994 genocide won RPF international support. After the assassination of Habyarimana on 6th April 1994, Hutu extremists started exterminating Tutsi's and their Hutu sympathisers. This resulted into the death of close to 1 million Rwandese. This made the RPF to legitimise their struggle by claiming that they wanted to return sanity in Rwanda. They got sympathy from all over the world.

EFFECTS OF THE 1990-1994 CIVIL WAR IN RWANDA

1. It led to genocide in Rwanda In which between 800,000-1,000,000 people died. The Hutu government had trained a killing force known as Intarahamwes who killed several Tutsi especially starting June 1994. They also killed some Hutu who sympathised with the Tutsi invaders.

2. The RPF assumed power in Kigali. This was a military government mainly dominated by ex-Tutsi refugees.

3. Refugee crisis. The RPF invasion of Rwanda led to a massive exodus of Hutu to neighbouring countries-especially the Democratic Republic of Congo/Zaire and Tanzania. This was especially after capture of Kibuye town by the RPF in April 1994.

4. It exposed the double standards of the UN. This was because it formed the United Nations Assistance Mission In Rwanda- UNAMR with an aim of reducing the extent of killings in Rwanda. However in April 1994, the UN Security Council reduced the number of peace keeping forces to only 2500 troops, yet ethnic tensions were rising. Then later the UN troops were increased to 5,500. Another aspect which showed the UN double standards was the sending of peace keeping forces to assist the Hutu yet in 1959 the UN had kept a distance when the Tutsi suffered.

5. It revealed the weakness of the OAU. The OAU was revealed as a toothless body incapable of handling large scale civil wars in Africa. It withdrew its troops in April 1994 at the height of the crisis on the excuse of financial hardships. Hence it failed to effect the Arusha resolution to stop the war.

6. Relations between Uganda and Kenya deteriorated. This was when President Moi of Kenya accused President Museveni of Uganda of causing instability in Rwanda. And for quite some time. Uganda has been seen by her neighbours-Kenya, Sudan and Congo- as a small distabilising force in the great lakes region.

7. Social reconciliation. After assuming power, the RPF made an attempt to reform the country and reconcile with the Hutu. This was demonstrated when Pastor Bizimungu- a Hutu was appointed as Rwanda's president and Twagiramungu as a Prime Minister. However real power rested in the hands of the vice president Paul Kagame- a factor, which later led to the resignation of Bizimungu.

8. International concern. An international tribunal was set up to try the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. This started in May 1996 at Arusha.

9. It led to strained relations between Kenya and Rwanda. This was because president Moi refused to hand over/release the architects of the Rwanda genocide as demanded by Paul Kagame- the vice president of Rwanda. A number of Rwandese diplomats were expelled from Kenya.

10. Evacuation of foreign nationals from Rwanda. As the civil war and ethnic cleansing intensified, foreign nationals from France, Britain and USA were evacuated from Rwanda and taken to Nairobi in April 1994. From there, some of them connected back to Europe.

11. It led to the fall of other African governments e.g. In Burundi in 1994 and Mobutu's government in 1997.

12. It contributed to the civil strife in the Democratic Republic of Congo especially when Rwanda followed up the Hutu refugees. This led to extreme killings of Hutus especially in Goma Camp. This even made Mobutu to threaten the expulsion of the Hutu which in turn led to his downfall.

13. Franca-Phone countries (France and Belgium) lost influence in Rwanda while U.S.A came in to dominate.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the causes and effects of the Hutu risings in Rwanda before and after independence.

2. The 1959 Rwanda Revolution was inevitable. Discuss.

3. The 1990 invasion of Rwanda from Uganda was a continuation of the 1959 events. Discuss.

4. The 1959 revolution in Rwanda was due to Belgian colonial legacy. Discuss.

5. Ethnic differences were responsible for the 1959 Rwanda revolution. Discuss.

THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION OF 1964.

Zanzibar is located in the Indian Ocean just adjacent to the African continent. Geographically, it broke off the African continent and is part of Africa. A number of Arabs loved the Island and settled on it. Earlier Arabs came from Shirazi, intermarried with Africans and produced African Shirazis. Then there existed the original Africans. Some of whom had come from main land Tanganyika. A small group of Asians also existed. Later a new class of superior Arabs came to the Island and decided to dominate its affairs.

Zanzibar was colonised by the British in the 19th Century who ruled it in close collaboration with the Arabs. On 10th December 1963, Zanzibar was granted independence but a month later- on 11th and 12th January 1964, there occurred a bloody revolution against the Arabs. It was led by a Ugandan national, John Okello.

CAUSES/ORIGINS.

1. The desire for genuine independence led to the revolution. The independence granted to them in December 1963 was a sham. This was because the British handed over the administration of the independent Island into the hands of the Arabs. These were regarded as foreigners and had ruled the Island for long enough. The people of Zanzibar were not ready to continue with foreign rule. They had suffered enough under the Portuguese, the Arabs and even the British.

2. Africans were tired of Arab racism and dominance. The total Arab population on the Island by 1964 was about 50,000 while Africans numbered about 250,000. Asians numbered about 20,000 only. Despite the African numerical strength, they accounted for nothing in the political, economic and social life of Zanzibar. The Arab minority dominated and even abused Africans as slaves- something, which provoked great nationalistic resentment that contributed to the revolution.

3. The desires to end harsh rule. Arabs who dominated the legislature, executive and police were very harsh and almost brutal, Right from the time when they served the British colonialists, they were arrogant, harsh and frustrated he constitutional process. When they obtained full powers in December 1963, they confiscated the passports of all opposition leaders, imprisoned some of them, and burnt their offices and other forms of intimidation. This only facilitated the January 1964 revolution.

4. Grievances over land distribution. The Arab minority group (50,000) had confiscated almost all the arable/cultivable land and had established large clove estates on it. The Africans and Shirazi almost remained with no land, a factor which forced them to live as squatters on Arab farms. Their landless ness turned them into labour assets for Arabs. Any demand for land reforms from the British fell on deaf ears and the only course left open was a violent revolution.

5. Unabatted exploitation of Zanzibar's resources. The major businesses on the Island were dominated by the Asian minority group of 20,000 people only. They controlled import and export trade, whole sale businesses, retail shops, transport businesses, restaurants etc. Africans who had no say in commerce were annoyed by Asian and Arab domination of the economy. To worsen matters was the repatriation of profits to Indo-Pakistan.

6. Grinding poverty amongst Africans. The African majority lived a life of deprivation characterised by disease, poor feeding, housing and clothing. This contrasted sharply with the wealth, luxury and comfortable life enjoyed by the Islands' foreigners- the Arabs and Asians. The British set up most social amenities like roads, hospitals and recreation facilities in Arab residential areas. This made Africans indignant and hence the revolution.

7. Educational imbalances. Due to inability to pay fees, a number of Africans never went to school and those who did had very inferior education in low cost schools. Higher education was deliberately made expensive by the British to promote the Arab race (who were their colonial collaborators). Being uneducated, Africans remained backward, socially despised and couldn't compete for the same jobs with the Arabs.

8. The dismissal of Africans from the police force. The Arab minority government never trusted Africans especially from Tanganyika mainland. Consequently, many Africans suspected of disloyalty to the Arab government were retrenched from the police. This scared all Africans on the Island. As for the demobilised policemen, they became readily available to John Okello and greatly supported his plan.

9. The economic crisis of the 1960s aggravated matters. There was a fall in the prices of cloves on the world market. This had adverse effects on Zanzibar whose economy depended on cloves. There was inflation, laying off of workers, reduction of salaries and wages etc. All these problems led to resentment and hence the 1964 revolution.

10. The British favours on Arabs annoyed Africans. The British extended scholarships, funds for agricultural development and material gifts to the Arabs. This created indignation amongst Africans. To worsen matters, the British made constitutional preparations to turn Zanzibar into an Arab state rather than an African state e.g they ensured that in all pre-independence elections, Africans won at local levels but not parliamentary levels. Inevitably Africans got annoyed and revolted,

11. Failure to overthrow Arabs constitutionally. The 1957 elections were won by the ZNP (Zanzibar Nationalist Party) of the Arabs. This was due to disunities amongst Africans of the ASP (Afro-Shirazi Party). Then in June 1963 the ZNP bribed the ZPPP( Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples' Party led by Mohammed Shante). This bribery led to a ZNP-ZPPP coalition and Arabs still won the elections. Finally in July 1963, the British helped the ZNP-ZPPP coalition to rig the elections and won 18 seats out of 31. This made Africans frustrated at the British constitutional process. Hence the turn to violence.

12. The forceful recruitment of Africans into the ZNP. Unsatisfied with the 1957 election results, Abeid Karume (leader of the ASP) mobilised his supporters to boycott Arab shops. The Arab reaction was harsh and immediate. African squatters were evicted from Arab farms and to be re-employed, African farm labourers and house boys/girls were required to first join the ZNP- An Arab Party. Even after the June 1963 ZNP - ZPPP victory, ASP members rioted and killed about 100 Arabs within a week. The Arab reaction was extremely brutal e.g.indiscriminate arrests and killings of several hundreds of Africans, forceful recruitment into the ZNP etc.

13. Repressive laws. Africans were required by law to wear badges on their chests bearing the Sultan's picture. This was tantamount to forced loyalty to the Sultan, a factor that caused resentment. Anybody found disrespecting the inscription of the Sultan on the badge was subject to rounds of canning or even imprisonment. The law also made Arabic the official language at the expense of indegenous African languages. Africans at least preferred Swahili which was neutral.

14. High taxes. The Arab minority government imposed unrealistic taxes on the AfroShirazi to make them poorer and unable to sponsor meaningful political activities in their ASP. This produced resentment and ultimately the revolution. Not to forget that the poor working conditions e.g low payment made many of them unable to pay taxes and hence imprisonment.

15. -The influence of socialist ideas led to the revolution. A number of Afro-Shirazi on both Pemba and Zanzibar Islands got in touch with socialist ideas that advocated for unity, equality, land reforms and radical nationalism. Due to this influence, Abdul Rahman Mohammed (best known as Mohamed Babu) broke away from the ZNP and formed the UMMA Party. This division within the ZNP - ZPPP helped the ASP to carryout is revolution.

16. The Slave trade legacy. Young Africans had learnt about the inhuman slave trade by which Arabs kidnapped and sold a number of Africans into slavery in the Arab world and America. This contributed to a strong sense of resentment and explains the 1964 revolution despite the intermarriages between Africans and Arabs.

17. Religious differences whereby Africans who had been rescued from Slave Trade by the British had become Christians. These Christians, trained and brought up by the U.M.C.A missionaries in Zanzibar resented Islam and its Arab patrons.

18. The Arab plans to exterminate Africans urgently contributed to the violent revolution. It was rumoured that Arabs intended to kill all male Africans so as to eliminate the African race from Zanzibar. For every Arab killed during the 1961 riots, sixty Africans were to be killed in revenge. Only girls and women fit for , marriage were to be spared.

19. The rise of John Okello led to the 1964 Zanzibar revolution. He was a Ugandan born Langi who served as a painter, stone cutter and ASP branch officer in Pemba since 1952. Then he moved to Zanzibar in 1963 and planned the revolution. Although he was more foreign in Zanzibar than Sultan Jamshid( and any other Arab born in Zanzibar), he was accepted due to the mounting grievances of Africans against Arab racial superiority. This means that the people of Zanzibar were already in a revolutionary mood, only awaiting a militant, Charismatic and courageous leader- John Okello.

20. The encouragement from Nyerere who looked forward to the unity between Zanzibar and Tanganyika instigated the revolt.

EFFECTS OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION

1. Loss of lives and destruction of property. The revolution was earned out using violent means. This resulted into the killing of about 13,000 people, mainly Arabs, The revolutionaries looted and even burnt the property of Arabs and Asians, forcing a number of them to leave Zanzibar.

2. The Arab monarchy came to an end. Sultan Jamshid and his family took a royal yatch and escaped from Zanzibar. At first he took refugee in Dar-es-Salam from where he fled to Britain. He was followed by a number of other influential Arabs as such cabinet ministers and ZNP officials e.g Ali Muhsin. This marked the end of Arab power in Zanzibar and East Africa in general.

3. A revolutionary council was formed. This was a coalition government made up of John Okello, ASP and UMMA leaders. John Okello remained as the revolutionary military leader while Abeid Karume became the Prime Minister. John Okello and his comrades worked out a provisional constitution for Zanzibar and named Zanzibar "The Peoples' Republic of Zanzibar". Abeid Karuma became its first President- in any case, Zanzibar's first black president.

4. There was Africanisation of the civil service. As the Arabs and Asians fled, there was a vaccum in administration, police and legislature. Hence a number of Africans were appointed to fill these posts but due to lack of experience and management skills, there occurred many cases of mismanagement. However, African management of their affairs signified real independence.

5. Africans attained racial Sovereignty. The days of Arab boss-ship came to an end and were replaced with equality before the law. The Afro-Shirazi people of Zanzibar and Pemba won the rights they had fought for. They were free from racial domination oppression and abuses. The Arab dominated parties namely the ZNP and ZPPP were declared unlawful and banned.

6. Swahili became the official language. Arabic which had been the official language was replaced with Swahili which was more acceptable to Africans. This led to the development of the Swahili culture in Zanzibar. However, Islam remained the major religion of the majority Africans on the Island.

7. There was Nationalisation of Arab and Asian property. The large estates plantations and businesses of the fleeing Arabs and Asians were nationalised by the revolutionary government. Land, shops, restaurants etc. were redistributed to Africans, most of whom were poor peasants of little or no education. Hence out put levels reduced and economic decline set in.

8. A housing scheme was set up. The revolutionary government embarked on house construction for the poor and aged classes of people in Zanzibar. A subsistence payment was also approved for the very old and unemployed people. These reforms were in line with the socialist ideology.

9. John Okello was disowned. He had been used by the Afro-Shirazi simply to attain their goals. After expelling the Arabs, John Okello had outlived his usefulness. He was declared as a prohibited emigrant, was relieved of his duties, went to Tanzania where he was imprisoned, and later to both Kenya and Uganda where he still suffered indignity and imprisonment. It was because he was a Christian, popular and a foreigner that he fell out with the Revolutionary government in Zanzibar.

10. It triggered off army mutinies in East Africa. The news of the successful Zanzibar revolution sparked off un-rests in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya. The idleness of the army, poor accommodation and low salaries were the causes of army mutinies. The newly independent East African governments called upon their former colonial master- Britain to help quell he mutinies. Paratroopers from Britain, Nigeria and India helped to disarm the soldiers. However their conditions were improved.

11. It led to a political union between Zanzibar and Tanganyika. Immediately after the revolution, Nyerere entered into negotiations with the revolutionaries and within a short time a political union was forged between Zanzibar and Tanganyika. Towards the end of April 1964 (27th April 1964) the Republic of Tanganyika was formed with Julius Nyerere as its President and Abeid Karume as its Vice President. However since key ministries like defence, finance and foreign affairs remained 'under the control of Tanzania main land, frictions soon arose but were tactfully solved by Nyerere. Better relations came in with the election of Hassan Mwinyi (from Zanzibar Island) to succeed Nyerere in 1985. Even then the cry for a return to independence in Zanzibar still goes on.

12. It led to the rise of socialism in Zanzibar. The revolutionaries were socialist oriented and turned to the East for both technical and economic aid. The socialist ideology in Zanzibar facilitated the anion with Tanganyika which had also adopted the same ideology. Socialism facilitated the creation of an egalitarian (equal) society.

13. It fuelled the cold war. The success of the Zanzibar revolution and the subsequent turn of the revolutionaries towards the Eastern block for support worried America, Britain and other Western powers. America reacted by strengthening its military base in Kenya and locating its spy ships along the Indian Ocean.

REASONS TO EXPLAIN THE SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTION

1. Careful and Secret planning led to success. John Okello planned his revolt with a few militant villagers and demobilised policemen. These few men vowed to keep their plan a secret and fulfilled the promise. So, when the revolt took place on 11th January 1964, it was a shock not only to the Arab government officials but also to ASP leaders. This was due to secrecy in planning.

2. The timing of the revolution was ideal. The revolutionaries chose to stage the revolt on the evening of 11th January when a special Ramadan festival was being held in Zanzibar city. Due to public excitement and merry making, the revolutionaries entered the town individually and undetected and assembled in the African quarter where they had agreed to meet. From the African quarter, they launched the attack on the Arabs who were fully absorbed in celebrating Ramadan.

3. The Capture of Ziwani armoury led to quick success. At first the revolutionaries had no guns but mere sticks, pangas, bows and arrows. Okellos first strategy was to capture Ziwani armoury which enabled the revolutionaries to obtain guns and hence success.

4. ,The Seizure of Mtoni police post. The next step was to capture Mtoni police station hence neutralising any possible counter reaction by government. They also obtained more arms and sympathisers from the police station.

5. Overwhelming support. The news of the revolt was received with great enthusiasm by the Afro-Shirazi Part) leaders and supporters who went on rampage looting and destroying Asian and Arabs shops. This created panic amongst Arabs who fled after seeing some of their comrades killed. This left the revolutionaries in control.

6. The fleeing of Sultan Jamshid demoralised the Arab resistors who saw no further reasons of resisting. Many of them surrendered to the revolutionaries.

7. Determination to end foreign rule. The Afro-Shirazi were tired of the oppressive and exploitative rule of the Arabs. This explains their acceptance of the leadership of John Okello- a foreigner on the Island. It also explains why they started a revolt with no guns but mere sticks, stones and pangas.

8. The existence of demobilised policemen. These had been retrenched due to suspected disloyalty to the Arabs. However they became of great help to John Okello and the revolutionaries. They already knew how to handle weapons and understood the weaknesses of the Arab security system e.g. they helped in the easy capture of Mtoni police station.

9. Numerical strength. Africans on the Island were the majority and unanimously rose against the Arab minority. A force of about 250,000 Africans against 50,000 Arabs led to the equation in favour of Africans.

10. John Okello's personality and cult. He was charismatic, courageous eloquent and a careful planner. These made him acceptable to Africans of Zanzibar and Pemba despite being a foreigner. His courage was exhibited at Ziwani armoury when he skilfully seized a gun from the watchman on guard. It was this act which enabled the revolutionaries to get access to the arms stored in Ziwani armoury. Okello also claimed that God had appeared to him in a dream, instructed him to go to a river and pick a black stone and move with it on the front line. In the revolt therefore, Okello's religious cult made him determined since God was with him.

11. Effective mobility led to quick success. While the Arabs were busy praying, the revolutionaries grabbed all the government and privately owned vehicles, which were packed outside the Mosques. With these, they effectively moved to all strategic parts of the Island spreading revolutionary propaganda. Hence a factor leading to success.

12. The exclusion of ASP leaders from the organisations helped the revolutionaries to succeed. This was because the Arab government had a close eye on the activities of the ASP leaders and could probably have detected the move. Actually the Arab government lived in continued suspicion of ASP leaders and was expecting a revolt from them at a later date. Surprisingly the revolt originated from the little known John Okello!

13. Lack of assistance from Britain. Arab power on the Island had been entrenched by the British. Unfortunately for the Arabs, the British had already granted independence to Uganda on (9th October 1962), Tanganyika September 1961, Zanzibar in December 1963 and Kenya (12th December 1963). Most of the British colonial troops had therefore been evacuated and set back to Britain. Hence the Arabs lacked British support to counter the revolution.

14. The poor intelligence system of the Arab enabled the revolutionaries to succeed. John Okello had moved from Pemba to Zanzibar unquestioned. He had mobilised village militants undetected, pretended to be a Moslem and attended both Moslem prayers and meetings undetected, surveyed Ziwani armoury, Mtoni police station and the African quarters undetected, etc. Afro-Shirazi revolutionaries entered the city with pangas, sticks, bows and arrows undetected etc. Such a weak spying network led to success of the revolutionaries.

15. The Arab regime was isolated. It had no genuine friends. Even the recently trained police force betrayed the Arab regime by surrendering to John Okello's men. Arabs of Oman received the news but due to the old struggles between the Oman, Busaidi and Shirazi in the Arab world, no support was sent to rescue the Zanzibar Arabs. Even internally within Zanzibar, most ZNP supporters had just been forced into the party and apart from the Arabs at Manga, the regime lacked genuine friends. Revolutionaries exploited this isolation to succeed.

16. The split within the ZNP -ZPPP. Towards independence elections in Zanzibar, Mohamed Babu broke off from the ZNP-ZPPP alliance and formed the UMMA socialist party- a party of masses. This greatly weakened the Arabs and made them vulnerable to Afro-Shirazi revolutionaries.

17. The support from socialist Tanganyika. Julius Nyerere had been in support of African unity and always looked at Tanganyika's unity with Zanzibar as the first step towards East African and ultimately African unity. He therefore extended help to the revolutionaries in Zanzibar. John Okello even claimed to have got support from Kenya, Uganda, Malawi Mozambique, Zimbabwe and U.S.S.R.. However most of the countries he mentioned in his book "Revolution in Zanzibar" denied ever giving him support.

18. Racial solidarity amongst the Afro-Shirazi of Zanzibar and Pemba made them rally behind John Okello though he was more of a foreigner in Zanzibar than either the > Sultan Jamshid or the ZNP leader Ali Muhsin who he was fighting. The issue was racial identification. Okello was a national of Zanzibar like the Arabs were but was more of an African, a black man and therefore racially closer to the hearts of Afro- Shirazi than the Arabs.

REVISION QUESTIONS.

1. Examine the causes and effects of the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964.

2. Colonial legacy was responsible for the 1964 Revolution in Zanzibar. Discuss.

3. Account for the success of the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964.

# CHAPTER TEN

NATIONALISM IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (1953-1963)

The Central African Federation (CAF) was a loose political union between the three British Central African territories/colonies. These were Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (now Malawi). The Central African Federation came into existence in October 1953 and lasted up to 31st December 1963, a period of approximately ten (10) years.

The idea of unifying the three territories first emerged during the 1890s when the British South African company still controlled them. Later, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland became British protectorates with governors answerable to Britain. In Southern Rhodesia, government came under the firm control of the white settlers who were mandated by the British government to form an internal self government in 1923. Even then, all the three territories were legally known to be British colonies.

Before the 2nd World War, the white settlers in these 3 territories argued in favour of amalgamation (i.e. they wanted to turn the 3 territories into a single political unit). However, their home British governments did not endorse out right political union. After the Second World War, white settler arguments and efforts were directed towards federation rather than amalgamation. A federation is a system of government where one country consists of individual states that have control over their own local affairs but are all controlled by a central government for national decisions.

The idea of federation of the British Central African territories was accepted and approved by the labour government at the London conference of 1951. However it was implemented in 1953 by the subsequent regime of the conservative party under Prime Minister Winston Churchill and his colonial secretary Oliver Littleton (1951 - 1956).

REASONS FOR THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

1. White settlers wanted to preserve their supremacy in Central Africa. At the time of conquest, the British showed their supremacy by use of the maxim gun. They found African societies very backward and disunited. They used this as an opportunity to impose their political, economic and social controls over the black populations. They lived a very high standard of living and considered Central Africa as their motherland. However, as time went by, African nationalistic agitation started questioning the white man's privileges. This made the white settlers to demand for a federation in order to preserve their political control over central Africa.

2. White settlers wanted to check against the growing tide of African nationalism. A federation would check the growth of African nationalism. Central Africans had resisted colonialism right from the time of its imposition. Earlier efforts included the Shona-Ndebele wars of liberation "Chimurenga wars' of 1896-7. Though Africans were defeated, their resentment a tool against up surging African nationalism resistance in resistance continued in different places, at different times and at different degrees. After the 2nd World war, the wind of change blowing over Central Africa ripped through. Young elites were restless, they started following the events in West and East Africa. Some even attended the 1958 Accra Pan-African Congress. As the nationalistic agitation for political economic and social freedoms increased, white settlers pushed for a federation (for security reasons).

3. White settlers wanted to gain political independence from their mother country Britain. All along, the white settlers wanted to control, rule and dominate the Africans. However, their home government was not in support for this. It wanted to protect the rights of the African majority. The British official position was summarized by Lord Pass field in the famous Passfield Memorandum of 1930. He argued that African interests had to be paramount. "This meant that if African interests clashed with those of Europeans, African interests would prevail." This annoyed the diehard white settlers who demanded for federation with an ulterior/hidden motive of shaking off British control over Central Africa.

4. The federation would check the Afrikaner interest in British Central Africa. In 1948, the Nationalist Party won the elections in South Africa and introduced the "apartheid" policy. This practically meant the separation of races with intent to develop them separately. The apartheid policy became so racist, oppressive and exploitative that it was bitterly opposed by liberals in Britain and the world over. The Liberal white Settlers in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasa land and the Northern Rhodesia also opposed apartheid. Although they wanted white supremacy in Central Africa, they didn't support harsh racist policies of South Africa. They were also aware of the hatred the Dutch/Boers/Afrikaners had towards Britain. This made Huggins to argue, but rather hypocritically, that a federation would help to block apartheid tendencies in Central Africa. Such an argument impressed Britain who supported the federation scheme.

5. The Hilton Young and Bledisloe Commissions favoured co-operation. These two commissions were sent by the British governments to study the quest for unification of Central Africa. The Hilton Young (1929) and Bledisloe (1938) commissions noted the economic interdependence between the three British Central African Colonies (Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). This would favour unification in the future. They couldn't recommend immediate union because they noted strong African opposition in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Africans in these two northern British protectorates had served as migrant labourers in Southern Rhodesia and hated the white settlers there for their excessive racism, oppression and land alienation.

6. Economically, the white settlers targeted central Africa's mineral wealth. Among others, Southern Rhodesia was endowed with gold while Northern Rhodesia was endowed with copper. In the early 1930s there was a gold boom in the South which made white settlers in Northern Rhodesia to push for cooperation with the South. As years went by, copper in Northern Rhodesia became more profitable than gold. This made white settlers in Southern Rhodesia to wish for a share in the copper profits. They therefore argued for amalgamation and later federation. As one settler put it, "Zambia was a huge copper mine whose potential millions would swell the Southern Rhodesian revenues.”

7. A federation would strengthen the economic interdependence between the three states. Prior to the union, the three British colonies were already economically interdependent. Southern and Northern Rhodesia depended on Nyasaland for cheap labour and coffee while Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia depended on Southern Rhodesia for manufactured industrial products such as sugar, tooth paste and textiles. During the 2nd world war, interdependence between the 3 territories was maintained. An inter territorial council was set up which launched inter territorial services e. g after the 2nd world war, the inter territorial council set up the Central African Air ways.

8. There was need to check against African threat in business. As the scope of economic activities expanded in the industrial and mining sectors, educated Africans formed trade unions in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. They started competing for the jobs in the mining and commercial centres. White settlers in Northern Rhodesia needed a federation so as to be helped by their fellow whites in Zimbabwe who were more strict towards Africans.

9. The federation was also designed to enable white settlers to reap the economies of scale. It was envisaged that a federation would lead to an enlarged market which would be in turn increase revenue. This revenue would be ploughed back into industrial and commercial agricultural production. The federation scheme would also open Northern Rhodesia to the ever increasing numbers of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. Over 16.000 immigrants entered Southern Rhodesia every year. They would find vast lands and employment opportunities in the North Rhodesian copper belt if federation became a reality. Above all, the federation would enable white settlers in all the three territories to access cheap labour especially from Nyasaland. The overall administrative costs would also be reduced.

10. White settlers wanted a federation to improve on power supply. Although the Zambian copper belt needed 80,000 tons of coal per month, it got only 54,000 tons. It had to rely on expensive American and South African coal from Lobito or on expensive wood to satisfy her power needs. The answer to reduce on the costly power supplies lay in the future establishment of Hydro electric power (HEP) stations. River Zambezi and its tributaries was endowed with water falls that provided the potential for HEP. The federation, it was hoped, would generate enough funds for Hydro Electric Power stations that would stimulate mining and industry and provide H.E.P for domestic use.

11. The federation would improve transport and communications. By 1948, there existed only single track railways to Cape town. Beirra and Lobito Bay yet trade was booming. There was need for double track railways and need to construct new railways to penetrate all industrial, mining and commercial agricultural areas. Heavy capital was needed for this. A federation was the answer because it would attract heavy foreign and domestic investments. Hence the federation.

12. It was hoped that a federation would introduce multi racialism. The British government policy was to fight against racial discrimination in all the 3 central African colonies. The British government position remained clear. It thought the federation would ease the racial relations. It wanted the federation to come up with a partnership between Europeans and Africans. This meant that Africans would also benefit from the economic advantages of the federation, from the educational opportunities and from the universal human rights.

13. The victory of the conservative party in Britain in October 1951 facilitated the formation of the CAF. In 1951, Winston Churchill was returned to power and he speeded up the process towards federation of British Central African States. The labour party had been rather slow and cautious of African opposition to the federation scheme. The conservative government was the exact opposite. It believed in the Whiteman's superiority over the blacks and was eager to handing over power to the white settlers instead of the blacks. Britain therefore supported a white dominated federation.

EFFECTS OF THE FEDERATION

1. Positively, the CAF resulted into an economic boom in the region. This was manifested by increased output in the industrial, mining and agricultural sectors. Particularly profitable was copper mining from the Zambian copper belt. The copper boom was due to the high demand on the world market. This kept copper prices high and fetched enormous revenues for the federation. The domestic income which was £26 millions rose to £369 millions in 1956. It should be noted however that Southern Rhodesia benefited more from the copper boom than both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Northern Rhodesia was the net loser. She helplessly looked on as her millions of copper revenues were drawn to develop Southern Rhodesian projects.

2. It uplifted the living conditions of some few Africans. Africans around the mining, industrial and commercial centres received increased wages and salaries. Secondly they more than doubled the production of maize, ground nuts and other agricultural produce. However, the deliberate increase of the taxes and prices of industrial products made their improved wages and salaries meaningless.

3. The federation government constructed the Kariba Dam between 1955 1959. It was located on the Southern bank of River Zambezi and helped to provide Hydro Electric Power (HEP) for industrial use, mining and other economic activities. The HEP was also vital for domestic use. In the process of constructing the Kariba Dam, the federation government created the world's largest man made lake by then. This became a tourist attraction that raised revenue for the federation. However, it should be noted that Southern Rhodesia benefited more from Kariba HEP station than either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland.

4. There was rapid urbanization. All settlements in and around key industrial and mining centres became rapidly urbanized. Towns like Salisbury, Bulawayo, Beira, Livingstone, Chipata, Mazabuka, Lusaka Broken Hill and Nkata Bay became net worked with modern transport and communication systems such as railway lines. Salisbury became the capital city of the federation. It blossomed into a modern town of sky scrappers, large hotels and organized traffic.

5. Socially the federation government tried to implement the multi-racial policy. It did so by setting up a multi racial university in Salisbury. A few Africans who benefited from this education became the champions of the African freedom struggle. Using the multi-racial policy, some few Africans were allowed to represent fellow Africans in the federal parliament. Racial discrimination was also abolished. "Even the Salisbury (Harare) swimming baths were finally declared open to all races though this created extreme white antagonism." All these multi-racial reforms were meant to convince Britain and the entire world, that white settler rule in Central Africa was beneficial to all races.

6. Negatively, the CAF escalated the land alienation problem. The economic boom that followed the declaration of the CAF attracted more and more Whites to Central Africa. To settle them, the federal government, apportioned them large tracts of land confiscated from the indigenous poor Africans. During the construction of Kariba HEP station, 1000 Africans (over 30,000) were displaced from the North bank of River Zambezi. This made Africans to oppose and fight the CAF leading to its collapse,

7. The federal constitution disenfranchised the majority of the Africans. This means that they were denied the right to vote. This came about as a result of setting up unrealistic pre-qualifications for one to vote. For example a voter had to be highly educated. The whites were also entrusted with the mandate to choose the African members to the LEGCO. This was unrealistic and only strengthened African political agitation within the federation.

8. It led to white domination of the federation. In Northern Rhodesia, the whites allocated themselves 14 out of 22 seats in the LEGCO. Those in the South increased their share to 44 out of 59 seats in 1957. This privileged position of the minority was unwise at the time when Africans were expecting freedom. It rendered the entire policy of racial partnership mere empty talk.

9. Socially the CAF worsened the race relations. The new settlers who came to Central Africa were younger, arrogant, racist and intolerant to the blacks as compared to their kinsmen who had stayed in Africa for long. Their actions rendered the policy of racial partnership theoretical. For instance, There existed two separate hospitals in Lusaka one for whites and another for blacks. The Lusaka city council tarred the road to the European hospital but not the 180 metres to the African hospital etc.

10. The CAF denied Africans access to higher/advanced education. Although the multi racial university college of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was set up, whites made African advancement to this university very difficult. Secondary school education for Africans was not well funded which made most Africans to fail the national exams leading to very few entrants into the University. It is not surprising that in 1964 at the time of her independence, Zambia was producing only 960 school certificate leavers annually. In the South, the pro-African Premier Garfield Todd was removed and replaced by Edgar White Head who abandoned liberalized education.

11. Economically, the CAF increased the gap between the whites and the blacks. The white farmers were greatly facilitated by federation government which enabled them to outcompete the black peasant farmers in urban and country side areas. Besides, colour bar in the mining and industrial centres eliminated the blacks from gainful employment. This was the case in the Zambian copper belt. The indirect taxes that Africans suffered on 2nd hand clothes and other finished product made Africans poorer.

In short, the CAF benefited Southern Rhodesia more than Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It had the federation's capital city, the federation's multi-racial university and benefited more from Kariba Dam's HEP supplies.

REASONS WHY THE CAF COLLAPSED

1. The CAF was strongly opposed by the Africans. Before its inception white settlers did not consult the majority of the Africans. The few elites who were involved in the process voiced their negativity to the federation scheme. "They showed themselves totally opposed to the federation. Despite African opposition, plans went ahead and the CAF was introduced in October 1953. Africans opposition was based on the fear that the CAF would increase European domination of Africans which would bring about loss of African independence. In 1953, Africans sent n anti- federation petition lo the House of Commons in London. It was signed by 120 chiefs who included Lozi, Ngoni and Bemba paramount chiefs.

2. The unequal sharing of benefits from the federation undermined its continuity. When the CAF started its operations, it became clear that it benefited the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia more than those in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. More than half of the federation's revenue was directed to finance developmental projects in Southern Rhodesia. The capital of the federation and the multi racial university in Salisbury were located in the South. Even the Hydro Electric Power (HEP) project was located at Kariba along Zambezi River instead of being constructed on Kafue River as agreed earlier in the pre-federation arrangements. The unequal share of benefits made white settlers in Nyasaland discontented and they wished to secede from it. Northern Rhodesian whites were also uncomfortable because their copper revenues were channeled to Southern Rhodesia.

3. Differences in racial policies led to the collapse of the C.A.F. The federation linked three territories with different racial policies and attitudes. Traditionally, the white settlers in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia had some respect for African rights. Before the federation, for instance, the white settlers in Northern Rhodesia had allowed Africans workers in the copper mines to form or join trade unions. On the other hand, white settlers in Southern Rhodesia believed in racial inferiority over the Africans. So, whereas the settlers in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were willing to implement the British proposal of racial partnership, those in Southern Rhodesia aimed at the white man's dominance over Africans. This too, spelt doom for the federation.

4. The "wind of change" after World War II damaged the federation. The end of the 2nd world war brought unprecedented radicalism and militarism throughout the African continent - central Africa inclusive. African ex-servicemen were nolonger ready to tolerate oppression and exploitation. Together with the emerging educated young men, ex-servicemen keenly followed the events of nationalistic struggles as they unfolded in West and East Africa. They leant about the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, the independence of Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco in 1956, Ghana's independence in 1957 and so on. These events set them into action against the Central African Federation.

5. The Pan African Movement contributed to the collapse of the federation. In pursuit of the objectives of the PAM, Kwame Nkrumah organized the "All African Peoples' Congress" in Accra in 1958 - a year after Ghana's independence. Central African nationalists were represented by Dr. Hustings Kamuzu Banda of Nyasaland (Malawi) and Mr. Harry Nkumbula of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). They learnt about the zeal that all young elites had for independence. On returning to their motherlands they started rehearsing the Pan African slogans like "Action now"'. Such pronouncement couldn't leave the federation standing.

6. The role played by the UNO deserves mention. Right from the time of its formation in 1945, the UNO took a critical line against colonialism. It advocated for the right of all colonized people to attain self government. When African nationalists petitioned the UNO against the CAF, they found support. Particularly supportive were the Asian representatives within the UNO. They helped to inform the whole world that the CAF was not based on partnership of races but on British settler domination over the Central African black majority. This spelt doom for the federation.

7. The oppressive, exploitative and racist nature of the federation led to its collapse. Britain supported the idea of the Central African Federation hoping to use it as a functional experiment in British multi racialism. The British government hoped that Africans and whites would unite, understand each other, intermarry, co-exist and develop together. This was only a theory! In practice, the white settlers and most especially the new immigrants showed unprecedented racial prejudice and arrogance. They abused Africans, assaulted them, paid them very little wages and salaries etc. All these served to increase African opposition to the federation.

8. The growth of mass African nationalism contributed to the collapse of the CAF. Owing to the denial of the voting rights, education rights, equal employment rights and so on, Africans decided to form associations to fight for their rights within the federation. In Southern Rhodesia, Joshua Nkomo formed the National Democratic Party (NDP) and later the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU). Then in 1963, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Robert Mugabe formed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). In Northern Rhodesia (Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda formed the United National Independence Party (UNIP). In Nyasaland, the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) was formed by Henry Chipembere and Chiume Kanyama. It was later joined and headed by Hastings Kamuzu Banda who later formed the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in 1959. All these opposed the federation.

9. The personal characters of Godfrey Huggins and Roy Welnesky were destructive to the federation. Sir Godfrey Huggins was the first Prime Minister of the CAF (1953-56). He was succeeded by Roy Welensky who later came to be known as Lord Malven. The two men were highly racist and did a lot to heighten the racial conflict within the federation. They were totally opposed to the ideal of multi racialism or racial partnership. Their actions and utterances poisoned any hope for racial partnership. Commenting about the partnership, for instance, Roy Welensky had this to say "...the African can never hope to dominate the partnership. The partnership is like that of a rider and his horse, the African being the horse..."

10. The emergence of firebrand nationalistic leaders signaled the collapse of the federation. Colonialism everywhere on the continent survived on the prevalence of the ignorant African chiefs and the moderate young African elites. The end of the 2nd world war, the formation of UNO, western education, the all peoples' Pan African Congress all combined to create a new brand of African nationalistic leaders in Central Africa. These included Robert Mugabe in S. Rhodesia/Zimbabwe,Kamuzu Banda in Nyasaland/Malawi and Kenneth Kaunda in Northern Rhodesia /Zambia. They were ready to sacrifice their jobs, lives and time to liberate their people. They all suffered brutal colonial violence in form of arbitrary arrests, banning of their parties, torture of their followers, imprisonments, hard labour and deportations. White settlers hoped to suppress their will. However, on their release in 1960, they simply continued decampaigning the CAF, thereby leading to its collapse in 1963.

11. The formation of the OAU in May 1963 precipitated the collapse of the CAF. At its inception, the OAU vehemently criticized the Central African Federation and vowed to fight it to the end. This finally convinced the British government and the international community at large that the CAF wouldn't survive any longer.

12. The political charges in Britain helped to hreak the Central African federation. Following the Suez Canal crisis of 1956, the British Prime minister, Anthony Eden, resigned and was replaced by Harold Macmillan. The office of the British Secretary for colonies also went to a new personality in the names of Macleod lan. Though the two men belonged to the conservative party, they were aware of the changes across Africa. They were also aware of the international damage that the CAF was causing to their home British government. They therefore responded boldly and realistically towards the CAF by giving it a safe landing. In 1960 Macleod Ian ordered the release of Central African nationalists like Kenneth Kaunda and Kamuzu Banda. As for Harold Macmillan, he sent two commissions to Central Africa to investigate the operations of the CAF and appointed Mr. R.A Butler to preside over the dismantling of the CAF.

13. The recommendations of the Delvin and Monckton commissions ruined the federation. These commissions had been appointed to find out ways how the federation could be preserved under racial partnership. However, their findings alarmed the British parliament and public. The commission under Lord Delvin revealed that Dr. H.K Banda and others had been arrested over fabricated stories and that Africans were totally against the CAF. A second commission under Lord Monckton was sent to central Africa to seek for public opinion about the future of the federation. It revealed the same results and recommended self government for Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. This spelt doom for the federation.

14. The independence of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia finally killed the federation. Nyasaland became Malawi on 6/07/1984 and Northern Rhodesia became Zambia on 24/10/1964.

NATIONALISM IN NY AS ALAND (MALAWI) 1944-1964

Present day Malawi was known as Nyasaland during the colonial era. Originally, Nyasaland was controlled by the British South African company but it later became a British protectorate. The British colonial office encouraged its citizens and other whites to move to Nyasaland and exploit its virgin political, economic and social opportunities.

FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN NYASALAND/MALAWI.

1. The unjust colonial policies ignited Malawian nationalism. The British colonial administrators and white settlers were not only racist but also very oppressive and exploitative. They did not only grab African land but also forced the local people to grow both food and cash crops. They used the 1946, 1949 and 1952 ordinances to order the blacks to cultivate all the arable land in the ridges and to de-stock their cattle. Such policies that were introduced by coercion annoyed the peoples of Nyasaland. One of the chiefs called Gomani instigated his people at Ncheu to oppose the unpopular agricultural policies.

2. Christian missionaries helped to awaken nationalism in Nyasaland. The early arrival of Scottish Christian missionaries turned Nyasaland into a pace setter for nationalistic struggles in British Central Africa. While imparting Christian values in their African converts, the missionaries encouraged them to stand up for their rights. They were particularly opposed to the amalgamation and federal schemes which sought to bring Nyasaland into closer co-operation with racist Southern Rhodesia. They supported the struggle for black majority rule and invented a slogan "Africa for Africans." This greatly inspired African nationalists.

3. , The early rise of independent churches in Nyasaland stimulated the nationalistic spirit. In reaction to the colour prejudice practiced by Christian missionaries, some African priests broke away from the white mission churches and formed theirs. For example, John Chilembwe broke away from John Booth's white missionary church and built the first independent church in central Africa on 23rd January 1915. He named his church "The Providence Industrial Mission" and got a number of aggrieved black followers especially in Blantyre region. His action impressed young nationalists like Chirwa who resolved to struggle for political independence.

4. The formation of political parties influenced the growth of nationalism in Nyasaland. In 1944, the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) was founded by earlier nationalists who included Charles Matinga, and Levi Mumba-who became its first president. The NAC united the elites such as civil servants, pastors and businessmen, demanded for improvements in education and condemned the oppressive and exploitative colonial policies. It achieved the appointment of some blacks on the LEGCO. The NAC was later banned in 1959 and was replaced by the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) which became more radical thereby stimulating nationalistic feelings in Nyasaland.

5. The rise of charismatic elites led to the upsurge of Nyasaland nationalism. These were a product of western education received both at home and abroad. They included Henry Blasius Masauku Chipembere and Kanyama Chiume who returned to Nyasaland in 1954 after years of studying abroad. They joined the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) and made it a radical and vibrant party. Another radical elite who returned to Nyasaland was Dr. Hustings Kamuzu Banda.

6. The formation of the Central African Federation aroused Nyasaland nationalism. Ever since the times of the British South African Company (BSACo), the peoples of Nyasaland hated any attempts to unite them with the other British East African or Central African colonies. When, in October 1953, the Central African Federation was born, it awakened Nyasaland nationalism to unprecedented proportions. It was immediately resisted by the elites, black pastors, local chiefs, ex-migrant labourers and illiterate masses who followed their opinion leaders.

7. The solidarity between tribes provided ground for the growth of Nyasaland nationalism. Unlike Northern Rhodesia where the Bemba were a dominant tribe or Southern Rhodesia where both the Shona and Ndebele boasted of being greater than the other, the peoples of Nyasaland/Malawi were generally at per. Probably due to similar ancestral backgrounds and uniformity in languages, the Yao, Ngoni, Cewa, Lala and Luba were respective of each other and worked together to achieve their nationalistic aims.

8. The return of Dr. Kamuzu Banda to Nyasaland fueled the nationalist spirit. Realizing that they were too young to cause a formidable impact on colonial masters, the young elites like Henry Chipembere, Dunduza Chisiza and Chiume Kanyarna invited Dr. Hustings Kamuzu. Banda to return home and give the liberation struggle the elderly and respectable leader that it lacked. He had spent over 40 years in U.S.A and Britain. He had also lived in Ghana since 1953. He accepted the invitation and returned to Nyasaland in July 1958. He soon took over and re-organised the NAC. His intelligence, Charisma, radicalism and experience helped to bring early independence to Nyasaland/ Malawi on 6th July 1964.

9. The African chiefs contributed to Nyasaland's nationalism. Most of these had been stripped off their traditional authority. They had been reduced to the status of mere village headmen. With all the talk about the Central African Federation (CAF), they feared to lose even the little powers that they had retained. This made them to throw their weight behind the 20th century charismatic young elites. Their support became stronger after the CAF was declared in October 1953. The chiefs mobilized their people to oppose it.

10. The role of ex-migrant labourers deserves mention. Many of these had served in Southern Rhodesia under forced labour circumstances. They had been exposed to the extreme cases of oppression and discrimination and never wished to see the same policies came to Nyasaland-their motherland. For this they opposed CAF and politicized fellow countrymen against it.

11. The small size of Nyasaland helped the nationalistic efforts. The young elites easily moved to each part of Nyasaland and sensitized its people about the independence struggle.

12. The formation of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) fueled nationalistic efforts. It was formed in July 1959, just 3'A months after the NAC had been banned. It was formed when Dr. B.K Banda was in prison and demanded for his release. Subsequently, he was released in April 1960 and became its leader.

13. The wind of change in Africa aroused nationalism in Nyasaland. All over the continent, Africans were agitating for self rule. The 1952 Egyptian revolution, the 1952-56 Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, the independence of Sudan and Morocco (1956), Ghana (1957), Guinea Conakry and Congo Brazzaville (1958), Nigeria (1960), etc all combined and consolidated the nationalistic spirit in Nyasaland.

14. The formation of native associations fueled nationalism in Nyasaland. These included the North Nyasa Native Association formed in 1912, the Mombera Native Association (1920) etc. They were formed early and comprised of mission teachers, church priests, government clerks, traditional chiefs etc. They were the first to discuss and point out injustices in the colonial system.

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NYASALAND.

THE NY AS ALAND AFRICAN CONGRESS (NAC)

The first modern political party to be formed was the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC). It was founded in 1944 by disgruntled but liberal elites such as James Fredrick Piangusi Sangala, Charles Matinga and W. H. Timcke - a British South African. Its first President was Levi Mumba. It contributed to the struggle for independence in Nyasaland as shown below;

1. It recruited a number of civil servants, 2nd world war ex-service men, ex-migrant labourers who had returned from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, businessmen, Church pastors, teachers, Clerks and later rural peasants. By 1957, the NAC boasted of having 60,000 native members.

2. The NAC evaluated the colonial policies and criticized the oppressive, exploitative and racist features of the white minority colonial rule.

3. It called for improvements in the education provided to the African children. For example, it called for increased funding, improved quality and introduction of higher education in Nyasaland.

4. It is credited for opposing the Central African Federation (CAF). Fearing that the CAF would destroy the hopes of future self government, the NAC vehemently opposed its introduction in 1953.

5. It called for unity of all blacks against the CAF. For example it appealed to chief Mwasa of Kasungu to join the opposition against the federation.

6. It toured the country and politicized the masses about the dangers of the CAF. It further sensitized the masses about the need to regain their political, economic and social freedoms. The attacks on the CAF attracted a massive following for the NAC. These included rural masses.

7. It successfully called for co-operation with the Native Associations that had earlier been formed by Nyasaland elites. This made the leaders of the native associations and local tribal councils to join and support the NAC. They allowed it to use their offices and funded its political rallies.

8. The NAC asked for support from the leaders of the independent African churches. This appeal was successful because African priests started using their pulpits in church to prepare the people for self government. For example Dr. Malekebu, the successor of John Chilembwe used the Providence Industrial Mission to criticize colonialism and to call for self rule in a way that his predecessor had done.

9. It is credited for using peaceful methods of struggling for independence. It did this by writing petitions to the colonial authorities and discouraging people from using violent demonstrations.

10. It set up a newspaper through which it sensitized the masses about their rights and the need to struggle for self determination. In the newspapers, NAC journalists wrote articles about the early nationalists such as Charles Domingo, Eliot Kamwana and John Chilembwe. The stories about the great sacrifices made by earlier nationalists inspired the young nationals to join the struggle for self determination.

11. It adopted a national flag, a nationalistic slogan "'Kwachwa" and proposed the name "MalawP'for independent Nyasaland. "Kwachwa'' meant "the dawn" of a new era of freedom and implied an end to colonialism.

12. It invited Dr. Hustings Kamuzu Banda to return to Nyasaland. Realizing that they were young, inexperienced and lacked proper command, the youthful nationalists decided to turn to Dr. Hustings Kamuzu Band for leadership. He was a son of Nyasaland who had worked as a doctor in the U.S. A and Britain for over 40 years. He had also worked in Ghana for about 5 years. He was elderly, fluent, charismatic, nationalistic and commanded respect from both the black masses and the colonial masters. While abroad, he had condemned the CAF and had written a number of newspaper articles against white minority rule in his mother country-Nyasaland.

13. Dr. Kamuzu Banda returned on 6th July 1958 and soon took over the leadership of the NAC. He vigorously denounced the CAF and encouraged the masses to rise up against all unjust laws and acts. His campaign resulted into destructive demonstrations especially in the northern parts. This made the colonial governor Sir Robert Armitage to declare a state of emergence in March 1959, to ban the NAC and jail its leaders including Dr. H.K Banda himself. About 52 Africans were shot dead and 1,346 thrown in jail.

THE MALAWI CONGRESS PARTY (MCP)

This was founded in July 1959 to. replace the banned NAC. It was founded by radical nationalists like Orton Chirwa who became its provisional chairman.

1. The Malawi Congress Party (MCP) vowed to continue with the struggle for Nyasaland's independence. In this way, it identified itself with the needs and aspirations of the masses.

2. It criticized the oppressive, racist and exploitative colonial policies such as the forced growth of food and cash crops, forced de-stocking of cattle, forced export of Nyasaland labourers to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and the like.

3. The MCP is credited for applying peaceful methods of struggling for self rule. From the start, Orton Chirwa and other MCP leaders explained that their new party would use constitutional means to attain colonial reforms and self government.

4. It demanded for the release of all political prisoners. This contributed to the release of Dr. Hustings Kamuzu Banda in April 1960. Many other innocent nationalists were also released by the new British colonial secretary Iaian Macleod.

5. The MCP travelled across the entire country sensitizing masses about their rights and called upon them to support the struggle for self determination. Its political rallies/campaigns became more frequent and marked by extreme and violent energy after the release of Dr. Banda. Everywhere he went, he was welcomed as a hero. This enabled him to gain firm grip over the MCP and to campaign for its candidates in the then awaited pre-independence parliamentary elections.

6. The MCP sent its representative Dr. K. Banda to London to participate in the pre- independence constitutional talks. This was in July and August 1960. Accordingly, it was agreed that the LEGCO had to contain 28 members, twenty (20) of whom were to represent the blacks. The MCP again participated in the November 1962 constitutional talks held in London.

7. The MCP is credited for participating in the 1961 pre-independence elections in which it won all the 20 seats. Thereafter, five members of the MCP were appointed to Ministerial posts with Dr. Husting K. Banda taking over the ministry of natural resources and local government. By the beginning of 1962, Dr. Banda had become the Prime Minister of Nyasaland with powers to make policies. Accordingly, he expanded secondary education, searched for markets for farmers' produce etc.

8. The MCP contributed to the collapse of the CAF. Just like its predecessor the NAC, the new Malawi Congress Party strongly opposed the CAF, decampaigned it and appealed to the international community to oppose it. This, among others, contributed to the end of the CAF on 31st December 1963.

9. It contributed to the secession of Nyasaland from the CAF in December 1962. Soon after, in January 1963, Nyasaland was granted responsible self government with Dr. Banda as Prime Minister. His government was predominantly made up of MCP members.

10. It participated in the April 1964 elections in which MCP candidates won 50 seats.

11. It provided able, focused and charismatic leadership which led Nyasaland to independence on 6th July 1964. Upon obtaining independence, Nyasaland adopted the name Malawi.

12. It called for unity of all blacks against the federation and against colonial rule in general. Its leaders explained the value of unity and dangers of disunity. This made all people of Nyasaland from the North to the South to unite behind their leaders so as to attain a common good/goal.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY DR. HUSTINGS KAMUZU BANDA

Husting Kamuzu Banda was born to a peasant at Kasungu in 1902. He received missionary education and later received scholarships for further education in U.S.A and Britain. He graduated as a medical Doctor in 1941. Though a medical Doctor, he became interested in the political events going on in his country Nyasaland.

- While in the UK, Dr. Kamuzu Banda opposed the plans to create the Central African Federation.

- He wrote inspiration letters to young Nyasaland nationalists encouraging them to continue with the struggle against white minority rule.

He approached the labour party parliamentarians in Britain and urged them to debate against the proposed CAF.

- When the CAF was declared in October 1953, he left Britain in disgust and went to Gold Coast where he served as a Doctor. He got the opportunity of following up Kwame Nkrumah's methods of struggling for independence which he later applied back home in Nyasaland.

- He returned to Nyasaland on 6th July 1958 and took over the leadership of the NAC. He radicalized the NAC by calling for positive actions against foreign domination.

He attended the 1958 all African Peoples Congress in Ghana. Though he had been prevented from leaving Nyasaland, he managed to beat the colonial government's security and left the country.

He was arrested for his radicalism by the CAF government in 1959 along with many other nationalists. However, this did not suppress the nationalistic spirit in Nyasaland. His arrest turned him into a liberation hero.

- While in prison, he sent inspirational messages to fellow nationalists to sustain the struggle for self determination.

- He worked hard to unite the peoples of Nyasaland.

- On his release in 1960, he was given leadership of the newly formed MCP.

He participated in the 1960 and later 1962 constitutional talks organized by the British colonial secretary in Lancaster House in London.

- He participated in the 1961 and 1964 pre-independence elections which were won by the MCP representatives.

- He accepted to be a leader of the internal self government by taking up the post of Prime Minister.

He successfully led Nyasaland to independence by accepting the instruments of .independence on 6th July 1964. The country took the new independence name Malawi.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND THE ZIMBABWEAN LIBERATION WAR

Southern Rhodesia was conquered by the British merchants working under Cecil Rhodes of the British South African Company (BS A co.). The company encouraged a number of white settlers to migrate to the area which was named Rhodesia- after Cecil Rhodes. The BSA company men later handed the territory over to their mother country Britain. Because the British government did not have enough man power, it authorized the company men and settler farmers to govern Southern Rhodesia on its behalf It was to do this by setting up a proper administration and police force so as to maintain law and order in the territory. This was done in 1923 and from then on, the white settlers got a mandate to exercise their powers over the local people.

White settlers introduced very oppressive, exploitative and racist policies that drove the local people-the Shona, Ndebele and Rwozi into a war of liberation. The Zimbabwean struggle for independence started way back in 1896-1897 in form of the Shona-Ndebele risings-popularly known as "Chimurenga'" (liberation) wars. Though the nationalists were defeated at that time, their resentment against foreign domination continued using both peaceful and violent methods. After the 2nd world war, Zimbabwean nationalists became more militant and formed militant movements such as the ZANU and its military wing the ZANLA.On 29th April 1966, real modern guerilla war began and only ended with the attainment of Zimbabwe's independence in October 1980.

REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF THE U.D.I

1. The 1923 internal self government of Southern Rhodesia led to the announcement of the UDI. The British government had given the white settlers freedom to set up an efficient administrative structure in Southern Rhodesia, to run the army, police, judiciary and civil service. The British had vowed never to intervene in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia unless law and order collapsed. This influenced Ian smith to announce the UDI.

2. The rise of Ian Smith to power in April 1964 led to the UDI. He was conservative, racist, reactionary and rebellious. He believed in the white man's supremacy over the blacks and this made him declare the UDI.

3. The rise of racist Nationalism also led to the declaration of the UDI. The white settlers were arrogant and considered Africans as inferior and politically immature. They claimed that it was the duty of the white race to rule over the blacks; hence the announcement of the UDI.

4. Economic considerations led to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in southern Rhodesia. The minority white settlers had vast wealth in Southern Rhodesia. They had large farms and business investments, which they wanted to protect. Hence their hostility to the idea of majority African rule in Southern Rhodesia and their declaration of the UDI.

5. Sir Harold Wilson's remarks precipitated the formation of the UDI. It is true that he was strongly opposed to Ian Smith's philosophy behind the UDI. It is also true that he warned the white Rhodesians about the likely tragic consequences of the uDi. However, he promised never to use force in the if the UDI was formed. This promise by Harold Wilson had loopholes and served as an open cheque to the already rebellious Ian Smith.

6. The military weakness of Britain gave way for the UDI. This led to the belief that Britain was incapable of invading Southern Rhodesia and gave them confidence to rebel. Firstly, Britain had been militarily and financially exhausted by the 2nd world war. Secondly the British parliament was unlikely to allow military action against Southern Rhodesians since they had many kin and kith within Britain.

7. The influence of South Africa led to the UDI. In 1910, South Africa had come under minority white rule. The whites had succeeded in establishing an effective apartheid system of administration and were very prosperous. The whites in Southern Rhodesia decided to emulate South Africa by making the Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

8. The influence of the triumvirate led to the UDI. This was an understanding between Dr. Salazar of Portugal, Vorwoerd of South Africa and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia. They agreed to prolong the white man's stay in Africa and to jointly suppress nationalistic activities. This too influenced the declaration of the UDI.

9. The influence of USA also led to the UDI. In 1776 the Americans had declared their independence from Britain and the Irish had done the same in 1918. This influenced Ian Smith to take a bold step of declaring the Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

10. Rhodesia's military and economic strength made her announce the UDI. The several years of investments had boosted the economy of the white settlers in southern Rhodesia. They had also established a strong police and army and felt confident that they could stand on their own. The settlers were also confident that Britain would not intervene into the affairs of S. Rhodesia since she had economic problems at that time.

11. The fear of African nationalism led to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Southern Rhodesia. There was a wind of change sweeping across Africa and in S. Rhodesia, Africans had formed the ZAPU- Zimbabwe African peoples' Union, the ZANU - Zimbabwe African National Union and others. Young nationalists like Rev. Sithole Ndabaningi, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe were calling for self government. The UDI was to check against such nationalistic sentiments.

12. The rise of the Rhodesia Front Party led to the announcement of the UDI. This radical party was under Winston field and advocated for the right of the white minority to rule the black majority. It won the 1962 elections and opposed the white liberals like sir Edgar White head. In 1964, the radical RFP was blessed with the rise of Ian Smith and hence the UDI.

13. The formation of the OAU also led to the UDI. This was because the OAU had started de-campaigning the white minority rule and called for majority black rule in Southern Rhodesia. The 1964 OAU summit in Cairo demanded for the transfer of political power to blacks in S. Rhodesia but this was viewed as dangerous- hence prompting the UDI.

14. The collapse of the Central African Federation paved way for the UDI. After its collapse, Malawi and Zambia obtained independence and this made whites in Southern Rhodesia to panic in fear that majority rule was eminent in their country. Hence the declaration of the UDI.

15. The conflicting opinions between the settlers and the British government paved way for the UDI. Britain wanted majority rule in S. Rhodesia while the white settlers strongly advocated for white minority rule in the country. This made the white settlers to move very fast and hence the announcement of the UDI.

16. The desire to civilize Africans led to the UDI. The white minority claimed that Africans were still backward and unable to govern themselves. It was the duty of the civilized and christianised whites to administer them. They claimed that black majority rule would lead to mismanagement of politics and the economy as the case was in post independent Congo.

17. The divisions amongst Nationalists favoured the declaration of the UDI. Already, there were misunderstandings between the ZANU of Sithole Ndabaningi and the ZAPU of Joshua Nkomo. Whites took advantage of these divisions to declare white minority rule, to ban political parties and den franchise the Africans.

18. The co-operation of some African chiefs e.g. Jeremiah Chirau made whites carry ahead the plan of dominating S. Rhodesia- hence the declaration of the UDI.

THE EFFECTS OF THE UDI REGIME

• It resulted into great sufferings of the majority blacks in South Rhodesia. A state of emergency was declared and prices were raised for blacks.

• It concretized the white man's supremacy over the indigenous blacks.

• It soured the relations between the white settlers and their mother country Britain.

• It attracted world wide opposition. Britain, USA and other world nations declared it illegal.

• The UDI faced strong opposition from the OAU member states.

• It resulted into international UN economic sanctions against the white minority government.

• It propelled Africans towards violent nationalistic activities. Both the ZANU and ZAPU formed the ZANLA and ZIPRA to fight the UDI.

• The UDI exposed the hypocrisy of some world nations which continued trading with the illegal regime e. g Japan and some firms from USSR, Britain and USA.

• The economic sanctions boosted the local manufacturing industry in Southern Rhodesia. This, however, still benefited the minority white settlers.

It resulted into diplomatic talks between Ian Smith (Premier of South Rhodesia and Harold Wilson (Premier of Britain) and later between Ian Smith and the U.S.A secretary of state Henry Kissinger

The UDI negatively affected the independent government of Zambia. Economic sanctions affected Zambia even more than the UDI government in Southern Rhodesia,

The Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique and Afrikaner white minority in South Africa gave support to Smith's UDI regime.

It resulted into the triumvirate alliance. This was an agreement between minority whites of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and both Mozambique and Angola.

REASONS FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE UDI

The UDI government was formed amidst internal and external opposition. It couldn't survive for long. Formed on 11th November 1965, the UDI government was no more by 1980. In that year, Africans obtained independence. Its collapse was due to both internal and external forces.

Firstly, the UDI government was opposed by the British government right from the date of its inception. This was because it was a rebellious action of the white settlers against their mother government led by Premier Harold Wilson at that time.

The UDI collapsed due to world wide opposition against it. Almost all world nations never recognized its legal existence/declared it as illegal.

The UDI was weakened by the economic sanctions. Britain immediately imposed economic sanctions against the UDI and influenced the UN to make them mandatory to all members of the UN.

The UDI was opposed by African nationalists due to its in human and anti African policies. They turned to violent guerilla acts that weakened it e. g ZANLA and ZIPRA guerillas intermittently burnt white settlers' industries, residences and farms.

The UDI collapsed due to the flight of some white settlers back to Europe. They fled due to mounting insecurity caused by Zimbabwean nationalist guerillas. The UDI was even opposed by the liberal minded white settlers within South Rhodesia itself e. g Garfield Todd who even joined the ZAPU. Such white opposition caused its collapse.

It was strongly opposed by the OAU which instructed its liberation committee based in Tanzania to support the Zimbabwean guerillas. In turn the OAU advised both the ZANU and ZAPU to unite since they were fighting a common enemy. This led to the formation of the Patriotic Front which destroyed the UDI.

• The UDI government was weakened by the collapse of the "triumvirate" alliance. This followed the 1974 coup in Portugal which ended Portugal membership in the triumvirate.

• The military and financial assistance from socialist states to African freedom fighters contributed to the collapse of the UDI.

• The UDI faced strong opposition from the Common Wealth States which held Britain responsible for the sufferings of Africans under UDI. This made Margaret Thatcher take bold steps to destroy it.

• The coming to power of Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Jimmy Carter in U.S.A precipitated the collapse of the UDI.

• The UDI was weakened by Front Line States. They did not only impose economic sanctions against Smith's UDI regime but also physically assisted the guerilla war efforts against it.

• The independence of Zimbabwe's neighbours weakened the will of the UDI regime. In 1975, both Mozambique and Angola became independent. This wiped the war morale in Southern Rhodesia and psychologically weakened the UDI regime.

• The withdraw of South African support from the UDI signaled its collapse. In its early years, the UDI largely survived on South African military and financial support. From around 1975 however, the South African Prime Minister B.J. Vorster realized that the UDI in Southern Rhodesia wouldn't survive. He pressurized Smith to negotiate with nationalists.

• The UDI regime collapsed due to its financial and military exhaustion. White settler volunteers were tired of fighting a losing and costly war.

CAUSES OF THE ZIMBABWEAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The causes of the Zimbabwean liberation war can be traced from the unrealistic, oppressive, exploitative and racist policies of the British white settlers that annoyed the indigenous Africans.

• The Zimbabweans fought so as to regain independence. They had lost their political freedom to the British white settlers. The traditional African chiefs were unhappy to lose their authority. They mobilized their people for a liberation war.

• Africans wanted to regain their land. The white settlers had grabbed almost all the fertile agricultural land of the Shona, Ndebele and Rwozi.

Zimbabweans wanted to end the in human conditions in the reserve areas.

Those whose land was grabbed had been sent to live in the overcrowded, unproductive, dry and Tsetse fly infested reserves. They fought to end this.

Indigenous Zimbabweans fought to end the white man's economic exploitation. White settlers had not only grabbed Africans land but also cattle. They went a head and extracted African minerals like gold and chrome. All these exploitative acts angered Africans and drove them into war.

Forced labour which was imposed on Africans by white settlers contributed to the war. Africans were forced to work on farms, in mines and so on, a thing they detested/hated.

Unfair taxes and harsh methods of collecting them annoyed Africans and drove them into war e. g the tax for polygamous men.

Africans were annoyed by the white man's monopoly of trade. They controlled both import and export trade and charged high prices on finished products.

Zimbabweans were tired of the brutality and cruelty of the white settler police force. It used to arrest, torture and kill innocent blacks.

The banning of African political parties aroused more resentment against the white man. All their parties like the ANC (Rhodesia), NDP, ZAPU and ZANU were banned at different times. Africans wondered why this was happening and fought for their rights.

Africans fought in order to end the white man's racism or superiority complex. Whites discriminated the Zimbabweans in all spheres e. g African hospitals and schools were very poorly equipped while those of the whites had modern facilities.

The few educated Zimbabweans wanted to end job discriminations in the colonial administration and the LEGCO. That is, they wanted political participation.

The Zimbabweans were sick of the white man's cultural imperialism.

Whites had destroyed the traditional African religious and social beliefs and practices. This left people anomic and wanted cultural revival.

Zimbabwean nationalists were annoyed by the white settler divide and rule policy. The whites used to exaggerate the traditional differences between the Shona and Ndebele and encouraged them to develop separately.

Africans were provoked into war by the theoretical mulfi racial policy. The C.A.F claimed it wanted to initiate multi racialism but ended up being racist. War was inevitable.

•The proclamation of the UDI in November 1965 sparked off the violent war of liberation. It was a declaration that Zimbabwe had become a white man's country with no prospects of future black majority rule.

THE ROLE OF THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was one of the liberation movements that fought for Zimbabwe's independence. It was formed in 1963 by Revered Ndabaningi Sithole, Robert Mugabe and Herbert Chitepo and drew most of its support from the Shona speaking people. It was a break away party from the Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU) which had become tribalistic. Its president was Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole while Robert Mugabe became its secretary general. Herbert Chitepo was the co-ordinator of the ZANU branch in exile in Zambia. The main aim of the ZANU was to fight for African majority rule.

1. The ZANU provided capable and charismatic leadership to the freedom movement. Its first president was Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole (1963-1969) who was later succeeded by Robert Mugabe in 1970 up to the date of Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. These leaders were intelligent, determined, focused and fearless. They were ready to die for their mother land.

2. The ZANU criticized the oppressive minority UDI regime under Ian Smith. Right from the time of its inception, the UDI was vehemently opposed by the ZANU. This was because the UDI implied no independence for the African majority. It also criticized the UDI for its reactionary measures such as arrests without trial, brutal suppression of peaceful protests and racism. It also criticized the UDI even beyond the borders of Southern Rhodesia and did a lot to arouse world opinion against it.

3. It is credited for forming the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA). This was the military wing of the ZANU and was under the command of Josia Tongorara. All the aims, strategies and activities of the ZANLA were geared towards attaining majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, hence a credit.

4. It recruited and trained a number of Zimbabweans. These included youths, men and women. Some of these were school leavers and aggrieved rural peasants or migrant labourers. The ZANLA (military wing of the ZANU) provided them with guerilla war skills/tactics such as taking cover, frog matching, surprise attacks and so on. By 1975, ZANU fighting strength was estimated at 19,000 men within Rhodesia itself, 5,000 men in Mozambique and 2500 at Villa Perry transitional camp.

5. The ZANU uplifted the status of women. Unlike traditional African customs that limited the women's ability to household kitchen and garden work, the ZANU extended the women's roles to the battle field. It trained them to serve as spies on the UDI troops, a role they satisfactorily did. Women also served as cooks, nurses/first aid givers and active combatants in war zones. The courage they exhibited made the undecided men to feel ashamed and join the battle field, thereby contributing to the liberation struggle.

6. The ZANU mobilized and politicized the Zimbabwean masses. This followed the April 1966 clash between ZANU men and Smith's forces in which the ZANLA lost many men. The local populations were astonished to see the ZANLA guerillas and didn't offer them support. Some villagers even betrayed the guerillas to the UDI authorities. This made the ZANU to quickly realize its mistake and to quickly Address it. It had not sensitized the masses. Hence forth, it embarked on a massive and aggressive mobilization and politicization of the masses about the intentions of the ZANU and its ZANLA forces. This reduced the fear that the locals had at the first sight of guerillas. They supported them in future campaigns and thereby leading to success.

7. The ZANU turned itself into a mass liberation movement. Though it started as a break away of the Shona people against Ndebele tribalism, it was careful to avoid the mistakes of its parent movement -the ZAPU. It quickly appealed to all freedom lovers in Southern Rhodesia to join it. This attracted the Shona, Ndebele, Rwozi and Karanga tribes. Promotion to high ranks within the ZANU was due to merit but not tribe. Even migrants from Malawi and beyond were welcome. This helped to create tribal unity at a time when ian Smith was cultivating tribal divisions in S. Rhodesia, hence a role towards liberation.

8. It obtained military and financial aid from China. This enabled it to get trainers and modern weapons such as the AK47 riffles, the grenade bombs, pistols, Anti Air craft guns, bullets and so on. With these, the ZANU started competing on a leveled ground with the UDI troops which had hitherto boasted "...what ever happens, we have the maxim gun and they don't..."

9. It established strong links with the FRELIMO of Mozambique. From 1969, ZANU leaders held talks with Samora Machel. The fruits of these talks were joint military training between the ZANU and FRELIMO fighters who were fighting the oppressive Portuguese regime in Mozambique at the time. They also came in joint training with the South African ANC guerillas who were receiving training in Mozambique. This joint ZANU-FRELIMO-ANC training yielded dividends first for Mozambique (1975), next for Zimbabwe (1980) and finally for South Africa (1994).

10. It solicited for assistance from the OAU's liberation committee. The chairman of this committee, Julius Nyerere, was a vehement opponent of the UDI white minority government in Southern Rhodesia. He eagerly provided advice, finances and weapons to the ZANU but within the limits of the OAU budget for liberation wars.

11. The ZANU exiles in London used the newspapers to criticize Ian Smith's regime. This helped to internationalise the crisis in Southern Rhodesia. They wrote articles about the brutality and racism of the UDI regime. They held the British government responsible for heavy crimes against humanity since the minority whites in Southern Rhodesia were mainly of British origin (British citizens). The ZANU men also asked the British government to send aid to Rhodesian African refugees in Mozambique. They were suffering due to Britain's weakness and inability to dismantle the UDI. Robert Mugabe moved to Britain and other European states soliciting for assistance for the ZANU.

12. The ZANU asked for assistance from the international University Exchange Fund (IUEF) based in Geneva. This Organisation extended scholarships to Zimbabwean youths which enabled them access quality education in higher institutions of learning.

13. It applied the hit and run surprise attacks to weaken Smith's regime. In 1973, the ZANU launched a series of attacks on white owned farms and houses in the North Eastern part of Rhodesia. It stock piled arms in the suburbs of Salisbury and planned night surprise attacks on key buildings and on white die hard supporters of Smith in Salisbury. It destroyed the beer stall and ware houses, blew up bridges, maimed roads, destroyed the fences of protected villages, burnt buses etc...This led to panic amongst Ian Smith's troops. There was loss of fighting morale in UDI troops and big numbers of white settlers started fleeing the country due to mounting insecurity and heavy white causalities.

14. The ZANU demanded for the release of its imprisoned leaders. This and other demands were a precondition for talks between freedom fighters and the Smith regime. Other demands were the disposal of all protected villages and end of all guerilla trials and executions. The UDI conceded and the Lusaka talks went on, Leading to the 1974 Lusaka agreement by which Robert Mugabe along with other political detainees were released.

15. ZANU voiced its dissatisfaction with the 1976 talks between Smith and Henry Kissinger - the USA secretary of state. According to the ZANU spokesman, the talks were good but came too late and were giving Smith an improved international image at a time when freedom fighters had already weakened him. According to the ZANU, USA's shouts of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia were hypocritical because U.S.A was milking chrome from Zimbabwe. She was only interested in protecting her business interests. If she was concerned about the suffering lot of the African Rhodesians why didn't she come in earlier when Smith was still too strong.

16. The ZANU joined hands with the ZAPU to form the Patriotic Front (PF). Since the two had a common enemy, they were advised by the QAU to unite as a pre-condition for logistical support. The ZANU saw nothing wrong with this since the two movements had a common cause and common goal. On 9th October 1976, the ZANU and ZAPU formed the P.F under the co-leadership of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. From then on the struggle became more successful. Both co-leaders of the PF attended the Geneva conference on Zimbabwe that began on 28th October 1976. The two leaders made it clear that the talks and the armed struggle would continue simultaneously since Smith had fooled them enough.

17. The ZANU initiated reforms in its liberated villages/zones. By 1979, the ZANU claimed control of 90% of Zimbabwe. The UDI had lost control over the countryside. This made the ZANU to design revolutionary administrative units/structures. Right from the village to the district levels, the ZANU set up revolutionary committees. It set up the village courts to try both civilians and guerillas. This ensured discipline. It also set up schools in which free cost education was provided. It destroyed the strong and high walls of the protected villages and released the people who were suffering in village camps.

18. The ZANU criticised the multi racial government led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Having noticed the extremism of the freedom fighters during the 1976 Geneva Conference, the Smith regime turned to moderate nationalists within the ANC. These included Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau. They worked out an internal settlement that was to bring about Multi racialism. The multi racial government came into effect on 3rd March 1978 and was led by Reverend Abel Muzorewa. The PF was opposed to this internal multi racial government which should have come earlier during federation years (1953-1963). The PF termed it as a trick and as kicks of a dying horse. The PF appealed to the international community to reject it as well.

REASONS FOR THE DELAYED INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

1. The formation of the C.A.F. and UDI. The Central African Federation was formed in 1953 and the UDI in 1965. Both were against the growth of African Nationalism in Southern Rhodesia e.g African political parties were banned and the UDI constitution denied Africans a right of joining parliament.

2. The influence of the triumvirate. This was an understanding between Verwoerd of S. Africa, Ian Smith of S. Rhodesia and Dr Salazar of Portugal. The three leaders agreed to assist one another against African nationalists. They decided to turn their colonies into residential countries for white men. This delayed Zimbabwe's independence.

3. The unseriousness of Britain. It is true that Harold Wilson's government declared the UDI as illegal. Unfortunately, it never dispatched troops to suppress the rebellious whites. More to this, the British public opinion was in support of their relatives in southern Rhodesia. This led to the delay of S. Rhodesia's independence.

4. The ineffective sanctions against the whites led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The oil sanctions monitored by Britain at Port Beirra backfired since South African shell companies supplied oil to S. Rhodesia.

5. The economic strength of the whites led to the delayed independence of southern Rhodesia. The whites had a prosperous economy. Their agricultural and industrial products found market in south Africa and Portuguese Africa. This rendered the economic sanctions ineffective.

6. The Military strength of Smith's government. The white minority government had a large, well trained and well equipped army of about 3,400 regular soldiers, 4000 reserve soldiers and several African soldiers. In addition South African forces supported it. All this led to the limited success of nationalistic forces.

7. Natural epidemics also limited the success of African liberation fighters in S. Rhodesia e.g In 1973, there was an out break of the Cholera epidemic which claimed the lives of hundreds of nationalists. This inevitably led to the delayed independence of Rhodesia.

8. The weakness of the OAU led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The member states of the OAU lacked a common stand against the UDI. Some radical African countries proposed the cutting off of diplomaticties with Britain until it suppressed the UDI, while others opposed this . In the meantime of indecision, the UDI government continued.

9. The double standards of the UNO also led to the delayed independence of S. Rhodesia. The UN termed the Rhodesian question as an internal affair, which would best be handled by Britain. It even never monitored the sanctions against S. Rhodesia. Major stakeholders within the UN continued trading with Southern Rhodesia unabated e.g Britain and U.S.A.

10. The brutality of the whites against nationalists led to the delayed independence. The wrhite minority police used to suppress peaceful demonstrations kill unarmed demonstrators and the like. Zimbabwe's nationalists like Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo spent many years in jail; newspapers and political parties were banned etc. This scared a number of Africans and hence the delay of independence.

11. Divisions amongst nationalists. The ZAPU was mainly a party for the Ndebcle tribe while the ZANU was for the Shona people. Several attempts were made to unite these parties e.g in 1971-72 but in vain. This made it easier for the whites to prolong their minority rule in Zimbabwe.

12. The collaboration of some African Chiefs with the minority whites led to the delayed independence of Zimbabwe e.g Chief Jeremiah Chirau and Abbey Muzorewa worked closely worked with Ian Smith's racist government. This increased the white men's morale to rule Zimbabwe.

13. The disenfranchisement of Africans made them politically backward and delayed the independence of S. Rhodesia. The 1970 constitutional arrangement eliminated Africans from the voting lists and this left them as political virgins until 1980.

14. The influence of the cold war also led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The nationalist parties in Zimbabwe were initially communist oriented and received support from the Eastern block. This made USA, Britain and other Western capitalist powers to secretly support the minority white rule as a check against communism.

15. The civil wars in Angola and Mozambique enabled the whites to prolong their rule in S. Rhodesia. The two countries would have provided military assistance to S. Rhodesia but since they were politically unstable, this became impossible and thus a chance to Ian Smith’s regime.

16. The direct assistance of South African forces enabled the white minority rule to become prolonged until 1980.

FACTORS FOR ZIMBABWE'S INDEPENDENCE

The nationalistic struggle finally resulted into Zimbabwe's independence on 18th April 1980. This put an end to the UDI. Factors, which favoured Zimbabwe's independence, were as follows:

1. The 1974 Lisbon Coup paved way for Zimbabwe's independence. Gen. Spinola led a successful coup against the conservative Portuguese government. This led to the collapse of the triumvirate and thus the weakness of the UDI.

2. The loss of support from South Africa also favoured nationalists and led to the independence of Zimbabwe. Desires of improving South Africa's international image, Verwoerd reduced his relations with Salisbury (capital of S. Rhodesia.) This weakened the UDI and strengthened the nationalists.

3. The reforms of ZAND and ZANLA in liberated areas contributed to massive support in form of foodstuffs, information and the like. This naturally led to the success of nationalists and the failure of UDI. Reforms included free education, democratic elections, discussions etc.

4. The change of leadership in USA and Britain contributed to the independence of Zimbabwe. USA under Jimmy Carter and Britain under Margaret Thatcher pressurized the minority whites in S. Rhodesia to grant majority rule. It is interesting that USA also pressurized Britain, which in turn organized the 1979 independence conference in Lancaster House, London. A ceasefire, new constitution and independence elections were agreed upon. Hence the April 1980 elections which were won by Robert Mugabe.

5. The role of the OAU through its liberation committee deserves mentioning. In December 1965, it held the Addis Ababa conference in which member states vowed to fight against the UDI using all means available and indeed the OAU gave moral and the little financial help it could afford.

6. The independence of Zimbabwe's neighbours facilitated her independence e.g Angola and Mozambique got independence in 1975 and inspired more nationalistic effort in Zimbabwe.

7. Support from the Communist block: Zimbabwe's ZANU and ZAPU guerrillas (ZANLA and ZIPRA) obtained considerable financial and military aid from China, Yugoslavia, and Russia etc... This contributed to success.

8. The role of traditional leaders helped in weakening the UDI. Both the political and religious /spiritual leaders of the Ndebele and Shona people inspired the youths to join the nationalist movements. They promised them protection from their ancestors etc... This led to swelling numbers of guerrillas and hence the independence of Zimbabwe.

9. The adoption of guerrilla tactics led to the success of nationalists in Zimbabwe. Through their hit and run tactics they managed to strike important economic installations of the racist government, e.g the terrorist activities of the Patriotic Front, which was a merger between the ZANU and ZAPU in October 1976 , led to the closure of 967 schools, 122 clinics and 28 major hospitals. This gradually weakened the UDI minority government.

10. The personality of Robert Mugabe who called for unity amongst the various tribes led to the independence of Zimbabwe. He was non-discriminative, recruited men and women, elites and peasants etc...

11. The role of Common Wealth States can't be forgotten. Common Wealth countries such as Nigeria, Zambia, Australia and others isolated Rhodesia and pressurized the British government to grant political rights to the African majority in Southern Rhodesia.

12. The Frontline States also contributed to the independence of Zimbabwe. States like Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia helped the Zimbabwean nationalists morally, financially and militarily. For instance, in Mozambique, the ZANLA had joint Soviet military training with the FRELIMO. In Zambia, Zimbabwean guerrillas also enjoyed joint training with those of the ANC. Hence sharing ideas, tactics and weapons.

13. The release of Zimbabwean nationalists in 1974 also led to Zimbabwe's independence. These included veteran guerrilla leaders like Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. They called upon the ZANU and ZAPU to unite, hence the formation of the Patriotic Front (PF).

CONSEQUENCES OF THE ZIMBABWEAN WAR

• The war resulted into colossal loss of human lives. Many Africans died of live ammunitions or war related causes like hunger and disease.

• It resulted into economic destruction and retardation. Useful economic installations were bombed by the ZANU and ZAPU guerillas so as to sabotage the white settler minority government. This did not only affect the European owners but also African workers whose wages were reduced.

• It resulted into a refugee crisis. A number of Zimbabweans fled to Zambia, Mozambique and Angola. They suffered deprivation, exhaustion, inadequate supplies, diseases and hunger. In Mozambique and Angola, they found more anti-colonial wars and were forced to join guerillaism.

• The war caused hardships for Zambia. It had the biggest burden of Zimbabwean refugees and was accused by the UDI government for supporting its enemies. Her power supplies from Zimbabwe were cut off by the UDI government causing losses in the copper belt.

• It resulted into the formation of the triumvirate. This was a gang of three . dictators namely Dr. Salazar of Portugal, Ian Smith of Zimbabwe and Verwoerd of South Africa. They resolved to help each other trample on African political, economic and social rights.

• It resulted into economic sanctions imposed against the white minority regime (the UDI). These caused sufferings even to Africans who had to consume finished goods at more than double the original price.

• The war resulted into diplomatic efforts to end it. For instance the USA secretary of state Henry Kissinger met Ian Smith the Premier of the UDI government in 1975 in an effort to end both the UDI and the war.

• The war drew the church into fighting for peoples' rights. Bishop Abel Muzorewa is well remembered for his unceasing nationalistic efforts.

• The war resulted into world wide opposition against the white minority regime. For example the UNO and OAU voiced their support for ZANU and ZAPU against white scaler selfish domination of Africans.

• It introduced socialist/communist ideas in Zimbabwe as both ZANU and ZAPU leaned on support from China and Russia respectively.

• It resulted into the independence of Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe in 1980. He carried out political, social and economic reforms and formed a multiracial government.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Why did it take so long to end the UDI in Southern Rhodesia?

2. Discuss the causes and effects of the Liberation war in Southern Rhodesia.

3. Assess the contribution of the ZANU towards Zimbabwe's Independence.

4. Assess the contribution of Robert Mugabe towards Zimbabwe's independence.

# CHAPTER ELEVEN

# NATIONALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Originally, South Africa was a purely black man's country. However it was later infiltrated by whites e.g the Dutch from Holland (1652 onwards) and the British (1795 onwards). After the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886, more foreigners from Europe , Asia and America poured into South Africa for a fortune.

Conflicts soon arose between the British and Boers to determine who would be the future master of South Africa. In 1910, the British and Dutch (Boers) signed the Act of nion by which a joint European government was established in South Africa. It clearly exccluded the blacks and became the basis of the future apartheid policy in S. Africa.

# THE ORIGINS OF APARTHEID

Apartheid was a policy, which emphasised the superiority of the whites over all the non-white races in South Africa. In practice, it meant racial stratification, segregation against :in-whites and separate development. Its origins were as follows:

1. Misinterpretation of the Bible: The Dutch used the Biblical story about Noah and his sons to justify apartheid. Noah blessed his son Shem but cursed Ham whom he assigned a duty of being Shem's slave. The Dutch called themselves descendants of . Shem and the non-whites, descendants of Ham,

2, The influence of the Church: Preachers of the Dutch reformed Church referred to the Dutch /Boers as God's chosen nation and added that South Africa was their land of Canaan.

3. The development of Afrikaner nationalism: The Boers or Afrikaners as they later came to be known, believed that they were a master race and if their race was to be preserved, they had to practice apartheid to avoid contamination. They became proud, arrogant and nationalistic. They argued that equality with blacks would threaten their mastership/baaskap.

4. The need to exploit Africa's wealth. The Dutch introduced apartheid so as to monopolise South Africa's minerals, rich soils and conducive living environment. They had to do this by repressing and crushing the spirit of Africans.

5. The need for cheap labour. The Boers/Afrikaners had set up several plantations, factories and mines and needed labour. However, Africans were unwilling to work for whites. Africans preferred to work at the Cape where the British were not discriminative. So, in order to prevent the movement of labour out of their territories, the Boers introduced apartheid.

6. It developed out of fear. When the whites realised that they were a minority and that Africans and Asians were the majority, they developed a fear that in future, the non-whites would easily combine to oust the whites. Moreover by 1948 a number of Africans had received modern Education. This made them develop the apartheid policy out of fear.

7. The influence of Nazism and Fascism. During the 2nd world War, the Germans and Italians spread their nazi and fascist ideas by which stronger races (whites) had a duty of ruling the weak ones (e.g Africans). Being close relatives of the Germans, the Dutch teachers and university professors took up and spread Nazism in South Africa. No wonder why apartheid was made an official policy in South Africa in 1948.

8. The rise of African nationalism. As South African blacks became learned and came into contact with nationalistic ideas, they started demanding for political, 'economic and social reforms. They used strikes, demonstrations, protests and boycotts. The Dutch saw this as a danger to their status and introduced apartheid.

9. The need to limit competition with Asians. The commercially skillful Asians had invested heavily in South Africa and were threatening to over take the Boer merchants. Apartheid was therefore introduced to forestall this competition and prevent the Asian repatriation of profits from S. Africa.

10. It was a way of fighting British Liberalism. There existed a number of liberal minded British at the Cape. These emphasised the equality of all races, the rights of Africans and Asians to vote, form and join trade unions etc. This was looked at as a danger, which would jeopardise the Boer/Afrikaner Superiority in South Africa- hence the introduction of apartheid.

11. The fear of communism. Following the 1917 Russian revolution, communist ideas started spreading to other parts of the world. The poor whites in South Africa took up the ideology to express their disappointment with the rich whites in S. Africa. This made the Nationalist party to introduce apartheid as a way of appeasing the poor whites.

12. The rise of the Nationalist Party to power led to the introduction of apartheid. The leader of the N.P, Dr Mallan was a believer in the white man's superiority and to gain more popularity amongst whites, he introduced apartheid.

# APARTHEID IN PRACTISE/THE APARTHEID LAWS

From 1948-1970s, a number of apartheid laws were enacted to promote the philosophy of the white man's superiority and the inferiority of Africans, Indians and coloureds.

Some of these laws were:

1. The Asiatic law Amendment Act, which was passed in 1948. It withdrew the . Asian representatives from parliament. Hence forth, the South African parliament became purely racist.

2. The Prohibition of mixed marriages Act was passed in 1949. It made marriages between whites and non-whites illegal. Its aim was to preserve the racial purity of the Dutch/whites.

3. The unemployment Insurance Act of 1949 denied the majority of Africans and immigrant workers the right of being insured. Only those workers who earned more than 182 pounds a year enjoyed the insurance cover. Most Africans earned far below that salary annually.

4. The immorality Amendment Act of 1950 prevented any form of sexual intercourse between whites and non-whites e.g fornication and prostitution.

5. The population Registration Act of 1950 categorised the peoples of South Africa into racial groupings namely, the Europeans, coloured Africans and Asians. These were not entitled to the same rights.

6. The Group Areas Act of 1950 created separate residential areas for various races. 86% of the land of South Africa was allocated to the minority whites while only 14% went to the rest of the races.

7. The natives Act of 1952- a mere amendment of the Passbook law, required all Africans to move with reference books/pass books. This was aimed at limiting the movements of Africans. Many were imprisoned for not bearing passbooks. A passbook recorded one's name, age, race, origin, residence, photograph, and reference number.

8. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 introduced separate schools, colleges and universities for various races. The best institutions went to the Europeans. Missionary schools, which used to give standard education to Africans, were closed. The Minister of Education, Hendrick Verwoerd condemned Africans to an inferior type of education.

9. The 1952 natives Act reduced the numbers of Africans living in towns. By chance, , if an African was allowed to live in a certain town, he had no right to reside in - another town. Europeans could terminate one's right to reside in a town and would deport him to the rural area e.g when one was ill, too old etc.

10. The separate Amenities Act of 1953 further denied the Africans access to certain public facilities e.g vehicles.

11. The Native Labour Act of 1953 made strikes and trade unions illegal.

12. The Native Resettlement Act of 1954 removed 57,000 Africans from Johannesburg town to Soweto black mens' slum. Even in Soweto, Africans were grouped into different tribes.

13. A Criminal procedure Act of 1955 empowered police to search a black man's house without a warrant.

14. The Industrial conciliation Act of 1956 prohibited the mixed trade unions and reserved some jobs strictly for whites. Blacks were entitled to the dirty manual jobs.

15. The 1957 native laws introduced segregation in worshipping places!

16. The nursing Act of 1957 introduced discrimination in nursing schools and hospitals.

17. The Promotion of Bantu self government Act of 1959 provided Africans with a limited form of self-government in their squeezed reserves. However this was a mockery because African representation in South Africa's parliament was abolished and even the chiefs ruling the Bantu governments (Bantustans) were appointed by whites.

18. The unlawful organisations Act of 1960 abolished African political parties e.g the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the ANC.

19. In 1963, critical publications- about 8000 in total were banned.

20. The No-Trial Act of 1963 empowered the minister of justice to imprison anyone for any crime- real or unreal. This saw the imprisonment of several innocent Africans who simply fell victim of the sudden desire of the minister and police.

21. The Bantu Homelands citizenship Act of 1970 made every African a citizen of a certain ethnic homeland outside South Africa. It recognised black countries like Botswana etc. By law, these were not part of South Africa.

# THE REACTION TO APARTHEID

Being segregative, the apartheid policy was greatly opposed by Africans, the coloureds and Asians. Interestingly, even sorns liberal white clergymen and intellectuals opposed it as an evil for mankind.

In 1912, the South African Native Congress was formed to defend the rights of Africans and other non-whites. It was renamed African National Congress (ANC) in 1925. It used peaceful methods of seeking for change in South Africa. From the mid 1940s, the young members of the ANC e.g. Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Anton Lembede turned to radical means of seeking for change. The African opposition to apartheid can be summarised below:

1. The use of diplomacy. This involved sending African representatives to London and the United Nations General Assembly to protest against the racist acts/laws .

2. The use of Ghandism. Between 1948-1960, Africans mainly applied peaceful methods to weaken apartheid. E.g The youth wingers of the ANC organised sit down strikes, hunger strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and other forms of civil disobedience.

3. Trade Union pressure. Most of the industrial strikes were organised by the COSATU- the Co-ordination of South African Trade Unions.

4. The formation of political parties. These included the ANC and later the PAC. These helped to mobilise the masses and sensitise them about the need to fight against apartheid.

5. The 1952 Defiance campaign. The ANC organised a campaign to defy the racist laws in South Africa. It was joined by men, women , blacks, Indians and some white liberals. Areas marked "whites only" e.g parks, offices, toilets, restaurants, buses etc... were targets of these demonstrations.

6. The alliance between non-whites. In 1953, a congress of all peoples was formed at Kliptown and in 1955 the representatives of the ANC, the coloured peoples' organisation, and liberal congress of Democrats for whites met at Kliptown and formed a closer association. Due to their common goals, they issued a "freedom charter" calling for equality of all races. This was due to the efforts of Chief Albert Luthuli.

7. The alliance between races was followed by several demonstrations in 1956 and 57 but all were violently crushed.

8. The bus fare boycott. In 1959, Chief Albert Luthuli (the ANC president) organised a boycott against the high bus fares in Alexandria township. For three months African workers walked to and from the places of work until the bus fares were reduced. He also organised a potato boycott to demand for better working conditions.

9. The formation of the PAC. In 1958, the youths within the ANC formed the Pan African Congress with an aim of speeding up the liberation of South Africa. It was under Robert Mangaliso Tsobukwe- a linguist at Witwatersrand University until 1960 and an editor of "The Africanist" until 1957.

10. The use of critical writings. A number of novels magazines and newspaper articles were used to fight against apartheid. These included novels like "Cry The Beloved Country" by Alan Paton, "Mine Boy" by Peter Abrahams etc. Artists also composed songs and drew pictures against apartheid.

11. The sharpville demonstrations and Massacres. In 1960, a joint ANC-PAC demonstration was organised to sharpville to protest against the passbook and other racist laws. The South African police reacted by shooting 67 peaceful demonstrators and injured about 180. Nelson Mandela called for a sit down strike to mourn the death of their members but this led to a state of emergency during which several Africans, Asians, coloured and their white sympathisers were arrested. Then in 1961, the South African government banned both the ANC and PAC. Hence the ghandism/peaceful methods had failed.

12. The turn to violence. In June 1961, the ANC led by Nelson Mandela formed the "UmKhonto We Sizwe" (the spear of the nation). It recruited a number of youths whom it secretly sent to Algeria, China etc. For training. By May 1963, it had carried out 193 acts of sabotage against the apartheid regime especially in Eastern Cape and Port Elizabeth.

13. The formation of the POQO. The PAC also formed a violent wing- the POQO (Let us go it alone). It used pangas, spears and the like to terrorise tourists and even to kill the blacks who collaborated with the racists. They also destroyed plantations. The militant nationalists started hitting sensitive economic targets e.g the Standard Chartered Bank in 1970.

14. The 1976 Soweto protests and massacres. When the South African government declared Afrikaans as the official language, African school children organised a protest at Soweto. Police reaction was harsh and left 176 dead, several wounded while many fled to neighbouring countries for military training.

15. The growth of black consciousness: It was an idea propounded by Steve Biko from 1968 when he formed the SASO-South African Students' Organisation for University students. Later, two organisations came up and were - the South African Students Movement (SASM) for secondary students and the Black Peoples' convention (BPC) for non-students. The idea of black consciousness was a call upon blacks and non-blacks to understand the sufferings of the natives in their land and to call for equality with the whites. The SASO, SASM and BPC recruited Africans, Asians and coloureds.

Steve Biko's ideas largely influenced the Soweto students' Representative Council (SSRC) to organise the Soweto rising. After the Soweto massacres, more and more students fled to Tanzania, Angola, and Algeria etc. for military training. Meanwhile, students un-rests, workers' strikes and the terrorist activities of the POQO and UnKhonto we Sizwe continued. The coloured blacks and Asians were acting together in these strikes.

16. The return of ANC guerrillas. From 1978 onwards, a number of ANC guerrillas started returning to the country and carried out a number of brave acts of Sabotage e.g the 1980 attacks on Sasol I and Natref plants at Sasolburg in Orange Free State.

External Reaction

17. The formation of frontline states. The states neighbouring South Africa decided to join the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. They did this by training ANC and PAC guerrillas, providing them with secondary education uniform, food, cine and asylum. These states included: Angola, Tanzania, Zambia, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Botswana. Their activities helped to weaken apartheid.

18. The formation of the SADCC. In order to blockade South African's trade, South African countries formed the SADCC- South African Development Co-ordination council. It prevented the movement of cheap labour from SADCC countries to the pretoria apartheid regime. It also denied a market to South African products. This was to cripple South Africa's economy and bring her to her knees.

19. Expulsion from the common wealth. The former British colonies in Africa and Asia had formed their organisation called the British Common Wealth. They used this organisation as a platform to criticise apartheid in South Africa and to foster development and co-operation among members of the Association in 1961. The common wealth further exerted economic Sanctions against her.

20. Isolation from the Olympics. The international Olympics committee also banned South Africa from participating in World Olympic games. The International Labour Organisation (ILO), FAO, WHO, UNICEF etc. also cut off dealings with the racist South Africa. This international social and cultural isolation led to discontent amongst whites within South Africa. They in turn opposed apartheid.

21. Pressure from investors. The international corporations, which had invested heavily in South Africa, pressurised the Pretoria government to abandon apartheid because it was causing them business losses resulting from Sanctions, guerrillas attacks on their firms etc.

22. Pan African pressure from U.S.A. The Pan Africanists within U.S.A. pressurised the Jimmy Carter regime (1977-1980) to slam a trade ban on South Africa and cut off diplomatic and military dealings with her.

23. Pressure from communist countries. The Eastern block branded apartheid as "a son of capitalism". This led to the spread of communist ideas in South Africa and neighbouring countries. The communist countries even provided arms to ANC and PAC guerrillas. This weakened South Africa.

24. Opposition from the OAU and UNO. The OAU in particular was committed to the liberation of South Africa. It condemned the Sharpville and Soweto massacres and pressurised the UNO to impose sanctions against the South African apartheid regime.

25. Opposition by the church. Both the South African clergy and international churches condemned apartheid e.g Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa.

# THE STEPS TAKEN BY WHITES TO END APARTHEID

Right from the start, the white urban workers opposed apartheid - especially the laws against trade unions. However their riots were crushed by the police e.g in Johannesburg in 1914, police shelled the trade union headquarters.

The United Party under Smuts and Hofineyr opposed apartheid laws. However, the death of their leaders in the 1940s weakened such opposition.

- In 1951, the Torch Commando Organisation was formed. It was made up of a number of white ex-service men led by sailor Malan- a former air force pilot. However, police was brutal towards the protests organised by the Torch Commandos.

- In parliament, the United Party representatives continued condemning the apartheid laws and policy. (This was between 1960 - 1979).

- Another party- the Liberal Party opposed apartheid but the white liberals were harassed by the Nationalist government police and gave up.

The Progressive Party's representative Helen Suzman also opposed apartheid.

- From 1965 onwards, Verwoerd (Prime minister) introduced the policy of detente by -which he opened up dialogue with a number of African states. However his major aim was to improve relations with other African states and get a market for South African's goods. Some heads of states like Dr. Banda of Malawi and Bokassa of Central African Republic, Leopard Senghor of Senegal and Houphounet- Boigny of Ivory coast opened up talks and business with South Africa.

- When Pieter Botha came to power in 1978, he started a positive trend towards dismantling apartheid. His September 1979 speech was full of inspiration and hope for the ANC and PAC nationalists. He called for an end to discriminations.

- Botha allowed Africans to join trade unions and to use strikes as a mode of expressing their dissatisfaction.

Pierer Botha also introduced some constitutional changes whereby he set up two Presidential Councils, one for whites, coloured and Asians and the second for blacks in Bantustans. These Presidential councils were purely advisory.

Better housing facilities and wages were granted to urban workers.

Social places like theatres, restaurants and sports grounds were made open to all and hence no races in urban centres. However in rural areas, the situation remained unchanged.

In 1985, sexual relations between peoples of various races were made free. Intermarriages were allowed.

A number of white liberals continued with their pressure for reforms through out the 1980s.

- The Dutch reformed church also called for reforms in the apartheid policy after realising the increasing world condemnation of the system.

- In 1986, the passbook laws were abolished and this was a big step towards dismantling apartheid.

- In the same year U.S.A stopped giving loans to South Africa. This weakened apartheid.

- Meanwhile pressure for African elites, church leaders like Desmond Tutu, artists like Luky Dube and ANC guerrillas continued.

- In 1989, F.W. De Clerke came to power with a lot of determination to end apartheid.

- In 1990, he released political prisoners including Nelson Mandela who had served imprisonment for 27years.

- De Clerke legalised the ANC and started negotiations with black nationalists.

- He granted independence to Namibia in 1990 and this was a great step towards the black man's freedom in South Africa.

- He dismantled all the apartheid laws in both urban and rural areas. Henceforth Nelson Mandela called for an end of ANC violence and peace talks continued.

- He made arrangements for a new multi-racial constitution to be discussed by representatives from all races in South Africa.

- He organised the 1994-multi racial elections, which were won by the ANC. Hence forth, a government of National Unity came in place under the presidency of Nelson Mandela.

# FACTORS WHICH FAVOURED THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

- The use of Ghandism whereby South Africans carried out several strikes, boycotts and demonstrations helped to weakened apartheid.

- The formation of political parties like the ANC, PAC and the Zulu Inkatha etc.

- The financial and military assistance from the frontline states.

The use of violence /guerrilla war fare by the ANC and PAC which formed the Umkotho we Sizwe and POQO respectively.

- The rise of strong nationalist leaders like Albert Luthuli, Steve Biko, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi etc.

- The role of the black consciousness movement.

- The financial, moral and military assistance from the OAU.

- The imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa by the international community weakened the apartheid regime.

- The dismissal of South Africa from the common wealth.

- The dismissal of South Africa from the international Olympics.

- The role of Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu who spoke fiercely against apartheid.

- The role of Oral and written literature.

- The role of Music, Dance and Dramma.

- Pressure from communist countries.

- The independence of South Africa's neighbours e.g Mozambique and Angola in 1975, Zimbabwe in 1980 and Namibia in 1990.

- The collapse of the cold war between 1985-1991 made Britain, France , USA to pressurise South Africa to dismantle apartheid. They had secretly supported south Africa as a check against communist ideas in neighbouring Angola and Mozambique.

- The rise to power of F.W. De Clerke in 1989 and his reforms.

- The release of political prisoners of war and the extension of amnesty to all political exiles.

- The break up of the triumvirate , which used to extend military and economic support - to South Africa.

The wave of disturbances within countries whose leaders supported apartheid e.g Margaret Thatcher of Britain faced scandals and resigned in November 1990, the wave of multi-party disturbances in Malawi and Zambia made Kamuzu Banda and Kenneth Kaunda reduce their connections with South Africa, etc.

# OBSTACLES TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INDEPENDENCE (1931 -1996)

1. The enactment of racist laws. The South African government enacted the pass book law which limited the free movement of non-whites, the residential areas Act which restricted Africans to certain areas, the non-intermarriage Act which prevented intermarriages between various races, the communist act which prevented freedom of association, etc. All these made Africans unable to organise meaningful nationalist movements. Hence delayed independence.

2. Inferior education. The Bantu Education Act prevented the advance of Africans in terms of education. Africans were subjected to inferior primary education. They were denied secondary and tertiary education. This made them slow thinkers with no political skills. Hence many Africans accepted their status as migrant labourers and this delayed the independence of south Africa.

3. The use of terror against nationalists also demoralised them. The South African police used to arrest and detain people without trial, to torture them with corporal punishment, electric shocks, long term imprisonment etc.. For instance, Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for 27years, Steve Biko was tortured, sustained brain injuries and died in prison in 1977, the ANC chairman -Oliver Tambo was exiled in London etc.

- In 1960, Africans who were demonstrating peacefully at Sharpville were crushed with brutality, killing 67 people and injuring 180 others.

Then at Soweto in 1976 police killed 176 Africans. All the above brutal reactions demoralised the nationalists and delayed the attainment of South African's’ independence

4. The creation of Bantustans Bantu home steads also delayed the independence of South Africa. The group areas Act of 1952 created residential states for Africans. These were created along ethnic lines and in the process promoted ethnicism and lack of inter-tribal co-operation against whites. Africans were granted Pseudo independence in these Bantustans. This made them to think that they were independent which was false. They realised when it was too late, that Bantustans were an obstacle to South Africa's independence.

5. The strong espionage network also delayed the attainment of independence in South Africa. This was because the spying network was used to check African liberation movements e.g the BOSS (Bureau of State security) and the PISCO (Parliamentary Internal Security Commission) that spied on the anti-Pretoria movements both within and outside South Africa.

6. The ban on political parties such as the ANC, PAC and SACP (South African Communist Party) led to the delayed independence of South Africa.

7. The formation of the triumvirate. The three rulers namely, Don Salazar of , Portugal, Verwoed of South Africa and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia had met and agreed to retain their colonies as white men's countries. They had promised to help each other and this practically weakened the nationalists in South Africa.

8. The co-operation of some African States with the South African apartheid regime also led to the delayed independence of South Africa. Such countries included Lesotho, Malawi, and Swaziland which continued trading with South Africa.

9. The strength of the South African Army- the SADF (South African defence force) also led to delayed independence. It was large, well trained and had strong weapons. By 1984, South Africa had 27,000 reserve soldiers, 75,000 paramilitary commandos and 51,000 infantry. To this was added South Africa's nuclear capacity which scared the neighbouring states that were harbouring ANC rebels.

10. The delayed independence of her neighbours, e.g Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia etc. led to the delayed independence of South Africa. For long South Africa didn't have practical examples of independence struggles.

11. Ideological differences between nationalists led to lack of serious co-operation against the apartheid regime e.g the Inkatha Freedom Party preferred the use of peaceful methods to attain independence wile the ANC favoured the euse of force. Later there also cropped up divisions within the ANC. All these delayed the attainment of independence.

12. The economic strength of South Africa enabled her carry on with apartheid despite the international economic sanctions against her. South Africa was/still is, an industralised country and this contrasted with the economic poverty of Africans.

13. Conservative leaders like Dr. Mailan, Verwoed and Vorster could not grant African Freedoms. They frustrated the African struggle for equality and it wasn't until the coming to power of F.W. De Clerk in 1989 that fundamental changes leading to the independence of South Africa started.

14. The influence of the cold war also led to the delayed independence of South Africa. This was because the Western Capitalist powers kept on supporting South Africa so as to check against the growing forces of communism in neighbouring Angola and Mozambique.

15. Political instabilities within the front line states also delayed the independence of South Africa. The apartheid regime made sure that it caused political instability in whichever country harboured the ANC rebels e.g It gave financial and military assistance to the UNITA to distablise the MPLA government in Angola which was assisting ANC rebels. In August 1979 South Africa's jet planes bombed the ANC rebel training camps within Angola. This hindered the quick progress towards independence.

16. The weakness of the O.A.U, in financial and military terms also led to the delayed independence of South Africa.

17. The double standards of the UNO, which imposed halfhearted sanctions against South Africa, also enabled the white minority regime in South Africa to perpetuate its apartheid rule.

# THE IMPACT OF APARTHEID.

1. It created racial mistrust. The segregative tendencies of the whites created tension, mistrust, hatred, suspicions and fears between the different races in South Africa namely- whites, coloured, Asians and blacks.

2. The creation of Bantustans- the Bantu self-government act of 1959 created separate states for Africans. These were created along ethnic lines- hence, Boputhaswana was for the Tswana, Lebowa for the Sotho, Debele for the Ndebele, Gazankulu for Shangane/Thonga, Venda for the Venda, Swazi for Swazi, Kwazulu for the Zulu, Ciskei for Xhosa, Transkei for Xhosa and Basothogwa for the Sotho.

3. It poisoned national unity in South Africa. This was because various tribes of South Africa were grouped differently and in this case, didn't see a need of uniting. No wonder why some nationalist movements were formed along tribal lines e.g the Inkatha Party for the Zulu. The prohibition of intermarriages aid provision of separate education systems to various races also poisoned national unity and consciousness.

4. High illiteracy levels. Due to a poor education system, Africans not only felt inferior but the majority remained illiterate. When Afrikaans language was made compulsory in schools, a number of African teachers and pupils boycotted schools. All these contributed to illiteracy in South Africa.

5. Loss of African land. The various land acts that were passed deprived Africans of their land . Hence the white minority (about 19% of the total population) received about 87% of the land while the majority Africans and other races were entitled to only about 13% of the land.

6. Poverty amongst Africans. Due to loss of land, low wages at places of work, denial from participating in mining and commerce. Africans were impoverished to a level below the poverty line. Until today, most wealth- at least 80% is concentrated in hands of the minority whites.

7. It bred a culture of violence in South Africa. Since all the avenues of attaining freedom peacefully had been exhausted, South African nationalist had to resort to acts of urban terrorism, guerrilla warfare etc.

8. It led to political instabilities throughout the South African region e.g The apartheid regime decided to sponsor guerrilla activities in neighbouring states e.g RENAMO in Mozambique, UNIT A in Angola etc. In turn, these supported the ANC and PAC rebel against the Pretoria regime.

9. It defranchised Africans. Africans were not allowed to vote and were not given sensitive posts in the politics of South Africa. The result was that by the time of independence- 1994, about 20 million Africans had no idea of campaigning, voting and the like.

10. Economic retardation of South Africa. Due to the international economic sanctions and the acts of sabotage by ANC and POOO rebels, South Africa in general remained more economically backward than it would have been. Without apartheid, South Africa would have been amongst the G8 in the world.

11. It distabilised African families. This was not only due to migrant labour but also due to the fleeing of the youths and husbands into the bush to join the ANC and PAC guerrillas. A number of families suffered social destitution, many women remained widows while others turned to prostitution.

12. It created a class of social deliquents. These were especially the youths whose life experiences were characterised by strikes, war, sufferings and killings right from childhood. They took to drug abuse, acts of terrorism etc.

13. It led to the formation of the SADCC- the South African Development Co-ordination Council that was an economic union of the South African states to blockade the trade of the racist South Africa.

14. It led to the formation of the front line states, which included Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and Mozambique.

15. It exposed the double standards of some African states e.g Malawi and Zambia which despised and abrogated the sanctions against South Africa.

16. It exposed the UNO's double standards. This was because the UNO never put in place measures to punish countries that despised the economic sanctions against South Africa. Hence Britain. France and even USA continued dealing secretly with the apartheid regime.

17. It strengthened the Afro-Arab solidarity. This was because the Arabs continued giving aid to the rebels against the apartheid regime.

18. It accelerated the cold war. This was so because the communist block continued training and arming the ANC and PAC guerrillas operating in Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania etc. while the Western Capitalist block secretly equipped the racist regime in South Africa.

# THE CREATION OF BANTU STANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Bantu Stans or Bantu home lands were small territories curved/created by the apartheid regime for the black man's settlement. They were created along tribal lines and included Bophuthatswana for the Swana, Lebowa for the northern Sotho, Ndebele for the Ndebele, Kwazulu for the Zulu and Tsonga, Ciskei and Transkei for the Xhosa.

Verwoerd had the following reasons for creating Bantustans:

1. To keep the blacks and whites apart territorially. This would help to achieve apartheid's aim of separate development.

2. To create a large reservoir for labour. The whites set up a number of industries along the boarders of the Bantu homelands to achieve the apartheid aim of exploiting cheap African labour from the Bantustans.

3. Since Bantustans were too small, they were created so as to avail the white farmers large pieces of land for agricultural development.

4. Verwoerd wanted to grant independence to each Bantustans. If Bantustan became independent states, this would automatically make the blacks in these states foreigners in South Africa. Hence this would justify denying them political and civil rights.

5. Verwoerd intended to reduce the number of blacks claiming for their rights to reside in urban centres.

6. To return millions of Africans who were underemployed or unemployed in cities to the rural areas where they could find employment in industries surrounding the Bantustans.

7. Verwoerd aimed at limiting the growth of mass African nationalism. He would achieve this by grouping people of the same tribe together in the same Bantustan. This would promote ethnicism or parochialism and would prevent massive resistance to apartheid.

8. Verwoerd claimed that he wanted to retribalise Africans who had been detribalised by city and industrial life.

9. Another aim was to promote the white man's superiority over the Africans.

NB. With time, each Bantustan was granted independence and hence making Africans legally foreigners in South Africa.

- Local governments were organised and manned by Africans themselves.

- - Africans elites in administrative posts in Bantustans were diplomatically treated as social equals with their counter parts in white South Africa. This was because they would help the industrialised white South Africa to market her products in the densely populated Bantustans.

# THE FAILURE OF BANTUSTANS

Since 1960, the "homelands" policy was a failure due to the following:

1. The Bantustans were too small and over congested. Their normal population capacity was 2 million people according to the 1954 Tomlison Commission report. However by 1971, about 7 million blacks were living in Bantustans. Originally they were mere labour reserves where Africans would migrate to work places but now they became independent states! They therefore lacked the resources to carry out the functions of states.

2. Natural calamities. The Bantustans were curved out of areas that were infertile and threatened by both aridity and soil erosion due to floods. These added to an evergrowing population led to Bantustans failure.

3. General poverty in Bantustans. The Bantustans were lacking in minerals, industries, airfields, railways, roads, schools, power stations and productive land. All these advantages were concentrated in the vast white occupied lands (87% of the land for only 19% of the whites while the 80% Africans and coloureds occupied only 13% of the land!). This made Africans in Bantustans jealous of the whites, a thing that caused unrests and failure.

4. The absence of industrialisation. Plans for industrialising Bantustans have generally remained blue prints. The few and weak industries within Bantustans could only employ about 13,000 workers, mostly women! Even the conditions in boarder industries were very appalling- poor wages, housing etc. Hence by 1974, the average income in Bantustans was 97 dollars a year as compared to Ivory Coast's of 387 dollars annually.

5. Agricultural decline also led to the failure of Bantustans. These areas were too congested to support any meaningful agriculture. To make matters worse was soil erosion in Ciskei, Transkei and Kwazulu, then aridity in Bophuthatswana; then Mountanious lands etc.

6. Social disruptions also led to the failure of Bantustans . The African family institution was greatly disrupted, creating a class of destitute people in homelands. Wife substitution, prostitution, alcoholism became characteristic of Bantustans hence undermining the policy.

7. Failure of retribalisation. Whites aimed at preventing intermarriages between various tribes and to keep each tribe distinct from others. This failed amongst urban workers and even in rural Bantustans; it was meaningless since South Africans were basically homogeneous. There were only two linguistic groups- the Ngoni and Sotho speakers. Hence much as they were separated still nationalistic ideas moved from one homeland to the other.

8. Independence was a mockery. It was funny to refer to the overcrowded and poverty strike labour reserves as independent states. Some of them had no definite boundaries. They could be reduced in size as per the interests of the whites e.g Rrichards Bay was reclaimed by whites from Kwazulu homeland because it had become prosperous! Such independence was a sham!.

9. World opposition to Bantustans. Apart from South Africa, the rest of the world's nations refused to recognise Bantustans as independent states.

10. Opposition from African leaders. Not all Bantustan leaders were happy with their so-called independence e.g Chief Buthelezi of the Kwazulu rejected such a mockery and insisted that it was the responsibility of the rich South African government to cater for the needs of all the races in South Africa. Buthelezi was bitter because the South African government had removed the population of Africans from South Africa's population statistics!.

# REASONS FOR THE INCREASED OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AFTER 1945

1. The influence of the 2nd World War. During this war, a number of South Africans served in East Africa, the Horn of Africa and other areas. They came into contact with new people, new ideas and obtained military skills. The ex-service men became determined to end apartheid and many of them joined the Torch commando organisation.

2. The impact of the 5th Pan African Congress also explains the increased opposition to apartheid. Amongst South Africans who attended was Peter Abrahams. At the Congress, colonial oppression and exploitation were condemned. Peter Abrahams came into contact with other African nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, T.R. Mackonnen of Ethiopia and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. These agreed to adopt the strategy of "mass action" or '"positive action". On returning to South Africa, they put these into action.

3. The 1941 Atlantic Charter influenced the freedom fighters in South Africa. It called upon colonial masters all over the world to grant freedoms to all the colonised peoples. It became the basis of fighting apartheid in South Africa e.g Dr. Xuma of the ANC published a document called "African claims and Bill of rights"'. It was an interpretation of the 1941 Atlantic Charter. When the document was presented to the apartheid regime, it ignored the African demands and this led to the violent outbursts.

4. The Asian influence. Among the discriminated class in South Africa were the Asians. They reacted by forming the Natal Indian Congress, which later became the South African India Congress. It applied positive actions towards the apartheid regime. This made the whites to listen to Indian demands.

5. Pressure from the educated youths. These formed the Youths League, which was composed of teachers, doctors, Lawyers and Clergymen. They argued that the future of South Africa lay in the hands of blacks. They adopted strikes, boycotts and other non-violent actions to weaken apartheid. It was the Youth League, which mobilised Africans, Asians coloureds and some whites to participate in the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

6. The failure of diplomacy. At first, nationalists applied diplomacy and peaceful methods but when these failed, they turned to violence, which increased the pressure against apartheid.

7. Unfulfilled promises. The ex-service men demanded for the scrapping off of the apartheid laws as had been promised before the war. Whites refused to remove the pass laws and even failed to improve on the living conditions in towns. This led to more opposition.

8. The formation of trade unions. The world war left the economy of South Africa devastated. After the war, the whites embarked on a quick economic recovery programme and in the process exploited and oppressed African labour. These made Africans join trade unions which organised several strikes e.g the August 1946 Mine Workers' strike in Johannesburg. Hence increased opposition.

9. The role of the UNO which called for an end to oppressive apartheid laws and even approved Dr Xuma's "African claims and Bill of Rights" of 1946. The UNO even " invited Dr Xuma to present the African grievances to the UN asembly in 1946.

10. The wave of nationalism sweeping across Africa made the fighters against apartheid to increase their activities. Stories of fierce armed struggles against whites in Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, Algeria and Tunisia inspired them to fight on.

11. The December 1958 Accra conference also led to increased opposition against apartheid. The South African representatives such as Robert Sobukwe came into contact with other nationalists and exchanged views on how best the white man could be chased out of Africa. The participants of the December 1958 all African peoples' conference adopted a theme "Hands off Africa. Africa must be Free". On his return to South Africa, Robert Sobukwe formed the PAC and resorted to the use of violence.

12. The defeat of SADF by Angola- South African Defence Forces gave military , assistance to the UNITA rebels who were disorganising Angola. Unfortunately, the Angolan government defeated both the UNITA and their South African supporters. This made the SADF to withdraw. However to the nationalists, this was an encouraging message that the SADF were not forces who could not be defeated.

13. The excessive use of force to suppress peaceful African demonstrations e.g the 1960 - Shaprville Massacres led to increased opposition to apartheid.

14. The formation of the OAU in 1963 led to increased opposition against apartheid.

# THE ROLE OF THE OAU IN FIGHTING APARTHEID

One of the aims of forming the OAU was to fight against all forms of colonialism and promote the respect of human rights as laid down in the UN Charter on human rights.

The OAU played the following roles in dismantling apartheid and bringing about the Liberation of South Africa:

1. The OAU secretariat in Addis-Ababa branded apartheid as an evil against mankind and wrote extensively against it. This helped to arouse world opinion against it.

2. The OAU secretariat passed a number of resolutions against apartheid.

3. The OAU set up a liberation committee with its Headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. This became a base for nationalists struggling against apartheid.

4. The OAU sent a diplomatic delegation to South Africa and Namibia to negotiate for the independence of those countries. However, the white minority regimes didn't respect the proposals of the OAU liberation committee. This made the committee to recommend the use of violence.

5. The OAU member states imposed economic sanctions against South Africa. They cut off all trade links with South Africa so as to cripple her economy.

6. The OAU member states also cut off diplomatic ties with South Africa

7. The OAU presented the South African question before the United Nations Organisation. This influenced the UNO to call for international sanctions against the South African apartheid regime.

8. It recognised and extended financial and technical support to the Liberation Movements in South Africa. These included the ANC and PAC, which were helped with foodstuffs, uniform, weapons and drugs.

9. The OAU member states provided the ANC guerrillas with training grounds e.g , inTanzania, Angola and Mozambique.

10. OAU member states also provided safe havens (political asylum) to the political fugitives of south-Africa.

11. OAU member states also paid their annual subscriptions to the OAU Headquarters and from these, a percentage was sent to help South African Nationalists.

12. The OAU condemned the brutality of the apartheid regime in South Africa e.g It condemned the 1960 Sharpville massacres, the unfair trials of RIVOM1A in July 1963, the 1976 Soweto massacres of unarmed students, the 2nti Soweto massacres of 1986 etc.

13. It condemned the unpopular passbook laws and labour injustices. This helped to exert pressure on the racist regime of South Africa.

14. It demanded for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and this finally saw the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Thabo Mbeki and others.

15. The OAU called for unity between ANC, PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

16. The OAU provided South African students with quality education within OAU member states. This helped to produce a body of elites who joined the diplomatic and military struggle against apartheid.

17. In 1968, the OAU- together with Asian countries pressurised the international bodies e.g ILO, the WHO, FAO, FIFA to dismember South Africa. This was subsequently done.

18. It mobilised the OAU member states to protest against the 1974 tour of South Africa by the British Rugby team.

However, the OAU met a number of problems:

a) Financial incapacitation due to failure by some OAU member states to remit their annual contributions.

b) Differences in approach whereby some African states preferred dialogue with the South African racist regime while the majority preferred the use of violence.

c) The refusal by some OAU member states to cut off ties with South Africa e.g Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho which argued that most of their revenue was derived from the trade with South Africa.

d) The OAU operated without a high military command. This meant that force against the South African racist government wasn't well co-ordinated.

e) The economic strength of South Africa made the OAU sanctions against her ( irrelevant. She could fly her locally manufactured goods to Mauritius and Madagascar and then-pack them. These found market in almost all African countries!

Gradually however, the OAU managed to internationalise the South African case and this saw the independence of South Africa in 1994 when a government of national unity was formed under Nelson Mandela of the ANC.

## THE ROLE OF THE UNO IN DISMANTLING APARTHEID

1. UNO's first General Assembly in 1946 called upon the racist regime in South Africa to abide by the UN principles of racial equality.

2. In 1948, the UNO issued a document called "the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". It defined apartheid as an evil against man kind which had to be dismantled in the whole world, South Africa inclusive.

3. . Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the UNO constantly appealed to the South African government to remove apartheid from its constitution.

4. After the 1960 Sharpville massacres, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council met and condemned apartheid. It threatened South Africa with sanctions.

5. In 1961, the UN General Assembly adopted the use of sanctions against South Africa. It recommended the closure of South African embassies, discouraging migrations to South Africa etc.

6. In 1962, the UN General Assembly identified apartheid as a threat to world peace and harmony. Consequently, a special UN committee against apartheid was formed in the same year.

7. From 1962 onwards, UN member countries started imposing economic sanctions against South Africa.

8. In 1964, the UN Security Council imposed an arms ban on South Africa. All UN members especially USA and Britain were expected to stop supplying arms to South Africa- USA and Britain took the lead.

9. In 1965, an international convention on apartheid out lawed all forms of racism.

10. South Africa had been under the UN trusteeship council. Due to excessive apartheid however, the UN withdrew its trusteeship over South Africa and this greatly damaged the image of South Africa.

11. The UNO accepted the demands of Afro-Asians to expel South Africa from international bodies like the WHO, 1LO and FAO. Hence South Africa was expelled from all such organisations in 1968.

However, for long, the UN sanctions proved fruitless because of the following:

South Africa's strong economy

South Africa's ability to manufacture her own weapons.

UNO's inability to supervise the fulfillment of sanctions.

- , Failure by the UNO to penalise countries that violated the sanctions against South Africa.

Some UN member states had vested economic interests in South Africa. Even the USA itself was comfortable with capitalist South Africa because it checked against the spread of communist, ideas from Angola and Mozambique.

However, world pressure made Piere Botha to reform apartheid and when Fredrick De Clerke rose to power in 1989, he took positive steps that finally dismantled the official apartheid. Hence in 1994, multi-racial elections were held and won by Nelson Mandella of the ANC.

### THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In 1912, at Bloemfontein, the South African Native Congress (SANC) was formed. It was later renamed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1935. It was the first African Nationalist political organization formed in South Africa to fight against Boer racism/apartheid. Its avowed aims were to remove apartheid (separate development) and achieve equality of all South African races. Its roles were as follows:

The ANC criticized the apartheid policy because of its inhuman acts. By this policy, the Boers (a name given to the Dutch colonial masters) became very oppressive, exploitative and racist. They proclaimed their superiority over all the other races, became too arrogant and brutal towards the black peoples, Asians and coloureds. For instance they had extra judicial powers to arrest, torture or even kill blacks. The ANC questioned/challenged such extrajudicial powers.

Its leaders sensitized the South African blacks about their political, economic and social rights. Owing to the long history of the white man's political and economic domination, the black majority had concluded that they were created to work as slaves for the whites. The ANC leaders including chief Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo laboured to refute such thinking. They travelled to various suburbs and rural areas sensitizing the blacks about their political, economic and social rights.

The ANC used peaceful methods to protest against apartheid. Following in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi of India, the ANC leaders approached the Pretoria regime for peaceful negotiation/round table talks. They wrote critical articles in the news papers, sent petitions to Boer leaders and organized peaceful demonstrations. In so doing, the ANC became a voice for the downtrodden Africans both in rural and urban settings.

The ANC allowed its young members to form a Youth League. The young blood included educated lawyers such as Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela. They also included teachers, Doctors and Second World War ex-service men whose thinking had been sharpened by the events and ideas of the 2nd world war. The youth League members were dynamic/radical and their ideas became the basis of the future actions of the ANC.

The ANC turned itself into a mass liberation movement. It did this by calling for unity of all races against Boer discrimination. It was successful as evidenced by the 1952 defiance campaign which was joined by Indians, liberal whites and coloured (members of a mixed race). Then in 1955, leaders of all anti-apartheid organizations such as the South African Indian Congress met at Kliptown near Johannesburg and produced a freedom charter which called lor a non racial South Africa. It stated that South Africa belonged to all who lived in it, whether black or white.

The ANC sent a delegation to attend the "All African Peoples Congress" in Accra in December 1958. This was the sixth (6th) Pan African Congress organized by Kwame Nkrumah in Accra - the capital of Ghana. Amongst the South African participants was Peter Abrahams. He informed the Accra Pan Africanists about the inhuman nature of apartheid and aroused great nationalistic outbursts. It can therefore be argued that the ANC helped to publicize the evils of apartheid and to obtain continental sympathies.

The ANC joined the PAC in organising the 1960 Sharpeville demonstration. It organized it jointly with the Pan African Congress (PAC) - a party that was formed in 1959 by Robert Sobukwe as a break away group from the ANC. The major aim of the Sharpeville demonstrators was to oppose the pass book law. It was joined by people of all races, ages and sexes. However, police reacted very harshly towards the peaceful demonstrators, killing sixty nine (69) and wounding 180 others. The ANC condemned the Sharpeville massacres and called upon the entire world and international human rights organizations to do likewise.

The ANC formed a militant wing known as "Umkhonto we Sizwe." This meant "Spear of the Nation." This violent wing of the ANC was formed in 1961 in the wake of the Sharpeville demonstration. Following this demonstration, both the ANC and PAC were banned. This made Nelson Mandela and other youths within the ANC to form a secret militant organisation called "Umkhonto we Sizwe." From December 1961, it started carrying out acts of sabotage against the white men's' vital economic installations such as farms, power stations, railway lines and business buildings, fhis eventually weakened the economic backbone of the apartheid regime.

It recruited and trained a number of men in guerillaism. These men were recruited from both urban and rural areas and were secretly taken to the guerilla training camps. They were given both political and military science. For instance, they were educated about their rights and about the exploitative nature of the Boers and at the same time were taught how to trigger the muzzle of the gun, how to advance and retreat from gunfire. They learnt the hit and run tactics of attacking the enemy, surprise bomb attacks and survival techniques.

The ANC trained women to serve as spies, nurses and cooks during war times. Prior to the anti-apartheid war, South African black women were confined to the kitchen. The ANC got them out of the kitchen into the bush war and later into politics. Active ANC women included Winnie Mandela, the first wife of Nelson Mandela. Their excellent services included smuggling identity cards, passports, medicine and weapons for men. All these contributed to the weakening of apartheid.

The ANC leaders in exile set up external bases to struggle against apartheid. For instance, Oliver Tambo set up the ANC headquarters in exile in Lusaka, Zambia. He soon became the leader of the ANC in exile. The ANC also opened up offices in Kenya and other African and European countries. In London, the ANC set up the United Freedom Front. From these bases, the ANC continued recruiting and training freedom fighters against the apartheid regime. It made secret arrangements to send some of these men for further military training in Algeria and Egypt and when they were properly drilled, secretly sent them into South Africa for action. Nelson Mandela was one of the guerilla trainees in Algeria.

The ANC founded a newspaper called "Abantu Batho". This became a tool through which nationalistic propaganda was passed onto the masses. The "Abantu Batho" newspaper criticized the Boers for their excessive forced labour, high taxes, unfair imprisonments, non payment of African wages, land grabbing acts, provision of inferior social amenities to the black majority and so on. It called upon black Africans, Indians and coloureds to arise and fight for their rights. When actual war broke out from around 1961 onwards, the "Abantu Batho" kept on exaggerating the successes of the blacks and losses of the whites. This boosted the fighting morale of blacks while it humiliated and weakened the efforts of the whites.

The ANC appealed to the apartheid regime to release its men. Following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, the ANC was banned along with the PAC. Many nationalist leaders were arrested and imprisoned in the state of emergence that followed. Earlier on, a number of African, Indian and coloured leaders were also imprisoned for organizing the 1955 Congress of the people at Kliptown. In both cases, the ANC became a vanguard for providing lawyers for the detainees. Nelson Mandela was one of such lawyers. However, even himself was arrested, detained and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 along with Walter Sisulu. The remaining ANC leaders kept on demanding for the release of Mandela and Sisulu. Their efforts gave dividends when Mandela was released in 1990.

The ANC set up liberated zones within South Africa. These were areas that were painfully captured from the Boer colonialists. Whenever a place was captured from the Boer hands, reforms were made almost immediately. For instance schools and health centres would be set up, forced labour would be abolished, people were politicized and taught the basic health and military skills, grass root democracy was emphasized and so on. These reforms attracted more people towards the liberation struggle.

It interpreted in 1941 Atlantic Charter for South Africans. From the Atlantic charter, Peter Abrahams, derived the "African claims" which widely define the rights of the blacks, Asians and coloureds. ANC leaders went ahead and interpreted the UNO charter, the UDHR document, OAU charter, PAM, NAM concepts and so on.

The ANC provided charismatic leadership to freedom fighters. Its leaders included Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Winnie Mandela. Although these served at different times and in different situations, they had uniform characteristics. All were courageous, strategic thinkers, focused, secretive, good communicators and mobilisers. These characters were essential for the success of the anti apartheid war.

The ANC called for ethnic unity. It did this through composing revolutionary nationalistic slogans and war songs such as "NKozi Sikeleto" (God bless South Africa). These activated the fighting morale of the guerillas even during solace.

The ANC called for a multi racial South Africa. The idea of multi racialism emphasized the need for political equality and power sharing amongst all the races of South Africa. It also demanded for equal social and economic opportunities as opposed to the political, economic and social dominance of the whites. In short, black nationalists did not ask the Afrikaaners/Boers to leave South Africa but rather to share its opportunities with other races. This proved to the rest of the world that African nationalists were well intentioned. This was especially so when ANC leaders interpreted the Atlantic and UNO charters for South African masses.

The ANC appealed to the international bodies to join the anti-apartheid struggle. It sent delegations to both the UNO and OAU demanding for recognition. The delegates ably convinced the UNO to take up steps to dismantle apartheid.

It condemned the 1976 Soweto massacres. These massacres were sparked off by a peaceful demonstration of school children against the ministry of education's proposal to introduce Afrikaans (Boer language) as the official language in all schools. The black African children opposed it and organized a peaceful demonstration against it. Police shot at the unarmed children. The ANC called upon the entire world to stop their hypocrisy and this time the majority of world political and religious leaders joined the ANC in demanding for the removal of apartheid principles.

It solicited for assistance from the communist block. That was a period of the cold war and the ANC leadership realized that Western capitalist powers seemed to be in support of the apartheid regimes in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. They decided to lean towards the Eastern communist block for both financial and military help. Their appeal paid dividends when U.S.S.R and other Eastern powers sent guns, gun powder, military uniform, artilleries, bombs, military trainers and medicine to ANC guerillas.

### FRONT LINE STATES AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE

Apartheid was a system/policy by which the white minority rulers of South Africa encouraged separate development of the different races. This policy emphasized the racial purity and superiority of the whites over the blacks, Asians and coloureds whom they discriminated and systematically/ejected out the politics, economy and social life of South Africa.

Front line States were those African countries that were geographically near South Africa and provided very effective frontline against the excessive abuses of the black majority by the white minority. These states were Mozambique, Zambia, Angola, Botswana and Tanzania. They were later joined by other African countries to fight against apartheid.

Front line states provided political asylum to political fugitives from South Africa. For example, Oliver Tambo found asylum in Zambia from where he continued coordinating the activities of the African National Congress. Zambia root not only gave asylum to Oliver Tambo but also provided him with office space in the capital Lusaka where he set up the headquarters of the ANC in exile. Later in 1976, the Headquarters of the ANC in exile were shifted to Maputo in Mozambique (another front line state). By allowing the ANC to co-ordinate its activities in their boundaries, front line states helped in dismantling apartheid.

Front line states permitted and supported the ANC to set up its external military bases on their soils. For instance, after the banning of the ANC in South Africa in 1960, Mozambique allowed it to open up its new training grounds in various forests of Mozambique. This helped to give a life line of continuity to the ANC.

They provided military training to the ANC and PAC guerillas. This was particularly true in Angola and Mozambique. At a time when both countries were still struggling against Portuguese colonialism, the Angolan and Mozambican military instructors allowed the ANC men and women to train jointly with MPLA and FRELIMO guerillas respectively. This enabled the ANC men to obtain up to date military tactics from the Chinese, Cubans and Vietnamese, Russians, Algerian and Egyptian instructors.

Front line states provided education to South African youths. These had fled from the racist apartheid regime which had educated them only up to primary level. Some had never joined school at all. Teachers within the Front Line States understood the plight of South African black children and patiently taught them. The western education given to them, as well as political science transformed the South Africans into highly celebrated and seasoned academicians who wrote poems, plays and novels against apartheid. They also wrote newspaper articles demanding for their rights.

They imposed economic sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania stopped importing goods from and exporting goods to South Africa. This denied her of valuable income and gradually weakened her economy.

The Front line states provided logistics to ANC fighters. These included food, medicine, military uniform and accommodation to ANC fighters. These kept them healthy and enabled them plan and win the anti apartheid war.

They used their mass media to expose the brutality of the apartheid regime in Pretoria. For instance Newspapers within Zambia and Tanzania published stories about the brutal massacres of unarmed school children at Soweto in 1976. They run pictures of the shot children which aroused world opinion against the apartheid regime.

The success of the liberation wars in Frontline states inspired South Africans to fight on. In 1975, both the MPLA and FRELIMO attained independence for Angola and Mozambique respectively. This gave a ray of hope to the ANC guerillas who fought more determinedly, seeing success ahead of them.

Frontline states created non-fly zones for South African air crafts. This meant that no South African aeroplane was to cross the space of the frontline states. If it did, it risked being shelled down. This disorganized the apartheid regime for quite sometime, thereby weakening her economy.

The Front line states appealed to the UNO to take practical steps against apartheid.

They pointed out that it was wrong for UNO member states to keep talking against apartheid instead of taking steps against it. They called upon the UNO to impose economic sanctions that would help stagnate South Africa's economy and bring the apartheid regime to a negotiating table. The UNO heeded the advice of the Front line states and quickly brought South Africa's apartheid regime to its knees.

They appealed for military and financial help from the communist countries such as USSR, China and Cuba. They did this on behalf of the ANC guerillas. In response, China and Russia channeled their financial and military help to ANC through the Front line states which honestly handed it over to the ANC guerillas.

They challenged the OAU to take practical steps against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Although the OAU had no standing army and military high command, it authorized its liberation committees to send weapons and military trainers to ANC guerillas.

They pressurized the British Common Wealth Organisation to dismember South Africa. This was done in 1961 and contributed to the further weakening of the apartheid regime. This sent a signal to the apartheid regime that some of her silent allies had started abandoning her/had started losing faith in her.

They welcomed the reform proposals laid down by President Pierre Botha and later F.W De Clerke. Later, when the reform appeared too slow, narrow and vague, they pressurized for speed and clarity.

The Front line states called upon the international human rights organizations and world religious leaders to take up the case against apartheid. This made the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) to dismember South Africa. It also made respected world religious leaders to sound their dissatisfaction with the reforms against apartheid.

THE CAREER OF NELSON MANDELA

He was born at Umtata in Transkei in 1918, went to a methodist school and completed his Bachelor of Arts Degree at Fork Hare University College. He studied Law as a part time student at the University of Witwatersrand. After his education, he combined with Oliver Tambo and they set up a Law firm in Johannesburg.

Together with his friends Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Antone Lembede, Mandela formed the Youths League (1942-1944). Being a lawyer, he participated in drafting its constitution and manifesto. The youth League was a radical wing of the ANC and Mandela was later elected its General Secretary.

He was elected as the ANC president of Transvaal branch in 1952.

He was a prominent figure in organising the 1952 Defiance campaign. As his popularity rose, the racist government prevented him from addressing public gatherings. His movements were also curtailed.

In 1955, he attended the multi-racial congress during which congress, blacks, Asians, coloreds and some liberal whites issued a freedom charter, which affirmed that South Africa belonged to all races that lived in it.

In 1956, Mandela left his legal practise for politics. He organised a strike against the whites, referendum on the republican status of South Africa. He was arrested along with some other 155 leaders. However, he successfully defended himself and his friends and were released.

After the ANC president Albert Luthuli had been given house imprisonment, Nelson Mandela became the new ANC boss in 1960. In the same year, a joint ANC-PAC peaceful demonstration was brutally suppressed by the South African police, killing and wounding many unarmed students at Sharpville.

Mandela called for a 3 day sit down strike to mourn their dead comrades..

After becoming convinced that peaceful methods had failed, Mandela and comrades founded the Umkotho we Sizwe which became militant and carried out several acts of sabotage. It carried out several strikes and acts of sabotage against the racists. In reaction, whites became very brutal.

Mandela was not intimidated but continued addressing letter to the racist parliament and Prime Minister Verwoerd, demanding for reforms.

In 1962, he participated in the Pan African Congress in Ethiopia and publicised the evils of apartheid. He called upon the whole world and Africa in particular to step up against apartheid.

Back home in August 1962, Mandela was arrested, accused of illegal travel and treason and was sentenced to five years imprisonment. In 1964, he was placed on trial at Rivonia together with his comrades. As a defendant, he delivered a very sensational speech in condemnation of apartheid and vowed to die fighting against it. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and was detained on Robben Island until 1982 when he was transferred to Cape Town due to international pressure.

While in prison, Mandela continued criticising apartheid and wrote extensively against it.

In 1990, he was released by the reformist President F.W. De Clerk. Right after his release, he vowed to continue with the struggle against apartheid and won international fame and sympathies.

He entered into negotiations with F.W. De Clerk's government, which paved way for constitutional reforms. The ban on political parties was lifted and the ANC led by Mandela contested in the 1994 presidential elections.

He won resounding victory and formed a government of reconciliation and national unity. He became the first democratically elected black president of South Africa- leading a free multi racial country. He appointed Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu to head the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

After five years he relinquished power to his deputy Thabo Mbeki, setting a good precedent to all-African leaders.

He continued playing a key role in the struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world. He was one of the world's most respected diplomats in our days. His peace efforts were known in the Middle East, Asia America and Europe.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the origins and effects of apartheid in South Africa.

2. Discuss the role played by the front line states in dismantling apartheid in South Africa.

3. Account for the delayed liberation of South Africa.

4. Account for the increased opposition against apartheid after 1945.

5. Assess the role of the ANC in dismantling apartheid.

6. Account for the failure of Bantu Stans in South Africa.

7. Examine the role played by the U.N.O and O.A.U in fighting apartheid in South Africa.

### THE NAMIBIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Present day Namibia was at first called South West Africa. It was colonized by Germany in 1884 up to the outbreak of the 1st World War. During the 1st World War, it was occupied by British troops from South Africa and after the war which Germany lost, Namibia was mandated to South Africa as a trustee colony of the League of Nations. The influence of South Africa in Namibian continued up to 1966 when the UNO demanded her to relinquish power to Namibia nationalists.

However, South Africa defied the UN order of granting independence to Namibia. This was due to the economic, strategic and military benefits, which South Africa derived out of Namibia. Accordingly in 1969, South Africa officially annexed Namibia and incorporated it into South Africa as one of its provinces! As South Africa became oppressive, Namibian nationalists like Sam Nujoma and Ian Herman stepped up the struggle for independence but were not successful until 1990.

# REASONS FOR THE DELAYED INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA

1. South Africa's economic interests in Namibia: Namibia was endowed with Zinc, copper, diamonds, lead and Uranium. These were vital in the economy of South Africa-Uranium for instance was vital in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. This explains the prolonged rule of South Africa over Namibia.

2. The need to protect the interests of white settlers led to the delayed independence of Namibia. There existed about 100,000 white settlers who enjoyed several privileges in Namibia, e.g. They occupied about % of the land and controlled the multi national corporations that repatriated profits from Namibia. Majority rule would lead to loss of privileges and profits.

3. The formation of the triumvirate prolonged South Africa's rule in Namibia. This was a gang of three racists namely, Dr. Salazar of Portugal, Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia and Verwoerd of South Africa. They promised to help each other in crushing African nationalists. This perpetuated South Africa's colonialism in Namibia.

4. The introduction of apartheid in Namibia retarded her struggle for independence. South Africa divided Namibia into several Bantustans, thereby dividing the nationalists. It introduced separate amenities, oppressive laws and the like. All these weakened the nationalists and hence the prolonged colonial rule of S. Africa in Namibia.

5. The brutality of South Africa's rolice led to delayed nationalism in Namibia. The harsh police used to arrest, jail, and torture or even kill the Namibian nationalists. Workers' strikes and peaceful demonstrations were also violently crushed e.g in 1969, police fired at peaceful demonstrators at Windhoek, killing 13 and wounding several. The 1971 workers' strikes organized by SWAPO were treated in similar ways.

6. South Africa's military might led to her prolonged colonial rule in Namibia. She had a large, well trained, well equipped and well paid army which she used to crush nationalistic activities e.g. on 4th March 1978 it crushed the SWAPO bases at Kassiga. On the other hand, Namibia's guerrillas were militarily weak, poorly trained, ill equipped and economically badly off.

7. Ethnicism weakened nationalism in Namibia. Liberation movements were founded on tribal grounds e.g The SWANU (1955) under Toivo Ja Toivo was predominantly for the Herero tribe, the SWAPO (1960) under Sam Nujoma was predominantly for the Ovambo tribe. Other tribes like the Nama also had their organizations. This promoted the traditional divisions in Namibia and prevented a united ffront against a common enemy.

8. Ideological differences tore the materialists apart. When the SWAPO under Sam Nujoma became Marxist/communist, a number of capitalist oriented nationalists resigned from it. On the other hand, the SWANU of Ian Herman was capitalist. Such difference weakened the demand for independence.

9. The fear of communism during the era of the cold war led to prolonged colonialism in Namibia. USA, Britain and other Western powers supported South African's rule in Namibia as a useful check against communist ideas. SWAPO under Sam Nujoma had become Marxist and South Africa's neighbours e.g Mozambique and Angola had already embraced communism. If granted independence, communist ideas would easily spill from Namibia over to South Africa.

10. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola made South Africa to prolong her stay in Namibia. There existed 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola, which made South Africa to suspect a possible future sabotage from these troops. They therefore decided to retain Namibia for military /strategic reasons.

11. The delayed independence of South Africa's neighbours led to the delay of Namibia independence. Since Namibia’s neighbours like Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique were also undergoing liberation struggles, they couldn't offer reasonable support to Namibia's guerrillas.

12. South Africa's strong spying network also led to the delayed independence of Namibia. South Africa had a strong espionage network of about 5000 men assisted by the 100,000 white settlers in Namibia. These spied on SWAPO and weakened it. At times, Africans within SWAPO could be bribed to provide information to South Africa's spying network.

13. The weakness of the UNO also delayed Namibia's independence. Despite the fact that South Africa defied the UN orders to leave Namibia, nothing was done to her. Even the UN sanctions were ineffective since it were the pillars of UNO such as USA and Britain, which violated them.

14. The weakness of the OAU led to the delayed independence of Namibia. The liberation committee of the OAU was well intentioned but remained a backing dog since it lacked a standing army to reinforce Namibia's guerrilla's.

15. Poverty and natural hazards. The Nama, Ovainbo and Herero people of Namibia were generally poor. Their situation was made worse by the arid conditions of the Kalahari Desert. Due to poverty, many of them migrated into South Africa for employment and couldn't help in the war of liberation. Again due to poverty, South Africa easily bribed the Herero and Khoisans into its spying police to oppress the strong Ovambo nationalists. Hence, poverty led to ethnic divisions and the delay of independence.

# FACTORS THAT FAVOURED NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE

On 21st March 1990, South Africa put her hands off Namibia, leaving her fully independent. The factors which favoured this independence, though belatedly, were as follows:-

1. Hatred against foreign rule. Historically, the Nama and Herero detested foreign rule e.g In 1904 - 1907 they had fiercely resisted German colonialism. Though the Germans defeated them, the spirit of nationalism wasn't crushed. Accordingly, when German colonialism was replaced with the oppressive foreign rule of the South Africans, the Nama, Herero, Ovambo and other minor tribes stepped up the struggle for self government.

2. The formation of liberation parties led to the rise of militant nationalism and later the independence of Namibia. These parties included SWANU (South African National Union), which was formed in 1955, OPO (Ovambo land Peoples' Organization) formed in 1957 and the SWAPO (South West African Peoples' Organisation) formed in 1960. These movements trained Namibians military and asked for foreign help.

3. Harold Macmillan's speech influenced nationalism in Namibia. In 1960, Macmillan ended his tour of Africa with a speech at the Cape. He stated that there was an irresistible wind of change across the African continent and that it was no longer possible to repress the political aspirations of Africans. This created determination amongst Namibia's nationalists.

4. The extreme brutality of South Africa towards the nationalists in Namibia led to determined opposition. South Africa's police arrested and detained nationalists, opened fire at unarmed demonstrators etc. This created popular discontent amongst Namibians and led to resolute determination to die for their mother country.

5. The appropriate military strategies led to the independence of Namibia. SWAPO acknowledged its weakness in terms of weapons and for this reason, adopted the guerrilla tactics of hit and run/surprise attacks. These hit and retreat tactics in various parts of Namibia rendered the heavy weaponry of the South African army useless. With time, in 1990, S. Africa finally succumbed.

6. External assistance led to Namibia's independence. SWAPO guerrillas received military training and financial assistance from USSR, China, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia etc. These countries equally pressurized the UN to force South Africa out of Namibia. Such support eventually produced positive results.

7. The breakdown of the triumvirate favoured the independence in Namibia. This was because South Africa could no longer receive military help and moral backing from Portugal and Zimbabwe.

8. The end of the cold war paved way for Namibia's independence. USA, Britain, France and other Western powers had supported apartheid in South Africa and Namibia because South Africa was their ally in fighting communism. Now that communism was no longer a big threat between 1985-1989, the capitalist powers pressurized South Africa to grant the independence of Namibia.

9. The independence of Namibia's neighbours fuelled her struggle for emancipation e.g. the independence of Angola in 1975 made the MPLA government to start extending help to SWAPO. Namibian nationalists received more help from other frontline states.

10. The rise of able leaders led to the triumph of Namibia's nationalists. These leaders included Sam Nujoma, the ablest of Namibia's nationalists. His charisma, organizational ability and efforts to water down ethnicism led to massive/popular support for SWAPO. This later gave birth to independence.

11. The OAU through its liberation committee helped to decampaign South Africa's rule in Namibia at international fora. In addition, the OAU imposed economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa. These eventually weakened South Africa's hold over Namibia.

12. The UNO not only condemned South Africa's rule in Namibia and even took legal steps against it. e.g. In 1966 it terminated South Africa's rule in Namibia; The UN also gave chance to Sam Nujoma to present Namibia's case before the UN General Assembly. Also in 1971, the UN sued South Africa in the international court of justice etc...

# THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE SWAPO

The South West African People Organisation (SWAPO) was a nationalistic movement formed by the Namibians to direct the struggle for their independence. It was formed in 1959 by Sam Nujoma and Sam Kahungua to replace the ethnically based Ovambo Peoples' Organisation (OPO). The transition from OPO to SWAPO meant that the party /movement had assumed nationalistic character and intended to serve all Namibian nationals.

The SWAPO is credited for using peaceful methods of fighting for Namibia's independence. It started by organizing diplomatic talks with the white administrators, calling for land, political, economic and social reforms. The SWAPO toured the country and organized political rallies in which it sensitized Namibians about their rights.

It criticized the murderous acts of the South African white police in Namibia. It also criticized forced and contract labour policies, racial discrimination and the pass book system which had denied Namibians of their universal freedoms. The SWAPO sent is representatives to the UN General Assembly with a petition against South African rule in Namibia. The UN in turn recognized the SWAPO as a truly nationalistic movement and condemned South African Boer imperialism in Namibia

The SWAPO also appealed for help from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). When the help came in form of finances and weapons, the SWAPO put it to proper use.

It is credited for its co-operation with the South West African National Union (SWANU). This was another liberation movement within Namibia. Together, the two movements sensitized Namibians about the need to rise and fight for their rights.

The SWAPO is credited for turning itself into a mass liberation Movement. It started as the OPO to cater for the grievances and interests of the Ovambo tribe. However, in 1959, it changed its name to SWAPO and opened its doors to members from the Nama, Ilerero, Rehoboth and Bondelswart tribes. It even welcomed the liberal whites and coloureds into its ranks.

It recruited a number of Ovambo, Nama and Herero peasants and gave them military training. It even sent some of them to Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Egypt and USSR for further military training.

The SWAPO is credited for empowering Namibian women whom it trained to serve as spies, nurses and war combatants.

It opened up external military bases in neighbouring countries. For example it set up the Kassiga military base in Angola.

It applied the hit and run tactics to weaken the white military might. Its first major attack was on 28th August 1966 along the Northern border.

The SWAPO opposed South Africa's declaration of Namibia as one of its provinces in 1969.

It also opposed the colonialists' intentions of transferring the capital city of Namibia from Windhoek to a new location that favoured white settlers.

The SWAPO is credited for organizing the 1969 conference at Tanga in Tanzania. During this conference, the women and youth leagues were created to facilitate the anti-apartheid struggle.

• Again in 1969, the SWAPO created its military wing known as the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). This carried out many acts of sabotage against white settlers and administrators which gradually forced them to leave Namibia.

• The SWAPO organized the 1971 nation wide strike against South African apartheid policies in Namibia.

• The SWAPO rejected governor Turn hall's proposals of 1975 by which he proposed the granting of independence to Namibia under South Africa's patronage.

• It mobilized the Namibians to reject the 1978 elections because they were organized in accordance with the unrealistic proposals of governor Turn hall.

• It established liberated zones characterized by grass root democracy, free health and education services, growth of enough food for peoples' consumption, community sanitation and hygiene and so on.

• It appealed for military and financial assistance from the communist block. It received anti air craft guns, artilleries, medicine and other war logistics from Cuba, China and USSR.

• It also appealed for assistance from the front line states which reacted by hiding SWAPO guerillas and giving food, military training and school education to its youths.

• It exposed the hypocrisy of Western powers which seemed to support the continuity of apartheid. This made U.S.A and other Western capitalist powers to champion a ceasefire between the SWAPO and South African colonial over Lords.

• The SWAPO is credited for providing charismatic and focused leadership to the Namibia nationalists. Although the movement was banned several times and its people arrested and tortured, SWAPO leaders never lost focus. They determinedly led Namibia to independence in March 1990.

• It is further credited for participating in the transitional government and pre- independence elections which it won.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the favourable and unfavourable factors towards the independence of Namibia.

2. Assess the contribution of SWAPO towards the Independence of Namibia.

# CHAPTER TWELVE

# SEPARATISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS

# BELGIAN CONGO AND THE KATANGA SECESSION

Congo /Zaire was colonized by Belgium which ruled it until 30th June 1960 when she obtained her independence. What is striking about Belgian Congo is that the forces of nationalism took long to awaken.

REASONS FOR DELAYED NATIONALISM IN CONGO

1. The Belgian policy of paternalism. By this, Congolese were taken as primitive people. They were learners who could take long to mature politically and economically. Belgians therefore took up all posts of administration in the civil service, police and army. Africans therefore developed a mentality that they were children to be assisted and supervised by white bosses. This lack of exposure in administration explains the delay of nationalism in Congo.

2. The desire to continue exploiting Congo. Congo had rich soils in minerals such as gold, diamonds and copper. It also had a good climate suitable for the white man's settlement. There was no way the Belgians could abandon such resources. They therefore designed stringent measures to check the forces of nationalism in Congo.

3. The Church and State alliance. For long, the Church, State and business men made an unholy trinity (alliance) to exploit Congo. The Church was used as an agent of the state to instil unquestioned and unquestionable moral values in Africans. The church taught that questioning the Belgian policies was punishable in hell. This kept Africans row. submissive and politically unconscious.

4. Inferior education. It is true that Belgians set up the biggest number of schools in colonial Africa. Unfortunately, the highest level of education one would attain was Primary five. At independence, Congo had only 16 graduates. Very few Congolese ever crossed to lower secondary schools and the few who got the chance did so in missionary seminaries. Belgian education discouraged the teaching of liberal Art subjects and emphasized vocational subjects, this was aimed at killing the thinking capacity of the Congolese-hence the delay of nationalism.

5. Restricted movements. No Congolese was expected to move out of Congo. Such movements would expose them to ideas of nationalism, liberalism and socialism. A strong patrol police was therefore located along the borders; prices of passports were made so high etc. Until 1952, no Congolese had studied in Belgian Universities apart from the indoctrinated seminarians! Such restrictions kept the Congolese row.

6. Censorship of the press. To seal the Congolese from nationalistic ideas, the Belgians banned the reading of newspapers and magazines that had started circulating in Congo from West Africa. They did not even allow them to listen to the Radio. The first independent African newspaper wasn't founded until 1957. This kept the Congolese unaware of the wind of change across Africa.

7. The Colonial developments such as roads, schools and hospitals made Africans think that the white men were beneficial. Through missionary efforts, the Belgians made sure that Africans were thankful for such developments. Most Africans feared to annoy the colonialists thinking that their departure would mean the departure of progress.

8. The Belgian divide and rule policy. Aware that unity would facilitate nationalism in Congo, the Belgians encouraged the growth of tribal feelings, suspicions and fears. Even when political parties came up later, they were formed along tribal lines. Hence the delay of mass nationalism.

9. Lack of a national language. For fear that a national language would promote nationalistic feelings, the Belgians encouraged French for the evolues (elites) and local languages for the masses. The Azande, Kasungu and Banyaka spoke different languages. This created a rift between the evolues and the illiterate and hence the delay of nationalism.

10. The training of puppets. When the forces of nationalism started awakening, the Belgians got the intelligent Congolese and gave them a number of privileges so as to blind their nationalistic vision, e.g. they groomed Moise Tshombe with an aim of making him the President of independent Congo. They Hoped to use him to perpetuate their interests in Congo.

11. Lack of pressure from the super powers and UNO. Both the UNO and super powers regarded Belgium as an insignificant country. During the age of decolonisation therefore, super powers exerted more pressure on Britain and France but ignored Belgium and Portugal. This enabled Belgians to suppress the Congolese nationalists.

12. The ban on political parties and trade Unions. Until the very last months of Belgian colonialism, there was no freedom of association. The very first political parties came up at the end of 1958 and 1959. For long there was no way the nationalistic feelings would reach the masses.

13. The influence of Multinational companies. In Congo, there existed exploitative companies of American, British and French origin e.g. Union Meniere and the American Congo company. Managers of such companies called upon their home governments to back up Belgian colonialism in Congo and this delayed nationalistic awareness in Congo.

14. Conflicts between the elites led to delayed nationalism in Congo e.g. the radical Lumumba conflicted with Kalondji and this split the MNC party in two.

# FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF CONGOLESE NATIONALISM

1. Extreme oppression and exploitation. The unabated exploitation of Congolese minerals, cash crops, land and labour soon produced resentment. This, together with Belgian brutality gave rise to minor riots amongst the Azande, Banyaka and Kasungu. However, these were brutally suppressed-giving rise to nationalistic feelings.

2. Constitutional developments within Congo led to the growth of nationalism. When the demand for reforms increased, the Belgians granted the Congolese a right of electing local and municipal councils. The 1957 municipal elections brought "Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba” to power as mayors of Leopoldville and Stan Ville respectively. This opened the door for nationalism.

3. The influence of the 2nd World War. During this Great War, a number of Congolese of the Force Republique fought on the side of the allies. This exposed them to new ideas, people and weapons. Their horizons of thinking were widened and they no longer looked at Belgians as invincible. They demanded for independence.

4. The formation of political parties. The 1957 constitutional reform gave room to the formation of political associations. Hence ethnic parties rose up e.g. the ABAKO for BaCongo. the CONAKAT (1958) for Katangese and the BALUBAKAT for Baluba. These embarked on a vigorous competitive campaign for independence and in the process, awakened nationalism in Congo.

5. The economic depression of 1955 - 1956. There was a fall in the prices of Rubber, Copper, Tea and Coffee on the world market. As a leading producer of these products. Congo was adversely affected. Unemployment surplus production and high taxes became common. The Congolese thought that the Belgians had reduced the value of their products deliberately to make the Congolese poorer. This led to nationalism. The depression also made some Congolese business men to lose the original interest they had in Congo. Some even supported decolonisation. Congo was no longer valuable as it was.

6. The influence of professor A. BHsen. In 1956, Professor Van A. Baleen of Antwerp University published a 30-year plan for the emancipation of Belgian Congo. He termed colonialism as an evil that had to end. This inspired the evolues/elites to demand for independence.

7. The influence of the Catholic Church. The marriage between the Church and state broke down when the Colonial government established schools and started providing education. The church was annoyed because it had the traditional role of providing education. In response, Catholic Bishops in Congo met and through the Vatican, called for the participation of Congolese in administration. They also called for independence. This inspired elite who issued a manifesto in the Catholic periodical magazine welcoming Bilsen's plan and the Church's position.

8. The 1958 independence of Congo Brazzaville led to the rise of nationalism in Belgian Congo. In August 1958, President Charles De Gaulle of France visited French Congo Brazzaville and granted her independence. This inspired nationalist in Belgian Congo- just across the river, to demand for self- government as well.

9. The impact of the 1958 World Trade Fair. This took place in Brussels and was attended by a number of nationalists from different parts of the world- including Belgian Congo. The Congolese got into contact with other nationalists who inspired them to fight for their independence.

10. The influence of the 1958 Accra conference. It was attended by some Congolese nationalists like Patrice Lumumba, Joseph Ngalula and Gaston Diori. The call for positive action inspired them to speed up the struggle for self-government at home in Congo.

11. The 1959 riots. On returning from Accra, Patrice Lumumba formed the MNC with headquarters in Leopoldville. He gave speeches in which he condemned Belgian oppression and exploitation. The unemployed, low paid but highly taxed Congolese went on rampage. On 4th and 5th February 1959, they attacked white men's property and the riots spread to other towns. In Katanga province, Kasavubu led them.

12. Forced agricultural programmes. The Congolese were forced to grow cotton and in 1933, a decree introduced compulsory labour for 60 days for each Congolese. After the 2nd world war, the days were increased to 120. This created rural discontent and the rise of nationalism.

13. The wind of change in Africa. Throughout North. West and East Africa, the British and French colonial masters were preparing their colonies for independence. Information about the independence of Libya, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Ghana made the few Congolese elites to demand for independence.

14. The 1954 change of government in Brussels led to nationalism in Congo. The left wingers/socialists attained power and had anti-colonial ideas. The gates for Congolese freedom were gradually let open.

15. Support from King Bedouin. In 1955, he visited Congo and gave a speech in which he emphasized the need for whites and Africans to understand each other better, be co-operative and be respectful of each other. When the hardliners/settlers opposed this, Africans also hard lined well knowing that the new Belgian King was on their side.

16. The rise of educated Africans. The Catholic trained seminarians and other products of government schools rose up to demand for independence. They included Antoine Gizenga, Patrice Lumumba, Cyrilla Adoula, Joseph Ngalula, Pierre Mulele, Joseph Kasavubu, Moise Tshombe etc. They condemned the policy of paternalism and inferior education and demanded a respect of professor Bilsen's ideas.

17. Support from the new governors. The new governor, Maurice Van Hemelrik speeded up Congo's pace to independence. This led to protests in Belgium demanding for his resignation. He resigned in 1957 but his successor August de Shriver became even faster. Hence the rise of nationalism.

# THE KATANGA SECESSION

A secession is a movement or desire of breaking away from the central government with an aim of establishing an independent government. It was a common phenomenon in Africa in the period after independence and this was due to the weaknesses of the central government and its injustices in handling regional affairs.

Congo /Zaire became independent on 30th June 1960 and on 11th July the same year, Moise Tshombe- the governor of Katanga province declared the independence of his province.

# CAUSES

1. Colonial legacy. Aware that the unity of tribes would breed nationalistic feelings, the Belgians introduced a divide and rule policy. They encouraged each tribe to feel proud of itself. This led to ethnic fears and mistrust between the Abakongo, Baluba, Balunda and several other tribes. Different regions were also encouraged to develop separately and this influenced the people of Katanga to secede from the rest of Congo.

2. The pre-mature independence of Congo also led to the secession of Katanga. Through their policy of paternalism, the Belgians had prevented Africans from participating in the colonial administration of Congo. Even when nationalists mounted pressure on the Belgians from 1955 onwards, the colonial masters made no preparations to hand over power to Africans. So, when Belgians left politics, there was power vacuum and Tshombe took advantage of this to declare secession.

3. Katanga's economic strength also inspired Tshombe to secede from the central government. Katanga had good soils, minerals such as Zinc, gold, Uranium and Copper. She was also the leading producer of tobacco and cotton. She contributed 60% of the GDP of Congo to subsidise the poverty of other regions. Moise Tshombe was confident that Katanga would stand on her own and thereby He declared a secession.

4. Absence of a Pan-African spirit. Belgians had cut off the Congolese from the mainstream ideas of Pan-Africanism. Congolese therefore didn't understand the real need for unity. Even the political parties they formed were based on tribal considerations e.g. the ABAKO for Bacongo, the CONAKAT for the various tribes of Katanga etc. This made it easy for Tshombe to declare secession.

5. The mutiny of Force Republique sparked off the secession. African soldiers in the Force Republique faced discrimination, low payments and poor accommodation. Worst of all was the arrogance of the commander, General Janssen. He rejected the proposal of Africanising the Force Republique. He didn't allow the promotion of Africans to the rank of commissioned officers. Instead, he demoted them. This annoyed Congolese soldiers who mutinied on 5th July 1960 and killed a number of Belgians. Amidst the confusion that followed, Tshombe declared secession.

6. The weakness of the central government made Katanga to secede. The President-Joseph Kasavubu and his Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba were locked up in power struggles. Lumumba was a socialist while Kasavubu was a capitalist. Ideological differences made the president to announce the dismissal of his Prime Minister on Radio even without consulting parliament. In turn, Lumumba used constitutional powers to dismiss Kasavubu. Amidst the confusion, Tshombe took advantage and declared a secession.

7. Unfair representation in parliament made Katanga to secede, she was the richest province with the majority of elites yet it was granted only four seats in parliament. The Katangese complained that this was unfair but the central government took no steps. Even Katanga's demand for the ministerial posts of defence and interior were rejected. All these aggrieved Tshombe and the Katangese who seceded.

8. The influence of white settlers. A number of Belgian settlers had profitable businesses in Katanga. When nationalistic demands increased, they groomed Tshombe whom they wanted to take over the presidency of Congo and protect their interests. Tshombe was aware of the support of the settlers and declared a secession.

9. The demobilization of Belgian soldiers led to secession. Patrice Lumumba declared the Africanisation policy by which he demobilized a number of Belgian soldiers including General Janssen. The demobilized soldiers took refuge in Katanga and encouraged Tshombe to declare secession.

10. The weakness of the 1960 Brussels constitution. There was a debate in Congo whether to establish a federal or unitary government. During the January 1960 Brussels conference, no firm stand was taken and the matter was left for post- independent governments to decide. This gave room for secession.

11. Tshombe's greed for power led to the secession. He had strong desires of ruling Congo and formed the CONAKAT (Congolese Nationale Katanga) in 1959 hoping to become the president of independent Congo. When his dream failed on 30th June 1960, he decided to curve an empire in Katanga for himself to rule.

12. The rumours of secessionism in Kasai and Kivu provinces. The Kasai, Kivu, Baluba etc. had plans of secession. However, even before they did so, the Belgians circulated a rumour that the Abako, Kasai and Baluba had seceded. This threw the central government in panic and in the process, Tshombe declared a secession.

13. Belgian military support. Not only did the local Belgian officials supply arms to Tshombe but even called for protection troops from Belgium. These were secretly flown in Congo and encouraged Tshombe to go on with his secessionist programmes.

14. The influence of secessions in Asia. After India's independence in 1947, the Moslems of Pakistan seceded from India and formed their own country. This too influenced Tshombe's secession.

15. The Belgian shelling of Port Matardi in 1960 also led to secession. When Force Republique mutinied on 5th July 1960, the Belgians reacted by shelling Port Matardi. In the fighting and confusion that followed, Tshombe took advantage and declared the independence of Katanga.

16. The double standards of the UNO catalysed the secession. It dispatched troops of Nigerian, Indian and Ghanaian origin but prevented them from crashing Tshombe's forces. The excuse given was the UN principle of non-interference in the affairs of other nations. The UN troops patrolled the entire Congo apart from Katanga province where they were meant to function.

17. The double standards of African states whereby some like Tunisia and Sudan sympathized with Tshombe while others like Ghana and Egypt supported Lumumba's unitary government.

18. Lumumba's personality. He was full of ideas but also full of arrogance. He greatly abused the Belgians and their King and drove them into the hands of Moise Tshombe. He also refused to concede to the demands of the Katangese regarding ministerial and parliamentary posts.

# REASONS WHY THE KATANGA SECESSION FAILED.

By 1964, the Katanga secessionists had been defeated and this was a result of both internal and external factors.

1. Opposition from elites, parliamentarians and ministers. The news of Katanga secession wasn't welcome by the Congolese elites who immediately DE campaigned it. These included Gizenga, Pierre Mulele, Antoine Gibenye, Kasamura etc. In addition, the majority of parliamentarians and government ministers condemned it. Though not members of Lumumba's MNC, they saw no point in seceding and helped to win the opinion of the masses against Katanga.

2. Government's determination to preserve unity. In spite of the power struggle between Kasavubu and Lumumba, the central government took a firm stand by opposing and fighting the secessionists. The central government couldn't allow the richest province to break off from Congo.

3. The role of Lumumba helped to weaken the separatists. Right from the pre- independence period, he supported unitarism and when Tshombe declared secession, he strongly talked against it. He also called for support from the UNO which sent troops from Tunisia, Ghana, Nigeria, India, Ethiopia and Sweden on 15th July 1960.

4. The assassination of Lumumba on 17th January 1961 by Moise Tshombe caused a lot of resentment within Congo and from the international community. He had been arrested on 30th November 1960 under Kasavubu- Mobutu conspiracy who handed him over to Tshombe. In spite of his radical and Marxist ideas, Lumumba was a respected nationalist both at home and abroad. His murder caused protests throughout the entire world. There were demonstrations in Katanga, the rest of Congo, Pan African states, Britain, France and even in Belgium itself! All these cut off diplomatic ties with Katanga.

5. Opposition from the Catholic Church. Tshombe either killed or jailed most of his suspected opponents, in response, the Catholic clergy in the Vatican council condemned Tshombe, termed Katanga as a butcher yard and cursed him to hell. This touched the hearts of the faithful Catholics within Congo, Belgium and France and they withdrew their support from Tshombe.

6. Lack of popular support from Katanga. Not all the tribes of Katanga supported Tshombe. This was due to his arrogance, egoism, pride, pompous nature and dictatorship. He made no efforts of bringing the northern Katangese closer.

7. The role of the Casablanca group. Between 3rd and 7th January 1961, The Casablanca group (Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Tunisia etc.) met to discuss the state of Congo's politics. They condemned the UN's lukewarm attitude and even threatened to withdraw their troops from the UN command in Congo. The UN was criticized as a promoter of Belgian imperialism. This made the UN to take up arms against the Katangese so as to protect its international reputation.

8. The role and death of Dag Hammarskjold. He was a UN secretary General who worked tirelessly for peace and reconciliation in Congo. He died in a plane crash in September 1961 on his way to Ndola- Northern Rhodesia, to persuade Tshombe to call off the secession. Hammarskjold, like Patrice Lumumba, was looked at as a Martyr who had died at the altar of Tshombe's secessionism. Henceforth, the UN forces crushed the Katangese army.

9. Support from the Soviet Union. On realizing the double standards of the UNO, Patrice Lumumba had called for help from U.S.S.R., which responded by sending-12 Antanov jet fighters, several armoured vehicles and artilleries. This enabled the Armed Nationale Congolese (ANC) to weaken the separatists.

10. The withdrawal of Belgian troops. After killing Lumumba, Tshombe was no longer a favourite of the Belgians. So, when the UN troops invaded Katanga, the Belgian troops and supporters started departing. They couldn't fight and win a war against the UN.

11. The re-organisation of the Congolese army under Mobutu led to the failure of the secession. The army was enlarged, Africanised, trained and equipped with superior weapons in a short time. This was under the fast command of Mobutu Seseseko. On the other hand, Katanga's army was disorganized after the departure of the Belgians, it also suffered an arms embargo imposed by the UNO and no longer received arms through the NATO bases at Kamino and Kitona.

12. The formation of the OAU in May 1963 led to the failure of the secession. It put an end to the divisions between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups of nationalists. In May 1963 at Addis Ababa, all African states combined to condemn Tshombe’s separatism.

13. The flight of Tshombe to USA demoralized his soldiers and led to the collapse of the secession. He fled in January 1963 and left a leadership vacuum. Many separatists started surrendering.

14. The 1963 Afro-Asian and Arab conference condemned the secession. It issued four resolutions calling for the preservation of a united Congo.

15. The efforts of Cyrilla Adoula helped to weaken the secession. He was the new acting premier who held talks with Tshombe at Kitona leading to the Kitona agreement in which Tshombe temporarily called off the secession. Adoula even appointed 3 Katangese to ministerial posts on top of addressing parliamentarians and asking them to sensitise fellow Katangese about the value of unity.

16. The promulgation of a new constitution in April 1964 helped to water down the secession. This was because it created 12 new provinces, which split the Katangese and watered down their pride and pomp.

17. The formation of a government of national unity. This was in June 1961 with Tshombe as Prime Minister. His leadership ambitions had been quelled and the Katangese reconciled.

# Effects of the Katanga secession

1. It led to secessionist attempts in other provinces of Congo e.g. South Kasai made a secessionist attempt in August 1960.
2. It led to a breakdown of the central government when Lumumba turned to USSR for support yet Kasavubu was a capitalist. As a result, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba on 5th September 1960 on a Radio broadcast and Lumumba, did likewise.
3. There was a breakdown of law and order. The central government coalition of the ABAKO and MNC came to an end as the two rivalled for power. Each of these wanted to head the central government and hence the establishment of two rival administrations- one at Leopoldville and another at Stanley Ville.
4. UN troops were invited into Congo. Though they were inconsistent at first, later they did the required task.
5. It prompted the 1961 Casablanca conference to discuss the way forward of African troops in Congo.
6. It divided African states into those supporting the secession and those against it. The majority of African states supported Tshombe while a few e.g. Ghana, Mali and Guinea didn't.
7. It led to great loss of lives. The great nationalists who were killed included Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpalo, Joseph Okitt and many others. Thousands of innocent men, women and children died of Belgian bombings. Dag Hammarskjold- the UN secretary General also died in a plane crash in pursuit of peace in Congo.
8. It created a refugee crisis in the great lakes region. Many Congolese went to neighbouring Uganda, Congo Brazzaville, Tanzania and Sudan.
9. It paved way for military rule in Congo when Joseph Mobutu seized power in a coupe de tat in November 1965 so as to help the country out of chaos. He soon became a dictator.
10. It led to economic decline in Congo-especially in Katanga province. Air ports were closed, agriculture and industry came to a standstill, roads were bombed etc.
11. It promoted neo-colonialism in Congo whereby both Lumumba and Tshombe begged external power for military assistance.
12. It revealed the weakness and double standards of the UNO.
13. It resulted into a federal constitution for Congo. This was promulgated in April 1960 and it provided for 21 provinces.
14. Tshombe attained his ambition of becoming Congo's Prime Minister.

CAUSES OF THE CONGO POLITICAL CRISIS AFTER INDEPENDENCE

- The hurry with which Congolese independence was granted. The Congo didn't go through a political laboratory.

Absence of skilled Congolese to manage administration.

- The failure to Africanise the Force Republic which led to the mutiny of 5/07/1960.

The Belgian shelling of Port Matardi on 11/7/1960 led to African revenge against the Belgians and hence the crisis.

The failure of the UN to take action against the Katangese.

Disagreement between Lumumba and Kasavubu.

- The assassination of Lumumba (a conspiracy between Kasavubu, Mobutu and Tshombe).

The dismissal of Janssen and other Belgian soldiers from Force Republic made them support Tshombe's secessionism.

Lumumba's personality and radicalism made the settlers to panic and support Tshombe.

- Foreign intrigue whereby the different super powers supported different sides.

The weakness of the 1960 Brussels constitution.

The differences between supporters of unitarism and the federalists.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Account for delayed nationalism in Congo.

2. Discuss the factors that fuelled the rise of nationalism in Congo.

3. Discuss the causes and effects of the Katanga secession in Congo.

4. Account for political instabilities in post independent Congo.

# NATIONALISM IN NIGERIA AND THE BIAFRA CRISIS NIGERIA'S ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

1. The Return of Dr. Namdi Azikiwe from Gold Coast to Nigeria in 1937 was a great step in the growth of Nigeria's nationalism. He joined the Nigerian Youth Movement and re-organised it.

2. Formerly an editor of "the African Morning Post" in Gold Coast, Dr. Namdi Azikiwe started a nationalistic newspaper in Nigeria itself so as to articulate nationalistic views. This was the "West African Pilot".

3. In 1943, he laid down and published a work plan /time table for the attainment of Nigeria's independence. He projected 18 years ahead and actually the process of preparing Nigerians for independence took 17 years.

4. In 1944, a political party known as "National Council of Nigerians and Cameroon's (NCNC) was formed. Its first president was Herbert Macaulay and the general secretary was Dr. Azikiwe. Later the name was changed to "National Council for Nigerian citizens (NCNC). It articulated nationalistic views.

5. In 1946, governor Richards gave the Nigerians the "Richards constitution" which divided the country into three regions- the Northern, Eastern and Western regions. Each region was to have its parliament.

6. Between 1948-50, workers rioted demanding for increased wages. The British reaction was harsh, killing 21 workers and injuring many.

7. In 1949, the "Northern Peoples' Congress" (NPC) was formed under the leadership of Ahmad Bello. In the same year, the "Action Group" (AG) was formed under chief Awolowo. The two parties articulated nationalistic feelings.

8. In 1950, the new governor of Nigeria- Macpherson summoned Nigerian nationalists for a conference at Ibadan and a number of constitutional reforms were discussed.

9. In 1951, the Macpherson constitution was issued and by it, Nigeria was to adopt a federal government. The three regions were to remain (East, West and North) Lagos was to remain the capital city, a central parliament (House of Representatives) was to be formed and a council of ministers was to be formed with each region sending 4 ministers. This was a big step in preparing Nigerians for self-government.

10. In 1953, nationalists of the AG pressurised for Nigeria's independence by 1956 but this was opposed by the NPC led by Ahmed Bello who feared over dominance by Southerners since the northerners were not yet learned enough.

11. In 1954, the British colonial secretary Littleton invited Nigerian political leaders to London to work out a new constitution for Nigeria. The result was the Littleton constitution which favoured a federal arrangement, suggested more powers to be given to regional parliaments, the House of Representatives (National parliament) was to be directly elected with the Northern region taking half the seats and regional governments were to run the judiciary, civil services and economic activities in their respective regions.

12. In 1954, The British organised the first pre-independence federal elections. The NPC won in the North, NCNC won in the East while the AG won in the West.

13. A final constitution for Nigeria was agreed upon in 1957. In the same year, internal self-government was granted to the Western and Eastern regions. Then in 1959, the north was also granted internal self-government.

14. In 1959, another round of general elections was organised by the British. NPC won in the North, the AG won in the West and the NCNC won in the East. Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa became the first federal Prime Minister. He formed the NPC and NCNC coalition and this left the AG in opposition.

15. On 1st October 1960, the British granted independence to Nigeria. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the Prime Minister while Dr. Namdi Azikiwe became the governor-general President. Since this was a coalition government of NPC-NCNC, Chief Awolowo of the AG remained as the opposition leader.

# The role of NCNC.

- It was formed in 1944 by Nigerian young nationalists like Dr. Namdi Azikiwe and Herbert Macaulay. The latter became its president and the former its secretary general.

- It was a mass political party by origin. It embraced all Nigerian nationalists from the Eastern, Western and Northern regions.

- It established good links with trade unions, student's clubs and cultural associations. throughout Nigeria.

- However, it soon showed signs of ethnicism which led to the formation of the AG and NPC.

- The NCNC fought for Nigeria's independence.

- The NCNC founded a newspaper called the "West African Pilot" and articulated nationalistic views to the masses.

The NCNC also pointed out the evils of colonialism to Nigerians e.g. exploitation of labour, over-taxation, mineral exploitation etc.

- The NCNC pressurised Britain to introduce constitutional and political changes in Nigeria, and to Africanise Nigeria's politics in preparation for independence.

- It pointed out the loopholes of the Richards constitution of 1946 which had just been imposed but not discussed.

- The NCNC sent a delegation to London in 1947 to raise complaints about the Richards constitution. It was led by Dr. Azikiwe.

- It made a political tour of all Nigeria collecting funds for the above journey and in the process reached out to the masses whom they explained the need for independence.

- It supported the workers riots between 1948-1950.

- It advocated for a united rather than a tribally divided Nigeria. This was one of the reasons why it accepted the NPC - NCNC coalition after the 1954 elections in which NPC had won 79 seats and NCNC 65 seats.

- It participated in the 1957/58 constitutional debate in London at which Nigeria's independence was scheduled for October 1960.

However, the NCNC tended to segregate against the non-Ibo in its top leadership.

- It was also arrogant calling the Ibo the "God sent leaders" of Nigeria.

- It failed to convince the British colonial secretary Littleton to scrap off the Richards constitution with immediate effect.

# DR NAMDI AZIKIWE.

- He was born at Onitsha in 1904 by Ibo parents. He trained as a clerk in missionary schools, went to USA for further studies in 1925 and while there, he joined student’s movements, witnessed American democracy, discrimination against black Negroes began writing some articles in the newspapers, came into contact with Pan Africanists etc...

He returned to Nigeria in 1934 but failed to get an immediate job. He crossed to Gold Coast where he became the editor of the "African Morning Post'' newspaper.

- He later returned to Nigeria in 1937 and joined the Nigerian Youth Movement which he re-organised using the experience and wealth of ideas he had got from external contacts.

He became an editor of the "West African Pilot" and "Comet" newspapers. Through his articles he called upon Nigerians to fight for their rights.

He wrote "the charter for British West Africa" which was an interpretation of the 1941 Atlantic charter. The Charter for British West Africa called for colonial reforms and criticized Churchill and De Gaulle who had misinterpreted the Atlantic Charter by stating that it referred only to German Nazi (colonial) rule.

He wrote out a work plan /agenda for Nigeria's independence which he set for 1961. However, this turned out to be a year earlier.

He opposed the Richards constitution, which was entrenching tribalism in Nigeria. He supported the workers strikes in demanding for improved conditions of work.

He travelled to London with two other comrades to meet the British colonial (secretary about the inadequate Richards constitution.

He toured the country seeking for funds to go to London and during the process, sensitised the masses about the need for self-government.

He harboured the ideas of a strong, united and none-ethnic Nigeria but in action, he promoted Ibo interests and this led to the emergence of the NPC and AG to protect the interests of Northerners and Westerners respectively.

He led his party- the NCNC into a political coalition with the NPC hoping to use it as a nucleus for a united Nigeria.

He participated in the London constitutional conference of 1957/58 which gave Nigeria a final constitution and set the date for Nigeria's independence.

On 1st October 1960, he became Nigeria's first governor-general /President.

# Obstacles in Nigeria's path to independence

1. The big size and population of Nigeria where by it stretched from the Niger delta in the South to Hausa land in the North. Its population of between 35-40 million wasn't easy to mobilise for anti-colonial efforts.

2. Religious differences whereby the northerners were Moslems and ascribed to Islamic culture while the Southerners were largely Christians. Those differences prevented joint action against the colonialists.

3. Tribalism whereby the northern region was occupied by Hausa-Fulani. The western region by the Yoruba and the Eastern region by the Ibo. The parties they formed were tribal namely, the AG for westerners the NPC for northerners and the NCNC for Easterners. Hence there were no concerted efforts against the colonialists.

4. The rejection of the AG proposal for early independence widened the tension between the South and the North: The northerners thought that early independence (1956) would bring about the domination of the less educated northerners by the highly educated southerners.

5. Secessionist tendencies whereby the North, West and East, each wanted to receive autonomous government from the rest of Nigeria.

6. Absence of charismatic leadership. The leaders who came up were parochial and not focussed towards nationalistic goals. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Ahmed Bello struggled for the interests of northerners (Hausa), Awolowo for Yoruba/Western interests and Dr. Azikiwe for the interests of Easterners (Ibos) for some time, chief Awolowo and Dr Azikiwe conflicted badly

7. There was a rift between the learned and unlearned whereby the learned took too long to reach out to the masses. They thought that they were a class above the unlearned.

8. Colonial legacy whereby the British had created divisionism in Nigeria so as to continue exploiting its resources.

9. The Richards and Macpherson constitutions which only maintained the tribal and regional divisions were also an obstacle towards Nigeria's independence.

10. The harsh British reaction to African strikes also demoralised a number of early nationalists e.g. between 1948 - 1950, more than 30 workers were shot for rioting on plantations and in mines.

11. The poverty of Nigerians also made nationalistic efforts hard to fulfil e.g. to raise 13,000 to go to London and protest the Richards constitution, Dr Namdi Azikiwe and comrades had to tour the whole of Nigeria accompanied by singers, drummers and dancers.

# POLITICAL INSTABILITIES IN NIGERIA

After obtaining her independence on 1st October 1960, Nigeria was plunged into political chaos resulting into a civil war.

# CAUSES

1. Traditional differences. Traditionally, there existed three powerful tribes in Nigeria. These were the Yoruba who occupied the western region and had kings. Then there were the Hausa- Fulani in the North who were exposed to the rule of Emirs and thirdly the Ibos who occupied the Eastern region and were traditionally led by village chiefs and not Kings. Such a difference in background led to instability in Nigeria.

2. Ethnicism whereby each of the three tribes; the Ibo in the East, Yoruba in the - West and Hausa-Fulani in the North wanted tribal supremacy over others. This resulted into tribalism, tribal fears and suspicions, which later broke out into violence.

3. Colonial legacy whereby the British failed to integrate (bring together) the Northern, Western and Eastern regions. Instead, the British introduced their divide and rule policy by which they widened the tribal differences and fears. This contributed to future instabilities.

4. The divisive constitutions. When Nigerian nationalists demanded for political reforms and independence, the British issued the Richards constitution of 1946 and later the Macpherson constitution of 1951. These two constitutions did not solve but rather served to entrench regional and ethnic nationalism in Nigeria. Hence colonial legacy constitutionalised the disunity in Nigeria and thus the civil war.

5. Educational imbalances whereby the British had greatly equipped the Ibo and some Yoruba with modern education while leaving the northerners largely uneducated. Although this served the British divide and rule aims, the Easterners and Westerners who were sent to serve as civil servants in the North became arrogant leading to anger, tension and civil war.

6. Religious differences caused political instabilities in Nigeria. The Northerners were predominantly Moslems while Southerners were predominantly Christians. This caused misunderstandings.

7. Economic imbalances. The Northern Fulani occupied a semi-arid area and were mainly pastoralists. Their area was backward and poor as compared to either the Ibo or the Yoruba who occupied fertile soils with several minerals and colonial developments like roads, and plantations. This natural imbalance bred regional feelings and war.

8. The East and West divide. Not only was there a division between the north and the south, but also a big one between the East and West. Since both regions had educated elites, they started wrangling for power so as to take the biggest share of the national cake.

9. . Western type of political parties also fuelled divisions and brought about political. instability. In a bid to entrench their neo-colonialism, the British allowed the introduction of Western democracy in form of political parties. Unfortunately, these were created along tribal lines. Hence the NCNC was principally for Ibos, the NPC for Northern Hausa-Fulani while the AG for Yorubas. Unity was impossible and hence civil war.

10. The 1963 population census fuelled regional tensions and contributed to the war. True the Northern region had a bigger population than either the Eastern or Western regions. However, the 1963/64 census showed exaggerated figures. Out of the 55.6 million, the northern region had 29.8 million people. Being the majority, it meant that they were to obtain a bigger share of the federal government budget, larger numbers of federal government ministers, high recruitment in security agencies etc. The population figures were disputed by the AG.

11. Dictatorship. The federal government under Sir AbuBakar Tafawa Balewa's premiership started persecuting its opponents through arrests, imprisonment without trial, censoring the press etc.

12. Wrangles for power in the Western region also contributed to the civil war. The president of the opposition party Chief Obafemi Awolowo and his deputy chief S.L. Akintola developed differences and started conflicting for power. Chief Awolowo dismissed his deputy Akintola who refused to quit. Violence broke out between their supporters in May 1962 and government intervened on the side of Akintola. This made Awolowo bitter and increased his anti-government campaign.

13. The unfair arrest of chief Awolowo led to civil strife. As a leader of the opposition, he travelled in different regions of the country trying to win the minority (small) tribes into the opposition party (AG). The federal government arrested him in 1963 and sentenced him to 12 years’ imprisonment. This led to political outcry and protests and partly contributed to the 1966 coup.

14. Competitions for jobs also contributed to the civil war. Both the educated Yoruba and Ibo stiffly competed for civil service posts and job promotions. When the Ibo Vice Chancellor Dr. Eni Njoki was replaced with a Yoruba Vice Chancellor S.B. Biobaku at Lagos University, tribal tensions were fuelled and this contributed to civil war. At Ibadan University, the situation was nearly similar.

15. The rigging of elections. The first post-independence elections of 1964/65 were highly rigged in favour of Northern politicians. The election results were disputed by the Eastern and Western politicians- contributing to civil strife. Even in the Western region itself, chief Akintola (with support of government) rigged the 1965 elections.

16. The January 1966 coup contributed to the civil instabilities in Nigeria. A clique of army officers mainly of Ibo origin staged the January coup and assassinated the Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa, Chief Akintola (the western premier) and Sir Ahmadu Bello (the Northern Premier). A number of Northern and Western officers were also killed. Though the coup was defeated by a loyal Ibo army Boss-Major General Ironsi, anti -Ibo feelings grew strong in Nigeria and hence the civil strife.

17. The July 1966 coup and Ibo genocide led to further political instabilities. General Ironsi had promoted a number of Ibos in the army and had posted many to rule in the north where they became harsh and arrogant. In July 1966, northern junior army officers staged a coup, arrested and killed Major General Ironsi along with many other Ibo officers and politicians. This led to civil war as the Ibos protected themselves from further killings.

18. The issuing of decree number 33 and 34 on 24th May 1966 by Major General Ironsi led to political instabilities. Decree 33 banned political parties and ethnic associations while Decree 34 abolished the old regions and created a unitary Nigeria with 35 provinces. Northerners who were less educated feared that this would deprive them of their jobs in the civil service and partly contributed to the July 1966 coup. It is Colonel Yakubu Gowon who succeeded Ironsi and abolished the decrees.

19. The vast size and population of Nigeria made the civil war inevitable. It was not easy for the federal government to monitor what was going on in the whole of Nigeria and this gave room for subversive activities.

20. The Nigerian workers' strike of 1964 also contributed to civil instabilities. Due to low wages, high prices for essential commodities and corruption by government bosses, the Nigerian workers rioted in 1964 damaging property and causing civil commotion in Lagos.

21. The declaration of the Biafran state on 30th May 1967 was the immediate cause of the civil strife in Nigeria. The Ibo independent state threatened the interests of the federal government and thus war broke out.

22. Discontent in the army also led to political instabilities. The Nigerian army tried to maintain professionalism but the politicians later divided it. At independence, most senior posts in the army were occupied by southerners. Then in 1961, a quota system was introduced by which 50% of the senior officers were to come from the North, 25% from the East and 25% from the West. This soon led to the domination of high ranks by the northerners, which bred ethnic tensions. Experienced soldiers were also unhappy at the promotion of young inexperienced but learned soldiers. This partly led to the January 1966 coup.

# THE BIAFRAN SECESSION.

On 30th May 1967, Colonel Ojukwu declared the Eastern region as independent from the rest of Nigeria. He named the new country "Biafra", cut off relations with Gowon's federal government, seized the federal government assets etc... Go won tried to reconcile with Ojukwu but in vain. The option left was a military confrontation. On 5th July 1967, the federal government forces launched their offensive against Biafra and defeated it in January 1970.

# CAUSES OF THE BIAFRAN SECESSION

These are closely related to the causes of the civil war in Nigeria, already seen above. Points which have already been explained will only be out lined here.

1. Colonial legacy whereby the British promoted the tribal divisions by introducing their divide and rule policy and the two divisive constitutions.

2. Ethnic rivalry between the Eastern Ibos, Northern Hausa Fulany and Western Yoruba contributed to Ibo secession. They wanted to be independent of other tribes.

3. The discovery of oil in Eastern Nigeria made the Ibo feel strong enough to secede. " They felt economically self-sufficient and were sure of managing their politics using the oil /petroleum wealth.

4. The genocide against the Ibo made them annoyed and fuelled their desire for tribal independence. During and after the July 1966 coup led by Yakoub Gowon, a number of Ibo were killed. These included Major General Ironsi, the head of government, about 200 Ibo military men, many Ibo civilians in the North and West etc. This made them migrate back to their tribal homeland where they declared secession.

5. Religious diversity where by the Ibo were predominantly Christians while the Hausa-Fulani were Moslems. The Ibo even thought that the July 1966 genocide was religiously motivated- hence the desire for tribal and religious independence.

6. High Education. The Ibo were educated enough and didn't foresee a problem of, man power shortage. This propelled them to secede.

7. Fertile soils. Eastern Nigeria was blessed with good soils, reliable rainfall and accessibility to the coast through Port Harcourt. This added on her feelings of economic self-sufficiency.

8. The 1963/64-census scandal which showed exaggerated population growth in Northern Nigeria worried the Ibo. This was worsened when Tafawa Balewa (Prime Minister) declared that government resources were to be allocated according to population concentration.

9. The political domination by northerners made the Ibo indignant. The Hausa Fulani mobilised the key civil service posts during Tafawa Balewa's regime and later during Yakoub's government. This bred tribal sentiments amongst the Ibo who were most educated, yet side lined. By 1967 30% of the Ibo were unemployed.

10. The vice-chancellor saga. Competitions for jobs in the civil service were complicated when the Ibo vice-Chancellor at Lagos University Dr. Eni Njoki was replaced by a Yoruba one - S.B. Biobaku who had already obtained a fat job in Ghana. Dr. Eni Njoki was one of the great hopes of the Ibo.

11. Unfair social services whereby most of the funds were allocated to develop schools, hospitals and roads in the North.

12. The unification decree of May 1966 which abolished the old regions worried the Ibo who wanted regional independence.

13. The declaration of 12 new states in May 1967 also prompted the Ibo to secede. Yakoub Gowon who wanted to reduce on tribalism in Nigeria began by declaring a state of emergency. Then he issued a decree dividing the country into 12 provinces/states. Most oil resources went to smaller tribes in Eastern Nigeria. This was interpreted by the Ibo as a government attempt to deprive them of their wealth; hence the secession.

14. The influence of other secessions in Africa led to the Biafran secession. Between 1960 - 64, Nigeria soldiers were sent to keep peace in Congo where the Katanga secession had created a crisis. The Ibo ex-soldiers became intoxicated with secessionist ideas and demanded for Ibo independence.

15. Ojukwu's personality. He was uncompromising and determined to break away from the central government. General Ankrah of Ghana tried to solve the differences between Ojukwu and Yakoub Gowon but the former was uncompromising. Even Yakoub Gowon himself organised conferences in Lagos but the Eastern representatives became uncompromising. Ojukwu himself refused to attend a meeting of the supreme military council and claimed that he feared for his life. Under the circumstances, the Biafran secession was inevitable.

16. Ethnic promotions in the army worried the Ibo. General Gowon introduced a quota system of recruiting soldiers whereby the north was to produce 50% of the new recruits while the other two regions were to provide 25% each. This worried the Ibo soldiers and led to secession.

17. The stationing of Northern soldiers in Ibo land also led to secession. Aware of an impending crisis, Gowon sent many soldiers in the Eastern region for security reasons. Colonel Ojukwu demanded for their security reasons. Colonel Ojukwu demanded for their removal but in vain. This led to the war of secession.

18. Expected foreign support also made the Ibo to secede. A number of foreign oil - dealing companies and countries (USA and France) assured Biafra of support. They aimed at exploiting Biafra's petroleum products. Biafra also had support from some African states e.g. Zambia, Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Gabon.

19. The post-independence problems e.g. corruption by Northern government officials, arrogance by northerners, unemployment and inflation led to the Ibo secession.

20. Western type of political parties only served to divide the peoples of Nigeria and contributed to the Ibo secession.

# Reasons why the Biafran War was prolonged

1. Biafrans were determined to maintain their independence and this made them resist for a long spell.

2. Support from France which wished to see the disintegration of Nigeria- the strongest English speaking nation in Africa. France and Britain had their traditional misunderstandings in Europe and later in Africa. France therefore provided arms to Biafra.

3. Support from the capitalist oil producing companies of USA and France. These wished to exploit the oil wealth of Biafra and therefore provided her with financial and military support.

4. Originally Ojukwu's forces received enormous support and welcome from the civilians.

5. The recognition of Biafra by 4 African states gave her moral courage to fight on. These were Ivory Coast, Gabon, Zambia and Tanzania.

6. The enemies of a United and powerful Africa also extended support to Biafra e.g. South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia etc. These provided Biafra with mercenaries, funds, arms and medicine to execute the war.

7. Yakoub's diplomacy whereby he first gave room for negotiations enabled Ojukwu to strengthen himself and fight a prolonged war.

8. The Ibo had a number of engineers and artists who could produce locally manufactured guns, soap and bombs. This sustained Biafra during an economic blockade.

9. Strong commanders such as Ojukwu, Colonel Hannibal and Achuzia enabled the Ibo to fight for long.

10. The Ibo were familiar with the terrain/geography in which they fought.

11. Profits from oil products.

# REASONS FOR BIAFRA'S FAILURE TO SECEDE

1. Nigeria's military superiority. The federal government of Yakoub Gowon had a big army of about 120,000 soldiers who were well trained and equipped. This contrasted with the small numbers of the Ibo army which was mainly made up of untrained peasants.

2. The role of ex-service men. Gowon's federal government was blessed when the 2nd world war ex-service men voluntarily joined the federal troops to fight against Biafra. These were highly experienced, trained, disciplined and quickly defeated Ojukwu's forces.

3. Foreign support also enabled the federal government forces to defeat Biafra. The federal Nigerian government got arms and funds mainly from Britain and Russia. Britain (the former colonial master of Nigeria) didn't wish to see a divided Nigeria.

4. Opposition from non-Ibos. A number of smaller tribes in the Eastern part of Nigeria didn't support the Ibo secession. They therefore collaborated with government forces, leading to the defeat of Biafra.

5. Opposition from the Ibo elites. The move to secede was greatly opposed and undermined by Ibo intellectuals e.g. Dr. Namdi Azikiwe, Major Emmanuel Ifejuna and a University lecturer- Asika Upkabi.

6. Military aid from Egypt. Abdel Nasser provided the Nigerian government with skilled air force pilots whose bombings rained much havoc on Biafra and led to its failure.

7. Economic blockade. The federal government surrounded Biafra, captured Port Harcourt and cut Biafra off from the external world. She could therefore not obtain fresh supplies of weapons, medicine etc.

8. Famine. Equally true, the federal government forces blocked all the local routes into Biafra. This meant that Biafrans had no food supply, which brought about famine and weakened the Biafran army.

9. The indiscipline of Ibo forces also led to Biafran failure to secede. During war, they concentrated on looting and raping. This made them lose support and contrasted with the disciplined federal government forces who received warm welcome.

10. Effective military strategy. Nigeria's commanders such as Mohammed Murtala, Olusegun Obasanjo and Shuwa were very effective. They made a strategy of cutting off Biafra from external supplies, concentrated on aerial bombings etc. This greatly weakened the Biafrans.

11. Determination to capture oil wealth. The federal government forces and all other tribes of Nigeria fought with great determination so as to recapture the rich oil /petroleum fields located in Biafra. The future of Nigeria depended on such oil wealth. Biafra could not survive.

12. The flight of Colonel Ojukwu. When the war became hot, Colonel Ojukwu Odomegwu fled to neighbouring Ivory Coast on 11th January 1970. This demoralised and weakened his army.

13. Government economic strength. The federal government of Nigeria had great economic reserves and was able to pay its soldiers, buy them uniform, drugs etc. This wasn't the case with Biafra which was even hit by an economic embargo.

14., Earlier killings of Ibo officers. During the July 1966 coup, the Northerners had killed about 43 high ranking Ibo officers and 171 junior officers. So by the time of the Ibo secession, Biafra had no experienced soldiers.

15. The destructive nature of the war scared a number of Ibos and made them cooperate with government troops to avoid further destruction and death. Even some Ibo soldiers deflected to the government forces and revealed Ojukwo's secrets!

16. The role of the OAU. From the beginning, the OAU was opposed to a disunited Nigeria and therefore called upon all OAU member states to denounce Biafra and cut off trade relations with it. This pressure led to the failure of the Ibo secession.

# EFFECTS OF THE BIAFRAN WAR

1. It led to great loss of human lives and destruction of property. Between 1 to 2 million Nigerians are believed to have died. These were mainly Ibos.

2. The Biafran republic was defeated and Ojukwu fled to neighbouring Ivory Coast. Hence Nigeria became united.

3. A number of Ibos were imprisoned but were later released without trial. This was in an effort to reconcile the Ibo and build a united Nigeria.

4. It created a refugee crisis in West Africa. A number of Ibos fled the war zone and went into Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Benin and Niger. Others became refugees within Nigeria itself.

5. It exposed the Ibo to great sufferings especially in refugee camps within Nigeria. These had an estimated population of about 2 million people who lacked food, drugs and suffered from diseases, rape etc.

6. The war drained the national resources. Government spent highly on weapons, drugs and other logistics.

7. It led to the destruction of infrastructure like roads, schools and hospitals. Reconstruction was expensive.

8. It divided African countries into those that supported Biafra (e.g. Tanzania, Ivory coast, Zambia and Gabon) against those that didn't e.g. Egypt. This poisoned the desire for African unity.

9. It led to the emergence of new politicians in Nigeria e.g. Gowon reshuffled the army and appointed Olusegun Obasanjo to be the commander against Biafra. He later captured power through a coup and hence militarising Nigeria's politics.

10. It ushered in Neo-colonialism in Nigeria whereby Britain started providing funds for reconstruction.

11. It helped to ease the tension between the Eastern and Western block for some time. This was because for the first time in Africa, the two opposing sides supported a united Nigeria and condemned divisionism.

12. It led to reconciliation attempts e.g. Peace talks were held in Kampala (Uganda)in May 1968 in an attempt to solve the Biafran crisis. Other talks were held in Ghana, Lagos (Nigeria) etc.

13. It cemented unity amongst the various tribes of Nigeria who joined hands against Biafra. Secessionism has not resurfaced in Nigeria since then.

14. It ushered in the domination of the army in Nigeria's politics.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the causes and effects of the Nigerian civil war between 1967-1970.

2. The Biafran war of secession was due to colonial legacy. Discuss.

3. Account for Biafra's failure to secede from Nigeria between 1967-1970.

4. Discuss the causes and effects of the January and July 1966 coup de tat in Nigeria.

5. Examine the role played by Namdi Azikiwe towards Nigeria's Independence.

6. Examine the role played by NCNC towards Nigeria's independence.

# THE ERITREAN WAR OF SECESSION 1961-1993.

Eritrea is located in North East Africa and for long, the history of Eritrea was inseparable from that of Ethiopia. Ethiopia regarded Eritrea as her province but accused her of harbouring her Moslem and Arab enemies. During the 19th Century for instance, Egypt attempted to take over Ethiopia basing itself in Eritrea but failed.

During the scramble days, Italy had tried to take over Ethiopia but was defeated by the Ethiopians at Adowa in 1896. Thereafter, the Italians retreated to Eritrea from where they launched an attack on Ethiopia in October 1935. Italian rule in Eritrea therefore dated from 1896 to 1941 when Italians were pushed out of both Eritrea and Ethiopia.

From 1941-1950, Eritrea was under Britain, which took care of it on behalf of the UN (- a UN mandated territory). In 1952, the UN decided to constitute Eritrea into an autonomous state but federated to Ethiopia. Under the federal arrangement, Eritrea had its own assembly and government. The federal arrangement went on for about 10 years but these were years of growing tension between Christians and Moslems in Eritrea and between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

In 1960, the UNO organised a referendum by which the Eritreans were to decide the form of governance best suited to them. Emperor Selassie rigged the elections and in 1962 bribed the Eritrea Parliament which voted for an end of Eritrea's autonomy and made it a mere province of Ethiopia. Hence Ethiopia proceeded and took over Eritrea as her province.

ORIGINS/CAUSES OF THE ERITREAN WAR OF SECESSION/LIBERATION

1. The desire for independence led to the war. The Eritreans no longer wanted to be regarded as a province of Ethiopia. They wanted self-rule and interpreted Ethiopia's rule in Eritrea as real colonialism practiced by an African country against fellow Africans.

2. The failure by Ethiopia to drive the Italians out of Eritrea. After the Ethiopian victory over the Italians in 1896 at Adowa, the latter retreated to Eritrea and established their rule in the area. The question asked by Eritrea nationalists was, if Ethiopia had the interests of Eritrea at heart, why didn't they follow up the Italians? Why didn't they drive them out of Eritrea if the area was part of Ethiopia? Even after the defeat of the Italians during the Italo Ethiopian crisis, Ethiopia didn't show love for Eritrea which became a UN mandated territory.

3. The exposure of Eritreans to democratic rule. Italian rule in Eritrea (1896-1941) was characterised by great political economic and social reforms. They introduced constitutional rule, freedom of the press, school education, hospitals and constructed roads in Eritrea. When the Italians lost Eritrea in 1941, it was handed over to the British who were even more democratic and liberal than the Italians. This made Eritrea to desire a separate government from that of Ethiopia where democracy was a myth.

4. Haille Sellassie's feudalism, tribalism and dictatorship contributed to the Eritrean war of secession. The rule of emperor Selassie was monarchical and backward. The Eritreans regarded themselves as modern and above the archaic feudal policies of the Emperor. To make matters worse, the Emperor favoured the Amharic tribe and language more than others. For instance, Amharic was the official language to be broadcast in both Ethiopia and Eritrea. This only served to tighten Eritrean nationalism.

5. The weaknesses of the UNO also led to the war of secession. In 1952, the UNO transferred Eritrea from British control to Ethiopian control- a territory federated to Ethiopia. This was a mistake because Eritreans had already indicated their desire for independence. Then in 1960, the UN organised a referendum to decide the political future of Eritrea. Eritreans opted for self-government but Emperor Haile Selassie rigged the referendum results. Surprisingly, the UNO observers didn't raise an accusing figure against this. Hence giving way to the Eritrean war of secession.

6. The Ethiopian annexation of Eritrea in 1962. For long Eritrea had been ruled under UN mandate. In 1952, it was federated to Ethiopia and for a period of 10 years she enjoyed internal self-government. After rigging the 1960 referendum results, Emperor Selassie made plans of annexing Eritrea and it was done in 1962. Hence from a semi-autonomous state, Eritrea was reduced to a mere province of Ethiopia. This was unacceptable to Eritreans and hence the war of secession.

7. The formation of the ELF in 1961. After the falsification of the 1960 referendum, Eritreans concluded that a political solution had failed and therefore formed a guerrilla movement known as the Eritrean Liberation Front in 1961. This transformed Eritrean nationalism into a militant and radical one and together with the EPLF Eritrea Popular Liberation Front formed in 1972 led Eritrea to independence in 1993.

8. Un fulfilled promises. To gain popularity, the Dergue promised to include the ELF, EPLF and the TPLF (Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front) in a coalition government but this was never fulfilled. The Dergue /military committee even promised negotiations but by 1977, it had adopted a military approach to the Eritrean question just like Sellassie had done. The war of secession was inevitable. The Dergue's reforms e.g. recognising Islam and all cultures were short of the Eritrean desire for full independence.

9. The 1960 political instabilities in Ethiopia influenced the war of secession. In that year, elite soldiers made an unsuccessful coup attempt and this was followed by student’s riots in protest of the existing backwardness and deteriorating conditions in all Ethiopia's sectors. This was followed by secessionist attempts in Tigre, Oromo and Ogden. This encouraged Eritreans to do the same.

10. The unseriousness of the OAU led to the Eritrean war of secession. The O.A.U member countries chose to please Emperor Sellassie and to frustrate the aspirations of the peoples of Eritrea. The Eritreans appealed to the OAU to find a political solution to the problem but it paid a deaf ear. They allowed Sellassie to deceive them that the Eritrean question was a mere secessionist attempt manned by a few self-seeking individuals who had no interests of Eritrea at heart. For failure to get sympathy and a political solution from the OAU, the Eritreans turned to violence.

11. The 1972 - 74 famine contributed to the war. This famine left about 200,000 ' Eritreans dead. Emperor Sellassie's government was accused of paying no attention to the plight of Eritreans to whom he didn't even send verbal sympathy.

12. Religious differences also contributed to the secession. The Eritreans were predominantly Moslems while the Ethiopians were Christians. A situation of anarchy and resentment was bound to occur, especially because Christianity was declared as the state religion by Emperor Sellasie and whereby the ruling officers in Eritrea were Christians who were not only arrogant but also took wine and pork.

13. Eritrea's economic strength encouraged her to secede. She was blessed with natural ports of Massawa and Asaab on the Red Sea which were very lucrative /profitable in matters of trade. Eritrea's infrastructure e.g. the road from Asmara to Massawa, schools and hospitals were all advanced due to Italian and British rule there. Then in 1963, Asbestos was discovered in Eritrea which added to her economic strength. These economic advantages made Eritreans confident of managing their own affairs. They hated exploitation of their economic resources by Ethiopia.

14. The influence of cold war politics. Between 1961-1974, USSR supported Eritrea while USA backed up Haille Sellassie's Ethiopia. Later, when Mariam Mengistu's government adopted the socialist ideology, USSR supported Ethiopia while USA switched its support to Eritrea. In a circumstance where by the super powers were extending their cold war, the Eritrea war of secession was inevitable.

15. The extension of the Arab-Israelite conflict made the war inevitable. There were a number of Israelites in the Ethiopian government advising and militarily assisting the Emperor. Ethiopia even allowed Israelites to use the ports of Massawa and Asaab. Given the fact that the majority of Eritreans were staunch Moslems, Arab countries were naturally attracted into the conflict on the side of Eritrea.

16. It was the Arab support from Iraq. Libya, Egypt, and Sudan etc. that made Eritreans. fight to the end.

It can therefore be concluded that the divergent interpretation of Eritrea's history, the growth of Eritrean nationalism, the wind of change which was sweeping across African and other factors led to the Eritrean war of Liberation that succeeded in 1993.

FACTORS WHICH DELAYED THE INDEPENDENCE OF ERITREA

1. Ideological differences between the liberation movements. Instead of fighting a common enemy, the ELF and EPLF started conflicting with one another. The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) advocated for the formation of an Islamic state whereas the EPLF (Eritrean Popular Liberation Front) advocated for a socialist state. This led to infighting between the liberation groups and hence delayed independence.

2. The selfish interests of super powers. Both USSR and USA turned Eritrea into, their ideological battle field. They didn't have the interests of Eritreans at heart and couldn't support their early independence. Rather they used her to satisfy their selfish political interests. This is shown by USSR supporting Eritrea against Ethiopia between 1961 - 1974 and turning against her in support of Ethiopia after 1974. Also by USA's support of Ethiopia against Eritrea between 1961 - 74 but later helping her against Ethiopia after 1974. These alliances with Eritrea were not genuine but for convenience and hence the delay. These changes in ideas, tactics and guns retarded the Eritrean struggle.

3. The intervention of Israel in the politics of the horn of Africa also checked the quick progress which the Eritreans had gained over the Ethiopians.

4. The role of Ethiopia's collaborators within Eritrea also delayed the success of the war of secession. Some Eritreans were Christians and hated the creation of an Islamic state besides Ethiopia. Others claimed ethnic semblance with Ethiopia (they claimed that they too, like Ethiopians, were descendants of King Solomon. Hence due to religious and ethnic considerations, they gave assistance to Ethiopian forces. Hence delaying the war of liberation.

5. The over whelming military strength of Ethiopia kept the guerrilla fighters in the background until 1993. The Ethiopian army was well equipped by its Christian friends, mainly USA and Israel. Later it received up to date arms from USSR. This put Ethiopian forces at an upper hand and hence delaying the success of the Eritrean war.

6. The double standards of the UNO delayed the independence of Eritrea. The UNO simply turned Eritrea into a UN mandated territory and in 1952 federated it to Ethiopia- Yet it was clear by 1952 that Eritreans wanted independence. Again the UNO disrespected the referendum results and this delayed the independence of Eritrea.

7. The unwillingness of the OAU to grant independence to Eritrea also explains the delay. Haille Selassie deceived the OAU member countries that the Eritrean war was carried out by selfish and power hungry rebels who didn't have the interests of Eritrea at heart. Hence the liberation committee of the OAU never extended support to the ELF as it did to other liberation movements in Africa. The OAU bluffed off the Eritrea quest as a mere secession that was endangering African unity.

8. The failure of the peace talks with Mengistu's government. On assuming power, Mengistu and his fellow armed friends were ready to negotiate with the rebels. However, some rebels disagreed with the peace talks and opted for more fighting. Hence the early independence which Mengistu had promised was dropped.

9. Severe droughts and famine also hindered the quick liberation of Eritrea. Most guerrilla fighters surrendered to Ethiopian forces due to hunger while others died or became sick. Hence the delayed independence of Eritrea.

10. The economic advantages of Eritrea made Ethiopia prolong the war in an effort to retain them. On their part, the guerrillas also used the profits from ports Asaab and Massawa to prolong their defensive campaigns against the heavy artillery fire from the Ethiopian army.

11. The geography of both Ethiopia and Eritrea contributed to the delay. Ethiopia has high mountain ranges and deep valleys that hindered their quick onslaught against rebels. On the other hand, such geography favoured the hit and run activities of rebels. The desert and semi-desert hills of Northern Eritrea accorded guerrillas a conducive fighting environment.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE ERITREAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

1. The formation of liberation movements. These included the ELF and EPLF which launched guerrilla war attacks that weakened the Ethiopian army. Within Ethiopia itself, the T.P.L.F (the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front) undermined the government.

2. The election of Dr Boutros Ghali as UN Secretary general in 1992. As an African of Egyptian origin, he had a clear understanding of the history of North East Africa. He influenced the UN and OAU reverse the 1960 referendum and to recognise the independence of Eritrea in 1993.

3. The 1972-74 famine weakened the Ethiopian government. This was because the government had to spend a lot of funds to resettle the hungry and to buy them food. Hence Ethiopia found itself fighting a battle on two fronts- the rebels and famine. The resources that would have bought more weapons went in to buying food, drugs etc. The famine period enabled guerrillas to re-organise themselves.

4. Financial and military support from Arab countries enabled the rebels to sustain the war.

5. The economic strength of Eritrea enabled her to succeed in her war of independence. As the war raged on, the ELF cut off the Ethiopian use of Massawa and Asaab and monopolised the profits. These profits enabled her sustain the war of liberation up to when it succeeded in 1993.

6. Discontentment within Ethiopia. Due to the dictatorial policies of both Haille Sellassie and Colonel Mariam Mengistu, a number of Ethiopians fell out of love with the Ethiopian government. Hence within Ethiopia itself, Meles Zenawi launched a revolutionary struggle against the military government. This was a heaven sent blessing towards the Eritrean liberation fighters.

7. The personality of Isayas Afeworki. He was a dynamic, forward looking and charismatic leader who called upon all Eritrean revolutionaries to unite. He also initiated peace talks with the Ethiopian government in 1991 after the fall of Mariam Mengistu. He attended a number of OAU and UNO meetings and clearly explained the aspirations of Eritreans. He did a lot to win world sympathy and to change the negative attitude that Africans had towards the Eritrean strugglists.

8. The end of the cold war led to Eritrea's independence. As long as the cold war continued, the Eritreans war of independence also went on. However, with his ascendance to power in Russia, Gorberchev set out to end the cold war in the world. He therefore withdrew Russian support from Ethiopia and this greatly weakened the Ethiopian government while it boosted the Eritrean nationalists.

9. Fidel Castro's refusal to support Ethiopia also weakened her and signalled the success of the Eritrean war of secession. Fidel Castro of Cuba suggested a political solution rather than a military confrontation.

10. The existence of the cold war also enabled the Eritreans to obtain undeserved quantities of arms and even huge amounts of money first from Russia and later from USA. With these, she sustained the war up to success in 1993.

11. The good sense of organisation within the liberated zones. After capturing each area, he ELF and EPLF rebels would introduce democratic governance, schools, hospitals and other self-help projects. This won the peoples support towards the liberation fighters. Even Christians began supporting them. Hence success.

12. The unity between ELF and EPLF. The two liberation fronts merged against the Dergue. This enabled them to strengthen their action against the Dergue.

13. The coming to power of Meles Zenawi in 1991. He was the transitional president who replaced the overthrown Mariam Mengistu. He was more understanding and ready to negotiate for the quick independence of Eritrea and end of war.

EFFECTS OF THE ERITREAN WAR OF SECESSION

1. Loss of human lives. The war left a number of Eritreans and Ethiopians dead. Many of the victims were civilians and on either side, some died as a result of famine.

2. There was great destruction of property. Houses, schools and roads were damaged by heavy gun fire from both sides.

3. Economic stagnation. Sides were economically drained, agricultural activities came to a standstill in war zones and economic infrastructure was destroyed. This led to nationwide poverty and poor standards of living in both countries after the war. Ethiopia's economy was ruined more when she was cut off from Massawa.

4. Eritreans won their independence. This put an end to Ethiopian imperialism in Eritrea and an end to the more than 30-year-old civil strife.

5. It ushered in political instability in Ethiopia. This was witnessed in the 1974 coup against Haille Sellasie. In turn, Haile Mengistu's regime was ousted in 1991in both cases failure to halt the Eritrean crisis was one of the major causes.

6. It contributed to militarisation of politics in the horn of Africa. This was evidence by the rise of military presidents in the area e.g. Mariam Mengistu, Meles Zenawi, Isayas Aferworki etc.

7. It accelerated the refugee crisis in Africa. As the war raged on. a number of people poured into the neighbouring countries like Somalia and Sudan- not to forget the big number of internally displaced persons.

8. It showed the weakness of the OAU. This was because OAU member countries took sides in the conflict. Whereas some countries like Libya and Sudan supported the rebels, other African countries supported Ethiopia-not because of its fair claims, but just because of the respect they accorded to Haile Sellasie.

9. Boarder conflicts between the two countries, Ethiopia and Eritrea, have Been solved.

10. It accelerated the Arab-Israelite conflict as well as the ideological conflict between the Eastern and Western blocks. This was shown in the support by Muslim countries given to the Muslim rebels and Israel's support to Christian Ethiopia. The ideological war reflected itself in USSR and USA's shifting support to either side simply to suit their own interests.

11. It fanned civil conflicts in Ethiopia. Even after the independence of Eritrea, Ethiopia found itself with so many civil instabilities and it has not been easy for her to establish permanent order.

POLITICAL INSTABILITIES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

The Horn of Africa comprises of the independent states of Ethiopia, Somalia. Eritrea and Djibouti. For long, this region has been plunged into chaos which manifests itself in form of coup de tats, interstate conflicts, wars of secession, dictatorial rule, civil wars and so on. Some of the political crises have included the 1974 coup in Ethiopia, the Eritrean war of secession 1963 - 93, the Ogaden crisis, boarder conflicts between Ethiopia and Somalia and between Somalia and Kenya etc.

Causes

1. Colonial legacy and the careless partition of the region. During the scramble days, various European powers expressed interest in the horn of Africa. During the partition exercise, the people of Somalia were divided between Kenya, Ethiopia, - Djibouti and Somali itself. This led to instability as the divided Somalians tried to re-unite with their relatives in Somalia.

2. Still under colonial legacy, the Somalians were exposed to different colonial masters; different systems of colonial administration e.g. the Somali in Djibouti were colonized by the French who introduced the Assimilation system of administration while the other Somalis were colonized by either the British or the Italians. This exposed Somalis to different systems of administration, different colonial policies, languages and religions. All these served to widen the divisions between the Somalis and hence the occurrence of political instabilities.

3. The Italo-Ethiopian Crisis of 1935-41 led to the conquest and destruction of Ethiopia by the Italians. To regain their independence, the Ethiopians formed the Black Lions guerrilla movement under Ras Imru. This contributed to political instabilities in the region in form of refugees, killings and destruction of property.

4. The strategic location of the Horn of Africa has made this region susceptible to political conflicts. Geographically, it covers the entrance to the Red Sea ports, which control almost all the world's oil traffic from the Middle East. It is also strategic for military reasons. This has made it a centre of attraction and conflicts between super powers.

5. The influence of the 2nd World War. Basing themselves in Eritrea and Italian Somali land, the Italians (axis powers) fought against the British in Kenya and Somalia and against the French in French Somali land. This turned the horn of Africa into a battlefield and thereby contributing to instability.

6. The annexation of Eritrea by Ethiopia in 1962 led further instabilities. Having been an Italian colony and having become a UN mandated territory after the 2nd World War, Eritrea wanted full independence. Unfortunately, Ethiopia still considered it as its 13th province and annexed it in 1962. This led to political strife.

7. The Eritrean war of secession led to further political instability in the horn of Africa. Due to the desire for political autonomy, the Eritreans formed the ELF which carried out several hit and run raids on Ethiopian stations. This led to bloodshed, destruction and hence instability.

8. The failure of the British to create unity in the region. After the 2nd World War, the entire region almost came under the control of the British. In 1962, it set up a commission of inquiry into the causes of hostility between Kenya and Somalia. It recommended that the Somalis in Northern Kenya be re-united to their relatives in Somalia but the British ignored this. Hence the 1963 - 67 crisis between Somalia and Kenya. Also the Somalis living in Ogaden in Southern Ethiopia wanted to unite with their brothers in Somalia but the British paid a deaf ear - hence the Ogaden crisis of 1977-78.

9. Religious diversity whereby the Ethiopians were Orthodox Christians while the Eritreans were Muslims led to misunderstandings and war. Islamic fundamentalists who wanted a sharia government worsened religious clashes.

10. The extension of the Arab-Israelite conflict in the horn of Africa led to further instabilities. Ethiopia had all along refused to co-operate with the Arabs against Israel. Instead, she had connections with Israel and the Christian world. This prompted the Muslim world led by Syria to give assistance to Eritrea to dislodge the Israelites from the region.

11. Cold War Politics. Russia wanted to spread its communist/Marxist ideology and supported Eritrea against Ethiopia. To check against the spread of communist, U.S.A gave military and financial support to Ethiopia. This was cold politics at work in destabilising the region. After the 1974 coup in Ethiopia, Mariam Mengistu introduced socialist programmes and turned to U.S.S.R. for help. This annoyed U.S.A. which in turn switched its support from Ethiopia to the Eritrean Muslims! By turning the horn of Africa into an ideological battlefield, the super powers created insecurity into the region.

12. Prolonged drought and famine. The horn of Africa suffers from intermittent periods of drought and famine. This has often led to hunger, starvation and inter- clan clashes for food within Ethiopia and Somalia.

13. Djibouti's war of secession led to further instabilities. Djibouti fought against Somalia and managed to secede. During this war, destructions were made and hence political instability. Many other provinces of Somalia have also tried to secede causing disorder.

14. The activities of Refugees also contributed to political instability, e.g. Refugees from Ogaden into Somalia resorted to cattle raiding and armed robbery. The competition for resources between refugees and the indigenous people led to wars and disorder, e.g. Refugees from Ogaden.

15. The rise of dictators in the region also led to instabilities e.g. Haille Sellasie and Mariam Mengistu of Ethiopia and Siad Barre of Somalia were dictators who resorted to brutal rule. This caused counter revolutionary guerrilla activities which destabilised the region.

16. Tribal/Ethnic rivalries in Somalia have led to civil wars. The clan war Lords such as Ali Mahdi, Mohammed Farah Aideed, Hussein Aideed and others all fought for the control of Mogadishu. This led to the division of the country between the North and South. Hostilities have continued.

17. Poverty. Somali is a very poor country that cannot feed her people. This has led to the intervention of foreigners into the politics of the country leading to instabilities. The situation in Ethiopia is not very different

The internal fights between ELF and EPLF

Widespread unemployment

The refusal of Ethiopia to recognize the boundaries of Somalia and her refusal to recognize the new state of Eritrea.

The strategic importance of Djibouti to the French.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the causes and effects of the Eritrean war of secession.

2. Account for the success of the Eritrean war of secession.

3. Account for the political instabilities in the horn of Africa.

# CHAPTER THIRTEEN

# CIVIL WARS IN AFRICA

# SEPARATISM AND THE CIVIL WAR IN CHAD (1965-1982)

Chad is a central African country that is largely covered by the Sahara Desert. It is composed of different ethnic and religious groups and is one of Africa's poorest countries. It was colonised by the French in 1894 but achieved her independence in 1960 under President Francois Tombalbaye- the leader of the Parti Progressiste Tchadien (PPT). This was a party, which was heavily supported by the Sara people who occupied Southern Chad. The Saras were predominantly Christians.

Not long after independence, a civil war broke out in the North with Libya supporting the Northern Moslem rebels while France and USA supported the Southern Christian Saras.

# CAUSES/ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL WAR

1. The Ethnic factor: There existed various tribes in Chad which included the Saras- in the South and the Toubou cattle nomads in the North. President Francois Tombalbaye made a mistake of favouring his tribemates at the expense of other tribes. All the top posts in government were reserved for the Christian Saras- a factor which led to disgruntlement amongst the northern tribes and hence the civil war.

2. The harshness of Christian Saras. The Saras were appointed by president Tombalbaye to serve as civil servants in Northern Chad. Having replaced the traditional chiefs in northern Chad, the Saras were unwelcome. Unfortunately, instead of attempting to win the support of the northerners, the Sara civil servants became harsh, oppressive and arrogant. They forbade the Toubou from wearing Turbans and carrying knives. They also meted out harsh punishments to northerners which led to the civil war.

3. Tombalbaye's dictatorship. Soon after becoming President, Francois Tombalbaye banned all opposition political parties (1962), arrested his political opponents and dealt with them violently. All anti-government riots organised by students and Trade Unionists were brutally suppressed e.g. In 1963 at Fort Lemay, about 500 critics of government were killed. In December 1963, Tombalbaye rigged elections and thereby derailing the process of democracy. He even removed PPT members whom he suspected of disloyalty. With this dictatorship, the ball was set rolling for a civil war.

4. Religious differences. The Northerners were Muslims who hated being ruled by Christian Saras. They regarded Christians as infidels and could not tolerate the Holy Bible to co-exist with the Holy Quran. They hated the government policy of marginalising the Moslems, preventing them from wearing veils and Turbans etc. Hence they took up arms to alter the situation in their favour.

5. Over taxation and corruption. The government levied high taxes on the Northerners who interpreted it as a calculated move to make them poorer. The methods of tax collection were harsh and most of the revenue was swindled by the corrupt Sara officials. There occurred minor riots against high taxes in Mangalme in 1965 but government never made tax reforms. Riots soon spread to Batha district and were joined by the Toubou nomads. These minor riots later escalated into a large scale prolonged war.

6. The Chaditude policy. President Tombalbaye embarked on a cultural revolution /the Chaditude policy by which he aimed at retraditionalising Chad. He banned Christian names which led to resentment from his tribemates - the Christian Saras, e.g. He changed his name from Francois to Ngarta Tombalbaye, changed Fort Lemay to N’djamena etc. The discontents arising out of his Africanisation/Chaditude policy led to escalated war in 1973 and to his assassination in 1975.

7. The role of the FROLINAT. In 1966, the discontented Moslems formed the National Liberation Front to co-ordinate the various opposition groups in the north. The FROLINAT mobilised the Northern Moslems and sensitised them about their rights. It went ahead and solicited for support from President Muamer Gadafi of Libya. This made the civil war inevitable.

8. Colonial legacy. The French colonial masters failed to set up sounding political, economic and social policies that would have encouraged unity between the north and the South. Throughout their colonial rule, they relied on the Christians in the civil service. This created divisions that were not easy to bridge after independence; Hence the civil war.

9. Regional imbalances. The southern tribes who had collaborated with the French colonialists obtained great privileges in terms of economic and social infrastructure. They had good schools, roads, a viable cotton growing project etc. On the contrary, the northerners who had resisted French colonialism never benefited. Even after independence, Tombalbaye made no efforts to develop the north. This led to hostility and civil war.

10. External influence. Foreign powers intervened in the affairs of Chad by giving support to either the rebels or the government, e.g. in 1968 France sent financial and military assistance (3,000 soldiers) to Tombalbaye's government to enable it deal with the Moslem revolt. In turn, President Muammer Gadafi of Libya sent support to the FROLINAT in 1969. He supported the FROLINAT in return for exploiting Chad's minerals in Ouzou strip. He occupied one million square miles of Ouzou strip and started exploiting Uranium while supporting the FROLINAT rebels. Later in 1979, USA gave support to Hissene Habre's forces (the FAN) to fight against the then president of Chad-Goukouni.

11. The indiscriminate killings of army officers. President Tombalbaye started killing army officers who were opposed to him. A number of them escaped and joined the bush war in the Northern and Eastern parts. It was the plans to exterminate key army officers that made General Odingar- to lead the 1975 coup against Tombalbaye. This coup antagonised the political climate in Chad which ended into a civil war.

12. The inadequacies of the 1977 cease-fire agreement. After the 1975 coup, Malloum became president of Chad and made an effort to reconcile all the lighting groups. In January 1977, Malloum reached an agreement with the Derde forces and Hissene Habre's forces by which they laid down the guns (ceased fire). Unfortunately, the provisions of the agreement were unsatisfactory to Goukouni of the FROLINAT forces. With Libya's support, Goukouni captured government posts in Bardai, Tibesti, Fada and Faya Largeau. The civil war had started afresh.

13. Gadafi's selfishness. In February 1978, President Malloum met Libya's president Muammer Gadafi at Sebha and, in the presence of the president of Niger and Vice president of Sudan, He pleaded with him to stop supporting Chad's rebels. However, due to his selfish aims of exploiting Chad's resources, Gadafi continued funding Goukouni's FROLINAT rebels. Hence civil war broke out afresh in April 1978.

14. The exclusion of Goukouni from the government of national unity. A government of national unity was formed in August 1978. Malloum became the. president, Hissene Habre the prime minister and an effort was made to appoint ministers from all the regions of Chad. Unfortunately, Goukouni of the FROLINAT was excluded from the government of National Unity due to his controversial demands. He therefore fought on and on.

15. Greed for power. The government of National Unity was locked up in power struggles. In February 1979, Hissene Habre tried to overthrow Malloum which led to quarrels and fresh fighting. Goukouni took advantage of the infighting within government to strengthen himself. When he came to power later as president with Hissene Habre as minister of defence, again the two men became locked up in wrangles for power. Goukouni also conflicted with his vice president Camoungue Wadal. With such power wrangles, the civil war was inevitable.

16. Absence of a national army. Right from the time of independence, Tombalbaye and his successors failed to create a national army with patriotic feelings for Chad. Instead of creating a national army, Tombalbaye antagonised with soldiers by killing some of them. This made them defect to rebel camps e.g. the Derde forces, FAN forces and FROLINAT. Under such circumstances, a civil war was inevitable.

17. The weakness of the OAU. One of the aims of the OAU was to prevent member states from interfering into each other's affairs. Unfortunately, the OAU failed to prevent Muammer Gadafi from destabilising and fuelling the civil war in Chad. It also failed to send a large army to deal with the capacity of the civil conflict in Chad. Even the small force it sent was poorly motivated and almost did no work. Hence the civil war escalated even when the OAU peace keeping force was in Chad!

18. Cold War political influence. The USA and Libya turned Chad into an ideological battle field whereby socialist Libya supplied Goukouni with jet fighters, soviet multiple rocket launchers and 5,000 Libyan troops. This made USA fear that Gadafi wanted to spread the socialist ideas. Hence USA gave Hissene Habre's FAN forces financial and military support which enabled Habre to triumph over Goukouni in June 1982.

19. The search for social justice. There existed Marxists like Ibrahim Abacha-the. leader of the Union Nationale Tchadienne (UNT) and conservatives Muslims like Ahmed Moussa- leader of the MNLT (Mouvement Nationale de Liberation du T’chad). These wanted a free society characterised by justice quality and religious tolerance. They joined the rebellion to work for social justice.

# EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN CHAD

1. It accelerated the cold war between USA and Libya. During the civil war, the two countries were attracted into the affairs of Chad. Libya took sides with Goukouni's FROLINAT forces while USA took sides with Hissene Habre's FAN forces. All this was done in the name of exporting and defending their political ideologies in Chad.

2. It led to colossal loss of lives and destruction of property. A number of people lost their lives especially in the fighting zones. These included the soldiers plus innocent women and children.

3. It introduced the army factor in Chad's politics. Right from the 1975 coup de tat, soldiers started playing an increasingly greater role in Chad's politics. The 1975 coup was followed by another in 1979. As soldiers got into management of politics and the civil service, dictatorship also continued.

4. It revealed the weaknesses of the OAU. Though set up to prevent interstate conflicts, the OAU showed great inconsistency when it failed to come up with a clear programme to stop Libya from supporting Chad's rebels. Hence this war provided the OAU with a challenge of being militarily prepared.

5. Economic retardation. Due to increased government expenditures on war, destruction of basic infrastructure such as roads, Libya's exploitation of Chad's Uranium in Ouzou strip etc. Chad was left in economic ruin. Hence it stands as one of the world's poorest countries.

6. Destabilisation of families. As the number of men going to war increased, women were left to manage homesteads. As more and more men died in war, a number of women remained as widows and children as orphans. Even bastards were produced due to raping etc.

7. It created inter-state conflicts. The relationship between Libya and Chad was spoilt due to Muammer Gadafi's support to the Muslim rebels in the Northern part of Chad. Despite Tombalbaye's accusations and later Malloum's peace talks with Gadafi, Libya continued supporting the rebels. Hence soiling the relationship between the two countries. Later Chad picked up conflicts with both Egypt and Sudan for supporting rebels against Goukouni's government.

8. It created internal divisions within Chad. Due to the atrocities committed during the civil war, the divisions between the Southern and Northern parts were never bridged.

9. It contributed to the refugee crisis in Africa. As the war raged on, a number of Chadians fled to the neighbouring countries seeking for political asylum. E.g. after the overthrow of Goukouni in 1982, he fled to Algeria- this contributed to soiled relations between the two countries.

10, It divided African countries into those supporting the civil war in Chad and those against it. In principle and practice, Sudan and Egypt funded Habre's FAN forces against Goukouni's government. Other African countries were totally against the Chad civil war.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Colonial legacy was responsible for the Chadian civil war (1965-1982). Discuss.

2. Discuss the effects of the civil war in Chad.

3. Examine the attempts that were made by the OAU and UNO to end the Chadian Civil War.

4. To what extent was Tombalbaye responsible for the Civil war in Chad?

# SEPARATISM AND THE CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN (1955 TO 2005)

From 1899 - 1956, Sudan was under the joint colonial rule of the Egyptians and the British who had agreed to rule it jointly in the 1899 condominium agreement. However, in reality, it was the British who dominated Sudan's affairs in that period. Sudan was therefore a British colony until 1956 when she obtained her independence. A year before independence (1955), an uprising broke out in the south and though it was suppressed, it signalled the outbreak of a civil war.

Between 1962 - 1972, another civil war broke out in the south. A period of peace followed but was put to an end in 1983 when another round of civil war exploded in the South up to the present day.

CAUSES

1. Racial differences: Southern Sudan is occupied by blacks who numbered about 4. million at the time of independence, while northern Sudan is predominantly occupied by light skinned Arabs who numbered about eleven million at independence. The two peoples were different in culture, physical appearance and way of life. What brought about the civil war was the Arab racism and despising of the blacks?

2. The historic slave trade factor also led to the civil wars. During the 19th Century, the northern Arabs raided the southerners for ivory and slaves. By 1870. between 12,000 - 15,000 southerners were taken to the north annually. The southerners never forgot nor forgave the northerners for brutalizing, exploiting and traumatizing them. Affected tribes included the Azande, Shilluk and Dinka. Slave trade created suspicions and hostility that led to civil war in future.

3. The British divide and rule policy (colonial legacy) also contributed to the civil wars in Sudan. Until 1946. the intention of the British was to keep the south separate from the north. All northerners serving in the police, army, schools etc. were removed from the south and returned to the North. Southerners were advised to stop intermarrying with the northerners to drop Islamic names, religion and culture. This policy created differences that were difficult to bridge in the period before and after independence-hence the civil wars.

4. The Arab domination of the South (colonial legacy) also led to the civil conflicts. When the divide and rule policy backfired in 1946, the British launched a new re-unification of the South and the North. However, the 1946 conference to discuss the unification included no Southerners. Even the 1947 conference at Juba included few southerners whose views were neglected. In 1948, the British created a legislative Assembly for the entire Sudan but out of its 89 members, only 13 came from the south. The ordinance which created the assembly never safe guarded the interests of southerners leading to northern domination over them and hence civil war.

5. Religious differences also caused tension that led to the civil war. Christian missionaries had turned the southerners into Christians and had taught them to hate the northern Moslems. It is no wonder why the presence of northern administrators in the South led to civil strife. (This was also an expression of colonial legacy).

6. Unbalanced development also led to the civil wars. Largely due to colonial legacy, the north was economically, politically and educationally more advanced than the south. The best infrastructure like roads, health centres and towns were found in the north. This naturally angered the Southern taxpayers whose money only developed the north, hence the civil strife.

7. The unfair pre-independence arrangements also caused tensions and the civil war. The British supported the formation of pre-independence political parties in the north e.g. the Umma Party and the National Unionist Party (NUP). The British never encouraged the formation of parties in the south. Worse still, after granting internal self-government in 1953, the British embarked on Sudanising the civil service. However, out of the 800 vacant posts left by the British and Egyptian expatriates, only 6 were given to southerners while northerners filled 794. This was a gross injustice that led to the 1955 mutiny of soldiers of the southern equatoria battalion. Amidst this confusion, the British rushed to grant independence on 1st January 1956 i.e. colonial legacy.

8. The unfair hand over of power. At their departure, the British handed over power to the northern politicians and therefore left a fertile ground for civil wars, (colonial legacy).

9. Failure to grant secessionism to the southerners also led to the civil war. The blacks in the southern provinces of Equatoria, Bahr-al Ghazel and upper Nile demanded for secession or at least a federal government but this was rejected by the British, leading to the August 1955 mutiny and future civil wars. (This is also colonial legacy).

10. The forced Arabisation policy also led to civil wars. Between 1958 - 64. General Abboud embarked on a policy of forced Arabisation of the south. Christians were forced to fast during the Holy month of Ramadhan. Christian missionaries were forced to leave Sudan, Arabic was made the official language, indigenous languages were abolished in schools, thousands of sub grade teachers of the south were expelled, Islamic names were enforced on southerners etc. This led to civil wars.

11. Cultural arrogance. The northern officials displayed a superiority complex over the southerners whom they termed as their slaves. Even after independence, the northerners referred to the southerners as "slaves" "Negroes". "second class citizens" etc. They abused their culture as backward and paganic. The introduction of Arabic as the official language of instruction in schools instead of English annoyed the southerners who were already used to English and saw no reason of adopting a new alphabet. The language factor made them suspicious that they intended to destroy African culture.

12. Mai administration whereby the northerners were harsh and corrupt led to the civil war. Since they were the ones in power, the northern administrators resorted to extortion. They squandered the country's wealth on Islamic festivals, which did not make meaning to the southerners. In short, bribery, extortion, racism and misappropriation of government funds drove the southerners into war.

13. biased recruitment into the police and army. General Ibrahim Abboud showed open anti-southern bias while recruiting police and army cadets. Between 19591964, over 2000 cadets were recruited into the military college but of these, only 4 were southerners. This led to suspicion and hostility- more so, because in 1955 "(before independence) a number of soldiers of the Equatoria corps /battalion had been asked to transfer to Khartoum where some were disarmed. Among others, this had led to the August 1955 mutiny in the south.

14. The rise of militant nationalism in the south explains the civil war. In 1955, southerners of the Equatoria corps/battalion mutinied and this was followed by wide spread riots in the three provinces of Equatoria, Bahr-el Ghazel and Upper Nile. Riots were brutally suppressed but this led to an outflow of exiles that formed political groups in exile. In 1962, various guerrilla groups resumed the aimed revolt and first attacked a police post near the Uganda boarder. In 1963, guerrilla groups united and formed the Anyanya (snake poison) group under Colonel Joseph Lagu. Civil war was inevitable.

15. The uncompromising attitude of the Anyanya also led to civil war. After the overthrow of General Abboud in 1964, a civilian Prime Minister Sir, El-Khatim- Khalifa tried to reconcile the southerners e.g. he released southern political prisoners and organised the 1965 Khartoum conference to discuss peace. In the conference, the moderate southern representatives favoured a confederation government but the Anyanya wanted complete secession/independence from the north. They abused the cease-fire and war continued.

16. Harsh rule led to the civil war. Sir El-Khatim was replaced by Prime Minister Mahgoub who took a military approach to solve the southern question. On 8th July 1965, a quarrel between a northern soldier and a southern hospital worker led to a fight, which led the northern soldiers to massacre southerners. In the town of Juba, houses were burnt and more than 1000 were killed. Three days later, the northern soldiers killed 76 southerners who were attending a wedding reception at Wau. This led to escalated civil war.

17. External influence also explains the civil war. Israel supported the Anyanya rebels; so was Britain, which was pressurised by the expelled missionaries. To this was added the ideological efforts to divide and support the different sides of Sudan. Israel supported the rebels so as to keep Sudan busy at home and divert her from the Arab- Israelite conflict.

18. Natural hazards like famine in the south were blamed on the negligence of the northern dominated government and hence the civil war.

19. Greed for power by Joseph Lagu and later John Garang.

20. Influence of Islamic fundamentalism- No accommodation of Christian views.

21. Nimeiri's military offensive against the southerners made them fight on. He came to power determined to end the civil war through peaceful methods. He created a ministry of southern affairs, appointed a number of southerners to important offices and won great support. However, in 1970, he declared war against the Anyanya remnants in the bush and this led to more fighting.

However, Nimeiri continued with his peace process and on 27th March 1972, under the sponsorship of the All African Council of Churches, a peace agreement to end the war was signed in Addis Ababa.

Causes of the Sudanese civil war from 1983 to 2005.

The continued cultural and racial arrogance of the northerners over the southerners.

Continued economic imbalance between the north and south. The north has better infrastructure and is more urbanised than the south.

The introduction of the sharia law by Major General Jafar al Nimein annoyed the southerners who hated and still hate Arabic culture and language.

External assistance e.g. it was rumoured that Uganda at first assisted John Garang of the SPLA.

The rise of Ahmed Omar-el Bashir in the 1989 coup led to escalated fighting. This is because he declared a military approach to the southern question and ruled out the possibility of round table talks.

The inhuman treatment of southerners e.g. Many southerners were displaced and their farms destroyed in the name of constructing the Songle Canal project.

Grinding poverty in the southern part of Sudan.

Religious differences between the south and north.

Natural hazards like floods and famine in the south.

Greed for power e.g. by John Garang.

THE IMPACT OF THE SUDANESE CIVIL WARS SINCE 1955

1. It has led to great loss of lives of both the Arabs and blacks. The repressive military approach to the rebels and the refusal by rebels to back down has led to the death of nearly two million people. Some have died in actual fighting while others have died of war-related effects e.g. diseases.

2. It has led to misery and suffering amongst the southerners. The war has produced fear, trauma and insecurity due to the great tortures inflicted on innocent women and children- many of whom live as widows and orphans. Raping and other forms of human rights abuse still continued.

3. It has resulted into economic devastation of Sudan. By 1979, Sudan had started experiencing fuel shortages, inflation, unemployment and the like especially in the southern part. This has led to great decline in living standards.

4. It has led to the outbreak of famine in the south. This has been a result of applying the scotched earth method of burning villages and plantations of southerners and the fleeing of able-bodied men into bushes.

5. Decline of medical facilities and school education in the south. The northern- based Khartoum government has paid no attention to the peoples' plight; hence the outbreak of epidemics like Cholera etc.

6. It has contributed to the refugee crisis in the neighbouring countries. A number of blacks in southern Sudan fled to Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of Congo.

7. . It has led to strained relations between Sudan and her neighbours whom she accuses of supporting the rebels e.g. In 1995, Omar El Bashir cut off diplomatic relations with Uganda for related reasons. He also accused Ethiopia, Eritrea etc.

8. It has led to border conflicts between Sudan and her neighbours especially as Sudan also tries to revenge by supporting rebels against neighbouring countries.

9. It has led to OAU and UNO efforts to end it. In particular, it drained OAU's resources in form of several conferences held to end it e.g. in 1965 and 1972.

10. It has promoted neo-colonialism in Sudan. This is because both the government side and the rebels need financial and material assistance from foreign powers. Hence Israel, USA, Britain. USSR and Arab countries have all sent in some form of assistance at one time or another. This has fuelled neo-colonialism.

11. Nimeiri imposed martial law in the southern part of Sudan in March 1984. It was characterised by the flogging of suspected rebels, amputating their limbs or even killing some of them.

12. It has turned Sudan into a home of terrorists and criminals e.g. Carols Dijacko was arrested in Sudan. This country also harbours a number of Muslim fundamentalists- especially Palestinian terrorists and has become a hunting ground for USA, Russian. and Israel's espionage networks (CIA, KGB and MOSSAD respectively).

13. It has led to several coups and counter coups in Sudan. E.g. the 1958, 1969 and 1988 coups. Each coup plotter accused the former government of failure to end the civil war. It also comes up with good theories for solving the social economic needs of the southerners.

14. It led to the creation of political parties in exile and fighting groups like the Anya- Nya (snake poison) SPLA etc.

15. It attracted humanitarian concern e.g. the All African Council of churches, the OAU and UNO all tried to re-establish peace in the war torn country.

16. It has led to secessionism whereby the rebels do control some part of Sudan, collect taxes and run the social -economic services.

17. it has led to the total independence of the south. This was declared on the 9th July 2012.

Attempts made to end the civil war in Sudan.

1. Military approach. When the soldiers of the equatoria cop mutinied in August 1955, the colonial government sent in police and the army to suppress it and it was done. The country returned to calm.

2. Promise of a federal government. After the 1955 rising, attempts were made to reconcile the southerners e.g. MPs of the southern region were promised a federal system of government at the time of independence. However, this wasn't given.

3. The Arabisation policy. After seizing power in 1958-1964, General Abboud made an attempt to bring about unity through his Arabisation policy. He forced southerners to abandon Christian names for Arab ones, ordered the use of Arabic in courts and administration etc. This was meant, to bring about uniformity and unity, but backfired because Christians in the south didn't welcome it. Hence continued civil war.

4. Appointments to ministerial posts. The civilian government of Sir El-Khatim (1964) tried to reconcile the southerners. He appointed some southern ministers on his cabinet e.g. Clement Ingoro was appointed as minister of interior and democratic reforms.

5. The Khartoum peace conference. In March 1965, Sir El Khatim made a further step by inviting the representatives of the Anyanya rebels to a round table talks in Khartoum. However, the Anyanya demanded complete independence from the northerners- a thing the Khartoum government couldn't accept. A cease-fire wasn't achieved.

6. Although the Khartoum peace conference failed to achieve its intended objectives, El-Khatim continued to make reconciliatory moves towards the southerners. More and more southerners were appointed into ministerial and police posts.

7. The release of southern prisoners. In addition, a number of southern political prisoners were released as a means of appeasing the southerners.

8. Mahgoub's use of force. When Mahgoub seized power from El-Khatim, he concluded that the only way to end the civil strife was through force. He applied the military so as to crush the spirit of resistance in the south e.g. In July 1965, a number of civilians in the south were massacred at Juba. However, this shattered all hopes of reconciliation and increased the spirit of resistance in the south.

9. Self-determination for the south. In September 1969, Colonel Jaffer El-Nimeiri came to power with great determination to end the civil war. He wanted the peoples of the southern region to attain a level of self-sufficiency and determination. He began by creating a new ministry of southern affairs under a southern minister. His role was to plan and implement development projects in the southern region.

10. Equal job opportunities. Nimeiri also appointed more and more southerners to important positions in government in order to relieve them of the anger, which they had towards northerners. They had constantly accused northerners of monopolising power. Nimeiri wanted to balance political power.

11. Economic reconstruction. He allocated funds for economic reconstruction of the south which had lagged behind due to war destruction. He constructed schools, hospitals and urban centres e.g. Juba was expanded and modernised.

12. Nimeiri’s use of force. Gradually, Nimeiri won over a number of the southerners. However, in 1970, he ordered a military offensive against the Anyanya in the Equatoria province. He intended to force the Anyanya leaders to round table talks. However, this back fired and the Anyanya intensified their fighting.

13. External help. President Sadat of Egypt thought that the military option was the only solution to the southern rebels. He therefore sent in 1000 troops to assist Nimeiri's government deal with rebels.

14. Diplomacy. In 1970, Nimeiri exerted diplomatic pressure on the Obote government to stop running arms of Israelites to Anyanya rebels through Uganda. Obote had to terminate his contract with the Israelites in order to maintain cordial relations with Sudan.

15. The role of NGOs. In March 1972, the "'All African Council of Churches" sponsored peace talks in Addis Ababa. An agreement was reached between the Sudanese government and representatives of southern rebels. It stipulated that a cease fire be put in practise, regional autonomy be given to the 3 southern provinces with an elected regional council responsible for internal affairs, amnesty for Anyanya fighters was called for, English was to remain in use in the South and all refugees were to be allowed to return to their homes.

16. A regional government for the south. After the Addis Ababa agreement, Nimeiri set up a regional government in the south under the presidency of Abel Alier who remained as Sudan's vice president. In the same way, Lagu was appointed as commander of the Sudanese army in the southern region and was given the rank of a General. Thus, Sudanese unity had been preserved on the basis of recognition of the diversity of Sudan's northern and southern communities.

Obstacles to the peace process in Sudan.

The harsh reaction of the Khartoum government to the southern question has undermined the restoration of peace. The August 1955 mutiny was suppressed with extreme violence. Then later, General Abboud and his successors opened fire against southerners. This only served to alienate the southerners and to lead them into more fighting.

The military confidence of both the government and the rebels has undermined the peace process. Government troops have always been well equipped enabling them to check rebels. But at the same time the rebels have always received weapons from super powers, making them capable of offering stubborn resistance.

Failure to carry out fundamental reforms in the south has undermined the peace process. El-Khatim's reforms were short lived and were reversed by Ahmed Mahgoub.

Religious differences have always marred the peace process. General Abbound's Islamisation which was revived later by Bashir under the influence of Tourabi and Hassan led to discontent and civil war.

The indiscriminate massacre of innocent southerners in refugee camps drove them into war and blocked the peace process.

Greed for power by Joseph Lagu and later John Garang made peace expensive to achieve.

The military gains by the Anya-Nya and later the SPLA led to more determined fighting in the south. By 1972, Joseph Lagu controlled at least 75% of the total area occupied by blacks. He had introduced some freedoms which southerners never enjoyed during the nine (9) years of peace (1973 - 1982). Hence most southerners welcomed the renewed fighting in 1983.

External support given to rebels by Israel incapacitated the peace process. More assistance was given by Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda. This made SPLA feel strong and capable of sustaining a secessionist government in the south; hence undermining the peace process.

Islamic fundamentalism, which tends to be radical and violent, has prevented the peace process. This is because Islamic fanatics do not have anything to do with Christianity.

The intervention of superpowers with an aim of promoting neo-colonialism and their ideologies has also hindered the early return to peace.

The weakness of the OAU- in terms of finances, weapons and principles has led to the failure of the peace process.

The UNO's lack of commitment to peace in African countries has also led to the failure of a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Sudan.

Possible solutions to the civil war in Sudan

Partitioning Sudan into two parts. The north should be reserved for the Arab race while the south should be reserved for blacks.

There should be intensified international arbitration. Both the AU and UNO should exert more pressure for a cease-fire.

There should be equal distribution of resources so that the south enjoys some of the developments that the north has enjoyed for years.

Probably, a secular government in Khartoum can do better than the current religious based government.

There should be an organisation of national elections from grass root levels. It should be free and fair.

There should be equal opportunities in the police, army, civil service, business sector etc.

The ministry in charge of southern affairs should be strengthened to promote what Nimeiri had begun.

Freedom of worship should be granted to all the peoples of Sudan.

The African council of Churches should continue intervening in the affairs of Sudan as it did on 27th March 1972 when it organised the Addis Ababa conference.

A massive national reconciliation programme should be embarked on to give amnesty to rebels.

Sudanese government should appeal for foreign assistance to be given to the southern region of Sudan.

Foreign powers should stop giving military and financial assistance to the SPLA semi-autonomous government.

The international community (the Arab world inclusive) should put sanctions on both the Khartoum government and the rebels until both reach reconciliations.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss causes for the civil wars in Sudan from 1956 to 2005.

2. Discuss the consequences of the Sudanese civil wars.

3. Examine the attempts made to end the civil war in Sudan.

THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR (1975- 2002.

Angola gained independence on 11th November 1975 but her jubilation was short lived because the transitional government of 28th March 1975 comprising of the three rival liberation movements had collapsed, leading to a civil war between the MPLA government in Luanda on the one hand against both the UNITA and FNLA on the other. So, in the period before, during and after independence, the MPLA Government, first under Neto and later under Edwardo Do Santos has battled with the UNITA rebels under strongman Jonas Savimbi. Savimbi was killed on 23rd February 2002.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

1. The tribal/ethnic factors. The pre-independence liberation movements in Angola. were formed along tribal lines. The FNLA was formed by the Bacongo of the North, the UNITA was for the Ovimbundu tribe in the South while the MPLA was a movement for all- Mesticos (half casts) Africans and some whites. The strong tribal sentiments that had prevented their unity against the Portuguese soon resurfaced after the departure of the Portuguese. Hence the transitional government became locked up in suspicions, quarrels and soon physical fighting along tribal lines.

2. Colonial legacy contributed to the civil war in Angola. Through the policy of divide and rule, the Portuguese had encouraged tribal divisions amongst the peoples of Angola. A divided people, Portugal thought, would be easier to govern. Hence the development of tribal/micro-nationalism in Angola and the formation of liberation movements along tribal lines. The result was a civil war after independence.

3. The inadequate preparation of Angolans for independence also led to the civil war. After the 1974 coup in Lisbon, Portugal was in a hurry to withdraw from Africa and solve domestic problems. By the independence date on 11th November 1975, about 250,000 Portuguese settlers had left the country. Only about 15,000 were still remaining and even these were in the process of fleeing. Yet through her inferior education, Portugal had not trained African administrators to replace them. She just abandoned Angola in the midst of the mistrust between quarrelling guerrillas, a mistrust Portugal herself had helped to cause.

N.B. Like other colonial powers, Portugal should have organised pre- independence elections but she didn't. There was power vacuum and war filled part of vacuum.

4. The racial factor. MPLA was a multi-racial movement including the Mesticos, whites and blacks. From the start, this was un acceptable to UNITA and FNLA who looked at MPLA's multi-racism as a betrayal of the African cause. They wanted a purely African government and hence the civil war.

5. Ideological differences between the MPLA which was socialist against both the UNITA and FNLA which were capitalists oriented led to irreconcilable divisions that eventually erupted into a civil war. Before, during and after independence, the liberation leaders held divergent opinions about the future of Angola's politics, economy and social life- courtesy of ideological differences.

6. The personal ambitions of Dr. Jonas Savimbi also accelerated the civil war in Angola. Savimbi was a politically greedy guerrilla who on several occasions, declared that Angola would never have peace until he became the president. With such selfish interests, he went ahead to frustrate a number of peace efforts and cease fire agreements. He even rejected the election results of 1992 and 1996. Hence the continued civil war.

7. Foreign military support. On their own, Angolans wouldn't be able to sustain the over 27-year civil war. But with military and financial backing from U.S.A and NATO allies, the UNITA continued destabilising the MPLA legitimate government. Due to cold war politics, USSR and Cuba naturally supported the socialist MPLA against the western backed rebels.

8. Augostinho Neto's dictatorship also contributed to the Angolan civil war. He was unwilling to listen to the views of his fellow MPLA leaders and this made Daniel Chipenda to break away from MPLA and join the FNLA. Chipenda in turn did a lot to unite the FNLA and UNITA to fight MPLA. He did more damage by revealing the secrets of the MPLA to opposition leaders. This enabled the rebels carry on with considerable success.

9. The weakness of the O.A.U. Initially, member states such as Zambia under Kaunda and Zaire under Mobutu supported the UNITA. Kaunda even conversed for USA's support to UNITA on a state visit to USA in 1974. In 1973, the OAU recognised and even supported Roberto Holden of the FNLA. At a Kampala OAU summit in 1975, member states called upon rival factions to form a government of national unity but in 1976 the OAU officially recognised the MPLA government in Luanda. This inconsistence annoyed Savimbi who matched back to the bush.

10. The failure of the 1974 Nakuru protocol. Under the chairmanship of President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, it was resolved that a government of national unity be formed with equal representation in parliament and cabinet. But since MPLA controlled 12 out of 14 provinces of Angola, it refused to relinquish some constituencies and ministerial posts- This made UNITA continue with the war, The Nakuru protocol also called upon South African to remove her troops from Angola but she refused and civil war continued.

11. MPLA's commitment to the unity of Angola escalated the war On independence day- 11th November 1975, three governments were simultaneously proclaimed in Angola. The MPLA declared independence with Luanda as its capital. UNITA declared its government with Huambo in central Angola as its base. The FNLA announced its government in the North West with Uige as its capital. Each claimed to be the true government. The MPLA couldn't allow the country to be fractured and continued fighting the UNITA rebels to create total unity. It even fought the secessionists in the Cabinda oil rich enclave.

12. Economic grievances led UNITA into war, shortly after independence, the MPLA rushed to allow DIAMANG and the Gulf oil companies to exploit Angola's resources. These multi-national companies paid money to MPLA leaders who misappropriated it. Jonas Savimbi pointed this out as one of the reasons for going to the bush- stop the exploitation of Angola's resources for the benefit of a few top Angolans.

13. The destabilising role of South Africa. South Africa feared that a stable Marxist MPLA government in Angola would give support to the anti-apartheid guerrillas in South Africa and Namibia. Hence she sent troops and funds to assist Savimbi. South Africa often claimed that she was in Angola in pursuit of ANC and SWAPO rebels.

14. The weakness of the UNO. The UNO paid half-hearted attention to the civil war in Angola. True, the UNO organised a number of cease-fires leading to democratic elections e.g. in 1992. Unfortunately, due to vested interests, it always failed to stop renewed militarism.

15. The breakdown of the 1989 Angola Peace Accord. This was signed between President Mikhail Gorbachev of Russia, Ronald Reagan of USA and Do Santos of Angola. Both Russia and USA agreed to stop supporting the warring factions in Angola and to form a government of national unity comprising of MPLA and UNITA officials. Probably, this would have ended the civil war but UNITA refused to respect this accord and opted to fight.

16. Military confidence on part of each fighting group led to the war. Slightly after independence, Jonas Savimbi boasted of having 2 million troops, Augostinho Neto 1.5 million troops and Roberto Holden 700,000 troops. In a situation of military boasting and confidence, compromise was impossible. Hence the civil war.

17. UNITA's failure to respect the 1992 election results led to renewed war. Jonas Savimbi was hopeful of winning both the presidential and parliamentary seats. When he lost, he claimed that elections had been rigged. He declared the results as null and void and used this as a pretext to break the cease fire agreement. He retreated to the bush and civil war renewed.

EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA

1. It led to colossal loss of lives. Hundreds of thousands of Angolans have perished in the war, mostly innocent victims such as women, children and the disabled. It equally led to the death of Jonas Savimbi (UNITA leader) on 23/2/002, on top of several others soldiers on both sides. Fear, misery, insecurity and frustrations followed the wounded.

2. Economic retardation. The war devastated Angola's economy in a number of ways. Almost half of the country's budget was spent on the war effort, it hampered the effective exploitation of Angola's abundant mineral resources especially diamond in Kabinda, agriculture and trade declined, bridges, roads and other infrastructure were shelled and destroyed e.g. the Benguela railway line. The total effect of this was poverty.

3. It led to a refugee crisis in neighbouring countries. It is estimated that over 4 million Angolans fled to Zaire, Zambia. South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Tanzania. This was accompanied by the untold suffering of these refugees in camps.

4. It fuelled ethnic tensions in Angola and also hampered any meaningful approach to unity. Despite the attempts of Do Santos to bring Savimbi on a negotiating table, he was let down by Savimbi's unrealistic demands for the Ovimbundu tribe. This poisoned inter-tribal co-operation.

5. It paved way for dictatorship in Angola. Since various democratic attempts failed, this turned Do Santos and other MPLA leader into iron rulers.

6. Economic crisis. The intermittent war led to unemployment, scarcity of essential commodities, inflation and an increase in Angola's foreign debt burden.

7. Food crisis/famine. The war led to disruption of agriculture which brought about starvation, displacement of farmers and burning of gardens. The existence of land mines almost everywhere discouraged farming.

8. It promoted neo-colonialism in Angola. The former Soviet Union and Cuba which supported MPLA and the USA which supported UNITA turned Angola into their happy hunting ground, a dumping ground for their cheap goods and a testing ground for their weapons. A number of NGO's like World Vision, the Red Cross all went in to provide assistance to the unfortunate Angolans. In the process however, they exploited Angola's resources e.g. The Gulf Oil Company exploited oil in Cabinda enclave.

9. It led to divisions between OAU member states whereby some supported UNITA e.g. Zaire while others supported the MPLA e.g. Algeria. This in turn had been a great obstacle to the idea of Pan-Africanism. Furthermore, it has revealed the OAU as an unprincipled body.

10. It introduced black to black guerrillaism in Africa. Hitherto, Africans states were pre-occupied with fighting the white man. But in Angola, after obtaining independence, the defeated parties continued waging war against the victorious MPLA government- thus injuring nation building efforts hence the civil war.

11. It led to the delayed independence of Angola's neighbours, e.g. Zimbabwe and Namibia which were being used by South Africa as bases to support UNITA rebels. In the process, South Africa implemented the apartheid ideology and this delayed these countries' independence.

12. There was short lived multi-partism. To solve the age long war, the MPLA opened the door for multi-partism and organised the 1992 elections. However, when USA refused to honour the results, this led to the despise of multi-party politics as a foreign concept, high sounding but with no meaning. This was because the world's greatest democrat- the USA continued supporting UNITA rebels against a legitimate democratically elected- MPLA government.

12. It also revealed the inconsistency of the UNO. Due to its vested interests, the UNO deliberately refused to equip a strong peace keeping force yet it had capacity to stop the war. No wonder why it has received worldwide criticism concerning the Angola crisis.

13. Cold war politics was extended into Angola. The super powers turned Angola into a cold war theatre. Russia supplied the MPLA with the deadly Stalin weapons (Russian Multiple rocket launchers) while USA provided missiles to UNITA.

14. It led to social deprivation. Schools and hospitals were burnt down e.g. in Cazombo suburb in Mexico province. This resulted into high illiteracy and death rates; Dangerous weapons also led to high cases of crippled people, orphans, widows, prostitutes and beggars. Hence social deprivation.

THE MOZAMBICAN CIVIL WAR (1977-94)

ITS CAUSES

1. Colonial legacy. The departing colonialists did not prepare Mozambique for self- government. Most of the Africans in new offices mismanaged them and resorted to corruption. This annoyed some elements who went to the bush.

2. Economic hardships. The post independent government met a number of economic problems. The deporting Portuguese had destroyed vehicles, infrastructure etc. There was unemployment, inflation, scarcity of essential commodities all of which led to the civil war.

3. The ban on political activities. In 1977, FRELIMO placed a ban on all the opposition parties, hence driving them into the bush claiming they wanted to introduce political pluralism.

4. The cold war influence. FRELIMO declared itself as a Marxist government at ' independence and after. It got support from the eastern bloc but this alarmed the capitalist block, which sponsored rebel activities in Mozambique so as to weaken socialism.

5. The nationalisation of settlers' property and that of multi-national corporations brewed trouble for the Mozambique government. These decided to sponsor the anti-FRELIMO rebels.

6. South Africa's policy in the region also led to the civil war in Mozambique. She supported RENAMO rebels so as to keep the FRELIMO government busy and away from supporting the ANC and SWAPO rebels in South Africa and Namibia respectively.

7. The problem of famine which led to starvation also led to the civil war. Even the food relief given by the international bodies was sabotaged by the rebels.

8. There was a power vacuum after the death of Samora Maeshel in a planned plane crash in 1986. RENAMO wanted to seize power but FRELIMO's Joachim Chissano carried on. War continued.

9. The Angolan civil war influenced the Mozambican civil war. UNITA advised the RENAMO rebels to carry on for fear that a stable Mozambique could give military Aid to Angola against UNITA.

10. The presence of foreign troops and advisers in Mozambique led to the civil war. They had come in to assist the Mozambicans fight against the Portuguese colonialism. RENAMO rebels claimed that Mozambique wasn't yet truly independent when it still had Marxist advisers and troops.

EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR

1. Enormous economic decline due to the high government expenditure on the war. Also due to rebel sabotage of the economic projects by the rebels.

2. There was an exodus of refugees to neighbouring Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia. It also led to an increasing number of internally displaced persons.

3. It led to colossal loss of lives. These included both the FRELIMO and RENAMO soldiers as well as innocent victims like unarmed children and women. Among the victims of the war was Samora Machel.

4. It led to the re-introduction of multi-partism in Mozambique. Due to RENAMO’s claims that they were fighting to return multi-party democracy in the country, Joachim Chissano lifted the ban on political parties in 1993 and organised the 1994 democratic multi-party elections.

5. Agricultural decline. This was due to political instability and this in turn led to famine. The famine was made worse by the drought.

6. It led to the signing of the 1984 Nkomat Accord by which South Africa was to stop assisting rebels and by which Mozambique was to sell HEP from Cabora Bossa Dam to South Africa.

7. Interruption of trading activities. This hindered Mozambique from enjoying the benefits from her sea ports e.g. Port Beira closed down, mineral prospecting stopped etc.

8. The standard of living declined due to the destruction of social infrastructure like schools and hospitals, then the poisonous gases from weapons which affected health and the environment.

9. It extended neo-colonialism. Mozambique which had at first declared its non-alignment had to continue relying on the eastern bloc. Then NGOs came in to help the displaced persons and this was a manifestation of neo-colonialism.

10. It accelerated corruption amongst government officials especially the ministry of defence. Most top officers embezzled government funds claiming they were spending it on the war effort.

# CHAPTER FOURTEEN

# THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN STATES

The independent African states are locked up in a vicious cycle of problems. These include poverty, unemployment, corruption, overpopulation, hunger, coup-de-tats, civil wars, disease, child abuse etc. These and many other problems have rendered the independence of the new African states useless. Here below is an out line of some of these problems. A student is advised to discuss the given points with fellow students under the guidance of the teacher. Find examples for each point.

# THE PROBLEM OF COUP-DE-TATS IN AFRICA

A coup is a sudden military overthrow of the government in power. It is an un constitutional way of gaining power by removing a legitimate government. Since the 1952 Egyptian coup de tat, different African countries have experienced coups at different times e.g the 1963 coup in Togo, the 1965 coup in Congo, the 1966 coup in Ghana the 1969 coup in Libya, the 1971 coup in Uganda, the different coups in Nigeria, the 1974 coup in Ethiopia etc.

# CAUSES

1. Hurried independence: in some African countries, colonial masters never prepared Africans for independence e.g when nationalists in Congo Leopold ville demanded for independence, the Belgians hurried to grant it in 1960. This led to a chain reaction of problems that led to the 1965 coup by Mobutu Seseseko.

2. Foreign intrigue: Most military coups in Africa are a result of foreign intervention into the political affairs of African States. E.g. the CIA of U.S.A was responsible for the 1966 Coup against Nkrumah of Ghana who had started opposing Western ideas. Britain and Israel were also behind Amin's Coup of 1971 which overthrew Obote I from power in Uganda.

3. The influence of earlier coups: In many ways, the 1952 Egyptian Coup influenced soldiers in other parts of Africa to over throw the civilian governments e.g Colonel Abdel Nasser of Egypt greatly influenced the 29 year old Colonel Muamer Gadaffy to carry out the 1969 coup in Libya against King Idris.

4. The desire to restore constitutional rule: In some cases, civilian African presidents openly abuse the constitutions of their countries e.g Obote I of Uganda nullified the 1962 independence constitution and imposed the pigeon hole constitution of 1967. General Idi Amin, the coup plotter claimed that he had come to restore constitutional rule.

5. Military discontent: The poor housing facilities, low pay, lack of food, uniform, medicine and weapons have caused tension and discontent in the army. This in turn has led to coup de tats e.g the 1999 coup in Ivory Coast.

6. Refugee problems: Refugees have often involved in subversive political activities against their countries of origin e.g. the 1994 coup in Rwanda against Habyarimana.

7. The desire to share the national cake: In a circumstance where the scarce resources are monopolized by a given group of people, soldiers have always intervened and promised to distribute the resources equally e.g. the 1974 coup in Ethiopia, the 1991 coup against Siad Barre of Somalia etc... were a result of the desire to redistribute the national resources.

8. Widespread economic crises have often resulted into coups. Problems of inflation, unemployment, low salaries, scarcity of commodities and the like have all made soldiers to overthrow the government in power. This happened in Ghana in 1966.

9. The need to check against tribalism leads to coup de tats e.g Obote I's favouritism to his Langi tribemates and Emperor Sellasie's favours towards his Amharic tribesmates annoyed the other tribes and resulted into the 1971 and 1974 coups in Uganda and Ethiopia respectively.

10. Dictatorial rule and abuse of human rights have made soldiers to take overpower e.g the abuse of human rights in Sudan by General Abboud led to the 1965 coup against him. Again, Mahgoub's dictatorship in Sudan led to the 1969 coup against him.

11. Greed for power: In some cases some African soldiers have proved greedy for power e.g. Campoure's overthrow of his comrade General Tom Sankara of Burkina Faso was an expression of greed for power.

12. The need by solders to protect their lives leads to coups. For instance in Uganda , Idi Amin felt insecure after being accused by president Obote of killing Brigadier Okoya. He organized the 1971 coup to protect his life. The same threats on soldiers' lives explain the occurrence of the 1952 Egyptian coup, the 1965 and 1975 coups in Chad etc.

13. The need to restore the rule of law and order. E.g the 1965 coup in Congo was due to Mobutu's desire to restore law and order, which had broken down.

. 14. The need to end corruption: Soldiers have often claimed that they have come in to liberate citizens from corrupt leaders e.g Nkrumah had become corrupt and hence the 1966 coup in Ghana led by General Ankrah.

15. Failure by the government in power to organize democratic elections. This applies to almost all African presidents.

16. Religious intolerance.

17. Redundancy in the army e.g the 1999 coup in Ivory Coast.

18. Overloading the army with wars e.g the Uganda army was tied of unending wars and overthrew Obote II from power in 1985.

# MILITARY RULE IN AFRICA

# THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMY IN AFRICA

1. It has helped to remove repressive governments such as that of Emperor Bodel Bokossa of the Central African Republic.

2. The army has led to economic development e.g Mariam Mengestu's regime in Ethiopia was characterized by positive economic changes. The same to Gadaffy's rule in Libya, Museveni's rule in Uganda etc... Hence coups are at times referred to as revolutions.

3. The army has strived for national unity in African countries e.g In Uganda the NRM military government tried to bridge the religious and tribal differences by slamming a ban on political parties.

It ensures quick decision-making.

It has solved the problems of unemployment e.g Muammer Gadaffi's green revolution created several employment opportunities for Libyans. The same happened in Egypt following the 1952 coup.

Soldiers presidents lead to discipline in the armed forces e.g General Idi Amin of Uganda had a much disciplined army and the same applies to the Uganda Peoples Defence forces under It. General Kaguta Museveni. This contrasts with the indiscipline of the Uganda army under the civilian president Obote II.

Military regimes have restored morals in Africa e.g General Idi Amin of Uganda abolished the wearing of mini skirts, Mobutu Seseseko of Zaire/Congo abolished the same etc...

- Military rule has led to preservation of African culture e.g General Mobutu Seseseko emphasized the importance of the African personality, African names, music, dance, drama and dress.

- The army has restored the rule of law and order in countries torn by lawless ness e.g Congo .

It has checked against extravagance in government e.g. On coming to power General Ankrah waved off the 2 million dollars which the Ghanaian government used to spend on Nkrumah's birth day every year.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE ARMY IN AFRICA

Most times, the coming to power of the army does not produce fundamental changes. Either the situation remains the same or it worsens. For this reason, military coup de tats in Africa have been referred to as a mere change of guards. Reasons for this are given below:-

There is always a tendency of over relying on the army rather than on civilians e.g Idi Amin's regime in Uganda and Haille Mariam Mengistu's regime in Ethiopia.

Mismanagement of the country's politics e.g General Tito Okello Lutwa's regime in Uganda was a real sham.

The army leads to state inspired corruption. Big sums of money are allocated to soldiers so as to buy their loyalty. This leads to economic decline.

The army has usually grown too powerful and has grabbed peoples' property such as land, businesses, and cars without compensation.

It has led to gross human rights abuses e.g massacre of people, unfair imprisonments, raping of women and the like e.g. During General Habyarimana's regime in Rwanda.

It has contributed to the refugee crisis in Africa e.g in dictatorship in Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, Zaire has resulted into outflows of refugees.

Military regimes also promote neo-colonialism. There is a tendency by African dictators to align either to the West or East for continued military support. E.g. Mobutu of Zaire and Mengistu of Ethiopia respectively.

The army at times promotes patched economic development e.g President Mobutu deliberately ignored the oriental province from which Patrice Lumumba hailed. This uneven development even exists in Uganda despite the revolutionary catchwords of the NRM government.

The army often leads to interstate conflicts e.g Uganda's aggression towards Tanzania in the 1970s and Ugandan's border conflicts with Kenya, Uganda's incursions into the Congo, Sudan etc...

The army is usually unwilling to relinquish power. Although most soldiers promise a quick return to civilian rule, in practise they cling on to power more firmly than civilians. Hence the majority of African states today are under military leaders. - Military presidents often interfere with the electoral processes. Hence rigging of votes is common for almost all African military rulers.

THE 1969 COUP AND MILITARY RULE IN LIBYA

On 1st September 1969 the army officers calling themselves "Free Unioni Officers" carried out a coup that ousted/removed King Idris from power. A 29-year-old colonel by the names of Muammar al Gadafy led them. Like the 1952 coup, the 1969 Libyan coup was due to deep seated grievances and was accompanied by fundamental changes- Hence it is rightfully referred to as a revolution.

# THE ORIGINS /CAUSES OF THE COUP

1. The Libyans wanted full independence. The independence, which was granted to Libya in 1951, was not genuine. Idris was a King only in name but not in practice. He was a puppet of the Western powers whose interests he promoted at the expense of Libyan interests. The continued presence of the British and American military bases in Libya was testimony that Libya wasn't independent. The Americans continued using the Wheelus airfield near Tripoli and valued the 1200-mile Libyan coastline, which was strategically located opposite Southern Europe. The British base was at El Adem. When King Idris allowed the Americans to enlarge Wheelus airfield in the 1950s and 1960s, the emerging Libyan elites concluded that the removal of King Idris was necessary to end pseudo independence.

2. King Idris's dictatorship also led to the coup. As a head of the Libyan state, the King developed excessive powers in his hands. He hated criticisms and challenges. This made him ban the progressive National Congress Party in 1952. He also had rigid control over the Prime Minister and the entire cabinet. Since he could appoint and dismiss them at will, they became his yes-men. He did not only limit political freedom but also the freedom of the press. He also continued favouring the old feudal nobility.

3. King Idris was tribalistic and nepotic. He promoted his tribesmates and relatives to top offices at the expense of other tribes. Idris relied heavily on the Shalhi family e.g Colonel Abdul Aziz shalhi was the army commander; Omar Shalhi was a key cabinet minister etc. In most cases, the Shalhis misadvised the King.

4. The unabated exploitation of Libya's resources by foreigners. In 1959, the first oil deposits were discovered in Libya. At first a poor Country, Libya's economy was transformed over night by the wealth from oil resources. Following the oil discovery, a number of foreign oil companies especially from U.S.A and Britain started exploiting Libya's wealth and repatriating the profits. This was neocolonialism at work and couldn't be tolerated by Libya nationalists.

5. Rampant corruption in government also led to the coup. In all government departments, the King's henchmen or yes-men the Shalhis practised open bribery and embezzlement of public funds. Most of the money from the oil boom ended up in the pockets of a small clique of King Idris's officials. His small clique of bourgeoisie invested heavily in personal houses, cars and luxury instead of setting up employment generating industries.

6. Libyans were tired of backwardness and wanted modernity. Libya was backward compared to the nearby Arab states. The army officers and other nationalists in Libya were aware of the developments taking place in other Arab and African countries. Unfortunately, King Idris blocked Libyans from getting Pan- Arabist ideas. This annoyed the army officers. On this point, Gadaffi later wrote. "Our souls were in revolt against the backwardness enveloping our , country.... And against isolation imposed on our people in a vata attempt to hold it back from the path of the Arab people..."

7. Army officers wanted social transformation in Libya. They had a desire of introducing the socialist ideology, which would bring about the unity and equality of all Libyans. They hoped that the socialist reforms would unite the rural people in Oases with those living in urban areas. This would help to end the age long regionalism based on the three provinces of Fezzan, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

8. The need to purify Islam also led to the coup. Gadaffi and his comrades like 'Major Jalloud grew up in up country areas of Sirte and Fezzan Oasis respectively. They had experienced a puritanical type of Islam and were not happy with the dilute Islam in towns. They were Muslim fundamentalists who were unhappy with the abuses of Islam by nominal Moslems /laissez faire Moslems. Gadaffi intended to introduce strict sharia laws in the socialist society.

9. The influence of Nasser and the 1952 Egyptian coup. The free Unionist Officers in Libya were greatly encouraged by the Free Officers movement in Egypt. The 1952 coup in Egypt had been accompanied by great reforms spearheaded by Nasser. Gadaffi was a disciple of Nasser, was trained by him and given ideas of how to uproot monarchism in Libya. Nasser went ahead and gave both financial and military support to Gadaffi. Hence the 1969 coup.

10. There was a desire to reform the army. Many young officers were unhappy with the neglect of the army by the King and the Shalhis. The weakness of the Libyan army was revealed during the 1967 six days' war with Israel. Although the Shalhis panicked to enlarge and re-equip the army after this war, it was already too late.

11. The personality of Mu' ammer Gadafi explains the occurrence of the coup. As early as 19 years, he developed the ambition of governing Libya and riding it of backwardness. He joined Sebha Secondary School and later a military academy with his secret plan. While at school, he got a number of friends whom he sensitised about need to transform the Libyan government. At the time of graduation in 1963, he had a number of military comrades e.g. Major Jolloud. Hence Gadafi s ten (10) year planning led to the coup.

12. The need to end regionalism. King Idris had made no effort to unite the peoples of the desert, the Oasis and the towns. With his favours to the people of Cyrenaica, the tribes of Fezzan and Tripolitania had also taken offence. The young army officers wanted to end regionalism, to bring about balanced regional development and a spirit of nationalism in Libya.

13. Hatred against Christianity: Gadaffi and his comrades hated the continued influence of Christians in administrative and military posts. The presence of Americans and British symbolised the presence of christiandom.

# EFFECTS OF THE LIBYAN REVOLUTION

1. Gadafi introduced the 3rd Universal theory. Aware that Western capitalism and Eastern block communism were imported ideologies, Gadafi introduced a new political ideology, which he termed the "Third Universal Theory'" or Islamic socialism. This was a kind of socialism founded on the strict demands of the Koran. It was designed to cater for the interests of Libyans and to maintain Libya as a non- aligned state.

2. There was a cultural revival. The pre-colonial Libyan society had been strictly moral and was modeled on Koranic principles. With Italian and later British, America and French influences, this culture had been torn to pieces. With Gadafi in power he began a cultural revolution aimed at destroying imported ideologies and ways of life. Alcohol, prostitution, smoking and other vices were prohibited by Islamic law. The use of Arabic as a language was re-vitalised in schools and official government business.

3. Gadafi fought against neo-colonialism. To Gadafi and comrades, the presence of American and British troops in Wheelus and El Adem were signs of neo -colonialism. In 1970, Gadafi ordered all foreign troops out of Libya. This was followed by the replacement of all road signs written in Arabic. Names of restaurants, schools and writings in passports were all translated into Arabic. Anybody entering Libya had to bear a passport written in Arabic.

4. Gadafi nationalised an foreigners' property. All land estates owned by Italian farmers were confiscated by government. Even other Italian businesses were nationalised without compensation from government. The American air base at Wheelus and the British military base at El Adem were equally taken over. The effects of this were great employment opportunities for Libyans.

5. A revolutionary command council (R.C.C.) was formed. This was headed by Mu' ammer Gadafi himself and was modeled along the lines of Egypt's R.C.C. It adopted a radical approach towards the countries of the Western block, asserted Libya's independence in the strongest words possible, and proclaimed a Jihad against Israel and the like.

6. It led to economic growth in Libya. By 1980, the once backward desert Kingdom had attained industrialisation. Industrial growth was a result of putting the oil revenues to proper use. The five year development Plan (1976-1980) emphasised the establishment of light ad heavy industries. These included cement, food, chemical, aluminium and plastic industries, oil refineries iron and steel works in Misurata and Tripoli, etc. Due to hard work and efficient economic strategy, Libya became the 5th oil producer in OPEC. In 1970, Libya could produce 3.7 million barrels a day and by 1980 the oil ' sector accounted for 50% of the GDP and 99% of the export earning.

7. Local man power was trained. At first, the major problem to industrialisation was lack of trained man power. The R.C.C. imported foreign expatriates from the Western capitalised countries and from Islamic countries like Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Tunisia. Even some manual labourers from African countries were allowed in Libya since the country's population was very low.

8. It led to infrastructural development. Between 1973-75, a number of roads and ports were constructed and modernised. The aim was to support industrial growth, to ease the movement of people, to open up rural areas for development and to unite the country

9. Improvements in education. As part of social development, free and compulsory primary education was provided and this was the case up to his downfall in 2011. Even secondary . and university education had been boosted by setting up a number of free secondary schools and enough universities. Education at secondary schools and university level was also free, though not compulsory. Between 1969-1976, the number of school going children doubled and that of University twise fourfold (quadrupled).

10. Health services were improved. Libya had been transformed from being a disease stricken to a disease free country. Tuberculosis which used to be endemic in Libya was reduced. By 1980, Tuberculosis cases had reduced by 80%. A number of hospitals and dispensaries were set up and staffed with well paid and motivated medical personnel - some of them expatriates from the West and Islamic countries. All hospitals were well stocked with drugs. Probably most exciting is that medical services were free of charge.

11. Free Accommodation for all. To cater for the welfare of all Libyans, government embarked on the construction of residential houses. After construction was completed, the citizens were simply asked to move to houses allocated to them. This led to an improvement in the standard of living and had made Libya a role model for all developing countries.

12. Employment opportunities for all. Gadafi had made sure that all Libya nationals get jobs. The vast industrialisation and agricultural programmes had provided ample employment for all. The salary offered to Libyans was fair enough to enable them meet the cost of living. Right from the 1980s to 2011, Libya was ranked amongst the most prosperous African states with an average per capita income of 7000 dollars. Even the unemployed were catered for in the national budget-they receive some reasonable payment.

13. The coup brough about agricultural development. In the five year plan of 1976-1980, agriculture was given substantial funds- a factor which led to self sufficiency in terms of food production. Through irrigation, the desert Jafara plain was reclaimed. Afforestration was emphasised to provide windbreakers and reduce soil erosion. Within a few years therefore Gadafi had succeeded in turning the desert country into a green country (the green revolution). Livestock improvement schemes were also established, co-operative societies for fanners were strengthened and these helped provide fertilisers, credit and marketing facilities for farmers. Hence the coup led to a revolution.

14. Unity was created in the Country. Before the 1969 coup, Libya had experienced divisions based on regional and tribal lines. The three provinces of Libya, namely Tripolitania, C-yrenaica and Fezzan were at different levels of development. However, the R.C.C. tried is level best to bring about equitable /balanced development.

15. Participatory democracy was introduced. Though the R.C.C. led by Gadafi exercised strong central control, a lot of power had been vested into the people. There existed almost 1000 (actually 964) Local popular committees at grass root levels. These settled disputes and took decisions at local levels. Then on top there was a general Peoples committee guided by the General Secretariat (the R.C.C.). This kind of state in which the masses play a great role is termed as a Jamahiriya (the state of masses) and is the first of its kind in the world.

16. It led to the personal esteem of Gadafi- the Gadafi cult. His name, like that of Nasser of Egypt, has almost become a cult throughout Africa. Gadafi's cult/greatness is based on his charisma, humour, incorruptibility and uncompromising attitude to the super powers like the U.S.A. In fact, He is termed as the irreplaceable leader of Libya.

17. Women emancipation was attained in Libya. Gadafi empowered women in Libya, which is a new phenomenon that is not tolerated in other Arab states. This in turn attracted the support of women towards government. The trust he put in women is judged from the fact that even his inner presidential guard was managed by women. Interestingly women even dominated the civil services.

18. Population control was attained. Libya was the most successful African country so far to keep its population under control. It was a manageable population.

NEGATIVE IMPACT

19. Gadafi fuelled the civil war in Chad. Being a Moslem, Gadafi gave support to the northern-based Islamic rebels who continued destabilising the legitimate government in Chad. Even when peace talks were organised, Gadafi continued supporting the rebels.

20. Training of terrorists. Gadafi's Islamic extremism made him train killer squads (terrorists) whom he vised to track down his opponents in exile in home, Paris and London and at home. It is speculated/alleged that he sent assasins who killed President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. He even tried to assassinate President Ronald Reagan of U.S.A. who responded by bombing Benghazi and Tripoli in 1986 using Ft bombers. Hence poising international relations.

21. Collaboration with dictatorial leaders in Africa. Gadafi is known to have supported the murderous and fascist regime of Idi Amin of Uganda (1971-1979). In 2001, he visited Uganda and made comments suggesting the life presidency of President Yoweri Museveni. He said that revolutionary leaders do not leave power. He even collaborated with other African dictators.

22. He tried to force political unions with Egypt, Tunisia and Syria; hence acting as a small volatile and distabilising force throughout North Africa, the Middle East and the world in general. He had also given support to the IRA rebels in Northern Ireland, in September- December 2001, Gadafi's Libya was amongst countries short listed by U.S. A and her allies for involving itself in global terrorist activities- and if this is true, Gadafi is responsible.

Factors for the success of the Libya Revolution

1. Good timing. The coup was carried out on the 1st and 2nd September, 1969. This was a time when King Idris was outside the country- on a state visit to Turkey. He couldn't mobilise for a counter revolution while abroad. Secondly, on 2nd September, a number of young officers were to be posted abroad for cadre courses. They were therefore caught up amidst excitement and couldn't put up a counter revolution.

2. The weakness of the Libyan army. The army was small, poorly trained and had outdated weapons. Worse still the army had just faced a disastrous defeat during the six days' war which weakened it such a weak army was a blessing to the coup planners.

3. Good planning strategy. It was not a single year's plan; Rather Mu' ammer Gadafi took a span of about 10 years preparing this coup. Right from the times he was in a military academy where he got a number of friends like Major Joltoud good and careful planning strategy that ensured the success of the coup.

4. Discipline and top secrecy. The coup planners formed a cell organisation and named themselves the Free Unionist Officers. They vowed to keep their coup plot as a top secret. As part of their discipline, they exercised self restraint by renouncing alcohol, womanising, gambling, night clubs etc. They spent most of their time in prayers which helped them to camouflage for a long time undetected. During Leisure time, they played in-door games which kept them sober and united.

5. The early capture of Gurnada military armoury. This was located near Benghazi and had the most up to date weapons in Libya at that time. This enabled the revolutionaries to get tanks, using which they threw fired and caused fear in the resistant forces of to King Idris. They surrendered to the coup plotters and hence success.

6. The capture of Radio Benghazi. In their strategy, the next item to capture was the Radio station at Benghazi. With this, they helped to spread revolutionary propaganda which intimidated the King's yes-men but inspired hope and support from students and the entire Libya population.

7. The ability and experience of Gadafi. He was a excellent signal officer who made good use of the newly acquired signal system to lead to the coup plotters to success. Using he signal system acquired by Idris's government in August 1969. Gadafi was able to co-ordinate and command all the activities of his comrades in the coup plot.

8. The unpopularity of King Idris led to success. Due to his unprogressive and puppet regime, King Idris had had already created sections of resistance especially amongst the elites. Hence he received no sympathies.

9. Overwhelming welcome of the coup by the public. Almost everywhere in Libya , the news of the coup was received with a lot of enthusiasm. Students whose demonstrations King Idris had suppressed welcomed the coup as Allah's plan. Even amongst the soldiers the poor living conditions in the army made them support fellow soldiers (FUOs).

10. Support from Nasser of Egypt. The young military officers in Libya obtained considerable financial, military and ideological support from president Nasser of Egypt who was desirous of creating a friendly revolutionary socialist government in Libya.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

Refugees are persons who live outside their mother countries or homesteads and cannot or do not wish to return for fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or member ship to a different social group. Refugees include the asylum seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and returnees who are still living in camps.

As early as 1965, there existed about a million refugees in Africa and this made the 1965 OAU conference in Accra to address itself seriously to this problem. In 1969, the OAU summit at Addis Ababa adopted a resolution by which all the OAU member states are duty bound to accord asylum to refugees from other parts of Africa. Today there exists close to 8million refugees in Africa.

CAUSES OF THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN AFRICA

1. Colonialism: At the grass root of the refugee crisis was the oppressive/brutal colonial rule in countries like South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The arrest, detention and killing of nationalists made a number of elites and later peasant youths to flee for their lives. The elites included Sam Nujoma of Namibia, Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique etc.

2. The wars of liberation in Angola. Algeria, Guinea Bissau and so on led to the refugee crisis in neighbouring countries e,g More than 300,000 Angolans fled to neighbouring Zaire. They were fleeing from the murderous Portuguese weapons.

3. Military coup de tats usually lead to a massive exodus of refugees. This is because the military over throw of legitimate governments is usually accompanied by political killings/assassinations e.g. following the 1974 coup de tat in Ethiopia, the supporters of the deposed Emperor Huille Sellasie fled the country. The 1963 assassination of President Sylivanus Olympic made a number of his supporters to flee from Togo. The 1993 murder of Melchoir Ndadaye of Burundi led to the same phenomenon. Etc.

4. Dictatorial rule in Africa contributes to the refugee problem in Africa. Dictatorship is characterized by detention without trial, torture of one's political opponents, censorship of the press, banning of political parties etc... Both the civilian African Presidents such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Obote of Uganda and the military presidents such as Idi Amin of Uganda, San Abacha of Nigeria, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Mengistu Mariam of Ethiopia and Late Siad Barre of Somalia practiced dictatorship, e.g San Abacha murdered the Pro- democrat Ken Saro Wiwa and 8 other Ogoni people in 1995. Such experiences led to an exodus of the opponents.

5. Ethnic violence/cleansing also leads to the refugee problem in Africa. Ethnic cleansing is the massive massacre of members of one tribe by another e.g the Hutu against the Tutsi in Rwanda in the 1950s and 1960s led to large scale movements of the Tutsi to Uganda, Tanzania Congo etc... Again the 1994 genocide in Rwanda led to the flight /fleeing of about 2.4million Rwandese to T.Z, DRC and Burundi. In Mauritania, about 80,000 people fled to Senegal and Mali in 1989 due to ethnic violence. In 1994, ethnic violence led 12,000 Ghanaians into Togo etc...

6. Civil wars in various parts of Africa have contributed greatly to the refugee crisis. The 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war, the 1981-2002 civil wars in Uganda, the 1955-2002 civil wars in Sudan, the 1992 - 1993 civil war in Togo, then the civil wars in Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Liberia, SieraLeone, Somalia, Angola etc. have all led to the refugee problem.

7. Boarder conflicts between African countries have also led to the refugee problem, e.g the Ogaden boarder conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia led to war and displacement of persons, then the Eritrea-Ethiopia interstate conflict, the Uganda- Tanzania conflict over Kagera, the Algeria - Morocco conflict over POLISSARIO etc... have also produced refugees.

8. Unpopular political programmes also lead to the refugee crisis. For instance, there exist a number of Sudanese refugees at Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya who escaped from the compulsory military service in Sudan. These kind of refugees are termed as draft evaders.

9. Natural hazards also contribute to the refugee crisis in Africa, e.g. Long periods of droughts followed by excessive and destructive rains have contributed to the exodus of persons from Sudan and Somalia (1997-1998). The 1998 ElNino weather problem led to displacements in of various parts of Africa. The February-April 2000 heavy rains and cyclone winds in Mozambique caused floods, food shortage, diseases and deaths. This led to the fleeing of people.

10. Religious persecution also leads to the refuge problem e.g During the Holly months of Ramathan, the Algerian Muslim fundamentalists usually assault members of other faiths leading to massive outflows. The late Mobutu Seseseko at one time greatly persecuted Christians and a number of them fled from Zaire.

11. Unpopular social customs such as female genital mutilation leads to the refugee problem e.g. women and their daughters run away from Sudan, Kenya and Eastern Uganda for fear of female circumcision.

12. Economic considerations also lead to the refugee crisis in Africa e.g. a number of Africans fled to Botswana, Namibia and South Africa for greener pastures. Also, a big number of African economic refugees exist in Europe and USA. These run away from the deteriorating economies in their mother countries.

EFFECTS OF THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN AFRICA

1. Creation of refugee camps. There exist a number of refugee camps all over the African continent e.g Kigoma refugee camp in Tanzania, Kivu camp in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kakuma camp in Kenya, Cibitoke in Burundi etc...

2. Displacement of people and separation of families. There exist a number of unaccompanied (parentless) child refugees. Their parents and relatives have disappeared without trace! This has brought a negative psychological impact on such children.

3. Sexual assault. The female refugees have been subjected to horrifying acts of rape. They are raped during wars, along the escape journeys, in camps by fellow senior refugees and even by officials in charge of them! Particularly vulnerable have been the Somali and Rwandese women- they have been traumatized!

4. Poverty. The refugee concentration camps or protected villages are usually overcrowded, dirty and poverty stricken. This makes refugees to experience some of the poorest standards of living on the African continent.

5. Refugees suffer from social discrimination in areas of asylum. Fur instance the Rwandese refugees were exposed to extreme social discriminations and insult in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and DRC. This made them to use the force of arms to return home between 1990 - 1994.

6. Rampant deaths. Due to the movement of long journeys, overcrowding, malnutrition, attacks by diseases and epidemics, the African refugees usually experience high death rates. For Example, the 1997 - 1999 Cholera epidemic in DRC led to great losses of lives of the Rwandese refugees.

7. Formation of Non-governmental organizations. A number of NGOs have been formed to cater for the needs of refugees, returnees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons. These provide employment opportunities to several Africans and white expatriates.

8. It has encouraged social research. The refugee problem has provided unlimited opportunities to academicians and researchers who delve deep into the causes, life styles problems and effects of refugees. With the help of the U.N.H.C.R., regional databases have been set up in different countries. These have enriched information about refugees.

9. Land pressure. In some cases such as those of the Rwandese and Sudanese refugees in Uganda, the large numbers of refugees infringe on the host country's resources, especially land. This usually leads to hostility between refugees and the citizens of the host country e.g in Sierra Leone, there was violence against Liberians.

10. Environmental degradation. The need for firewood and sticks for building has led to unreserved exploitation of wood in the nearby bushes and forests. This has resulted into deforestation, soil erosion, loss of wild life, depletion and contamination of water resources e.g. In Kenya, Sudan and Cameroon.

11. Interstate conflicts. In many cases, the refugees use their country of asylum as a base to criticize or even fight against their country of origin e.g Ugandan refugees in Tanzania kept on destabilizing Amin's government in the 1970s; there were cross-boarder attacks, from Uganda to Rwanda between 1990 - 1994; refugee problems almost brought Uganda and Kenya to a blink war in the early 1990s, etc.

12. Subversive activities. At times refugees interfere into the internal affairs of the host countries e.g the Rwandese refugees in Uganda joined the National resistance Army (NRA) and played a leading role in overthrowing Obote II's government in 1985. They also joined the forces that overthrew Mobutu of DRC in 1997.

13. They create a dependence problem in the already poor African countries. They are a major economic burden to the host country and the donor communities' e.g. About 1.2 million people in Southern Sudan depend on donor food, medicine, clothes etc...

14. It has contributed to the rule of justice in Africa. This is because the international community has started trying the perpetrators of human rights abuse in Africa e.g International tribunals were set up to try the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

. 15. The U.N.H.C.R. has set up social amenities such as schools, health centres, recreation centres and the like in refugee camps e.g by December 2000, 40 bridges had been constructed in Congo, 18 health centres repaired, surgical laboratories set up, 55 schools rehabilitated etc... Women and children refugees have been given handcraft skills and when repatriated/returned to their countries

16. Creation of employment opportunities for Africans and International staff.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL URBAN MIGRATION IN AFRICA

Rural urban migration is the movement of people from rural to urban areas. It is caused by the push and pull factors.

CAUSES

• Political insecurity in some rural areas.

• The need to escape from the archaic social customs e.g. circumcision.

• Some criminals escape from rural communities to avoid punishments.

• Natural calamities like floods and famine may force people out of rural areas

• Lack of land by some youths due to the unfair land tenure system.

• Lack of market for agricultural produce

• Escape from local disputes

• Seasonal changes

• Outbreak of diseases in rural areas.

• The search for jobs in towns e.g. by house girls and porters.

• The need for improved social services such as education and health. These are poor in rural areas.

• The wage gap between the rural and urban areas.

• The increasing freedom of the youths and lack of parental control over their children.

• The desire to enjoy life in urban recreation centres.

• The extended family system encourages the youths to join their relative in towns.

EFFECTS

• It leads to the creation of slums e.g. Bwaise in Kampala.

• It leads to an increase in urban unemployment.

• It leads to increased urban crime like pick pocketing, burglary and theft.

It leads to immoral acts e.g. prostitution, drug abuse etc,

• Quick spread of diseases due to overcrowding, floods and poor sanitation.

• Increased pressure on land in swamps.

• Rural underdevelopments since most energetic youths run to towns.

• Famine and malnutrition in rural areas

• An increase in the number of street children .

• Increased dependence burden

• Increased government expenditure to provide social services and curb crime.

• Leads to the break up of family and cultural ties and erosion of cultural values

• It contributes to cheap labour in towns.

• It leads to increased demand for food and other commodities in towns.

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IN AFRICA

It can be absolute or relative. However in general, it refers to inability by an individual, groups of people or even countries to access the basic human needs - namely; food, water, shelter and medical care. Most African countries cannot provide these basic needs to their population and most budgets of African countries are donor funded!

Causes of Poverty in Africa

• The historical slave trade factor which deprived Africans of market and man power. About 15 million Africans were taken as slaves to America.

• Colonialism, which led to the exploitation of African land, labour and resources.

• Demographic factors whereby Africans have a very big and yet unplanned for population

• The dependency burden due to extended family ties.

• Lack of resources or low resource endowment by some African states.

• Constant wars in Africa, which scare investors.

• The refugee crisis that encroaches on national resources.

• Environmental degradation through overgrazing and cutting of trees for charcoal.

• High illiteracy levels

• Theoretical education that produces job seekers.

• Unemployment and low incomes for those employed.

• Low rates of savings

• Poor planning, poor administration and mobilization.

• Corruption by African elites/leaders

• Profit repatriation by foreign investors

• Absence of a patriotic middle class in African states.

• Poor health that leads to physical inability to work by the majority of Africans.

• Unfair terms of trade on the global market

• Natural calamities like droughts in the horn of Africa.

• The poor performance of the dominant agricultural sector.

• Low levels of science and technology in Africa.

Its effects

• Low standard of living e.g. poor feeding and accommodation.

• Underdevelopment/economic backwardness.

• Dependency on the advanced countries thus promoting neo-colonialism.

• Continuous wrangles for power which causes insecurity.

Brain drain.

• Increased immorality e.g. prostitution and homosexuality.

• It worsens the gender inequalities.

• Leads to disease, deprivation, frustration and deaths.

• Leads to school dropouts.

• Contributes to military revolutions and coups.

• Increased breakdown of families.

CORRUPTION IN AFRICA

It refers to any acts of dishonesty and improper use of one's office, position or authority. In Africa, it mainly relates to the use of one's office or position to enrich him/her self at the expense of the nation.

Its Causes

- Poverty in Africa

- Job insecurity or the fear of being retrenched or reshuffled.

- The rigid bureaucratic methods of handling public affairs (red tape).

Too much greed for wealth/ the desire to become rich quickly due to low life expectancy.

- Absence of role models in African states.

- Peer influence i.e. everybody else is embezzling state funds, why not me?

- Lack of a sense of patriotism and nationalism.

- Lack of public accountability.

- Poor and weak administrative control. There are no checks and balances due to rubber stamp parliaments in Africa.

Absence of strong laws and punishments to handle corrupt officials.

Dictatorship and overstay in power.

- \* Decline in religious and cultural values and hence lack of a sense of shame.

- Meager payments which do not match with the cost of living.

- Delayed payments.

- Sectarianism and nepotism whereby a certain tribe, religious grouping or political party gangs up to plunder the nation.

Its effects

- It leads to the creation of unequal social classes.

- It contributes to political instability as one group struggles to share the national cake.

- It leads to underdevelopment.

- It leads to provision of substandard social services.

- It contributes to privatisation of public ent erprises.

Leads to retrenchment of some workers.

- Leads to the bankruptcy of the government treasury.

- It renders the government incompetent and inefficient.

- It leads to loss of respect for authority.

- It leads to the setting up of commissions of inquiry.

POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN AFRICA.

This reflects itself in form of civil wars, military coup de tats, urban terrorism etc.

Its Causes

- Dictatorial rule which is mainly manifested in lack of respect for the constitution.

- Failure to remove the existing regime using legal means.

- Tribalism which breeds tribal fears, tensions and suspicions.

- Unabated violation of human rights e.g. killing people, arbitrary imprisonments.

- The unfair sharing of the national cake.

- Military discontent especially when the president tries to divide the army.

- Differences in political philosophy and ideology.

- The interference of Advanced countries /super powers in the affairs of African states (cold war politics).

- Lack of a sense of patriotism e.g. lite Savimbi of Angola.

- The desire by one tribe or religion to revenge against the other e.g. in Rwanda.

- Greed for power.

- Religious differences.

- Unbalanced regional development.

- Economic crises like unemployment and inflation due to economic mismanagement.

effects

- It leads to colossal loss of human lives.

- Destruction of property and yet reconstruction is very expensive.

Economic underdevelopment and widespread poverty.

- Disruption of agricultural activities and hence famine.

- It contributes to rural urban migration.

- it leads to immoralities and indiscipline acts like raping.

- It leads to an increase of the refugee crisis in Africa.

- Displacement of families and family separations.

- Creation of socially deprived groups of people e. g orphans, widows and street children.

- It worsens the gender inequalities.

- Leads to revolutions, counter-revolutions and change of governments.

- It leads to poor standards of living especially in refugee camps.

- Contributes to the outbreak of diseases.

POPULATION EXPLOSION in AFRICA

Population refers to the number of people living in a given area, country or continent.

Causes of a large population

Adherence to African traditions which regard children as a sign of wealth.

- High fertility rates of African women.

- Early marriages and early child bearing.

- Some religions discourage the use of artificial family planning methods e.g. Catholicism.

- Low levels of education.

- The recognition and approval of the extended family system.

- Industrialisation.

- Improved health services and nutrition.

- The increase in the rate of school dropouts.

- Refugee problems.

- Increased and unchecked immigration.

effects

It leads to increased pressure on land.

- It leads to unemployment problems.

- It contributes to rural-urban migration.

- Development of slums.

- It leads to pressure on social infrastructure.

- It leads to increased dependence on foreign aid.

- It leads to an increased rate of dependants.

- it leads to increased crime rate.

- It leads to over exploitation of natural resources.

- It contributes to deterioration in the standards of living.

- It leads to land fragmentation.

- It contributes to environmental degradation.

It leads to urbanization.

- It contributes to economic development by providing market for goods.

It provides the required labour force for agricultural and industrial growth.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN AFRICA

This is the failure to get a job at the ruling wage rate despite one's willingness to work.

Its causes

- Low levels of investment.

- Low levels of education and therefore lack of required skills.

- Rapid population growth

- Political instabilities that dislocate people.

- The theoretical nature of the education systems in African countries.

- Seasonal changes

Using capital-intensive technology to attain industrialization (inappropriate technology).

The policy of retrenching workers in pursuit of the structural adjustment policies Rural urban migration

Physical and mental incapacitation by some people

Lack of serious manpower planning in African states

Discrimination in the labour market.

Geographical immobility of labour due to lack of information.

Ignorance of the available job-opportunities.

Poor land tenure system.

Gender biasness.

Increased employment of expatriates.

Unwillingness to work (poor attitude to work).

Unfavourable working conditions.

Effects

It leads to rural urban migration.

Increased crime rate.

increased corruption and bribery.

Poor standards of living and thus lowlife expectancy.

Low purchasing power/lack of market for products.

Leads to the growth of slums.

It leads to brain drain.

It contributes to regional and income inequalities.

It leads to frustrations and anomalies.

It escalates the dependency burden/ratio.

It leads to family instabilities.

Contributes to political unrests/increased opposition against government.

It leads to immoral acts like prostitution.

It contributes to general underdevelopment.

It promotes neo-colonialism in Africa.

Low revenue to government.

# CHAPTER FIFTEEN

IDEOLOGY, POLITICS AND CULTURE

AFRICAN SOCIALISM.

Socialism was first propounded by the 19th century scholars of Europe who included Karl Marx, Louis Blanc, Lenin and others. It is a communist or leftist ideology which advocates for the collective ownership of the means of production such as land and labour.

Socialism/Communism has two brands - dogmatic socialism which emphasis that Socialism/Marxism has answers to all human problems and scientific socialism which emphasizes that the principles of Marxism should be adjusted to suit the changes that occur in society.

After the 1917 Russian revolution, communism started spreading like a bush fire in Eastern Europe, some Asian and African countries. It came head to head with capitalism and a competition for followers ensued until 1991 when USSR collapsed. A number of African States took up communism during the cold war. These included Tanzania under Nyerere, Ghana under Nkrumah, Ethiopia under Mariam Mengistu, Uganda under Obote 1 etc....However, African leaders adopted an Africanised form of Marxism termed as African Socialism which greatly stressed African values.

REASONS WHY AFRICAN LEADERS ADOPTED SOCIALISM BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE

1. The Socialist ideology resembled the traditional African Philosophy of communism. In the African past, people worked together. Property such as land and cattle were owned communally. They celebrated life together and so on. Since local populations were already familiar with the ideas and practices of communal organization, elites found it relatively easy to explain Marxism/Socialism to the masses.

2. Formal education influenced African elites to adopt socialism. African students who received scholarships to study overseas came into contact with communist politicians in Russia, China and Czechoslovakia. Even within Capitalist states, socialist Politicians and Literature existed. For instance, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana started reading communist literature when he was still a student in America, made contacts with American Socialist sympathizers and later with British Socialists. These experiences made him drive Ghana towards the socialist path.

3. The Second World War influenced some African elites to adopt socialism. During this war 1939 - 1945, Russia fought on the side of allies. It continuously pointed out that the 2nd World War had been caused by the colonial ambitions of capitalists. Socialist oriented soldiers called upon African soldiers /service men to return to Africa and lead the struggle against colonialism.

4. African elites were attracted by the communist propaganda after the 2nd World War. Following the 2nd World War, there developed a cold war between the capitalist and communist blocks. The latter accused the former of all evils in the world. Communist cadres blamed the evils of unemployment, prostitution, war. poverty and disease on capitalism. Led by USSR, communist propagandists promised to help Africans live in a free world where there were no colonizers and no colonized, no exploiters and no exploited. USSR quoted examples of Northern Korea, Cuba, China and Vietnam where people had chosen communism and had succeeded in eliminating exploitative colonialism.

5. African leaders adopted communism in appreciation of the communist role in ending colonialism. Communist Russia, China and Czechoslovakia offered financial and military help to African liberation movements such as MPLA of Angola, FLN of Algeria and FRELIMO) of Mozambique. Without such help, some African countries would have taken much longer before attaining independence. It naturally followed that leaders of MPLA, FLN and FRELIMO had to adopt the socialist ideology as a gesture of thanks. Socialist thinking had greatly guided them during the guerilla struggles.

6. African leaders were also Influenced by the 1945 Manchester Conference. During this Conference, African elites were argued to return home and mobilize the locally available resources in order to develop Africa. Participants blamed African's economic poverty on capitalism which had infiltrated Africa through colonialism. This was because colonialists were interested in "milking" rather than developing Africa. The ideal of creating welfare states was also discussed. To most Africans this would only be possible through the communist path.

7. African leaders hoped to use Socialism as a tool against poverty, ignorance and disease. Communist Russia, China and Cuba had successfully reduced those three great enemies of mankind. African leaders like Sekou To are, Julius Nyerere, Mariam Mengistu and Kwame Nkrumah hoped to use communism to fight unemployment, illiteracy and so on since the state would directly be in their charge. This would ultimately improve the peoples' living standards.

8. Inadequate funding from capitalist states made African elites to turn to the left. For instance Colonel Abdel Nasser of Egypt wanted to complete the Aswan High Dam Project. He approached both USA and Britain for economic and technical support. Promises were made but not effected. Nasser turned to the communist block and got ready help. Similarly, the refusal by Western powers to support his five year development plan of 1964 - 1969 made Julius Nyerere to seek for support from the communist block and even declared his official turn to the left in 1967.

9. African leaders wanted to balance rural and urban development. Colonial masters had developed areas near their missionary stations, schools, hospitals and political bases. They had ignored rural areas claiming that they were Mosquito and Tsetse fly infested. The new brand of African leaders wished to extend health, educational, electricity and other services to rural areas. Socialist ideas were pro-rural this development strategy - hence Nyerere's introduction of Ujaama village socialism.

10. African leaders hoped to use socialism to attain national unity. Colonial masters had divided Africans along religious, regional and tribal lines. With Socialism, the gap between the rich and poor, learned and unlearned would be bridged.

11. African leaders hoped that socialism would make them militarily stronger. USSR, Nothern Korea, Cuba and China had adopted communism and their military capacity was giving USA sleepless nights. Such countries spread a propaganda that communism would turn Africans into super powers.

12. Some African leaders wanted to prolong their stay in power. In political terms, communism is a type of dictatorship because it advocates for single party rule. As already seen, single partyism makes leaders over stay in power, e.g. through single party socialism, Julius Nyerere held on to Presidency from 1961-1985, Gadafi held power in Libya from 1969 to 2011 when he was demised.

SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA

In 1967, at Arusha, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere issued the Arusha Declaration by which he introduced a socialist/communist revolution in Tanzania. The 1967 Arusha declaration was a government white paper which ushered in the nationalization of the Tanzanian economy. All the major means of production such as land, manufacturing industries, financial institutions, education, health, defence, the transport sector and so on were put under government control. Nyerere's socialism was to operate around villages and he termed it as UJAAMA (family hood or brotherhood). It involved the formation of collective villages and the mobilization of both human labour and local resources for improved agricultural production.

Nyerere had read a lot of communist literature, had visited a number of communist countries and had met a number of prominent communists. All these influenced his ideological outlook. But his was not a whole sale importation of foreign Marxism/Communism. His was a blending of foreign ideas with African cultural values. It was African Socialism. Nyerere started his task with "Operation Dodoma" by which he resettled people from urban to rural villages where he extended social services. His ultimate goal was to create a self sufficient, truly independent and classless Tanzanian Society.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF NYERERE'S UJAAMA POLICY

1. To attain self reliance. The major aim was to revolutionise agriculture and make the country self sufficient in terms of food production. This involved the resettling of peasants into resettlement villages called Ujamaa villages where they could grow beans, maize, groundnuts etc.

2. To promote the independence of Tanzania. It was envisaged that self reliance would enable the country to escape from the dependence trap i.e It would make Tanzania immune to foreign aid and thus a tool to fight neo-colonialism. In effect this would ensure the trueindependence of Tanzania.

3. Provision of public services. Government intended to involve the local populance in the establishment and running of the social service sector. Public schools and health centres were to be set up and managed by the people on the basis of self help, i.e self help projects.

4. To develop Tanzania's natural resources. According to the Arusha declaration, all wealth was to be nationalised for the good of the masses. All Tanzanians were to work for the development of the country's oil, land, mineral and cattle resources. Wealth was to belong to the masses and all were to work equally.

5. To create a classless society. Ujamaa policy aimed at preventing any form of exploitation in Tanzania. All Tanzanians were to take work as a natural obligation. No body was to be a master of the other. Each person was to be a master of his own. In urban centres, no one was to set up a house for others to rent. This was aimed at bridging the gap between the poor and the rich.

6. To fight poverty. The Ujamaa policy was also aimed at raising the peoples' standard of living in Tanzania. This could be attained by grouping the people into co-operative villages where they could grow both food and cash crops like groundnuts, maize, beans, sisal, cotton and tobacco. Cooperative farming would bring about increased production where by the surplus could be exported. This would bring in foreign exchange and improve the peoples' standards of living.

7. To promote unity. The Ujamaa policy was also intended to bring about the national unity of Tanzanians. This could be attained through communal work and through a carefully designed education system that emphasised the teaching of Swahili language.

8. To attain national defence. It was also thought that the Ujamaa policy would help in mobilising people for the defence of their country. Each village would provide its own defence, train each inhabitant etc which would in turn make each Tanzanian conscious about the security and peace of his country

9. Africanisation of the economy. This policy was also aimed at putting Tanzania's economy into the hands of local Africans as the case was long before colonialism in Tanzania. Hence forth, the extended family system would regain value.

10. To fight against corruption. It was thought that the putting of all productive resources under village supervision would inculcate a spirit of concern amongst members of each village. This would promote hard work, honesty in work and would eliminate the evils of laziness and embezzlement of public village funds.

11. To fight famine, ignorance, disease and poverty.

Achievements OF UJAMAA POLICY/SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA

1. Land redistribution. The government embarked on its resettlement policy whereby land was redistributed to the peasants in the newly created Ujamaa villages e.g in Mwenge and Lindi villages. Nobody could complain of being landless.

2. Increased food production. Government encouraged the production of cassava, maize, groundnuts, rice, beans, soya and other food crops with an aim of attaining self-sufficiency in terms of food production. Consequently, food became abundant in some settlements e.g.Mwenge village.

3. Growth of small scale industries. The Ujamaa system stimulated the growth of small scale industries such as fertilisers, pesticides, hoes etc. which produced products that were on demand in the settlement villages.

4. National defence and security. The Ujama policy emphasised the training of local defence personnel to provide security for each village. The locally trained soldiers formed a reserve army to supplement Tanzania's national army. This has helped Tanzania to avoid civil wars and coup-de-tats.

5. It helped to check against neo-colonialism. Nyerere realised that economic dependence on Western capitalist countries would deprive the Tanzanians of their independence. So, he discouraged foreign aid and called for self reliance. For quite some time, he was able to achieve success though in the long run this failed.

6. Enjoyment of social services. Efficient mobilisation made it easier for government to provide social services such as education, medical services and water to the people. Through extensive government funding, the illiteracy levels were reduced in the country.

7. Attainment of national unity. Through a conscious policy of resettling people of diverse origins in the same villages, government was able to create a sense of national unity. This was also facilitated by the use of Kiswahili language which became a unifying factor.

8. Employment opportunities. Through the encouragement of self-help projects, government was able to provide employment opportunities for all. The Ujamaa policy emphasised the traditional African value of communal work. It emphasised the view that everybody was a worker and discouraged idleness. Hence employment for all.

9. Proper resource utilisation. The Ujamaa policy emphasised the maximum utilisation of Tanzania's resources for the benefit of all Tanzanians. In this way, all the land which was lying idle was put to use. It was cultivated and farmed.

10. Better farming skills and techniques were provided to the peasant farmers through the provision of extensive services. Skills of re-afforestration, diarying, irrigation were provided.

11. Growth of urban centres. The bringing together of many Tanzanians led to the creation of urban centres which became the basis of socialisation, marketing of farm products and provision of health and education services.

12. It led to uniform rural development in form of feeder roads, schools, setting up of cooperative movements and the like.

13. The Ujamaa policy made Tanzania famous. A number of researchers from all over the world visited Tanzania and wrote books on the successes and limitations of the Ujamaa policy.

WEAKNESSES OF UJAMAA POLICY/SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA

1. Outbreak of famine. Though the policy was aimed at attaining self sufficiency in terms of food production, it paradoxically contributed to food scarcity. This was because production was controlled by government which over emphasised the growth of cash crops e.g coffee, sisal and cotton at the expense of food crops. Hence turned out to be a food importer.

2. Impoverishment of Tanzanians. The Ujamaa policy failed to improve the living standards of the local populance. The self help projects which were set up in Ujamaa villages were poorly funded by government which led to their failure. To make matters worse, government rejected foreign aid which would have availed the people with capital.

3. Limited labour productivity. The majority of Tanzanians looked at the policy as a form of forced labour in Ujamaa villages. Consequently, they didn't work optimally and whole heatedly. Sometimes, the plots of land given to farmers were semi-arid and this demoralised the workers.

4. Environmental degradation. In an effort to boost crop production, large areas were cleared. This involved the indiscriminate cutting down of trees, use of chemicals and burning of bushes. These were crude methods of farming which eventually led to cases of soil erosion.

5. Loss of land. As people were shifted to co-operative villages, they lost their original fertile lands. This led to cases of resistance against the policy. Peoples' resistance expressed itself in their unwillingness to work.

6. Corruption. Government officials who were appointed to oversee the Ujamaa policy ended up working for their personal interests instead of fighting for the peoples' well being. They received high salaries, collected taxes some which they embezzled, set up houses for renting despite government's efforts to stop this, monopolised the marketing of Ujamaa village produce, controlled the distribution of farm implements etc. In the process, the government officials took every opportunity to get personal riches. This was against the ideals of the Ujamaa policy.

7. Decline of social services. The original aim of government was to provide social services for all. However, due to poor funding most of the social amenities like schools, hospitals and water supply declined. The standards of universal primary education declined due to over-crowding in classes, lack of incentives to teachers and over-working by school teachers and children. They would dose in class due to tiredness. Medical services declined due to mis-appropriation of drugs.

8. Dictatorial rule. With the co-operative village settlements, government officials implemented the unpopular policies through dictatorial means. There was too much government control over the various projects in Ujamaa villages and this killed the incentive to work. Workers hated the boss-ship exhibited by government officials. In addition, Nyerere used not to consult people on' his new programmes- Hence a one man show.

9. It failed to dislodge capitalism. Ujamaa was a socialist oriented policy that aimed at creating a classless society. To this end, productive ventures were nationalised but this ended up being a miserable failure because by 1985 when Nyerere stood aside, the majority of Tanzanians were demanding for capitalism and condemning socialism, which had impoverished them.

10. It paved way for neo-colonialism. Nyerere's original plan was self-sufficient but after failing to attain this, Tanzania gradually started accepting grants from Britain, U.S.A and other countries via the non-governmental organisations.

11. Disunity. The policy never resulted into the Utopian society that it envisaged. Disunity still existed between the haves (government officials) and the have nots (peasant workers). However, when compared with other African countries, Tanzania's efforts to unite her people still stand high.

12. It led to an economic depression in Tanzania between 1973 - 1974.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION IN AFRICA

A political party is a group of people with organized political opinion expressed in their manifesto. It can also be defined as a group of people who are bound by common political aspirations, governed by a constitution and who aim at attaining or maintaining state power. Such a group subscribes to the same principles on how and when state power should be attained, maintained and transferred to others. They also subscribe to the same principles on how the state should be run and how the country's resources should be mobilized for national development. The overall aim of any political party is to attain authority/power with which to organize the country's human and natural resources for national development. So, by origin, political parties had national interests at the centre of their formation and operations. However in many parts of the world today, it is possible to have political parties being formed for selfish interests.

The beginnings of political parties in Africa

Modern political parties in Africa emerged during the colonial era/period as instruments for:

(a) Bringing elites together.

(b) Sensitizing masses about their rights

(c) Appealing for reforms or end of the exploitative and oppressive colonial policies.

(d) Mobilizing the masses to struggle for independence.

Two types of political parties emerged and these were the Elitist parties and mass political parties.

(i) Elitist Parties

These were founded by elites and were for elites. For instance the U.G.C.C of Gold coast was elitist by origin. This means it was a party for highly educated or influential people in society such as lawyers, teachers, doctors, engineers, businessmen, journalists, clerks and so on. Elitist parties had the following general characteristics

They were born in urban centres and confined their activities in urban areas. Their members used foreign languages e.g English or French. This cut them off from the majority of Africans who didn't understand the foreign languages.

They adopted peaceful and gradualistic methods of struggling for African independence e.g negotiations with colonial masters.

They were characterized by lengthy persuasive speeches and arguments. They were against radical/militant methods.

They founded and made use of the mass media.

Some of their members still admired elements of European rule and culture. They wanted independence but under the guidance of the white man.

They had a strong capitalist orientation and got help from Western Europe.

NB. Later, some elitist parties made effort to reach out to the masses and this is still the case today. For instance the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) in Uganda was elitist in origin but has made great strides towards reaching the common man.

(ii) Mass Political Parties

These were founded by elites but their membership was open to all categories of the African population at the time. For instance the CPP of Gold Coast was a mass party by origin. This means that its founder Kwame Nkrumah welcomed the educated people, such as doctors and teachers, the jobless street boys, the ex- service men, religious leaders, rural and urban dwellers, men and women, young and old people to join it. Mass political parties had the following essentia' features/characteristics:

They adopted both peaceful and radical methods of struggling for self governance e.g demonstrations and strikes.

They demanded for independence with a great sense of urgency. This at times annoyed the colonial masters e.g Patrice Lumuba's MNC in Congo didn't please the Belgian colonialists who rushed to grant independence to Congo/Zaire.

They had strong rural and urban bases. Their, leaders endeavored to open up branches in almost all villages.

They combined persuasive speeches with militant actions such as burning of colonial masters' property.

They quickly turned themselves into mass liberation movements and took up arms against the undeparting colonial masters'e.g the ANC of South Africa, ZANU of Zimbabwe and SWAPO of Namibia.

They had a strong Marxist orientation, adopted socialism and attracted support from the Eastern block,

GENERAL FACTORS BEHIND THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA

The circumstances that led to the emergence of political parties were political, economic and social in nature. Some of the factors were internal while most of them were external.

1. Western education was a precursor to the formation of political parties in Africa. The missionaries and later the colonial governments taught Africans how to read, write and count. The intention was to create a civilized, Christianized and obedient African who could help them in consolidating colonial rule. However, some of the subjects taught to Africans turned them into critical and argumentative scholars who demanded for their rights. These subjects included History, Literature in English, Economics, Political education and even Religious Education which made them argue that Jesus was anti-colonialism. Those who were sponsored to study overseas witnessed democracy and political party activities in U.S.A, Britain, France, India and so on. They learnt that the formation of political parties is a fundamental human right and on returning to Africa, formed them e. g Kwame Nkrumah formed the CPP in Gold Coast in 1949.

2. Colonial oppression and exploitation made Africans form political parties.

Everywhere on the African continent, colonial masters introduced inhuman policies such as land grabbing, forced labour, over taxation, imprisonment of "big headed" Africans, racism and so on. In South Africa, blacks were forced to work in the mines under very inhuman conditions, in Kenya, etc, Africans were turned into squatters on their land. In Algeria, Africans who claimed for their rights were short at setiff in 1945. The situation was similar in South Africa, Angola and Mozambique and created resentment. This made Africans form political parties such as KANU in Kenya, UNC in Uganda and ANC in South Africa to help them fight and end colonialism.

3. The Pan African Movement influenced the formation of political parties in Africa. During the 1945 Manchester Conference, Negro Pan Africanists e. g WEB Dubois educated the black Africans about the structure and roles of political parties. They provided them with Literature on political parties. They argued that political parties would enable them unite, mobilize, sensitise and prepare the masses for independence. This explains the formation of the Resemblement Democratique Africaine (RDA) in French West Africa and the CPP in Gold Coast. Then after the 1958 Accra Pan African Congress, Patrice Lumumba formed the MNC.

4. The Second World War influenced the formation of political parties in Africa. During the war, African soldiers interacted with political party idealists from America, Asia and Europe. For instance, Africans soldiers who served in North Africa interacted with American soldiers who educated them about democracy via political parties. Those who served in the far East in Burma heard about the role of the Indian National Congress. On returning to Africa, ex-2nd world war veterans formed political parties to agitate for independence e.g Robert Mugabe formed the ZANU and Jorno Kenyatta formed the KANU.

5. The change in colonial policies led to the formation of political parties. After attaining power in 1945, for instance, the labour government in Britain called for colonial reforms in all its colonies. This led to the Burns and Richards constitutions in 1946 in Ghana and Nigeria respectively. In turn these constitutions and later ones permitted Africans a right to form political parties. This explains the formation of the UGCC in Gold Coast in 1947. Also from 1958 on, Belgians permitted Congolese to form political parties and hence the formation of the MNC of Lumumba in 1958 and CONAKAT of Moise Tshombe in 1959 etc.

6. Pressure from the United Nations Organisation was behind the formation of political parties. In 1948, the UNO issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Among other things, this document recognized the right of all colonized people to form political parties and agitate for independence. The UNO went ahead and even recognized the African Movements which had both political and military wings e. g the ANC of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and ZANU of Zimbabwe.

7. Religious rivalry influenced the formation of political parties in Africa. In areas where the French Missionaries had introduced Catholicism and British missionaries had introduced Protestantism, there soon developed a competition Baganda went to war with Catholic Buganda. So, when the idea of political parties emerged in the struggle for self determination, it was not surprising for each religious denomination to encourage its elites to form a different political party. Thus the Democratic Party was formed for Catholics and both the UNC and the UPC for Protestants etc.

8. Some political parties emerged due to Asian influence. The news of how the Indian National Congress (INC) had spearheaded the struggle for India's independence made African elites form parties. For instance Musaazi formed the Uganda National Congress (UNC) and through it, started agitating for Uganda's independence. Kenneth Kauda of Zambia formed the UNIP and used it to agitate for Zambia's independence.

9. The desire to protect tribal interests led to the formation of some political parties. Colonial masters had designed a divide and rule system which intended to keep African tribes apart so as to prevent the rise of mass nationalism. When the struggle for national independence started later on, each tribe formed its own party to fight for and protect its interests. For instance the Kabaka Yekka (KY) in Uganda was formed to protect the interests of Baganda tribe. In Nigeria, the Action group was formed to protect the interests of the Yoruba tribe while the NCNC to protect Ibo tribal interests.

10. Trade Union activities contributed to the formation of political parties in Africa. Most of the mass political parties in Africa started as trade unions that were demanding for better working conditions. For instance, the Uganda Farmers' Federation (UFF) metarmophised into the Uganda National Congress (UNC). In Tanganyika, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) of Julius Nyerere gave birth to Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

11. Cold war politics contributed to the formation of political parties in Africa. The two super powers that emerged after the 2nd world war - namely USA and USSR, were committed to spreading their ideologies and to ending European colonialism in Africa. They encouraged Africans to form organized political groups and agitate for self governance. They offered African elites all the moral, financial and legal support they needed to form political parties. In Angola for instance USSR sponsored the MPLA while USA and Britain sponsored the UNITA to struggle against Portuguese rule.

12. The African desire for foreign aid led to the formation of political parties. Donor countries have always made multi-partism conditionality for extending aid to African countries. For instance in the 1990s, President Arap Moi of Kenya was put under great pressure by the Western donor countries to free political parties. This led to the resumption of multiparty political activities and to the birth of the National Rain bow Congress (NARC) which brought Mwai Kibaki into power.

13. The need to oppose political dictators led to the formation of some political parties e. g the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Zimbabwe was formed to check against Robert Mugabe's dictatorship under ZANU-PF.

SINGLE PARTY RULE/ONE PARTY SYSTEM IN AFRICA

This is a political order whereby the state is run according to the tenants of only one political party. At independence a number of African states decided to adopt the one party system of governance. These included Tanganyika under Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The TANU later became Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)- party of revolution. There was also Guinea under Parti Democratique de Guinea (PDG), Ivory Coast under Parti Democratique de la Cote d'lvore (PDCI). Later, other African leaders also adopted one partyism. For instance Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana abolished other parties and declared the CPP as the party of the state, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya declared KANU as the party of the state, Milton Obote declared UPC as the state party in Uganda and so on.

How did Single Party Systems Emerge?

1. Through banning of opposition parties. Some states received independence under a multi party political competition but after independence, the party in power decided to ban other political parties e. g in Uganda, Milton Obote I banned other parties in 1969 and declared UPC as the party of the state.

2. Through intimidation of opposition politicians. This was done through arbitrary arrests and killings of opposition politicians which forced others into silence or into hiding in exile. This technique was used by Nkrumah.

3. Through wars of liberation. In countries like Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, there existed one dominant liberation movement that fought for independence. These were the FLN, MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC respectively. After winning independence through great sacrifice, such liberation movements naturally assumed power and turned their countries into single party states.

4. Through popular support. Some political parties enjoyed overwhelming majority support and this eased the process of turning themselves into state parties. For instance during the pre independence elections the TANU won by overwhelming majority. This made opposition politicians render their support for TANU. Continued opposition in face of such electoral defeat would signify sabotage of nationalistic efforts. Such parties as TANU. CPP. PDG also enjoyed the support and blessing of colonial masters.

5. Through negotiated merging. In such cases, the ruling party entered into negotiation with opposition politicians whom it convinced to merge with the ruling party. For instance in 1964, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) merged with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) under the ruling party's name KANU. This was due to the diplomacy and negotiation skills of Jomo Kenyatta and his delegates.

6. Through military coup de tats. In Africa, even to date, when soldiers overthrow the ruling President, they usually establish a dictatorial military regime that is a kin to single partism. For instance the regime of President Idi Amin Dada in Uganda, Habyarimana of Rwanda, Haile Mariam Mengistu of Ethiopia etc were characterized by military dictatorships and zero tolerance for multi parties. However, not all soldiers who capture power cling to it. For instance, after overthrowing Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, General Ankrah organized democratic elections which brought Dr. Kofi Busia - a civilian, to power in 1969.

7. Through adoption of the socialist ideology. During the anti colonial struggles, African nationalists received great assistance from communist/socialist states such as China. At that time, and even after independence, African leaders secured advice on the development of revolutionary organization. The natural effect of this was the adoption of the socialist ideology which strictly advocated for single party rule. This led to one party states in Angola, Mozambique, Algeria, Senegal and so on.

8. Through copying of colonial administrative systems. Everywhere in Africa, colonial regimes had been lengthy and strictly authoritarian -they were dictatorial, bureaucratic and didn't tolerate opposition. This made the post independent African leaders, some of whom had served in the authoritarian colonial governments, to adopt single party rule because it was continuous and authoritarian.

9. Through crossing the carpet. Some African countries entered independence as multiparty states. However, strong opposition leaders started crossing from their opposition parties and joined the ruling party.

10. Through political egoism. After tasting power many African leaders became selfish/egoistic and developed a desire to rule till death. This would ensure the continuous enjoyment of state privileges and for those who had committed grave mistakes; it would insulate them against the law e. g President Mobutu Seseseko of Congo.

11. Through the influence of traditional African institutions. Traditional African chiefs ruled continuously while receiving advice from the grass root through a system of consensus. Young African leaders wanted to emulate this and hence, single parties.

12. The political culture of the new African leaders led to the emergence of single party rule. The young educated leaders considered themselves as torch bearers of their societies. Being the cream of society, they believed that it was their duty to lead their societies to modernity, but they also had to balance modernity with the traditional value system. In order for them to remain at the top of society and to bring unity in the new states, the African elites believed in an authoritarian system that would allow consensus within (opposition within).

13. Through a careful consideration of the advantages of single party systems over multipartism. They anticipated greater unity of African people under one party rule, quick decision making etc.

ADVANTAGES OF SINGLE / ONE PARTY RULE

1. It promotes national unity. This is because all the nationals (people) of a given country are constitutionally incorporated into the membership of one political party. In the words of Jomo Kenyatta, first President of independent Kenya, the one party brings the masses together and checks against the divisive tendencies of multi partyism.

2. Single party rule conforms to traditional African forms of democracy. In pre-colonial African societies, Kings and chiefs ruled through a system of consensus. That is, before key decisions could be arrived at, the matter was first debated at village levels. The ideas of people at the grass root were then debated at a higher level (parish or muluka level in the case of Buganda kingdom). Then the decisions and ideas at that level, were further debated / discussed at an even higher level - the county or Gombolola level in Buganda kingdom and finally they were debated by Buganda kingdom's parliament or Lukiiko before the Ka'oaka and his ministers would arrive at a major decision e. g peace or war. This type of harmony and compromise in traditional societies can easily be nurtured and promoted in single party systems.

3. It guarantees constructive opposition, health competition and smooth transfer of power. This is because all people belong to the same party and all work towards its progress. Where a leader is going wrong, the advice given to him is usually taken in good faith. When it comes to periodic elections, party members stand for political posts on the basis of individual merit. This leads to election of the most capable leaders and if the incumbent leader is defeated, he hands over power smoothly unlike in multiparty systems where defeated candidates contest the election results e. g Mwalimu Julius Nyerere handed over peacefully to Benjamin Mkapa.

4. One party rule ensures long term planning. This is because there is continuity of government policies for many years. Even when a certain leader dies or retires, the successor hails from within the same party. Since he has been part of the system, he just continues with the former leader's development goals, policies and projects.

5. It ensures easy mobilisation of the masses for national development. This is because all citizens pay allegiance to the leaders of the ruling party and the leaders work for the good of the community. Where criticism arises, it is constructive but not hostile/sabotage. People talk freely about matters of development in their country and work voluntarily for the common good. For instance under Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, people voluntarily worked hard to overcome famine. Also under TANU and later CCM, Nyerere found it easy to mobilize people for national development in the Ujaama villages.

6. The one party system is cost effective and cheap to run. During election periods, expenditure is minimized. Candidates spend less on printing of posters, "buying of voters," e.t.c. Elections are internally organized within the same party and in most cases people already know who to vote for according to his /her previous enthusiasm and participation in the party's activities/programs.

7. - It ensures minimal interference of foreign powers into African politics. It is true that even single party systems are externally funded. However, they enjoy a degree of freedom of choice and their leaders can even develop relatively independent ideologies e.g Gadaffi's Islamic Socialist Jamahiriyya in Libya, Nyerere's African Socialism in Tanzania etc. Such independent thinking is not possible in multi party systems because the powers that sponsor such parties dictate the social, economic and political policies.

8. A single party system highly suits homogeneous societies. In a country where people belong to the same tribe, speak a common language or belong to the same religion, a one party system can serve their interests better. This is because it elicits mass loyalty to the state. That is, the masses uniformly offer their allegiance to the state. For instance the Eritrean Society whose majority speak Atar language can best develop within a one party structure.

9. It facilitates quick decision making at both national and local levels. This is because the parliament comprises of like-minded fellows (honourables). This does not mean that such a parliament is made up of stooges /sycophants who just endorse the president's whims/wishes. What it does mean is that such a parliament is made up of people who subscribe to the same ideology. They are likely to discuss national issues with clear focus and a sense of direction, taking into account/consideration all the pros and cons. In such a parliament, there is less politicking and squabbling. This explains why Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Sekou Toure of Guinea Conakry, Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Felix Houphonet Biogny of Ivory Coast adopted it.

10. Single party politics leads to political socialization. Through the one party system, a mechanism is evolved which effectively links people to government. Through on going sensitization and politicization, the people develop a strong sense of belonging and commitment to the nation. They also develop strong social bands. For instance in Tanzania, through the TANU - which later became Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) the party of the revolution, Tanzanians developed a sense of brotherhood in Ujaama villages. This brotherhood and sisterhood transcended tribal and religious differences/bonds.

11. One partyism minimizes the occurrence of political instabilities. This is because it prevents divisive tendencies that characterize multiparty political structures. At the same time, one partyism opens the door for what Jomo Kenyatta termed as "Constructive Opposition from within." In turn, this breeds single/one party democracy in which everyone's opinion matters a lot. In the end there is more consensus than disagreement. This ultimately eliminates or minimizes political instabilities. For instance under one party rule of KANU, Kenya was relatively peaceful but since the resumption of multi partyism there is violence, the most recent being in 2007/8.

12. Under one party system, corruption is reduced. Many factors contribute to this phenomenon. Firstly, the office bearers - public servants and leaders of community projects, are assured of long stay in office as long they serve well. Secondly, since one partyism cultivates a strong sense of brotherhood and communalism, they fear community wrath and reprisals if they embezzle community funds etc.

WEAKNESSES OF ONE /SINGLE PARTY RULE

1. It results into monopoly of power by the one party leader. In Africa, the practice has been for one party leaders to cling to Presidency. The list of African leaders who have overstayed in power is endless. Mobutu Seseseko ruled Congo from 1965 - 1997, Robert Mugabe ruled Zimbabwe from 1980 - 2017, Gadaffi ruled Libya from 1969 - 2011 etc.

2. One party rule destroys democracy. Although Jomo Kenyatta, in his paper on one party systems, had foreseen/envisaged the evolvement of single party democratic governance, the practice has been single party dictatorship. Instead of constructive opposition from within, there has been intimidation and persecution of critical party members. Single party African leaders have been reluctant to organize elections and when they do, rig them. This way, the fundamental right of people to choose leaders of their preference has been denied.

3. There is rampant abuse of human rights in single party systems. This manifests itself in the arrests, imprisonments, and killing of critical elements in society. There is also censorship of critical newspapers and banning of critical Radio stations. After turning Ghana into a one party state, for instance, Kwame Nkrumah imprisoned many of his critics - including Dr. J. Danquah who had introduced him to Ghana's politics. In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta is alleged to have arranged for the death of Tom Mboya in 1964, Arap Moi to have killed Ouko etc. Habyarimana of Rwanda and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi also mistreated opponents.

4. Single partyism breeds political sycophancy. Political sycophants are a weak category of politicians. They are also termed as political stooges or rubber stump politicians. These earn a living by flattering, misinforming or misadvising the President. To everything the President suggests, they answer "yes" with great loyalty or pretence of loyalty. With time, such politicians lose political foresight and integrity due to excessive favours or fears. They can no longer differentiate between good and bad and at times praise the mistakes of a given President.

5. Single party rule turns leaders into cultic figures. This happens when a leader starts equating himself to the state. He develops an exaggerated sense of his importance in the country and argues that the state cannot run without him/her. This makes a leader to personalize the state and to run it like a personal property (retail shop style). When a leader develops this feeling of indispensability, those around him read the signs rightly and continue flattering him. For example, in Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah was worshipped as "Osagyefore" meaning "the irreplaceable one." In Kenya before 1997, Arap Moi was worshipped by Kenyans as "Baba Mtukufu" meaning "Our holy father."

6. Single party leaders often involve the army into the country's politics. The army is one of those noble institutions in the country. All soldiers take an oath of allegiance to the state. They have a code of conduct which, if followed can turn the army into the most disciplined institution in any country. However, the tendency in one party state has been for African leaders to abuse the integrity of the army by forcing it into the politics of hatred. Leaders like Kwame Nkrumah (1957 - 1966), Obote I (1966 - 1970 and 1980-85) created personal elitist security organs to consolidate themselves in power. This antagonized the patience and professionalism of the national armies (regular armies) and ended into coup de tats of 1971 and 1966 respectively. In the case of Uganda before the 1971 coup, Obote I had involved the army into his political of hatred against the Baganda.

7. Single party leaders may dictate or impose unpopular policies and programmes unto the people. They do this using rubber stamp parliament. For example in 1967, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania issued the Arusha Declaration which introduced Ujaama socialism without first seeking for the peoples' opinion. Kwame Nkrumah fixed the price paid to cocoa farmers at a level less than one third of ruling world process for four years. Many African Presidents have used parliaments to lift the presidential term limits.

8. One party systems usually lead to corruption and embezzlement of public funds. This starts when the top leaders start bribing public servants especially Ministers, and army officers into supporting them. Sometimes they bribe them with inexplically huge sums of money or with big posts in government. In such a system, the practice of transparency and public accountability cannot thrive. Since there are no checks and balances, the government and army officers start accumulating lots of wealth through dishonest means.

9. The economies of single party states usually end up in failure. This is because economic policies and planning emanate from one small caucus of party die hard economists or from the President himself. Alternative economic strategies are not acceptable. The economies of single party systems are rigidly under government control. There is no room for free market enterprises. This was especially the case during the cold war period. This led to loss of working morale and poverty. The individualistic nature of economic planning in one party states is exemplified by Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda (1965 - 1991) who over emphasized copper exportation at the expense of agricultural sector. When the prices of copper fell on the world market, unemployment and famine were the results.

10. Single partyism limits a country's access to foreign aid. At independence, most African economies were weak and poor. African leaders started soliciting for foreign assistance to attain economic development. As long as the cold war still raged on, the major financiers of one party state African economies were countries of the Eastern block led by the Soviet Union. However, such development aid ended with the collapse of USSR around 1991. Still poor, African states inevitably turned to Western donor states which were reluctant to grand aid to single party states. African leaders were also reluctant to turn to multiparties and in the process missed huge sums of money in form of grants and loans.

11. It keeps the country politically immature. It does this by undermining the growth of individual capabilities in politics. This is because the young and vibrant politicians are indoctrinated to think like their party leader. This denies them a chance to explore alternative views, strategies, policies and models. The country and its people therefore lag behind politically.

12. Single partyism may result into political anarchy in the country. This normally occurs where a certain president and his henchmen have monopolized power for so long. In this case, the citizens devise violent means of removing him from power. For instance coup de tats, guerrilla wars and assassinations such activities in turn sow seeds of hatred and vengeance which may recycle violence in future.

13. Single party ism has failed to cater for the interests of all citizens in African states. Leaders tend to favour and develop their tribesmates, regions and the like. This makes people clamour for multiparty politics.

MULTI-PARTY POLITICS IN AFRICA

This is a political order where two or more political parties are constitutionally recognized and allowed to contest for state authority within the same country. Multipartyism is also termed as political pluralism. The aim of all the existing political parties is to attain and maintain authority. Multipartyism is characterized by competitive periodic elections usually after an interval of five (5) years or as may be provided for in the nation's constitution. The phenomenon of political pluralism is foreign to Africa. It was introduced by agents of Western capitalistic powers like Britain, France and the United States of America. At the dawn of independence, it was the desire and preference of colonial masters that their colonies should attain independence as multi party states. Part of the process of preparing African colonies for independence involved a conscious effort to inculcate the values of multi party democracy in the minds of African elites. A number of African countries therefore attained independence under a multiparty arrangement. For instance Uganda and Kenya in East Africa, Nigeria and Ghana in West Africa, South Africa and so on. It should be noted that some countries that entered independence as multi party states later embraced one/single party systems e. g Kenya. Conversely, some single party states later changed to multi party systems. For instance in 1978, under the same leader Leopold Senghor, Senegal de-linked herself from single partyism and introduced multi partism. Then in 1991, Kenneth Kaunda ended single party rule and introduced multi partyism in Zambia.

ADVANTAGES OF MULTI PARTY RULE

1. Fore most, it promotes the culture of peaceful transfer of power. As per the provisions of the country's constitution, two or more political parties field candidates to compete for presidency or parliamentary seats. After vigorous campaigns free and fair elections are held and the defeated candidate hands over power to the winner. In short, it is the vote that determines who takes over power e.g in 1991, Kenneth Kaunda accepted defeat and handed power over to the winner Chiluba and hence peace in Zambia.

2. Multi partyism contributes to political maturity in the country. This is because the constitution provides a mechanism for periodic elections. A defeated party patiently waits for the four or five year period (or in case of Rwanda seven years) to elapse. During these years, the party is expected to re-organise itself set its goals clearer open new branches, make coalitions (optional), recruit new members and solicit for funding in preparation for the future elections. Where the defeated party feels cheated, it appeals to the courts of law as is stipulated in the constitution e.g after the 2001 elections that were breathlessly contested between, among others, Dr. Kiiza Besigye and Yoweri Museveni, the former colonel filed an appeal to courts of law which ruled that there was some rigging of votes, but not substantial enough to cause a repeat of elections. All these are signs and characteristics of political maturity.

3. Multipartism opens the space for constructive opposition. Constitutionally, the party or parties that have lost an election are still very useful to the country. They still have a chance to influence the affairs of the nation through forming a strong opposition group in parliament /legislative assembly. Through this forum, they get a chance to advise, criticize and complement government efforts on various issues in various sectors. If they use their opposition constructively, it is one way of advertising the party's capability and readiness to hold power in the future elections.

4. Under multipartyism, there is good governance. This is due to respect of peoples' political, economic and social rights. People enjoy the right to form and or join political parties of their own choice, freedom of movement, freedom of speech, worship and so on. There is also transparency and accountability to the people because the judiciary and parliament keep on checking and balancing the excess of the leaders in power. Good governance is also because the party members want to impress the public and be re-elected e. g Museveni and Thabo Mbeki. This ultimately checks against dictatorship of single party systems.

5. Multi partism caters for the interests of all people of a given country. Unlike single party systems that tend to promote the interests of people of one tribe, region or religion, multi party systems open up to all categories of people. This is because if a party in power ignores or neglects people of a given tribe, region or religion, it risks losing future elections. This fear leads to a sense of political justice which reflects itself in equitable distribution of development projects, equitable ministerial appointments and so on. This leads to unity.

6. Multi party systems groom a number of capable leaders. This is because politics is competitive. The competitive political environment opens the gates for new leaders with fresh ideas. It also forces the old leaders to be so innovative in order to sustain their reputation in public. Each of the new emergent leaders comes up with his/her manifesto outlining his future programmes, his understanding and solutions to the country's problems and so on. E.g in 2001 Presidential elections in Uganda, JEMA Party fielded Mohammed Kibirige Mayanja, the Action Party fielded Nelson Ochegere,, Reform Agenda fielded Dr. Kizza Besigye and so on. Then in the Jan 2006 Presidential elections, new men like Obeid Bwanika came to the scene to compete for presidency. Though these new men did not win some of their ideas were assimilated by the victorious NRM Party e. g Kiiza Besigye's promise to remove graduated tax was adopted by the NRM government.

7. It promotes nationalism and unity in diversity. As the different parties open up branches in various regions and recruit people from all available tribes and religions, a strong sense of attachment to the party and nation is created. In a hid to develop a national character, each party appoints people of various religions and tribes to top party offices; it also adopts the praise songs of different tongues. This makes each tribe develop a sense of belonging to the party, a sense of patriotism and nationalism. In short, they feel part of the party and this feeling is consolidated through vibrant party propaganda using various mass media and political rallies.

8. It enables a country to receive foreign aid and support. This is because most international donor countries and multi lateral funding bodies like World Bank and IMF subscribe to multi party democratic principles. When a poor country introduces multi party politics, it is welcome and brought into a global village of world democracies such as USA, Britain and France. Its international image improves.

9. In multi party systems, the interests of the minority groups are catered for. Such marginalized groups as the disabled, the house girls, fishing communities and so on, are identified and included in manifestos of several parties.

10. Through multi party politics, some people earn a living. For example during campaigns, there are some outstanding personalities who spread the party's propaganda from house to house. These, in Uganda, include local council leaders, other opinion leaders on the village, religious leaders, "some" traditional chiefs and so on. As is the practice in Africa's politics, such people are highly rewarded and at end of elections many come up with vehicles, good houses and so on. On top of this, they become popular.

11. It affords citizens a chance of traveling widely throughout the country. As multi party election campaigns rage on, the party stall watts and general supporters start traveling widely throughout the country conversing for votes. This helps many people visit different parts of their country which they wouldn't otherwise have visited. As they travel, they meet new people, new cultures, new towns, new scenaries and this may be the beginning of a totally new life to them. E.g they may return to such places for business opportunities

WEAKNESSES OF MULTI PARTY POLITICS IN AFRICA

1. Multi partyism promotes sectarianism/divisionism amongst people. This is because most parties in Africa are formed on the basis of the tribe, religion or region. The result has always been an increase in religious polarization and tribalism which injure national unity. For instance in Nigeria, the NPC of Tafewa Balewa was formed for the Moslem Hausa Fulani of Northern Nigeria, the AG of chief Obafemi Awolowo was formed for the Youruba tribe of Western Nigeria while the NCNC of Namdi Azikiwe was initially for the Ibo tribe of Eastern Nigeria. In Uganda, DP emerged as a party for Catholics especially in Buganda, the KY for Baganda monarchists while UPC was for Protestants.

2. Multipartism is an "expensive venture" for poor African countries. Right from the start huge sums of money are required to draft a party's constitution, manifesto and guidelines, to open up party branches in different parts of the country, carry out registration of members and so on. During election period, a of money is spent on political campaigns, printing of posters, voting cards, voters registers and ballot papers, making of ballot boxes, civic education, paying electoral staff, security personnel and so on. This is a luxury for poor African countries.

3. Multi party democracy is foreign and not suitable for the current African setting. It. was a mistake to conclude that the West Minister model of democracy would automatically suit the Africans. Most African populations are simple, illiterate, poor, tribalitic and pre-industrial. Such people who think in terns of religion, region, tribe etc need a lot of civic education to grasp multiparty activities. Unfortunately, the African leaders who are themselves not ready for multiparty democracy deliberately delay civic education. They do this in order to manipulate the ignorant voters in their favour.

4. It is characterized by election violence. By nature, multi party politics is very competitive and full of abusive propaganda/smear campaigns. As a given candidate campaigns, he/he keeps referring to the past mistakes of his competitors. This does not only flare up the tempers between candidates, but also between their supporters. The result is usually verbal and physical assaults, drinking and wreckless driving-leading to accidents during campaigns. For example during the 2001 elections in Uganda, clashes occurred between supporters of Kaguta Yoweri Museveni and those of Dr. Kiiza Besigye. Also in the same year, clashes occurred between supporters of Robert Mugabe's ZANU PF and Morgan Tsangarai's MDD. In December 2007 to January 2008, rigging of elections in Kenya resulted into violence between Mwai Kibaki's supporters and those of Raila Odinga.

5. Multipartyism leads to delayed decision making. This is because of the in built red tape bureaucratic structure within a multiparty system. Before embarking on new programmes, projects and policies, the government has to first consult, lobby and convince the opposition side in parliament. This is time wasting. Moreover, for poor African countries, it is time wastage to spend four months or so on electioneering/campaigning instead of carrying out productive work like cultivation, poultry farming etc....

6. It is characterized by dirty politics in general and rigging of votes in particular. After rigging the entire electro process, the winning President then turns against his opponents whom he kidnaps, arrests, imprisons or even kills. For instance in 1980, UPC rigged the electrol process, imprisoned a number of its opponents within the DP and this forced Kaguta Yoweri Museveni of UPM to form the NRA and resort to the bush. In 2001 Robert Mugabe's ZANU PF harassed the members of the opposition. In Dec 2007, Mwai Kibaki's NARC rigged elections and this degenerated into street violence, imprisonment etc

7. Multi party politics creates a category of opportunistic politicians. These keep on crossing from one political party to another to achieve selfish interests. At times they cross to the ruling party after being bribed or "bought" in what is infamously termed as "political prostitution." A few cross to the ruling party out of the genuine desire to serve their country but the majority are "political prostitutes." This is based on the fact that after crossing to the ruling party, the new members start revealing the secrets of their former parties or speaking publically against them. In the 1960s, Dr. Kazungu and Basil Bataringaya crossed from DP to UPC. More recently, Maria Mutagamba and Sarah Nkonge of DP crossed to NRM, Aggrey Awori of UPC crossed to NRM etc....

8. Political pluralism also promotes neo colonialism. This is because most political parties in Africa are sponsored by Western powers. For instance the Democratic Party (DP) of Uganda is sponsored by, among others, the Christian Democratic Party of Germany. Such support, enables the Western World to interfere into African politics in their own favour. Neo colonialism is also manifested during election times when the "international observers" must be present and "must" declare the election "free and fair" in order for the world to believe African democrats! However their observation isn't always "free and fair" e. g they changed statements on Kenya's December 2007 poll after it turned sour to protect their investments and other interests in Kenya "just in case."

9. Multi party politics leads to unbalanced development. This happens because most African party leaders think of first developing their areas of origin and areas from where they obtained majority votes. To such leaders, people of areas from where they got few or no votes are saboteurs and deserve "punishment". The kind of sentence they serve is "economic neglect" to force/push sense in them during future elections. Such an attitude only prepares the ground for future anarchy.

10. Political pluralism tends to result into artificial coalitions/alliances. Most multi party constitutions allow two or more parties to form an alliance against a dominant political party. Unfortunately in Africa, such alliance/coalitions have been unprincipled. For instance in 1962, the UPC of Uganda made an alliance with Kabaka Yekka (KY). However, this did not arise out of the genuine desire for co-operation but rather, was a marriage of convenience and collapsed only three (3) years after its formation. This resulted into the 1966 Kabaka crisis which has haunted Uganda's politics till to date.

11. African political parties have failed to emulate U.S.A's multiparty model. The American model allows any individual to seek for his party's nomination to run for presidency. However, in Africa, e.g. Uganda, the party leader is the automatic Presidential Candidate for the party. Top party leaders also dictate the candidates to compete for parliamentary seat in different constituencies. To make maters worse, African leaders at times use parliament to remove presidential term limits to enable them stand for the same office "Until death doth President and Presidential Seat apart" for instance, the Uganda parliament removed presdential term limits in 2005 to allow Museveni to run for presdency again. This is not the American way. Despite the great popularity he still enjoyed President Clinton stepped down after his two term limits. He didn't alter the American constitution.

12. Political party activities are usually urban centred. Since they are started by elites who dwell in urban centres, they take long to open up branches and carry out sensitization of people in rural Africa. This keeps rural people alienated from political party activities. When they hear opposition politicians crossing from the opposition to the ruling party, they become even more confused. Such confusion is manipulated by the ruling president to gain rural support. For instance in Uganda, it is Museveni's technique to convass for rural support amidst a confused opposition.

FACTORS FOR THE RETURN TO MULTI PARTY POLITICS IN AFRICA FROM 1989 ONWARDS

The last decade of the 20th century 1990 - 1999 saw a resumption of Africa's interest in multi party politics. For instance Zambia returned to political pluralism in 1991, Tanzania 1992, Malawi 1994. This trend of African leaders to return to multiparty politics has continued in the first eight years of the 21st century (2000-2007) and is likely to continue in the foreseeable future. This phenomenon of returning to multipartism is due to the following conditions

1. The influence of human rights bodies has led to the return to political pluralism. The international, continental and local human rights organizations have always clamored for multi party politics. For instance, in 1948, the UNO issued a document known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which stated that it was a right of all people to choose leaders of their own choice, out of a variety. This was taken up and amplified by other human rights orgnisations such as Amnesty International, Human rights watch, Foundation for African Development (FAD), the Uganda Human rights commission etc.

2. The disintegration of the Soviet Union led to a return to multi partism. The Soviet Union was the god father and major funder/sponsor of single party systems in Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and so on. From 1989, the Soviet Union started crumbling under President Michael Gorbachev and finally collapsed in 1991/92. This threw single party states in Africa in disarray/confusion and they were forced to adopt multi partism to regain political and economic equilibrium.

3. The wave of globalization has led to increased agitation for multipartism. The 21st century politicians, economists, sociologists, scientists and religious personnel are calling for a global democratic village. In this era of globalization and post modernism, accompanied by internet propaganda, there seems to be no place for single party dictatorships. This partly explains the great pressure that was piled upon Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe during his reign.

4. The desire to obtain foreign aid has led to a return to multiparty politics. International donors have made political pluralism a pre-condition for extending economic and technical aid to African countries. Since most African countries are poor and their budgets are financed by funds from Western grants, they have succumbed. For instance, economic considerations made President Arap Moi of Kenya to scrap off single party rule and to open the country's doors to multiparty politics in 1992.

5. The success of multiparty systems in other parts of the world has led to its adoption. The successful multiparty democracies include the United States of America, Switzerland, Botswana and Senegal. In these states by the start of the 1990s, there was relative peace, economic progress and high standards of living. This made African leaders like Kenneth Kauda to embrace it in 1991. Then it was embraced by S. Africa in 1994 etc.

6. Western education has contributed to the agitation for multiparty democracy. African elites who received their advanced education on Western Scholarships have always been eager to pay back. While in America and European universities, the values of multiparty politics are inculcated in African students. Besides the massive indoctrination, they also observe and watch practical application of multi party democracy. On returning to Africa and with some funding, they become disciples of multiparty politics e.g Fredrick Chiluba of Zambia and Paul Kawanga Semogerere of Uganda.

7. Multipartyism is seen as a solution to dictatorial regimes in Africa. After independence, some African leaders turned themselves into dictators. For instance Kwame Nkrumah abolished opposition parties and turned Ghana into a one party dictatorship. The same to Mobutu Seseseko of Congo Zaire, Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and so on. Even for those who claim to subscribe to multipartism, their tendency has been to rig elections and cling on to power for example in the 2010 elections in Ivory coast were rigged by the incumbent Lorent Bagbo but was forced out after a few months using military means. This has made the young breed of African leaders to clamour for multipartism.

8. Multiparty democracy is seen as a solution to political instabilities. Countries which have refused to open the space for political pluralism have been characterized by political insecurity in form of civil wars, coup de tats and assassinations. These in turn have led to great destruction of human lives and property. To avert these, African leaders have turned to multiparty democracy.

9. Africans have attained a certain level of political maturity. This has been possible due to the expansion of primary, secondary, tertiary and University

education. It has also been due to the expansion of the mass media. From the 1990s, more and more Africans started thinking in terms of their nations rather than tribes. This laid a great foundation for the thriving of multiparty politics in which members of different tribes and religions come together for joint political opinion and action. Such tolerance is a sign of political maturity.

10. The need for balanced development led to the adoption of multi partism. Having suffered several years of unbalanced development in Kenya, the people clamoured for a return to multiparty democracy. Ugandans also returned to multiparty democracy in the 21st century citing similar reasons.

11. Multi-partism is seen as a solution to Africa's refugee crisis. Single party leaders usually turn against their political opponents whom they force in exile. Besides, there are a number of African professionals who prefer to serve in democratic states. They usually run away from single party systems to multiparty democratic systems e.g Botswana. This is a form of brain drain which African leaders are so eager to end so as to attain sustainable development.

# AFRICAN CULTURE

Culture refers to an established way of life of a given society or tribe. Before the advent of colonial rule, Africans had developed a very strong culture. Though there existed different tribes in Africa, they all had relatively similar aspects of culture. Their behavior, languages, beliefs, ways of worship, dressing, economic life, political systems, military organization, philosophy, morals, art, music, dance and drama were fairly similar.

WAYS HOW THE EUROPEANS INTERFERED WITH AFRICAN CULTURE.

1. The erosion of informal education. Africans had developed a practical education system that taught Africans how to produce food, mats etc. However, Europeans introduced their Western education, which is theoretical and bookish. They taught the young Africans to glorify Western education and to minimize informal education. This only created job seekers rather than job creators.

2. They introduce Christianity and termed African religion as paganic and superstitious. They undermined the traditional belief in gods, ancestral spirits, customs and taboos. Hence many Africans abandoned their traditional religion and adopted Christianity.

3. They discouraged African Arts and Crafts. For long, Africans had expressed their values through carvings, sculpture and paintings. However, Europeans introduced foreign and commercial Art specifically designed for tourists and foreign expatriates. Most Africans today value foreign Art and minimize African Art.

4. They introduced foreign languages such as English and French. The emphasized that speaking such languages was a sign of civilization. This made educated Africans despise African languages and the African who couldn't speak foreign languages.

5. They introduced written literature and discouraged oral literature. For long, Africans had educated their young ones through the use of proverbs, riddles and stories. Through these, they had passed on religious, social morals and economic values to the young. However, Europeans replaced oral literature with stories of British or French origin. Hence Africans took up Europeans values. To make matters worse, they started examining such stories in schools.

6. They introduced new dressing styles that made no meaning to Africans. The Africans code of dressing was discouraged yet it was very relevant to the African environment. Bark clothes, hides, skins, beads, feathers etc were termed as old fashioned, primitive and paganic. Hence European shirts, trousers, coats, neckties and mini skirts replaced African dressing. This had the impact of killing the cloth making industry in Africa.

7. The introduced new games and sports to replace those they found in Africa. African wrestling, boat racing, rope racing, hide and seek and the board game were discouraged. Instead, games and sports of foreign origin were popularised in Africa e.g. scrabble, pool table, table tennis etc.

8. The discouraged African herbs. Traditional herbs had been handed down to Africans by ancestral spirits and had helped Africans for centuries. Unfortunately, Europeans termed these herbs as backward and fetish in order to provide market for their home produced medicine.

9. They undermined African music, dance and drama. African musical instruments e.g. guitars introduced Adungu. They introduced Radios and Radio cassettes that played Western music all the time. The young soon developed a great taste for foreign music, dance and drama and distaste for African M.D.D. This has been accompanied by/with unprecedented immorality.

10. African drinks were discouraged. They termed African liquor such as "Kwete", "Ajone", "Lira Lira", "Changa" etc... as crude and unhealthy. They introduced their drinks such as whisky, wine and beverages like soda. These are expensive and encourage individualism as compared to African local brew, which encouraged sharing and communalism- a malwa pot could be shared by about 8 Africans unlike a beer for one person!

11. They introduced nuclear families and monogamy to weaken the African concept of extended families and polygamous marriages.

12. They termed African ceremonies as barbaric, un-Godly and pagan. e.g. the initiation ceremonies like circumcision, then the twin rituals were all discouraged without the prior study of their value. They introduced baptism and Christmas celebrations!

13. They introduced Western names and branded African names as primitive and paganic. They introduced shorter but foreign names with foreign meaning. They could baptize some one "Thomas" even when he wasn't a twin yet the name was originally for twins. Some names like "Fortunate" were given even to those Africans who were very unfortunate. This was an abuse of African culture.

14. The introduced foreign political ideologies such as, multipartism and western democracy. These encouraged disunity amongst Africans whose political ideologies had always emphasized unity around their Kings and chiefs. The strong and well-organized Kingdoms that had developed before colonial rule were all dismantled e.g. Buganda, Asante, Ndebela and Zulu Kingdoms.

15. They ushered in a culture of selfishness. Africans had practiced communalism. Property such as cattle and land belonged to the entire clan, village or tribe. With the coming of Europeans, they encouraged private ownership of property, promoted the spirit of capitalism, selfishness and unhealthy competition. This created a man-eat man society in Africa.

16. The discouraged industrialization in Africa. African wooden hoes, iron and stone implements, bark clothes, hooks, bows and arrows, stools etc... were discouraged and replaced with imported ones. This was to create a market for their home products. This destroyed African innovativeness and created a culture of dependence on Europeans for survival. Africans are no longer self- sufficient! Unfortunately, some products they introduced e.g. guns have deprived Africa of peace.

17. Western sexual values were introduced and promoted in Africa. This greatly undermined the African sex education system and is responsible for immorality in Africa.

SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

1. They introduced formal education. This has equipped Africans with new knowledge and skills e.g reading, writing and counting. These have improved African life styles.

2. They introduced foreign languages like English and French. These have created tribal unity and international understanding.

3. They uplifted the status of women. They did this by advocating for women rights, providing them with formal education to compete favourably with men, etc...

4. They promoted the use of money as a medium of exchange. This eased trade.

5. They introduced the culture of banking

6. They introduced Western archtechture which is better than traditional building styles.

7. They introduced constitutional governance [the rule of law]. Both the leaders and their subjects are bound by the same laws.

8. They introduced monogamy which gives women more security and love in a family.

9. They condemned female circumcision and early marriages.

10. They condemned child sacrifice and other forms of superstition.

11. They introduced Christianity which calls for love, forgiveness, togetherness, etc...

12. They improved transport and communication by introducing bicycles, cars, trains, aeroplanes and telephones.

13. They improved African Music, agriculture, medicine and so on.

STEPS TAKEN BY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS TO PRESERVE AFRICAN CULTURE

1. Promotion of indigenous languages. After independence. Tanzania and Kenya embarked on the promotion of Kiswahili as the national language. They did this by including a number of new words from the various indigenous languages.

2. Transformation of the education curriculum. African governments are gradually adjusting the colonial syllabi to suit the African environment. The new syllabi cater for African music, dance and drama, Arts and crafts, languages, African history, geography e.t.c. Music dance and drama is taught even in Universities and colleges.

3. Supporting local artists. African governments e.g. the NRM government in Uganda, have encouraged the theatre artists to rejuvenate cultural values via music, dance and drama. A number of local plays have been composed depicting the intrinsic African values and challenges to African culture.

4. Africanisation of the civil service. Expatriate teachers who were promoting western or eastern values were asked to leave. African governments in turn have set up training institutes to provide skills to local man power e.g T.T.Cs, U.M.I etc. African teachers impart African values.

5. Research into African culture. Many African government Universities e.g Makerere and Ibadan opened up faculties of research into African languages and culture. In East Africa, the East African institute of social research was set up to promote culture.

6. Encouragement of African Art. African governments such as that of Ghana under Nkrumah have encouraged Fine Art in schools and universities. African sculpture and curving are being rejuvenated.

7. Africanisation of the Church. African governments do support the move to train African clergy to replace the white missionaries who discouraged African culture without understanding its value. Local music, dance and drama is part of Church worship today.

8. Encouragement of African dressing. African presidents such as Mobutu, Idi Amin Dada abolished mini-skirts at places of work and worship. In the same vein, a number of prominent politicians have dropped foreign names e.g Francois Tombalbaye became Ngarta Tombalbaye, Joseph Mobutu became Mobutu Sese Seko Wazabange. Others included Amanya Mushega, Oyite Ojok. Okot Piteck, chango-Macho, Kahinda Otailire of Uganda etc.

9. Promoting cultural festivals. African governments have encouraged national cultural competitions between schools, districts, regions etc. Through the traditional folk songs and dances, values have been passed on.

- Similarly, African governments have sponsored their national MDD groups to participate in all African cultural festivals. The Folk Opera Troupe in Nigeria, Ndere Troupe of Uganda and the Guinea national ballet.

10. Promotion of local writers. Novelists play writers and poets have all been encouraged to express their deep insight into the value of African culture. Through the writing of Ngugi Wa Thiongo, Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, Okot P' teck etc. We learn about the ways in which Europeans undermined African culture. They call upon blacks to rejuvenate African norms, values and traditions. Some political critics have rim into trouble with African governments and have been forced into exile e.g Wole Soyinka. However, he recently returned to Nigeria and has even written "King Babu" which reflects the dictatorship of African presidents.

11. Empowerment of cultural leaders. In Uganda and other African countries, there is a revival of traditional forms of leadership. Cultural leaders e.g. the Kabaka of Buganda, Kyabazinga of Busoga, Omukama of Toro and Imorimon of Teso have been given a go ahead to revive the customs of their people.

12. Creation of ministries of culture. African governments have created new ministries concerned with the revival and protection of African culture e.g. the ministry of social development in Ghana.

13. Participation in all African games and sports activities. African governments do sponsor their national teams to participate in continental sports activities- especially the CAF cup (African Football Cup).

14. Promoting traditional medicine. In an effort of re-discovering our roots, African government have recognised the great role played by traditional leaders. They encourage more research into traditional herbs, e.g. In Uganda NACOTHA brings together all the traditional healers.

15. Cultural seminar and Radio programmes have also been promoted. Various Radio programmes e.g. "SENGA" on Radio C.B.S. and Simba, W.B.S. T.V station etc are aimed at articulating cultural values. The same to local newspapers, which articulate cultural values.

16. Encouragement of cultural Associations that bring together people of the same tribe to discuss their tribal values.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN REVIVING AFRICAN CULTURE

Limited funds to facilitate research into African culture.

- Most youth confuse modernity with westernisation. They are the future leaders of Africa, yet minimize African culture and relate western culture to modernity.

- Lack of skilled and committed manpower to carry out research into African's deep past.

- Neo-colonialism whereby African countries are dependent on foreign aid discourages the development of African culture.

- Most Africans are too poor to afford theatre going.

- Most African novels and plays are written in English or French. The majority of Africans are therefore cut off from the message.

- Opposition from religious fanatics e.g. saved Christians who are completely blind to the need to revive our cultured values.

Local African languages are not relevant in the international relations. This discourages Africans from studying them.

- Exams in African countries are set in foreign languages.

- In schools, teachers discourage the speaking of vernacular and even punish those pupils who do speak vernacular.

- There is lack of great emphasis on the value of African Arts, crafts, pottery, music, dance and drama in elementary schools.

Cultural festivals are not as interesting and appealing to the youths as European MDD.

- The profit making motive whereby local artists have turned to pop music, Reggae, Rock Music etc. to get quick money. Cultural music takes long to pay and pay little.

There is a diversity of tribal customs and values. It is hard to integrate them to evolve a standard and uniform national and continental culture. This explains why Africans have failed to evolve indigenous national languages.

- Political instabilities within African countries.

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN WRITERS IN REVIVING CULTURE

There a number of famous African novelists and play writers such as Wole Soyinka, Okot P'Tek. Elechi Amadi, John Ruganda, Chinua Achebe. Ngugi Wa Thiongo etc. In their novels and plays, they develop themes depicting the goodness of African customs, values and taboos. They also depict the impact of Western culture.

Their themes include had work, polygamy, initiation ceremonies, extended families, Leisure, informal education, African socialism, religion, music , dance and drama, dressing, unity, condemnation of neocolonialism etc. Explanations:

African writers reveal the triumph of African culture over European culture e.g in the play "Lion and the Jewel" by Wole Soyinka, Baroka- a traditionalist wins the love of Sidi- the village beauty. Baroka's competitor for the same girl is Lakunle a westernized schoolteacher. He misses the girl. Since Baroka was a polygamist and yet Lakunle inteded to have a monogamous marriage with Sidi, the play reveals the victory/triumph of polygamy over monogamy.

The same play shows the role of the elderly in negotiating marriage deals, e.g it is Sadiku, an elderly woman who helps Baroka to win the hand of Sidi.

The play also shows the value of virginity- Both Lakunle and Baroka are dying for the virgin Sidi etc.

The Novel "Things Fall Apart" by Chinua Achebe condemns Europeans for discouraging African Art, culture and unity. He writes that Europeans put a knife on things that held us together and now we happen to fall apart.

Chinua Achebe's novel also shows the value of hard work. It shows Okonkwo rising from a very poor background to a prominent status due to hard work, bravery and determination.

Achebe also places a high value on African music and drama. In the novel, Wodu Wakiri the waga earns village respect to his ability to entertain them free of charge. He gives them life in their free time.

The novel "The Concubine" by Alechi Amadi shows the calue of assisting the underprivileged like widows. After losing her husband, Ihuoma is given invaluable assistance e.g men help reconstruct her hut. Amadi also shows the power of African gods eg the sea god protected Ihuoma was against any sexual abuse by men.

In the concubine, Amadi also shows that greed for material things leads to disaster. Madume who wanted to steal part of Ihuoma's plantations was struck by a snake and died on spot.

In the novel "The River Between" by Ngugi Wa Thiongo, the importance of initiation ceremonies is clear. It shows the great role of circumcision in enabling the Kikuyu to become real men and women in society. Before undergoing this ritual, a Kikuyu would be regarded as a child.

He shows that circumcision enabled a man to participate in village and clan meetings; to marry and gain sexual rights.

The River Between shows the danger of mixing African culture and Christianity. Ngugi shows Muthoni dying trying to mix the two. This acts as a warning to Africans to stick to African values.

-Okot P'Tek in his play "Song of Lawino" depicts the value of African dressing and music. In the same way, he ridicules western dressing and dances.

- He also shows disrespect for the white man's selfish values and places a value on African communalism/socialism.

- He shows the importance of informal education and African Music, Dance and Drama.

- All the above writers, and many others, condemn colonialism for the loss of African culture. However some of them show some good aspects of European culture.

- All the above writers show the value of extended families.

All call for unity and love amongst Africans etc.

REVISION QUESTIONS

Examine the ways in which the Europeans interfered with African culture.

With reference to any one African country, examine the efforts made by government to protect African culture.

Assess the roles played by African writers and local dramatists in rejuvenating African culture.

Discuss the problems faced by African governments in trying to preserve African culture.

Examine the major characteristics of pre colonial African culture.

# CHAPTER SIXTEEN

# PAN AFRICANISM AND THE SEARCH FOR AFRICAN UNITY

Pan Africanism refers to a strong attachment/belonging, which all blacks have towards the African continent, African culture, African Unity and independence. It is an expression of a desire by all Africans to revive their culture, regain their dignity, independence and attain economic advancement.

This movement originated in North America and the West Indies where the black Negroes had suffered greatly from forced labour, discrimination and torture. The black intellectuals such as WEB Dubois, Marcus Garvey, William Henry Sylvester and George Padmore were the pioneers of the Pan African movement. They held a number of conferences such as the July 1900 London conference, the 1919 Paris conference, the 1921 London conference and the 1927 New York conference which had been scheduled to meet in Tunisia but flopped due to lack of good will from Britain and France.

Objectives of the Pan African Movement

1. To unite all the black people living within Africa and in other parts of the world (Africans in Diaspora). They had to come together irrespective of different educational levels or ethnicities.

. 2. To restore the dignity of the black man in the entire world. This dignity had been lost due to the enslavement of the Africans, due to biased writings of Europeans, due to abuses and discrimination of the blacks by the Europeans.

3. To form a common black man's voice against colonial rule in Africa. The movement wanted to find means of ending colonial oppression and exploitation and to fight for the liberation of the entire continent.

4. To find means and ways of developing the African continent so that it could stop depending on foreign economies. They believed that economic strength would ensure political strength.

5. It also aimed at reviving the African culture, which had been undermined by European missionaries. They hoped to achieve this by sensitising the educated Africans to stop praising European culture.

6. It aimed at establishing friendly/ diplomatic relations with Europeans without being slaves to them.

7. Forming a strong and united voice of all the blacks in relation to the affairs of the world. This had hitherto been monopolized by whites. The founders hoped that the PAM would be listened to and black peoples' views would be taken seriously in the UNO.

8. To uplift the standard of living in Africa and the entire black world. This was to be achieved by promoting regional economic integration in Africa, encouraging technical transfer, attracting foreign capital into Africa etc.

9. Later during the post independence period, the Pan African Movement (PAM) aimed at checking the growing rate of neo-colonialism in Africa.

10. To train African leaders and equip them with a strong feeling/loyalty to the entire continent. Such leadership would help in the proper utilization of African resources for developmental purposes.

# REASONS WHY PAN AFRICANISM HAD LITTLE IMPACT ON AFRICA BEFORE 1945

During the first phase of Pan Africanism- 1900-1945, the movement had insignificant impact on Africa due to the following reasons:

1. It was looked at as a movement for the intellectuals. This was because its leaders were elites who were a bit distanced from their uneducated brothers and sisters. This educational gap prevented meaningful unity.

2. The movement was greatly sabotaged by colonial masters who were still interested in the exploitation of African resources. Any early attempts made by African nationalists to identify themselves with Pan Africanists in the Diaspora were ruthlessly suppressed, e.g. the 4th Pan African congress had been scheduled to take place in Tunisia in 1927 but due to sabotage from Britain and France, it was held in New York. Colonial masters feared Pan African ideas.

3. Africans at that time were politically backward and unaware of their rights. They thought that they had been created to serve the whites. This lack of awareness made Pan Africanism have little impact before 1945.

4. All earlier Pan African congresses were held in Europe and America. Poor Africans didn't attend them and it was this lack of exposure that made Pan Africanism have limited impact before 1945.

5. The then independent states of Africa such as Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt did not take the initiative to champion the spread of liberation and Pan African ideas all over the continent. Each of these countries still had internal problems to handle.

6. The French Assimilation policy had turned Africans in French colonies into "black French men." They had been indoctrinated to believe in the white man's culture and civilization. They hated African culture and any Pan African ideas therefore fell on deaf ears-hence the limited impact.

7. Belgian Patternalism also led to the limited impact of Pan Africanism before 1945. The Belgians had made Africans in Congo to think that whites were their fathers and protectors, never to be opposed.

8. There was lack of a propaganda base in Africa where Pan Africanists would meet and discuss nationalistic ideas. This made the Pan African ideas to remain in the minds of a few blacks in the Diaspora- hence the limited impact on Africa.

9. Transport and communication also proved to be a great hindrance. It wasn't easy to move within and outside Africa. The slow movement of African nationalists automatically meant the slow movement of Pan African ideas.

10. Language also became another barrier. Franca phone colonies understood and spoke French while Anglophone colonies spoke English. Translators were very few, if any, during those days. Even the few were inaccurate. This explains the delayed spread of nationalistic ideas before 1945.

11. Censorship of the press in almost all African colonies led to the limited circulation of Pan African ideas before 1945.

12. Ideological differences whereby some leaders like WEB Dubois wanted to achieve independence through co-operating with whites while others like Marcus Garvey called for positive or militant action. Dubois wanted blacks to stay in Diaspora while Garvey wanted them to return to Africa and develop it.

13. Most Africans thought that Pan Africanism was a concept and movement only for blacks in America, Europe and the Caribbean. This was because it had originated from amongst blacks that had lost their language, culture and were unwilling to return to Africa.

# THE 1945 MANCHESTER CONFERENCE/ 5th PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

This congress was a turning point in the history of Pan Africanism. It took place in the British city of Manchester between 15th - 19th October 1945 and was attended by over 200 delegates. Its occurrence and discussions were influenced by the following events:

- The 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by Italy, which aroused African consciousness.

The defeat of Italy by Ethiopia in 1941 due to concerted efforts by Africans in Africa and the Diaspora.

- The 1941 Atlantic charter which encouraged the colonized to fight for their independence.

- The 2nd World War, which made African nationalists become militant.

- The rise of USA and U.S.S.R., which were opposed to colonialism. The economic boom in Africa due to 2nd World War impact.

- The rise and spread of communist ideas in Africa.

- The emergence of the African elites.

- Travels of Africans abroad where they witnessed Western democracy.

- The advocacy for human rights by the UNO.

Black nationalists attended the 5th Pan African Congress from Africa, West Indies, Europe and the Caribbean.

# Its significance:

1. It brought together blacks from Africa and those in the Diaspora. Nationalists who attended from Africa included Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, T.R. Mackonnen of Ethiopia, Peter Abrahams of S. Africa, Wellace Johnson of SierraLoene, Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, Hustings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Namdi Azikiwe of Nigeria etc. Those from the Diaspora included Dr. Peter Milliard, George Padmore and WEB Dubois.

2. The delegates adopted the use of force to obtain the independence of Africa. They observed that the gradualist methods of negotiations with colonial masters wouldn't lead to the desired independence.

3. It was agreed that Pan Africanism had to get a base within Africa. They realized the hopelessness of fighting colonialism using foreign bases.

4. Delegates called upon African elites overseas to return to Africa and champion the struggle against colonialism. Hence the return of Nkrumah to Ghana in 1947 and Namdi Azikiwe to Nigeria in 1960.

5. The educated were sensitised on the need to identify themselves with their uneducated brothers and sisters. They were called upon to stop minimizing the illiterate but instead mobilize them and enlighten them about the need for independence. The educated were also argued to stop serving the interests of colonial masters.

6. It led to the introduction of Pan Africanism on the entire continent of Africa. On returning to Ghana in 1947, Nkrumah spearheaded the struggle for the independence of Ghana and later freedom for all African peoples. He made several travels within and outside Ghana and wherever he went, he spread Pan African ideas.

7. The idea of the future union of Africa was forwarded and participants were asked to give it serious thinking. This later led to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) in 1963.

. 8. During the Manchester conference, the elites were challenged to return to Africa and form political parties and liberation movements so as to fight for African independence.

9. It bridged the various differences amongst African nationalists. Nationalists of the old generation like Jomo Kenyatta were united with young nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah. Participants were also warned about the dangers of aligning with super powers. Nationalists from French colonies e.g. Leopold Sedar Senghor sat on the same table with nationalists from British colonies e.g. Namdi Azikiwe of Nigeria.

10. The principle of self-sacrifice was emphasized. Participants were argued to give in their time, ability, finances and life in order to emancipate the continent from colonialism.

11. Richer African countries and individuals as well as the rich blacks in the Diaspora were called upon to give financial support to Africans struggling for independence.

The Manchester conference was followed by 12 years without any Pan African meeting. Within that period, nationalists who had attended the Manchester conference were busy organizing for the independence of their countries. In preparing for independence, they made use of the ideas and strategies, which had been propounded during the Manchester conference. During the 12-year period, pan African ideas never eclipsed. Various books, newspapers and nationalistic speeches continued articulating the Pan African philosophy, e.g. In 1955, George Pad More published his famous book "Pan Africanism and communism." This soon became a handbook for African nationalists.

THE APRIL 1958 ACCRA CONGRESS

After the independence of Ghana in 1957, Dr Kwame Nkrumah made contacts with the already independent African countries and invited them for a congress in April 1958. It was attended by all the independent African states by then. These were Liberia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Libya and Egypt. The April 1958 congress was followed by an "All African Peoples' Congress" in December 1958. This was attended by all willing African countries, Independent or not. Both congresses took place in ACCRA.

ITS SIGNIFICANCE

1. For the first time, the Pan African congress was held on African soil in Accra, the capital of independent Ghana. The African nationalists had therefore obtained a propaganda base which they had for many years longed for. Accra became a centre from which revolutionary ideas spread to the rest of Africa.

2. The Pan African movement became more practical and militant. Participants demanded for a speedy end to colonialism all over the continent.

3. From then on, Pan Africanism became a movement basically for the Africans within the African continent. Its aims became the bringing together of all Africans within Africa rather than championing the interests of blacks in the Diaspora.

4. The idea of non-alignment was discussed and adopted by a number of participants. On returning to their home countries, the participants called for nonalignment, at least in theory.

5. It bridged the gap between the Arab North and Negro South. Of the eight participants, five were from the North.

6. It re-awakened the Pan African movement, which had been in limbo ever since the 1945 Manchester conference.

7. This congress gave a chance to African leaders to meet each other, know each other and share their visions. At Accra, the common problems affecting the continent were pointed out. After this congress the participants started visiting each other's countries and sharing ideas, e.g. Nkrumah visited a number of African states thereafter.

8. During the April 1958 conference, the eight independent African states agreed to share and exchange cultural, scientific, technological and educational information. They also agreed to improve communication lines within Africa for the easy movement of nationalists and Pan African ideas.

9. Participants also addressed themselves to the question of the future relationship between Africa and the rest of the world. They commonly adopted the nonalignment ideology in relation to world super power politics.

10. During the conference, Nkrumah made it clear that the independence of Ghana alone was meaningless when the rest of Africa was still under colonial Yoke. He therefore pledged to assist those countries still under colonial rule and called upon other independent countries to do the same.

11. It aroused nationalistic feelings through out West Africa. The French colonies which had believed in the goodness of the colonial masters started seeing light. Colonialism was an evil. The French assimilation policy had earlier on made them think that colonialism was for the good of blacks.

12. It led to the formation of several political parties and liberation movements throughout Africa, e.g. Patrice Lumumba formed the MNC in 1958. Nationalists in Portuguese colonies also formed Liberation movements.

13. The idea of African unity was given serious attention. Africans were argued to stop thinking only in terms of their individual states and start thinking about the entire Africa continent. This gave birth to the organization of African Unity.

14. Participants joined their voice in condemning the extreme colonial oppression and exploitation in South Africa and Portuguese colonies.

15. It led to the inauguration of the "Africa Freedom Day". This is celebrated annually on 15th April. The first anniversary of the April 1958 Accra conference was funded by the American Committee on Africa.

16. Participants adopted the democratic principle of one-man one vote.

17. It laid foundation for many other congresses e.g. the Tunisia, Lagos, Monrovia, Addis Ababa and Casablanca conferences. In all these, the questions of African unity and culture were seriously addressed. Members agreed to respect each other's boundaries, solve inter state disputes peacefully and help refugees.

# OBSTACLES TO PAN AFRICANISM FROM 1945 TO PRESENT

1. Colonial heritage: Europeans partitioned Africa into a number of small states. After independence, each African state became more concerned about its home problems than the continental issues. This weakened the spirit of Pan Africanism.

2. Ideological differences also weakened Pan Africanism. Some African countries adopted the capitalist ideology e.g. Kenya while others took up the socialist ideology e.g. Tanzania and Angola.

3. Intellectualism: The Pan African movement began as a movement for the elites and this alienated the peasants from it. Up to the present the illiterate do not properly understand the purpose of Pan Africanism.

4. The geographical expanse of Africa has also weakened the Pan African movement. Africa is a large continent, occupied by various tribes and races, different religions and cultural diversity, e.g. the North is occupied by Arabs and Berbers who are Moslems while the south is mainly occupied by blacks /Negroes. These differences have hindered the quick progress of Pan Africanism.

5. Neo-colonialism has been another obstacle to Pan Africanism. Due to poverty, African countries have continued relying on foreign aid. This has made Africa's independence pseudo. Without economic self-reliance the Pan African ideas have remained theoretical.

6. The divisions between African States: During the 1950s and early 1960s, African nationalists were divided into two groups - the Casablanca group of radicals and the Monrovia group of moderates. Although these two groups merged at the formation of the OAU in 1963, there have erupted regional economic groupings such as the ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC, and P.T.A. EAC etc.... These have promoted regional rather than continental feelings.

7. Interstate conflicts and civil wars have weakened Pan Africanism. The post- independence period was characterized by civil wars in Angola, Sudan etc... Similarly, interstate wars broke out between Uganda and Tanzania, Ethiopia and Eritrea etc. These caused intense divisions between African States.

8. Secessionist movements also endangered unity within the independent states e.g. the Buganda, Ibo and Katanga secessions threatened peace, security and Unity within Uganda, Nigeria and Congo respectively. In the case of the Katanga and Ibo secessions, different African countries supported the secessionists while others didn't. Such divisions endangered the Pan African spirit.

9. The political assassinations of core Pan Africanists also greatly weakened the movement, e.g. the assassination of Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique, Sylivanus Olympio of Togo, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Amilear Cabral of Guinea Bissau etc.

10. Personal differences between African leaders: e.g. Nkrumah conflicted with the Togolese president; Amin of Uganda conflicted with Nyerere of Tanzania, Mobutu of Congo against Dos Santos of Angola, Museveni against Kabila and Bashir etc. Such misunderstandings have hindered the realization of Pan African goals.

11. Lack of a common language whereby each African state is divided into a number of tribes each with its own language. Even with international languages, most African states are still attached to the languages of their former colonial masters, namely French for Franca phone countries and English for Anglophone countries. Swahili, which is a neutral language, isn't yet so common on the continent.

12. The military intervention into Africa's politics has led to the overthrow of the first generation of African leaders who were zealous about Pan Africanism. The new breed of African leaders is full of dictatorship, corruption and selfish interests.

13. The failure to form the united states of Africa. Kwame Nkrumah and comrades had envisaged the creation of a United States of Africa with a common African government, army and the like. However, other African nationalists preferred the formation of a loose political federation. Hence from the start, the OAU was weak and had limited powers over individual states and their policies. This has affected Pan Africanism.

14. The internal problems faced by each African country have made Pan Africanism a dream. Each country is more concerned about its internal affairs than those of a wider continent. This made Malawi, Zambia and other countries to maintain trading relations with the apartheid regime in South Africa. They claimed that their economies would crumble if they cut off dealings with South Africa.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAN AFRICANISM

1. It has been in existence for over 100 years. Formed in 1900, the PAM is still persuing its aims. It has even come up with new demands such as asking Europeans for compensation in return for the period they exploited Africa's resources and slave labour.

2. The Pan African Movement achieved its objective of decolonising Africa. Between 1957 - 1994, all African countries had been granted independence except Spanish Sahara/the Western Saharian Republic.

3. The movement has succeeded in fostering unity between Africans in Africa and Negroes in the Diaspora.

4. The Pan African movement has managed to uplift the dignity and social pride of the black peoples all over the world.

5. Marcus Garvey formed the "back to Africa" Movement which made blacks in America, Asia and Jamaica to become aware of their African origins. From then on, they started giving practical help to Negro/black movements in Africa and America e.g. they supported the WASU.

6. The PAM helped to sensitise black people about their rights and helped them present their human rights abuses before the UN. A number of young Pan Africanists e.g. Nyerere, Nkrumah, Kamuzu Banda and Kenyatta started sensitising fellow Africans about their rights, including the right for self government.

7. It helped in reducing the rate of racial segregation in South Africa. The Pan Africa Congress in South Africa widely publicized the white man's atrocities against blacks and subsequently won international sympathy.

8. Pan Africanism succeeded in getting a propaganda base in Africa. Ghana became the indigenous base for the PAM.

9. It played a great role in training high quality leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Haille Sellasie of Ethiopia. These were trained to have deep feelings and concern for the entire African continent. They became the earliest apostles of Pan Africanism in Africa.

10. The Pan African Movement has constantly called for non-alignment of African countries as a means of dissociating Africa from the ideological dogmas of the super powers. Non-alignment won Africa some level of international respect.

11. Pan Africanists influenced the contents of the 1941 Atlantic charter. This charter was signed at a time when American Pan Africanists were seriously demanding for the independence and respect of the black man. No wonder why the charter addressed itself to the question of political rights for all the colonized.

12. Its ideas resulted into formation of the O.A.U. in 1963.

13. It has forged solidarity between African, Arab and Asian countries.

14. The PAM has continued to voice its dissatisfaction with neo-colonialism in Africa.

15. Its ideas were used by nationalists to form political parties and liberation movements.

ITS GENERAL WEAKNESSES/failures.

1. It has failed to create a United States of Africa as was proposed during the 1945 Manchester conference.

2. It has failed to raise the standards of living in Africa. Today, Africa is the poorest continent in the world.

3. It has failed to end the human rights abuses in Africa.

4. Despite its call for unity, divisions continued e.g. between the Cassablanca and Monrovia groups, the capitalists and socialists, Franca phone countries against Anglo phone countries etc.

5. Failure to eliminate neo-colonialism in Africa. African countries continue leaning to foreign powers for aid.

6. Failure to train a new generation of African leaders with patriotic feelings. Most leaders today are selfish and corrupt.

7. It has failed to end ethnic rivalries and this has led to ethnic clashes e.g. the Tutsi-Hutu genocide of 1959- 1963 and 1990 - 1994.

8. Disagreement between Pan African leaders e.g. Kwame Nkrumah disagreed with Abdel Nasser on the form of Union Africa should take.

9. It has failed to strengthen the ties between Africans in Africa and in the Diaspora. Today, the PAM is almost a movement only for Africans in Africa.

# REASONS FOR THE GROWTH OF THE PAM BETWEEN 1945-1963

- Racial awareness.

- Common colonial problems.

- The role of Western education.

- \* The role of the press.

- The Italo Ethiopian crisis.

- The emergence of USSR.

- The need to raise the black man's dignity.

- The need to revive African culture.

- The role of the 1941 Atlantic Charter.

- The impact of the 2nd World War.

- The ideals of the UNO.

- The formation of the O.A.U.

- The role of an indigenous Pan African base in Ghana.

- The system of Congresses.

- Funding from rich black Negroes in the Diaspora.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Pan-Africanism is an impossible dream. Discuss.

2. Examine the impact of the 1945 Manchester conference on the growth of Pan-Africanism.

3. Assess the achievements of the Pan African Movement.

4. Account for the limited impact of the Pan African Movement before 1945.

5. How far did Kwame Nkrumah’s personality influence the growth of Pan Africanism in Africa?

THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

This was a league of independent African states, which was formed on 11th-25th May 1963 in Addis Ababa. It was a result of a compromise between the Casablanca group of radical nationalists and the Monrovia group of moderates. On the advice of Emperor Sellasie of Ethiopia, the two groups agreed to drop their differences and form a loose political federation- the O.A.U. The O.A.U. charter was signed by all the 32 independent states at that time. Of the 32 states however, Morocco and Togo signed later. This is because Morocco couldn't sit on the same table with Mauritania with which she had misunderstandings and The Togolese representative was prevented from signing the OAU charter on 25th May 1963 because on 13th January 1963, the Togolese government had toppled the legitimate government of Sylvanus Olympio whom they assassinated.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE O.A.U.

1. To promote the unity and solidarity of all African states.

2. To defend the Sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all African states.

3. To eradicate all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism from the African continent.

4. To co-ordinate and intensify the political, diplomatic, economic and social cooperation between African states so as to avail all Africans a better standard of living.

5. To promote international co-operation in respect of the requirements of the UN charter.

6. To promote the respect of human rights all over the continent in respect of the UN universal declaration of human rights.

7. To spearhead economic development all over the continent as a check against neo-colonialism.

PRINCIPLES OF THE O.A.U.

To achieve the above aims, member states emphasized the following principles in Article 3 of the O.A.U. charter.

1. Non-interference into the affairs of other states. This required an indevidial state to respect the Sovereignty of another e.g. they were not to support rebels in neighbouring countries.

2. Non-alignment was to be observed. O.A.U. member states were to detach themselves from super power ideologies.

3. Total dedication to the liberation of all-African territories that were still under colonial rule.

4. All interstate conflicts were to be settled peacefully through negotiations, reconciliation etc.

5. Member states agreed to condemn and Shan the political assassinations of their opponents.

6. The principle of equality of all the independent African states irrespective of size or economic status.

THE ORGANS OF THE O.A.U.

The O.A.U. charter put in place a number of organs that helped it affect its duties.

1. The General Assembly/summit of heads of states and government. This was the supreme ruling body of the O.A.U. whose duty was decision making. It was to meet once a year to discuss important matters affecting the African countries. The General Assembly was headed by a chairman who was the diplomatic Chief of Africa for that year. A chairman for each year had to be a different head of state.

2. The council of ministers. This comprised of foreign ministers of the different OAU member countries. They met more regularly and it was their duty to draft the agenda for the heads of States General Assembly. The foreign ministers also helped in monitoring the implementation of OAU resolutions.

3. The General Secretariat. A permanent secretariat was set up at Addis Ababa and was to be headed by an elected Secretary General on a five-year term of office basis. The Secretary General was assisted by regional assistant secretaries for Northern, Western, Central and Eastern Africa.

- The Secretary General was elected by heads of states and was eligible for re-election.

- The role of the Secretary General was to organize annual meetings, draw the OAU budget and oversee the implementation of the OAU principles.

4. The African Development Bank was set up to advance developmental loans to member states.

5. A number of specialized commissions were set up. Examples

- The Economic and social commission.

- The health, sanitation and nutrition commission.

- The scientific research and technical commission.

- The Defence and Security commission.

- The Education and cultural commission.

- The liberation committee whose role was to spearhead the liberation of the entire continent. Its base was in Tanzania.

- The Commission for mediation, conciliation and arbitration whose duty was to resolve conflict accruing between African countries.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE OAU

1. It fought against colonialism. Through its liberation committee, the OAU succeeded in mobilizing funds, arms and support for countries that were still under colonial rule. This saw the liberation of several countries like Angola, South Africa, and Namibia etc... After its successful completion of the decolonisation task, the liberation committee of the OAU was dissolved in 1994.

2. Its survival for a long period is a clear manifestation of its success. Formed in May 1963, the O.A.U. survived up to 2002 when it was transformed into an African Union. It encountered several challenges but continued growing e.g. from 32 to 52 member states.

3. It upheld the ideal of African unity. One of the major aims behind the formation of the O.A.U. was to promote unity and solidarity in Africa. Through the system of annual conferences, the O.A.U. managed to bring the different heads of states together. They not only discussed important matters affecting the continent but also came to know and understand each other better. This contributed towards African unity.

4. It settled interstate conflicts. There existed interstate disputes between Uganda and Kenya, (1987) Somali and Ethiopia (1970), Morocco and Mauritania over the Western Saharan republic, Somalia and Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, Uganda and Congo, Uganda and Sudan etc... The OAU always came in to mediate peace and prevent large scale and prolonged wars.

5. It helped in dismantling apartheid: The OAU used diplomatic talks, mobilized moral, financial and military support in order to weaken apartheid in South Africa, e.g. It held diplomatic talks with superpowers and convinced them to apply sanctions against South Africa. It also encouraged the formation of front line states against South Africa etc..

6. It promoted economic development in Africa. In 1963, it set up the African Development Bank in Abidjan, in Cote de Voire/Ivory coast. This bank obtained funds from multi-national corporations and from rich Arab countries, which it extended as long-term loans to African countries for development. In 1993 at Abujah, the OAU proposed the formation of an African Economic community.

7. It supported regional economic integration After realizing that the ideal of continental economic integration would take long to mature, the OAU supported the formation of regional economic groupings such as the ECOWAS for West Africa, the PTA and COMESA for East, Central and south Africa, the SADC etc.. Through these, unity and social economic advancement would be spearheaded.

8. It made efforts to end civil wars e.g. in 1972; the O.A.U. negotiated a peace settlement over the Sudanese Civil wars. This helped to put the civil war to an end for a period of 10 years. Even after the war had resumed in 1983, it still made efforts to reconcile the SPLA guerrilla movement to the Khartoum government. It also intervened into the civil wars in Burundi, Nigeria, Mozambique, and Angola etc...

9. It made efforts to cater for refugees. During the 1965 OAU summit in ACCRA, African heads of states addressed themselves to the problem of refugees in Africa. In their topic "The refugee problem in Africa", they resolved to give assistance to all refugees in Africa, to give asylum to refugees from other countries and to minimize the civil conflicts that produced these refugees. Also, to prevent refugees from engaging themselves into subversive activities.

10. It revived African Culture. This was done through promoting games and sports, African music festivals, African languages such as Swahili, Lingala and Hausa, promoting African Literature etc e.g. It gave assistance to the African Literature bureau, and this saw the writing of a number of novels and plays e.g. "Things Fall apart" by Chinua Achebe, "The Lion and The Jewel" by Wole soyinka etc.

11. It promoted international understanding. At international fora, the OAU always enabled Africa to speak as one voice. In matters affecting the world, big powers always asked for African support via the O.A.U. It was due to the OAU's influence on the international scene that Africa managed to produce two UN Secretary Generals, namely, Boutros Boutros Ghali and Kofi Annan.

12. It promoted scientific research. Through its scientific research and technical commission, the OAU helped to prevent the Rinder pest disease, the East Coast Fever sensitise people about AIDs etc. It also set up the African Medical Research Fund (AMREF) in order to improve research in medicine and prevent diseases. All these efforts have helped to improve the welfare of African peoples.

13. It called for Non-alignment in relation to international politics. It called upon super powers to stop setting up military bases in Africa and advised African countries to remain neutral in the conflict between super powers.

14. It attempted to improve African transport and communication. It planned the construction of the Trans-African Highway from Mombasa (Kenya) to Lagos (Nigeria). Though not effected, at least sections of this highway were developed.

15. It condemned secessionism. Secessionist wars became very common in the post independent period. From the start, the O.A.U. was uncompromising to these secessionist/separatist wars. E.g. It condemned the Biafra secession in Nigeria, the Katanga secession, the Buganda secession and Eritrean secession.

16. It promoted democratic governance in Africa and condemned all forms of coup de tats and political assassinations.

17. It defended human rights. On 21st October 1986, the O.A.U. came up with a human rights charter that was signed by 30 out of 50 African member states. This showed its commitment to eliminate human rights abuse in Africa.

18. It constantly spoke against neo-colonialism.

FAILURES OF THE O.A.U.

1. The failure to end neo-colonialism. Though it fought for the independence of Africa, the OAU failed to stop neo-colonialism. The independent African Countries still dance to the tunes of the former colonial masters. The World Bank and IMF continue dictating economic policies in Africa. Even politically, the situation is similar. In 1982, for example, the OAU summit was supposed to take place in Libya but due to the influence of U.S.A., which was hostile to Gadaffi, this arrangement flopped! The OAU summit was shifted to Addis Ababa!

2. It failed to create a military High Command. This made it a backing dog that couldn't bite. It lacked an army to enforce its resolutions against African dictators.

3. Failure to attain the desired unity. Many of the initiators of the OAU had envisaged the future unity of Africa. However, member states increasingly became concerned about their internal affairs rather than continental problems. This led to the development of micro-nationalism. The former colonial master mentality also created divisions between Anglo phone and Franca phone countries.

4. Failure to end interstate conflicts: The OAU failed to find a solution to interstate conflicts and this at times led to interstate wars e.g. the 1977-78 conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, conflicts between Uganda and Tanzania, Rwanda and DRC, etc... These have further led to disunities and stagnant economies.

5. Failure to amend the charter. The OAU charter emphasized the principle of non-interference into the affairs of other states. Dictatorial rulers used this clause to prolong their stay in power and to abuse human rights. Even the apartheid regime in South Africa constantly called upon OAU member states to respect the principle of non-interference into its affairs.

6. The continuity of civil wars was a major weakness of the OAU. It failed to create a mechanism of ending civil wars in Africa e.g. In Sudan, Uganda, Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone and other countries. By the time the OAU was dissolved, a number of civil wars were still raging on in different parts of Africa e.g. Uganda, Sudan etc...

7. It failed to enforce non-alignment. A number of OAU member states became aligned either to the East or the West, e.g. Tanzania took up the communist ideology while Kenya became a capitalist country. Such ideological differences prevented meaningful unity.

8. Misunderstandings between heads of states continued during the operation of the OAU e.g. the personal conflict between President Idi Amin of Uganda and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania made the latter to boycott the 1975 OAU summit in Uganda. Nasser and Nkrumah also disagreed on the form of unity to adopt in Africa.

9. Failure to protect human rights. Most of the OAU member states were headed by dictatorial presidents who openly abused the rights of their subjects, e.g. Idi Amin of Uganda, Mobutu Seseseko of Zaire (DRC), San Abacha of Nigeria, Ken Saro Wiva, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Bodei Bokossa of the Central African Republic etc... These banned political parties, censored the press, killed their opponents e.g. San Abacha killed Ken Son Wisa who was a democrat. The OAU simply condemned but couldn't remove such dictators-Hence the failure to achieve its aim of protecting human rights.

10. Failure to improve the welfare of Africans. The O.A.U. failed in its aims of uplifting the social welfare of the Africans. Africans are poor; suffer from diseases, poor feeding, unemployment and the like.

11. Failure to end coup de tats. The culture of soldiers toppling the legitimate civilian governments continued right from the inception of the OAU to its end. The coup de tats were accompanied by blood shed, ruin and mismanagement of both government and the economy.

12. Failure to end political assassinations. Many African sons were assassinated e.g. Anwar Sadat of Egypt in October 1981, Habyarimana of Rwanda and Melchior Ndadaye of Burundi in 1994, Laurent Kabila of DRC in 2000, Syvester Ntibatunganya of Burundi etc....

13. Failure to improve transport facilities. The plan to construct a Trans-African Highway from Mombasa to Lagos never materialized in full. This has endangered African Unity.

14. The refugee crisis was never eliminated due to OAU's failure to end civil wars.

15. Failure to achieve economic integration. The O A.u.'s aim of spearheading economic development in Africa was frustrated by the failure to form a continental economic union. Rather, the member states resorted to regional economic unions such as the PTA, ECOWAS and EAC.

16. Failure to mobilize funds from member states. The OAU failed to devise a mechanism of enforcing member countries to pay their annual subscription fees. In turn this made it fail to finance its budgets from year to year and hence failure to execute its duties.

CHALLENGES/PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE O.A.U. (1963-2002).

- The inability by member states to meet their annual subscriptions and the problem of defaulters.

Lack of a military high command.

- Ideological differences between African heads of states.

Supporting of rebel activities in each other's countries.

Poverty, which resulted into neo-colonialism.

- The large size of the African continent.

Lack of a uniform language.

- Prolonged colonialism in Portuguese Africa and South Africa drained the OAU's resources.

- Differences in colonial heritage, which creates loyalty to the mother country/colonial master.

Frequent coup de tats.

The divisive influence of the cold war.

Economic rivalry between African Countries, which compete to supply their agricultural products.

Greed for political power by some African leaders.

- Boundary problems created by colonial masters led to inter-state conflicts.

Materialism/corruption in independent African States.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. “The organization of African Unity was a barking dog that could not bite”. Discuss.

2. Examine the influence of the OAU on the growth of African Nationalism.

3. “The formation of the African Union in 2002 was simply a rejuvenation of the OAU”. Discuss.

4. Examine the challenges that made the OAU fail to fulfil the objectives for which it was founded.

5. Assess the achievements of the Organisation of AFRICAN Unity between 1963-2002.

# CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATIONS IN AFRICA

THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (1967- 1977).

This was an economic co-operation between the three independent states of Uganda, Kenya and. Tanzania. It was formed on 6th June 1967 when the three heads of East African states signed a treaty of co-operation at Arusha-Tanzania. The three heads of states Were Milton Obote of Uganda, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania. However, the East African Community (EAC) started its operations effectively from 1st December 1967.

The birth of the East African Community was largely a result of the recommendations made by Professor Kjeld Philip. He was a United Nations expert of Danish Origin and was appointed to head a committee to look into ways of making the East African Common Services Organisation viable/workable. After careful investigations, he came up with a report that became the basis of the EAC. He had discovered that East Africans preferred economic to political co-operations. The treaty of EA co-operation was signed on 6th June 1967 but came into operation starting on 1st December 1967.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

1. To promote economic integration of the East African countries/economies. East African leaders realized that closer economic co-operation and integration was the way forward for poor and backward economies. For poor countries with small populations, the best way to compete in the modern world of machinery and over production was by co-operating or pulling their resources together.

2. It was aimed at protecting the young East African industries against foreign competition. East African leaders hoped to achieve this by imposing common tariffs on all foreign imports.

3. The community aimed at promoting trade among the three independent and sovereign states of East Africa. This would be achieved through creating a free trade area and introducing a common currency.

4. To facilitate proper resource utilization through specialized production. Founder members aimed at enabling each member state to specialize in a field of comparative advantage, thereby enjoying the economies of scale in the production of goods. Each country would produce only those cash crops or commodities for which it was best suited and leave others for the other two countries. This would enable each country to feel a certain degree of economic dependence on fellow East African countries. This would in turn make member states respect each other. Small scale production would be discouraged.

5. To provide East African heads of states with a forum for discussing social, economic and political issues of concern to their countries. This would be possible since all the three heads of East African States constituted the top most authority and would meet year after year.

6. It was aimed at improving the provision of common social services within East Africa. Such services like railways, harbours and air ways, posts and telecommunications, higher education and health services had one time been provided by the East African High Commission (EAHC) and the East African Common Services Organisation (EACSO). Though they had disintegrated due to suspicions and lack of commitment, the advantages arising out of joint operation were quite remarkable. By forming the East African Community, the three heads of states intended to revive the joint provision of such social services.

7. It was aimed at enabling the free movement of capital within the East African region. This would enable the serious indigenous investors and skilled man power to find wider opportunities. Even the unskilled manual labor would possibly move as per the forces of labour demand and supply. The free movement of people within the region would foster greater co-operation and understanding among the peoples of East Africa.

8. They aimed at attaining self sufficiency and self reliance within the East African region. With self Sufficiency in terms of food production, raw material production, education, health and industrial development, the East African countries would boast of real independence from the developed Western World.

9. Founder members wanted to create a wider market. This wider and secure market would be a result of bringing together nearly 40 million peoples of East Africa. And, with time the market would grow bigger as the population grew bigger. East African manufacturers and large scale farmers would enjoy a great market due to the removal of trade restrictions.

10. East African leaders aimed at promoting balanced development in the region. This would only be possible if careful joint planning was done instead of relying on individual state planning. They hopped for industrial, technological and agricultural development if they continued planning together.

11. Founder members thought that the East African Community would gradually lead to political co-operation within the East African region. They even hoped that the neighbouring states of East Africa such as Congo, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia would eventually join the East African Community - thereby making it a nucleus for African economic, diplomatic and political cooperation.

The structure of the East African Community

To facilitate the smooth running of the East African common market, the following institutions were put in place:-

1. The East African Authority. This was the top most administrative organ of the EAC and was made up of the three East African Heads of States. Chairmanship of the East African Authority was rotational. The East African Authority was responsible for policy making.

2. The East African Legislative Assembly. This was the deliberative organization of EAC. It consisted of twenty seven members drawn from the three states of East Africa in equal numbers (nine each). It was basically composed of ministers who assisted the East African Authority to deliberate the major issues affecting East Africa.

3. The East African Development Bank. This was set up to provide long term loans for industrialization in East Africa. It was set up with an initial capital of two (2) million pounds subscribed by' the-three East African States in equal amounts.

4. Common market tribunal. This was set up to resolve disputes that might arise between states.

5. Different committees. There were five specialized committees/councils namely, the Finance, Communication, Common market, common consultative and planning, research and social councils.

6. The East African Court of appeal. It was to handle pending cases of appeal from courts of member states. It was the highest court of appeal in East Africa. Its Headquarters were in Kampala.

7. The secretariat. It had its headquarters in Tanzania. The Secretariat was located in Arusha and served as its permanent Headquarters. Tanzania was also to house the headquarters of the East African Harbours (in Dar-es Salam).

8. Headquarters in Kenya. The East African Airways and East African Railways co-operation were both to be housed in Nairobi, Kenya.

9. Headquarters in Uganda. The East African Development Bank as well as the East African Posts and Telecommunications Corporation were to be housed in Kampala, Uganda.

Factors that facilitated the formation of the EAC

The common colonial experience of being British colonies with a common language - English.

The sharing of common infrastructure such as railways crossing borders.

The earlier work of the East African High Commission (EAHC).

The earlier contribution /ground work of the East African Common Services Organisation (EACSO)

The role of the East African Currency Board which established the East African shilling.

The geographical proximity of the East African States.

The failure of the idea of forming a political federation over East Africa paved way for an economic co-operation.

The common problem of poverty in all East African States.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

1. It enhanced the spirit of co-operation and Pan Africanism amongst East Africans. The spirit and desire for co-operation was raised to a level never seen before. Even after the collapse of the East African Community in 1977, the desire for co-operation remained. It was so deeply rooted in the minds of East Africans that it was finally revived in 2002 with the late admission of even the neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Burundi.

2. It resulted into economic development in the three East African Countries. Each of the member countries made quick economic gains due to the loans extended by the East African Development Bank (EADB). Using EADB funds Tanzania produced oil, aluminium sheets, motor vehicle tyres and tubes and assembled radios. Kenya was enabled to manufacture electrical gadgets such as bulbs, electric wires, switches etc. As for Uganda, the EADB funded its projects of manufacturing bicycles and nitrogenous fertilizers.

3. It widened the scope of employment to all East Africans. This was because skilled labour was on very high demand and was free to move across borders. Civil servants were well paid and could be posted and transferred across borders. Due to the spirit of co-operation in place, even the unskilled labourers could find employment across borders.

4. The EAC led to improvements in transport and communication within East Africa. This was a natural result of sharing common infrastructure, transport and communication services. For example, the East African Airways, East African Railways Corporation, provision of common steamer services along Lake Victoria, common use of the East African Posts and Telecommunications, extension of road construction sharing the East African Harbours Corporation.

5. It contributed to scientific and technological advancement in East Africa. Jointly, the East African countries made research into the minerals and other resources of East Africa, pests and diseases. In the field of technology, the EAC set up the Soroti flying school for training pilots and euronotic engineers. The EAC appealed for emphasis on vocational and science subjects in schools, colleges and universities. Research into African medicine also started.

6. It contributed to agricultural improvement and self sufficiency in terms of food production. The three heads of states realized early that East African Economies were still dependant on agriculture. They financed research into quality seeds, the fertility of soils, manufacture of fertilizers, changes in seasons, local and foreign markets, co-operative farming, advanced farm implements, the possibility of training more veterinary doctors and agricultural extension workers etc...

7. It led to the provision and enjoyment of common social services. These included educational, health and recreational services. It set up the East African Literature Bureau to promote African culture. It was based in Kenya and later opened up branches in Uganda and Tanzania. The East African School of library and information services was also put in place with its Headquarters in Makerere University.

8. It led to the promotion of Kiswahili language in East Africa. This was a language closer to Africans than English. In turn Swahili created a new sense of solidarity and brotherhood amongst East Africans. As they traveled across borders, they communicated in Swahili. They came into contact not only for economic but for cultural reasons and for socialization. They shared views, learnt about each other's culture and intermarried and these led to improved understanding.

9. The EAC introduced a common currency - the East African shilling. It was controlled by the East African Currency Board and helped to improve and ease trade.

10. It established the Legislative Assembly and later on East African Court of appeal. The Assembly tried to ensure transparency and accountability in the various departments, organs and services of the East African Community. For instance in 1973, a selected committee of the Assembly investigated/probed into the mismanagement of the East African airways.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

1. Idi Amin's Coup de tat of 1971 sparked off the collapse of the East African Community. In January 1971, General Idi Amin overthrew his boss President Milton Obote I of Uganda who was attending a Common Wealth Conference in Singapore. In reaction to the coup, President Nyerere of Tanzania declared Amin's government as illegitimate. He vowed never to recognize Idi Amin's Presidency and never to meet him eye to eye. Since at that time Nyerere was the chairman of the East African Community Authority, it implied that he was unwilling to convene any meeting of East African Heads of States., This was a very unfortunate development that spelt doom for the East African economic cooperation.

2. Ideological differences between the East African States made matters worse. Kenya adopted a capitalist ideology which permitted individual ownership of property and business enterprises. On the other hand, Tanzania adopted a socialist ideology in the 1967 Arusha Declaration. The socialist ideology advocated for government control over the key sectors of the economy and over factors of production. Nyerere hated the exploitation and competition that arose out of capitalism. It was this that made him refer to Kenya as a "man eat man society" while addressing Ibadan University Students. Kenyatta responded by ironically referring to Tanzania as a "man eat nothing society." Such ideologically driven statements injured the harmony between states and spelt doom for the East African Community.

3. The differences in levels of economic development led to jealousies between states. At independence and at the time of forming the East African Community, Kenya was more economically developed than both Uganda and Tanzania. Apart from her many industries, she had natural harbours and ports-especially the lucrative port of Mombasa. When the East African Common Market started operating, Kenya naturally benefited more from her exports to Uganda and Tanzania. However, this brewed the jealousy of both Uganda and Tanzania which had hoped to share equal benefits with Kenya. They raised tariffs on imports from Kenya which contradicted with the true spirit of economic cooperation.

4. The economic war against Asians in Uganda crippled the East African Community. In 1972, President Idi Amin .Dada of Uganda declared an "economic war" against Asians whom he expelled from the country. He gave them a maximum of 90 days to vacate or leave the country. They had formed the back bone of Uganda's economy and civil service. He replaced them with Ugandan nationals with limited skills, experience and interest. This saw a steady decline of Uganda's commercial, agriculture and industrial sectors which led to her loss of interest in the East African Community activities.

5. The duplication of industries injured the spirit of co-operation. The founders of the East African Community had agreed on the principle of specialized production. Specialization in a field of comparative advantage would enable each member state to maximize the economies of scale. It would also promote a feeling of interdependence between the three states. Unfortunately, there was a break down in the co-ordination of the industrialization policies in the East African Community - to the extent that member states started duplicating the already existing industries in other states. For instance Uganda's specialization in sugar production suffered shock when Kenya opened up sugar factories. In turn Kenya's specialization in tyre production suffered competition when Tanzania opened up tyre manufacturing plants - surprisingly with help from the EADB loans! This rendered the survival of the common market unsustainable. Each of the three states opened up paper and plywood factories. Where was the spirit of interdependence?

6. The wave of economic depression of the early 1970s contributed the decline of the EAC. Following the Arab Israelite conflict, the oil producing countries (OPEC) cut down their oil supply to the supporters of Israel and United States of America. East Africa was naturally affected because most of her oil importing companies such as Kobil, Shell Caltex and Agip were of European origin. Since the East African industries and transport sector depended on fuel, the oil shortages had negative effects. Oil scarcity made production so costly and prices so high. This in turn led to very limited production, mistreatment and retrenchment of workers. Such circumstances were unfavourable for the survival of the East African Community.

7. Individual East African Countries opened their economies to foreign trade. This negatively affected the East African Community. For instance, Uganda and Tanzania started importing shoes from Europe and Asia yet Kenya was manufacturing these very products. The excuse given was that imports from Europe were cheaper and of higher quality than those of Kenya.

8. There was lack of political good will and maturity from the East African - Heads of States. They were not fully committed to the principles, aims and tenants of the East African Community. They allowed their personal differences to fore shadow the benefits that the East African Common market would bring to the entire region. Instead of focusing on developmental issues, Presidents Amin of Uganda and Nyerere of Tanzania started nick naming each other. In one of his speeches, Amin referred to Nyerere as a "woman" while Nyerere referred to Amin as an "illiterate buffoon". Nyerere also allegedly referred to Kenyatta as a "political prostitute."

9. Personal differences and animosities led to the collapse of the community. Relations between Amin and Nyerere went so low (reduced to very dangerous proportions) that Nyerere had to boycott the 1975 OAU summit which was hosted by Uganda. He argued that he didn't want to see Amin eye to eye or to sit on the same table with him. For an intellectual African Philosopher and one of the cleverest, this was an argument against reason. Undoubtedly it reflected lack of political maturity. It didn't even reflect African traditional view of justice which emphasized reconciliation.

10. The breakdown of the system of meetings led to the collapse of the East African Community. Between 1971-1977, there were no meetings between the three East African Heads of states who formed the East African Authority - the top decision making organ of the EAC. This was because Nyerere who was the chairman of the East Africa Authority vowed never to sit on the same table with Amin. There was no way the economic and political problems in East Africa could be resolved.

11. The nationalization of each state's currency dealt a blow to the East African economic co-operation. Initially, the East African currency Board had harmonized the East African shilling. There were no problems of currency transfer because the Uganda shilling had the same weight as that of Kenya and Tanzania. A Ugandan, Tanzanian or Kenyan could buy goods in a partner state without going through the exchange rate system. This had eased trade and social life. However with time, each member state started imposing restrictions on free exchange and transfer of currencies. This meant that the Ugandan or Tanzanian currency was no longer acceptable in Kenya and vice versa. By 1975, exchange control restrictions had practically/virtually weakened the common market.

12. The interstate conflicts between East African states injured the economic cooperation. After losing power to Idi Amin in the 1971 coup de-tat Obote fled to Tanzania from where he mobilized his forces to return to Uganda i.e. the Force Obote back to Uganda (FOBA). There was also a group of intellectuals and semi intellectuals led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who launched a bush war against Idi Amin. They exploited the hatred Nyerere had for Amin and used Tanzania as their military base. In 1973, combined forces of dissidents from the direction of Tanzania tried to topple Idi Amin but were repulsed. In retaliation, Amin invaded and captured Kagera region in North Western Tanzania where he raised the Ugandan flag in 1977. Earlier in 1976, Amin had attacked Kenyan territory to claim for the former Ugandan territory which had stretched as far as Turkana but which British colonial masters had ceded to Kenya. The EAC had to collapse.

13. The unequal distribution of the EACY community's financial burdens led to its collapse. Both Uganda and Tanzania were always reluctant to remit their annual subscription fees/contributions to the E.A.C. Kenya complained of shouldering the financial burdens alone but Tanzania and Uganda argued it was befitting since she also benefited most from the East African Common Market. Without enough funds, the EADB couldn't facilitate developmental projects.

14. The under funding of the East African Development Bank (EADB) contributed to the collapse of the EAC. It had been put up to stimulate industrial development mainly in Uganda and Tanzania to enable them catch up with Kenya. However, due to under funding, Kenya remained in the industrial lead which brewed the jealousy of her partner states that imposed unnecessarily high "transfer taxes" on Kenyan products e.g. between 1968 - 1974, Uganda accumulated $2,316 million while Tanzania got $221 millions from transfer taxes. This fact made Kenya very unhappy because she wasn't benefiting from the transfer taxes and yet sharing the biggest burden of funding the EADB.

15. There developed a spirit of economic protectionism among East African Countries. Each state started thinking about how to protect its home industries from goods/products of partner states. Unfortunately, this led to politics of sabotage. For instance, Kenya restricted the importation of maize from both Uganda and Tanzania so as to protect its farmers. In turn, Tanzania started interrupting Kenya's trade with Zambia by putting restrictions on rail and road transportation on the excuse that Kenya's heavy tucks were damaging Tanzania's roads. Kenya retaliated by closing some border roads and interrupting steamer traffic on Lake Victoria. This politics of economic sabotage ruined the EAC spirit of co-operation.

16. The E.A.C. was sabotaged by foreign powers. Its quick progress in the first three years of its operation created fears amongst Western powers. The avowed aims of the E.A.C. included facilitating East African countries to attain industrialization and self sufficiency. If these targets were realized, it would injure the British industrialists who had counted so much on the East African Market. The Western world started offering economic aid to Kenya and urging her to break off from Tanzania and Uganda which had adopted socialist economic strategies. Conversely, the socialist block argued Tanzania to cut off economic links with capitalists in Kenya, To convince Tanzania of their support, they even financed the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia (TANZAM) railway. Economic grants were a sugar coated trap/snare set to ruin the E.A.C.

17. Corruption and embezzlement riddled the operations of the East African Community. After observing the misunderstanding between the three heads of states, most of the EAC workers started embezzling funds from the public corporations for their personal benefit. Apart from individual embezzlement, there was also "institutionalized" embezzlement. For instance in 1973, Tanzania refused to hand over the revenue from railways to the Railways Headquarters in Nairobi. In turn, Kenya also withheld revenue from Mombasa harbour and refused to remit it to the Headquarters of the harbours' corporation in Dar-es- Salam. Such high handed handling of public corporations'fund spelt doom for the EAC. The spirit of love and public accountability for the EAC had died. This led to the collapse of public services such as the East African airways and East African railways and East African harbours.

18. The closed door policy of East African leaders led to decline of the E.A.C. The East African leaders were reluctant to welcome neighbouring states into the common market. Ever since the EAC was formed in 1967, Rwanda and Burundi expressed the interest/desire to join it. However, the East African Authority was reluctant to open the doors of the EAC to new states. So, when disputes broke out between the three East African heads of states, they were not easy to resolve. If the EAC had had about six (6) member states, probably they would have found it easier to resolve the misunderstandings between Amin and Nyerere and between Nyerere and Kenyatta. Probably, this would have saved the EAC from collapsing.

19. The weakness of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) partly contributed to the collapse of the E.A.C. The OAU failed in its duty of resolving the conflicts between East African Leaders. The conflicts between Idi Amin and Julius Nyerere were not beyond remedy. Unfortunately, rather than acting as an arbiter, the OAU took sides with Nyerere whom it painted as a good man (lamb) while painting Amin as a bad man (wolf). OAU also failed in its aim of supporting regional economic integration.

EFFECTS OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE E A C

1. After the collapse of the EAC, on 1st December 1977, the political differences between East African Countries reached the highest point. The relationship between Uganda and her neighbours grew worse and worse all the time. This resulted into the 1978-1979 war between Uganda and Tanzania which ended in the over throw of Idi Amin in April 1979. The interstate conflicts also included the 1987 conflict between Uganda and Kenya.

2. There was a disintegration of the East African Common market. This led to a set back in the efforts of integrating East Africa.

3. Kenya gained more out of the collapse of the E.A.C. Since it was more industrialized and since it controlled the coastal ports, it ended up controlling the entire trade of Uganda and part of Tanzania's trade. Kenya also greatly benefited from the tariffs which she levied on her exports to Uganda and Tanzania. This made Kenyan finished goods over priced in Uganda.

4. There came high levels of unemployment in East Africa. This was because the free movement of labour and capital had been restricted. At the same time, the collapse of E.A.C. corporations led to the laying off of several workers. Jobless, they found it hard to obtain jobs back in their home countries. They were regarded as over qualified. Joblessness exposed them to poor social economic conditions and even their retirement packages delayed. In Uganda, their retirement benefits were paid as late at 2002.

5. It led to increased neo colonialism in East Africa. This was because each of the three East African Countries started seeing for economic and technical assistance from outside developed foreign countries. Uganda and Kenya mostly turned to the Western block while Tanzania turned to the socialist block.

6. There was a disintegration of the joint social economic services in East Africa. In the place of the East African Airways, each East African country set up its own airline namely, Uganda Airlines, Kenya Airways, Air Tanzania. Unfortunately, inefficiency was created in service delivery.

7. Tanzania strengthened its ties with Zambia. The starting point for this cooperation was the TANZ AM railway,

8. Smuggling became the order of the day due to embargo of coffee exports from Uganda. There was smuggling of other finished products from Kenya to Uganda using Lake Victoria corridor.

9. Sharing of former assets of the E.A.C. caused misunderstandings between East African States.

10. There have been renewed efforts to revive the EAC.

# THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

The sixteen-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) came into being on 28th May 1975 following the resolution of the May 1975 Lagos Conference. However, it was not until the following year in November 1976 at Lome that the treaty was signed by the heads of states of fifteen West African States namely Benin (Dahomey), Burkina Faso (Upper Volta), Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Niger, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Togo, Mauritania, Senegal, SierraLeone, Gambia, Cote d'lvoire. A year later in 1977, Cape Verde joined and signed the treaty of Economic Community of West African States. All West African states became members of the ECOWAS except Chad and Cameroon.

The organization originated in a small way in 1972 when a bilateral agreement was concluded between Nigeria and Togo, The desire for wider economic co-operation made many neighboring states to welcome the bilateral co-operation and to express their wish to join it. This was followed by various diplomatic and consultative meetings which resulted into a wider meeting of 15 interested nations in 1974. The meeting paved way for the signing of the ECOWAS treaty on 28th May 1975.

STRUCTURE/ ORGANISATION OF THE ECOWAS

1. The Authority of Heads of States: It comprises of the 16 Heads of ECOWAS member states. It is the top organization of the ECO WAS and is responsible for decision making. It meets once every year. Chair ship is rotational.

2. The Council of Ministers: This is made up of 16 ministers, each representing an ECOWAS member state. It meets twice a year to review the progress of the organization and to make policy recommendations basing on careful observation and analysis of development statistics and challenges. Their policy recommendations are handed over to the supreme organ - the authority of Heads of States for further debate and approval or otherwise.

3. The Secretariat: Located in Lagos which is the community's Headquarters, the Secretariat is headed by an Executive Secretary. The major role of Secretariat is to run and monitor the day to day administration and activities of the organization. The Executive Secretary must be an Ivory Coastian.

4. The fund for co-operation, compensation and Development: With its Headquarters in Lome-Togo, this fund is expected to come from the contributions of member states. It is supposed to be used to facilitate industrial, agricultural and balanced development through loans to the poorest economies. The chairman/Director General of this fund has to originate from Liberia while his Deputy has to come from Benin.

5. The council for mediation and security.

NB. The founder members tried to use a lot of wisdom in distributing ECOWAS posts and offices. A summary is provided below:-

Lagos of Nigeria provides the Headquarters/Secretariat of ECOWAS.

Lome of Togo is the business centre for the ECOWAS.

Cote d'lvoire provides the Executive Secretary for ECOWAS.

Nigeria provides the financial controller of the Secretariat.

Togo provides Headquarters for the fund for co-operation, compensation and Development.

Liberia provides ECOWAS with the Director General of the fund for cooperation, compensation and Development.

- Benin provides ECOWAS with the Deputy Director General of the fund for co-operation, compensation and Development.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ECOWAS

1. To promote co-operation, solidarity and brotherhood amongst West African States. It would help loosen or even eliminate the colonial divisions brought about by the British, French and Portuguese Colonial masters.

2. To turn West Africa into a free trade area for the member states. This would be realized gradually through the setting up of a customs' union within or for over fifteen (15) years of progressive (step by step) reduction of import duties. With time, trade barriers or customs duties between member states would be removed, thereby leading to free trade and an open common market.

3. To enable the member states attain /realize economic independence. This would be realized by enforcing the policy of self reliance in the agricultural, industrial and service sectors.

4. ECOWAS aimed at coordinating industrial development. The catch word for the new states of Africa was industrialization. West African states felt that there was a need for proper planning and co-ordination of the industrialization process to avoid duplication of industries which would lead to unnecessary competition and misallocation of both resources and capital. Each state had to industrialize in a field of comparative advantage to bring about enjoyment of economies of scale.

5. To facilitate the free mobility of people, capital, ideas and services between member states. This was to be achieved through the abolition of visas and other cross-border restrictions/obstacles.

6. Member states aimed at developing and modernizing agriculture. At independence, West African economies were largely agro based. There was a need for joint agricultural planning and harmony in the production of food and cash crops, marketing and agricultural research. Harmonized agricultural policies would reduce competition for external markets and would lead to better crop prices.

7. To set up a joint fund to stimulate economic development in the region. Earlier on, individual states had tried to invest in various projects but with little success due under capitalization. It was thought that if member states pulled their funds together, this would facilitate investment in heavy industries necessary for economic take off.

8. Founder members aimed at improving transport and communication networks in West Africa. The rail and road net works between West African States was very poor due to colonial legacy. It had been the aim of the French to prevent their colonies from getting in touch in British ones and vice versa. So, the founders of ECOWAS intended to destroy these communication barriers by reconstructing roads and railways to link all the new West African States.

9. To promote and preserve the common cultural heritage. West African countries and people had a lot in common culturally. The spread of Christianity, Islam, French assimilation policy, Western music, dance and drama French and English languages had undermined West African culture, so, the new leaders felt the debt of reviving African culture, African identity and African personality. They thought that with economic co-operation and free movements of people and ideas, cultural integration would follow.

10. ECOWAS was aimed at improving the provision of social services. These included education, health and recreational services.

11. To get a forum for heads of West African States to meet and discuss common problems affecting the region and continent. And, probably, come up with workable solutions.

11. It aimed at widening the market for West African Manufacturers. This would be attained by bringing millions of West Africans together.

12. To protect the West African environment by protecting forests, water resources etc.

13. To improve Science and technology.

Achievements OF THE ECOWAS

1. It promoted trade between West African States. This was the first major score. This was achieved at the fourth Heads of State summit in Dakar Senegal in 1980. During this summit meeting, the West African Heads of states agreed to remove/freeze all customs and tariffs on goods originating from West Africa. In 1981, tariffs on raw materials and finished goods from West Africa were removed. This was reiterated in 2002 when the ECOWAS council of ministers approved the Trade Liberation Scheme (TLS) whose target was customs duty exemptions. To date therefore, the West African region can be referred to as a free trade area for ECOWAS member states.

2. It has promoted the free movement of people in West Africa. Still at the fourth Heads of State Summit in Dakar, Senegal in 1980, West African Presidents issued a protocol on the free movement of people. Consequently, barriers to free travel e.g. passports and visas were removed. This enabled West Africans, both skilled and unskilled, to move to neighbouring states in search of jobs, trading and educational opportunities.

3. Member states adopted a development strategy which prioritized agriculture and agro-based industries. Joint research was carried out in the quality of seeds, farm implements, suitability of soils, fertilizers, markets and so on. Joint workshops and seminars were organized for farmers to sensitise them about quality production in a fast moving and competitive world. This led to quality coffee, cocoa and ground nut exports from West Africa.

4. ECOWAS embarked on a ten-year massive afforestration project for the Sahel region. The Sahel stretches from the Senegal to Somalia and is a semi- desert land. The plan to afforest (plant trees) in the Sahel was declared during the 1982 ECOWAS summit of Heads of states. This led to the creation community funded tree nursery beds and to massive planting of trees, largely on a voluntary basis. In this ECOWAS got the support of the international pro- environmentalists.

5. Through ECOWAS, West Africa moved close to self reliance. For instance the "operation feed yourself” which originated from Ghana was soon adopted by a number of famine prone West African States. The result was enough food for home consumption and a surplus for export. Nigeria also ensured a certain measure of self reliance in terms of fuel production for sometime. West African States also attained quick self reliance in the civil service due to mobility of qualified manpower especially from Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal.

6. High Standards of education were attained in the West African Region. During the 1982 ECOWAS heads of state summit, a student exchange programme was announced to complement/supplement the already big number of private students moving between states. The students exchange programme mainly targets higher learning. As students moved to neighboruing states, this led to cultural fusion, appreciation of other peoples' cultures and cultural integration.

7. It has promoted industrialization through joint ventures. Through the fund for co-operation, compensation and Development, multi-million dollar projects have been accomplished in West Africa. For instance the West African Power Pool (WAP) project led to the construction of heavily capitalized power stations; e.g. Diama Dam in Senegal and Manatali dam in Mali. These Could not have been accomplished by individual country resources. These Dams provided power for industrial needs in many West African Countries.

8. Through ECOWAS, there has been mineral exploration, exploitation and utilization. For instance Ghana, Togo and Cote d'lvoire embarked on a joint exploration and mining of oil and cement production. Togo and Benin embarked on a joint phosphate extraction. In 1982 Senegal and Gambia formed a confederation and share Currencies, air services and so on.

9. ECOWAS made West Africa internationally known and recognized. This not only improved West Africa's diplomatic missions but also secured international markets for' West African States. In 2002, President George W. Bush of America (USA) approved 38 sub African countries as eligible for tariff Preference under the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA). Though the efforts of ECOWAS, the 38 AGOA countries included West African States. This meant these countries had access to the American textile market. Through ECOWAS other West African products have also found good market e.g. gold, bauxite, diamonds and oil.

10. It promoted co-operation and cultural ties between the peoples of West Africa. Colonial masters namely the Portuguese, British and French had divided West African States into Lusophone, Anglophone and Francaphone blocks respectively. They had taught blacks in those blocks to think and develop differently and, in some cases, antagonistically. With ECOWAS in place, it no longer mattered to belong to the colonial blocks. What mattered was being an African. Emphasis was put on the goodness of African culture and through oral and written literature, sports and games, songs, dance and plays, core African values were passed on to the young.

11,, ECOWAS has promoted good governance in West Africa. It has done this through constant call for respect of human rights, transparent leadership and regular democratic elections.

12. It has improved transport and communication in the West African sub region. Modern transport and communication facilities have been put in place. These include airports, telephone installations, road and railway networks, modern ports and so on, These have been so well planned as to link West African farmers to markets and to link manufacturers to both markets and sources of raw materials. In 1986, ECOWAS setup a special fund to develop telecommunications. All ECOWAS capitals are now net worked by telephone lines.

13. ECOWAS is credited for settling the political crises in the West African region. It set up a peace keeping force - the economic monitoring group (ECOMOG) which stated that for trade to prosper there had to be peace. Through finding from ECOWAS member states, ECOMOG built a formidable and professional army to quell political and military insurgencies. It even solicited for funds to train and equip the 15 battalions or so of the ECOMOG troops. In response, the Western World has always sent in trainers, weapons, funds and other logistics to enable ECOMOG keep peace in the region. ECOMOG has been successful in restoring peace in civil war torn Liberia following the death of President Samuel Doe. In Sierra Leone, it helped President Ahmed Tijan Kabah to regain Presidency in 1997 by over throwingfthe military government It sent troops to take over from the French in Cote d'lvoire following the 2002 peace agreement. It stopped the near civil war in Guinea Bissau e.t.c.

14. ECOWAS member states came up with a Principle of non-aggression in 1976. In pursuit of this principle, a non-aggression treaty was signed ten years later in 1986. This restrains the militarily and economically powerful from taking advantage of smaller and weaker West African States. Any aggression is handled by the mediation and Security Council or if it escalates by ECOMOG.

15. ECOWAS has provided defence to its member states. This has been attained using its two defence protocols of 1978 and 1981. These protocols call for mutual respect between states, less interference into the internal affairs of member states and respect of sovereign boundaries. This has contributed to peace and prosperity of trade.

16. Its long survival since 1975, against all odds is testimony of its success and remarkable feet. The holding of annual general meetings, without fail is a credit to its secretariat. The EAC failed to keep meetings going

CHALLENGES, PROBLEMS AND FAILURES OF THE ECOWAS

1. ECOWAS states have experienced a lot of political instabilities. These have included military coup de tats in Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and civil wars in Liberia, Cote d'lvoire, Sierra Leone and so on. Such instabilities do hinder collective trading activities of the ECOWAS. Also there has been interstate misunderstandings e.g. between Nigeria and Cameroon over the Bakasi peninsula despite the protocols on non aggression.

2. The different levels of economic development have caused suspicions among ECOWAS states. Wealthier and bigger states like Nigeria, Ghana, Cote d'lvoire, Senegal and Sierra Leone have been accused of benefiting more out of the community than the smaller and poorer states. The fund for co-operation, compensation and Development hasn't yet enabled weaker economies like those of Burkina Faso, Togo and Guinea Bissau to make greater strides in economic development. Richer states like Nigeria with its population amounting up to 61 per cent of the total population of the community and its GDP of 39.5 billion US dollars being larger than the GDP of the rest of the ECOWAS states combined, and other states like Ghana, Sierra Leone and Senegal have dominated the ECOWAS. The smaller states import finished goods from the richer states which has brewed suspicions and jealousies.

3. The poor transport and communication net works have hindered full cooperation. The problem of poor communication links has its origins from the colonial period when French policy was to cut its colonies off from British ones and vice versa. Although the post independent states and the ECOWAS have tried to redesign the rail and road communication links,- full success hasn't been attained, given limited funds. This has created problems for the smooth running of the organization.

4. National interests have tended to override those of the ECOWAS. For instance, in January 1983 in a bid to protect its nationals from job competitions with Ghanaians, Ivorians etc ... the government of Nigeria expelled, at short notice, hundreds of thousands of foreign workers from ECOWAS states. These included nearly two million Ghanaians. To partner states, Nigeria violated the protocol on free movement of people. The border closures between some ECOWAS member states have also been due to national interests e.g. in recent times, Ghana, Togo, Mali and Burkina Faso have closed their respective common borders.

5. Linguistic differences have also added a toll to the difficulties of the ECOWAS. The British introduced and made English the official language of their colonies while France promoted French. At the inception of the ECOWAS and even up to twenty years after, the linguistic divisions were still strong. Naturally, this barrier has affected the efficiency of the ECOWAS.

6. ECOWAS suffers competition from other organizations in the sub region. For example, some ECOWAS member states also subscribe to the following organizations in West Africa. The Mano River Union, the Cape Verde /Guinea Bissau Free Trade Area, the Common wealth, the French Economic Community and so on. They subscribe some money to these organizations which makes them less able to clear up their financial obligations to ECO WAS early enough. This hinders the smooth operation of the ECOWAS.

7. Member states suffer from balance of payment problems. This is due to widespread dependence of ECOWAS members on developed countries. Most West African economies are still economically tied to those of Europe and the United States of America and Asia. This makes them perpetual producers of raw materials such as cocoa, cotton and tea whose prices are low and keep on fluctuating. Absurd to comment is that there is far more trade between West Africa and foreign markets then between ECOWAS states themselves, It is estimated that close to 90% of the West African trade is foreign oriented while only about 10% is within ECOWAS partner states. What a sorry state of affairs! To illustrate this, in 2001, the total ECOWAS exports to America fell by 11.2 percent while America exports to the region grew by 23 percent.

8. The ECOWAS failed to lay down proper guidelines to regulate foreign investment. When foreign investors of Asian, American and European origin came to West Africa, they were attracted to the wealthier states like Nigeria, Cote d'lvoire, Senegal, Ghana and Sierra Leone because these were more economically viable e.g. they had big populations that would provide a good market for finished products. This kept the poorer states, complaining and reduced their commitment to the community.

9. The ECOWAS was sabotaged by France. This was due to fear that the ECOWAS might alienate Francaphone countries from their former colonial master. France, full of intent to maintain neo-colonial ties with West African countries, setup the communuate Economique de L'Afrique de I'Ouest (CEAO) - Economic Community for West Africa in 1974. This was at a time when the ECOWAS was under way and was meant to undermine it. With the several privileges accruing to former French colonies from the CEAO, the ECOWAS was naturally undermined. To make matters more difficult, former French colonies are also tied to France by the CFA Francs.

10. Ideological differences between member states led to mistrusts and fears. Political misunderstanding and animosities cropped up between Felix H. Boigny who was a capitalist leader of Cote d'lvoire and Thomas Sankara who was a socialist leader of Burkina Faso. Such leaders, their countries and friends injured the smooth operation of the community. At the sometime, left-wing sates of Mali, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde prevented agreement on a defence pact in 1972 - 1982.

11. ECOWAS members have failed to pay their annual subscriptions in time. Apart from Nigeria, most of the other member states owe the ECOWAS contribution arrears of between 1 to 7 years. It is true that delayed payment is caused by poverty but there is also an element of non commitment. For instance by 1983, Mali had not made any single contribution to the ECOWAS fund in Togo. This has affected the smooth running of the community.

12. ECOWAS member states indulge in un official trade through smuggling. There has been a large volume of illegal trade across the national frontiers of member states- for instance from the Gambia to Senegal, from Ghana to Togo and from Benin to Nigeria. This has brought in a variety of cheap and low quality products - especially from (Eastern) Asia, to compete with and destroy the infant West African Industries.

13. The absence of a common convertible currency has complicated regional trade. Each member state has its own national currency and this poses a problem of exchange rates. More over, the currencies1 of Francaphone countries are pegged to the French Franc while those of Anglbphone countries are pegged to both the British pound sterling and U.S. dollar. This complicates the rate of exchange all the more because the value of all West African currencies keeps on fluctuating in relation to the Franc, US dollar and pound sterling.

14. The failure to diversify the West African economies has affected the community. The ECOWAS development strategy laid emphasis on agriculture. This has turned most community members into producers of similar crops such as cocoa, coffee, cotton, tea, groundnuts and so on. This has led to competition rather than co-operation. As they compete to export finished products to the developed world, prices do fluctuate. Ultimately therefore, ECOWAS has not promoted intra trade between states but has promoted external trade.

15. Some states have been slow to sign and ratify ECOWAS protocols. For instance by 1985, only 10 out of the 16 member states had ratified the protocol on free movement of people. The non aggression protocol of 1976 only came into force in 1986 due delay of some members to ratify it. Such delays have only frustrated some serious members of ECOWAS.

16. Bad governance has hindered the realization of ECOWAS objectives. Many of the heads of states in West Africa have practiced dictatorship e.g. Sani Abacha of Nigeria whose government was involved in acts of human rights abuse, embezzlement and excessive borrowing. The story has been the same under dictators in Ivory Coast, Liberia and SierraLeon.

17. Most African states have a heavy debt burden. Instead of concentrating on developmental projects, they are always committing huge sums of money to debt repayment.

18. The ECOWAS treaty failed to evolve strategies of co-coordinating education and health systems. In order to attain and sustain development, it was necessary to have co-ordinated planning of education so as to produce skilled man power. Again it was necessary to have health populations but there was no co-ordination.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC) AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

The need for regional economic co-operation in South Africa was born in May 1979 at Gaborone - Botswana during a meeting of foreign ministers from front line states.

Those were days of fighting against apartheid in the South African region and so, its birth has close association with the struggle against apartheid. The South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was born as an association of ten countries from Central and Southern Africa and these were; Angola, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SADCC

1. To foster economic co-operation to the advantage of each member state.

2. To reduce the economic dependence of South African states on the Republic of South Africa. Countries like Botswana, Lesotho and to an extent Malawi were under South African economic control. This was un healthy for the new states that claimed to be independent and which claimed to be against apartheid.

3. To bring about self reliance in the Central and South African region..

4. It was meant to act as a weapon against apartheid. Member states thought that by cutting off their economic ties with South Africa, they would deny market for her products. This would eventually weaken her and force her to drop apartheid rule.

5. Member states wanted to uplift the standards of living of member states through joint resource mobilization and service provision.

6. To foster international co-operation.

7. To improve transport and communication in the region. If these states pulled their resources together, they would be in position to form highly capitalized transport companies, build railways, roads, buy trucks etc. ..This way, they would stop depending on South African transport system.

8. To develop the energy resources of the region so as to attain steady industrial development.

9. To embark on joint man power planning through establishment of higher institutions of learning and business management institutions.

10. To co-ordinate joint agricultural and industrial diversification.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE SADCC.

1. SADCC member countries suffered constant military attacks from South Africa. Being front line states, SADCC members were involved in the training of African National Congress (ANC) guerillas against the South African apartheid regime. This made the South African Defence Forces (SADF) to always raid them. This not only led to death of many people but also to disruption of agricultural and industrial activities. For instance in the 1980s, SADF bombed Angolan infrastructure. South Africa also encouraged rebel movements in SADCC countries e.g. it financed the UNIT A against the Angolan government. Under such circumstances, the objectives of SADCC couldn't be attained.

2. The SADCC member states produced similar agricultural products e.g. maize and beans. Instead of co-operating, they started competing for the same regional and international markets. As they competed, the buyers reduced the prices they could offer. This left them as poor as before the association was made.

3. Most SADCC countries cared about national interests at the expense of those of the association. This made Malawi to secretly trade with South Africa even when the SADCC had imposed economic sanctions. Most goods of South African origin would be repacked in SADCC countries to appear as if their origin was not South Africa. So the SADCC failed to stop the overdependence on South Africa.

4. The different political ideologies also injured the smooth running of the SADCC. Some of the member states like Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania adopted the socialist ideology while others like Malawi and Botswana followed the capitalist ideology which allows free market economy. The socialist states favoured state planned and controlled economies and couldn't smoothly cooperate with capitalist neighbours in matters of trade.

5. The unequal sharing of benefits from the SADCC ruined the desire for cooperation. Those states that were economically more well off like Zambia and Zimbabwe seemed to be benefiting more than others. This led to difficulties of co-operation.

6. The SADCC also suffered man power problems. Most of these countries had spent their valuable past fighting wars of Liberation. They didn't have the skilled man power that was necessary for industrial development and even agricultural diversification. This posed problems for the intended co-operation.

7. Neo colonialism affected the association. Most member states were poor and sought for external financial assistance. Some even continued depending on food supplies from South Africa.

8. Poverty made members unable to pay their subscription fees. The association, without enough funds couldn't achieve the objectives for which it was set up.

However, the SADCC promoted better understanding between the young African statesmen, fought against apartheid, embarked on joint energy projects, set up the South African transport and communication commission located in Maputo and turned itself into the South African Development Community (SADC)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

As South African blacks neared independence, there was a change of attitude of front line states towards South Africa. The SADCC gave itself an important task of reviewing its objectives and operations in the post apartheid era. In 1992, the SADCC member states signed at treaty at Windhoek in Namibia, and South Africa was made a member. The organization changed its name from South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to South African Development Community (SADC).

THE AIMS OF THE SADC

To achieve economic growth and development in the region.

To alleviate poverty and improve the standards of living in the region.

To create a common market for the member states

To improve trade by removing tariff barriers.

To embark on joint economic planning.

To enable member states specialize in fields of comparative.

To widen the market for products of member states.

The SADC set up organs to facilitate its operations, for instance the summit of heads of states and government, the secretariat, the council of ministers, troika, the tribunal and several committees e.g. for defence and security.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SADC

1. It has existed for quite a long time and its membership has widened. For instance, it was joined by Madagascar in 2005. DRC and Mauritius are also members.

2. It has promoted trade between the association states.

3. It has promoted the spirit of co-operation, unity and Pan Africanism amongst the member states.

4. It issued a protocol on the fight against trading in illegal drugs in 1996.

5. It came up with a joint defence strategy to scare off external aggression on any of the member states.

6. The member states have assisted Mozambique and Zambia during the cyclone winds and floods.

7. The SADC attracted funds from Denmark which it used to set up a UN peace keeping training centre for the region. The centre is located in Zimbabwe. SADC has a standing peace keeping brigade.

8. SADC calls for democratic governance, smooth and transparent elections etc.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE SADC

- Competition between states which produce relatively similar agricultural products that suffer price fluctuations.

Unequal distribution of benefits has lowered the spirit of co-operation in some member states. They view South Africa as benefiting more since it sells several industrial products.

Poor transport and communication networks.

Political instabilities in the region e.g. the rigging of elections and election violence in Zimbabwe which made UN to stop funding its UN peace keeping training centre in Zimbabwe.

Poverty of the population in member states.

Small population with low purchasing power.

Nationalism has made member states to work for home interests instead of community interests.

Absence of a common currency.

Inability of some member states to pay their annual subscription fees

Neo colonial ties have led to seeking for foreign aid which injures their target of self sufficiency.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Account for the formation of the East African Community.

2. Assess the achievements of the East African Community between 1967 -- 1977.

3. The collapse of the EAC was due to Amin's rise to power. Discuss.

4. The East African Community was a miserable failure. Discuss.

5. Account for the collapse of the East African Community.

6. Account for the establishment of the ECO WAS in 1975.

7. Assess the achievements of the ECOWAS in West Africa.

8. Analyse the problems experienced by the ECOWAS.

9. Examine the achievements of the S ADC.

# CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

# NEO COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

This is a new form of colonialism by which the former colonial masters in Africa have used their political and economic power to maintain influence over their former colonies. Under neo colonialism, the weak African countries are independent only in name, flags, national anthems and boundaries (theoretical independence). They are politically independent but economically, militarily, culturally and technologically dependent on the richer states of the world.

Neo colonialism is indirect and diplomatic, but its effects are clear. According to Walter Rodney, the colonial masters left Africa using the front door but came back using the back door.

CHARACTERISTICS/MANIFESTATIONS OF NEO COLONIALISM

1. Foreign aid: Richer countries have perpetrated their stay in Africa by giving donations, grants and loans to their former colonies. At times this aid is bi-lateral (given directly by an advanced country to a poor one) and at other times it is multilateral- given by organisations like World Bank, IMF. US AID etc. However, this aid has strings attached. For instance, it is the donor country to determine the investments to be undertaken by African countries-usually they sponsor agricultural projects from which to get raw materials. Besides, high interest rates are charged on these loans.

2. The use of foreign expatriates: The rich donor countries have always imposed the use of their technical manpower to implement the financed projects in Africa. They supervise the construction of roads and buildings, cultivation of the desired cash crops and extraction of minerals. To make matters worse, they repatriate this money to their home countries, which is exploitative.

3. Multi-national companies or corporations also manifest neo colonialism in Africa. These include Coca Cola, Shell, Bata, Stanbic Bank etc. Whereas the neocolonised think that they are accumulating capital through encouraging foreign investments, these companies in reality do repatriate most of the profits they make from African countries. In the end, there is more capital outflow than capital in flow.

4. Unfair trade terms. African countries are producers of cash crops, which serve as raw materials in advanced countries e.g. Coffee, Prices for African crops are always determined by the advanced countries and are always very low. On the contrary, Africans are compelled to import the highly priced finished products from advanced countries. This is exploitative because the highly valuable raw materials are bought cheaply and the less valuable finished products e.g. torches are sold very expensively.

5. Trade monopolies. Through a series of bi-lateral treaties, advanced countries have exerted control over African trade. For instance, most of the African imports and exports are transported in the ships and planes owned by foreign companies. Their freight charges are high, and while in transit, the goods of weak African countries are insured with foreign insurance companies. All this is exploitative.

6. The influence of foreign currencies also manifests neo colonialism in Africa. Foreign currencies like the American dollar, British pound and Japanese Yen are used to determine the strength of African currencies. A fall in value of the dollar means an automatic fall in the value of African currencies. Africans have no power to stabilize their foreign exchange rates. Rich powers do it for us e.g. in 1984 and 1986, USA and Britain signed bi-lateral treaties with Kenya and Uganda and this led to the devaluation of the Uganda shilling.

7. Technological dependence also manifests neo-colonialism. African countries are scientifically and technologically dependent on advanced countries e.g. African countries import tractors to improve on agriculture. When the tractors break down, we import spare parts. This is referred to as technological lock-in and applies to the importation of other machines as well e.g. Cars, Television sets, Laboratory equipment, chemicals and even drags.

8. Interference with economic integration in Africa also manifests neo-colonialism. The rich advanced countries are averse to the idea of economic integration in Africa. Hence they interfere in various organisations formed by Africans in an effort to create wider markets e.g. the. E.A.C. failed in 1977 partly due to foreign sabotage. Advanced countries have also weakened the P.T.A. ECOWAS, SADC, and COMESA.

9. The signing of military pacts with African countries also manifests neo colonialism. This was especially so during the cold war period, e.g. U.S.A. and NATO countries signed military treaties with Kenya and Congo and established military and naval bases there. These bases were aimed at serving the interest of big powers but not African states.

10. The export of foreign ideologies. Due to political weakness, African countries have been forced to take up the political ideologies of developed/donor countries. The attempt by Africans to follow a neutral ideology- the Non-alignment ideology was frustrated by big powers. Hence African countries became aligned either towards the capitalist or communist ideology.

11. The presence of secret espionage net works also manifest neo colonialism. The advanced countries maintain their control over Africa by sending their secret agencies e.g. the CIA, FBI, KGB, MOSSAD, Scotland Yard etc. These ensure that African states work in the interests of powerful states.

12. Sponsoring of coup de tats by advanced countries also manifests neo colonialism. Revolutionary African leaders who try to follow independent political views suffer sudden military overthrows or even assassinations. In most cases, these coups are master planned by powerful states using their secret espionage/intelligence agencies.

13. Direct military intervention of big powers in the affairs of their former colonies also manifests neo-colonialism e.g. the involvement of France in Algeria and Chad, Britain in SierraLeone, Belgium and France in Rwanda etc. They sell weapons and sponsor civil wars etc.

14. The training of African military cadres manifests neo colonialism. In an effort to promote their ideologies, Britain, U.S.A., France and Russia have always sponsored the training of African political and military leaders. While in training, they are brain washed to follow and implement foreign ideologies in Africa e.g. Paul Kagame was U.S. trained, Israelites trained Amin's army while Koreans trained the Obote II forces etc...

15. The presence of white settlers in independent African countries e.g. Zimbabwe, Kenya and South Africa manifests neo-colonialism. These have the largest share of African countries' wealth e.g. land in South Africa and Zimbabwe. They also control the export, and import trade.

16. Western type political parties manifest neo-colonial influence in Africa. These parties are sponsored by the powerful/rich countries to spread Western democracy in Africa. Through these parties e.g. D.P. and U.P.C., powerful nations have promoted divisions in Africa-making it easy for them to maintain control over divided Africans.

17. The use of foreign languages as national languages of independent African countries manifests neo colonialism. These languages are mainly English and French.

18. Foreign literature and Leisure has been widely promoted in independent African countries. This has been done through foreign films, novels and magazines, which place high values on violence and sexual immorality. Sex is depicted as a pass time activity in such films. Foreign leisure, Western music and musical instruments have all attracted the youths away from African values. Hence we have a number of white Africans in black skins!

19. Western education systems still exist in modern Africa. The syllabi laid down during the colonial period still prevail. Any new syllabi innovations cannot be sponsored by the rich countries.

20 The use of NGOs also manifests neo colonialism. In times of crisis in Africa, rich countries use their Non governmental Organisations e.g. World Vision, Save the Children Fund, AMREF etc to provide charitable services e.g. food, shelter, clothing. These are usually inferior and expired goods and by extending such help, rich countries discourage hard working and inovativeness in Africa.

21. Evangelism in Africa also promotes neo colonialism. Various evangelists have helped to export the political ideologies of their mother countries and to create market and loyalty to those countries through preaching. Africans have therefore become religiously dependent on the Western powers and have greatly undermined their ancestral beliefs.

22. The membership of African countries in neo-colonial organisations is common today. The British formed the common wealth organisation for all their former colonies and the French formed the Franca-phone organisation for their former colonies. African countries, for fear of losing economic aid joined. They are therefore still tied to their former colonial masters.

CONSEQUENCES OF NEO COLONIALISM

1. Loss of independence. The hard won independence has been lost since African countries cannot make independent decisions. African countries therefore only obtained flag independence;

2. Exploitation of Africa. Neo colonialism has ensured the continued exploitation of Africa by big powers. This has been done through profit repatriation by multilateral corporations and expatriates and through charging high interest rates.

3. The failure of the Non-aligned movement. Neo colonialism made it impossible for Africans to remain neutral. Due to the desire for economic aid, they have become aligned to the rich big powers.

4. It has promoted divisions amongst African countries. This has partly been due to attachment by Africans to either Anglophone or Franca-phone groups.

5. It has hindered economic co-operation. Organisations aimed at promoting regional economic integration e.g. the E.A.C., P.T.A. and ECOWAS have been adversely influenced and weakened by big powers, which wish to continue dominating African markets.

6. Continued political instabilities in form of coup-de-tats, rigging of votes, civil wars and assassinations. These are due to the desire by former colonial masters to maintain influence in Africa.

7. Defective production in Africa. African states have continued producing what they do not consume and consuming what they do not produce. All this favours big powers.

8. Economic underdevelopment. Big powers have sabotaged any efforts towards industrialization and have instead sponsored agricultural production. The prices for agricultural products have remained low due to the invention of synthetic materials. This has made Africans to continue dancing to the tunes of big powers and hence economic underdevelopment.

9. Dependence syndrome. African countries have been put in a situation of continuous beggary. They think in terms of requesting for loans and grants instead of accumulating local capital.

10. Economic indebtedness. Neo colonialism has made African countries to accumulate heavy debts with no hope of ever being able to repay them. This signifies that there is no economic independence in Africa.

11. Scientific and technological set back. Before colonial rule, Africans had developed some innovations e.g. Iron smelting, backcloth manufacture, fish smoking, drug processing etc. But both colonialism and neo-colonialism have rendered Africans "impotent" in terms of new discoveries. Those who make discoveries are persecuted.

12. Brain drain. Africa's best brainworkers move to richer countries voluntarily in search for greener pastures. Those who persist to make inventions in Africa are either sabotaged (e.g. Dr Ssali of Mariandina Aids Clinic in Uganda) or are bought to work for them.

13. Cultural degradation in Africa. Neo colonialism has promoted Western values in Africa. Hence violence, pornography, Western Music, prostitution, foreign religious etc have all set in to derail the old good African culture.

14. New social classes have been created in Africa. There is the selfish and rich, ruling class against the poor peasants who are only good for votes.

15. Foreign languages have remained the official languages in Africa.

Measures to fight neo colonialism

Africans attempted to join the Non-aligned movement.

Formation of the organisation of African Unity, now the African Union.

- Formation of regional economic integration.

- Protecting infant industries and export promotion strategies.

- Introducing poverty eradication programmes.

- Academic condemnation of neo colonialism

- Adjusting Africa's academic syllabi.

Infrastractural development.

Discouraging the borrowing syndrome.

Establishing import substitution industries.

- Encouraging African cultural rejuvination through sports activities.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the manifestations of Neo-colonialism in modern Africa.

2. Analyse the steps being taken to dismantle neo-colonialism.

3. Examine the problems encountered in fighting neo-colonialism in Africa.

4. To what extent is foreign Aid an instrument of neo colonialism?

# THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)

Non alignment was a policy devised by third world countries to empower them to make free decisions concerning their domestic and foreign affairs. As a policy, it asserts the right of weak and poor states to make free political, economic, military, diplomatic and social decisions without undue pressure or influence from super powers or former colonial masters or any other country. A non aligned state is therefore a state that acts independently, taking decisions according to its own interests but not according to the interests of stronger and richer nations.

According to the late Modibo- Keita, the ex-president of Mali, non alignment is an approach to policy making. It is the right of any nation to make decisions concerning world affairs without being influenced by another world power/country. To the late Julius Nyerere, ex-President of Tanzania, non-alignment is the right of small and militarily weak nations to determine their own policies according to their own interests and to have influence on world affairs.

From the above, the Non Alignment Movement (NAM) is a movement which brings together the states which seek to reject the influence Of stronger states while enhancing their decision making power. These states are mostly from Africa, Asia and Latin America though there are some European countries e.g. Yugoslavia, Finland, Cyprus, Ireland and Sweden which subscribe to non alignment principles.

ORIGINS OF NON ALIGNMENT

Its origins are related to the 2nd world war and its aftermath. After the 2nd world war, two super powers emerged, each with its ideology. The two super powers were the United States of America (U.S.A.) which adopted the capitalist ideology (private ownership and utilization of resources) and the Soviet Union which adopted the communist ideology (public ownership and utilization of resources). Although USA and USSR had fought together on the side of allies during 2nd war, they failed to come to an ideological agreement. The result was conflict. Each started looking for supporters of its ideology. U.S.A. got support from most of the countries of Western Europe while USSR got support from most states of Eastern Europe. This competition between super powers was therefore spoken of as the rivalry or cold war between the Western and Eastern blocks. In their rivalry (cold war) they started seeking for the support of smaller and weaker states from Africa, Asia, Middle East and Latin America.

This was a time when most African, Asian and later Latin American countries were fighting for independence. Each of the new super powers started supporting the decolonization process hoping to use it to gain influence in /over the newly independent states. African and Asian countries accepted the help from the super powers but after attaining independence, they felt increasingly insecure at the influence the super powers were wielding in local politics of the new states. They, Had fought against colonialism but it was clear that they were not fully independent as long as the new super powers or even former colonial masters still influenced their domestic and foreign affairs. Since they were not ready to sacrifice their freedom at the alter of super power rivalry. There was a need for new states to redefine their new identity.

India took the lead. Under its charismatic Prime Minister Jawaharlal Pendit Nehru, India refused to be tied to either the Western or Eastern block. She also rejected military and political influence from her former colonial master Britain but maintained economic and cultural ties with her in the common wealth. India's conscious effort to widen the distance (or loosen the ties) between her and the new super powers and between her and Britain was the foundation of non alignment. Nehru asserted that India was free to deal with any state of the world in political, economical, and social terms from which India benefited e.g. she could support USA on this but not the other matter, could support USSR or Britain when necessary but not automatically. Its support to stronger and richer nations was not to be automatic. She had to first assess the effects of such support on India. If the interests of India were being injured, there would be no Indian support.

On becoming independent, a number of African and Asian states adopted Nehru's strategy of non alignment or freedom of choice. They devised a system of meetings.

THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE OF 1955

It was hosted and presided over by President Surkano of Indonesia who worked closely with J.P. Nehru of India to convene it. It was during the Bandung Conference that the concept of non alignment was properly defined and its aims and principles hammered out. It was attended by delegates from 29 states. Six of these came from Africa namely Liberia, Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, Sudan and Ghana. The last two were not yet independent but were nearing independence. The delegates addressed themselves to a number of pertinent issues affecting the new states and the world in general. These included

Colonial and neo colonialism

Super power rivalry and the test of nuclear weapons.

Rivalry between USA and China which was a threat to regional peace.

The relationship between China and other Asian countries.

Racism

World trade

Failure of Europeans to consult Asians on matters that were purely Asian

Indonesia's claim over Western New Guinea

ITS SIGNIFICANCE

1. It became the basis of Afro Asian solidarity, a solidarity that greatly benefited Africans in their independence struggle.

2. The Conference condemned and opposed colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America and called upon colonial masters to let go of colonies.

3. The participants asserted that it was the political right of all countries of the world to govern themselves as per the statutes of the UN.

4. Leaders of third world countries started knowing each other, the location of their countries and the common problems affecting them.

5. Participants agreed to stay aloof from the conflicts of the super powers.

6. Participants laid a foundation for joint action plan and joint voicein the UN.

7. The conference increased the status and diplomatic weight of the third world.

8. New men rose on the scene, especially Gamel Abdel Nasser from Egypt and the following year he demonstrated what non alignment meant in Egypt.

9. It influenced Nasser to nationalize the Suez Canal and expel Western expatriates and soldiers and businessmen from Egypt in 1956.

10. It laid foundation for future conferences e.g. the Belgrade Conference of Sept 1961 in Yugoslavia which condemned French nuclear bomb tests, condemned Russian testing of nuclear weapons, condemned the American engineered Bay of Pigs in Cuba, the Berlin wall and the Congo crisis.

11. It stimulated African efforts to fight for independence and this saw the year 1960 as a year of decolonization. More and more states joined the NAM.

12. It condemned the failure of Europeans to consult Asians on matters purely Asian or Africans on matters purely African.

13. Big powers respected the decisions and outcome of the Bunding Conference.

14. It was attended by the Chinese Premier Cho-En-Lai whose ideas and conduct helped NAM member countries to get a balanced impression of China unlike the negative picture that the western media had shade of China.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT

1. To define the identity of new states in the world. Though independent, the weak and poor states discovered that they were not recognized and respected in world politics. After the Second World War, world view was exceedingly Eurocentric. It was European states and super powers that were being listened to. Europe was regarded as representing the African and Asian interests. Africans and Asians feared that if they didn't define their own identity, they would soon be submerged into the conflicts/quarrels of super powers and become mere extensions of Europe and America. Non Alignment would check such threats and give them a voice and identity.

2. The new states wanted to preserve and safeguard their newly hard won independence. They had suffered enough oppression and exploitation from their European colonial over lords. After independence, the former colonial masters continued influencing the course of politics in the new states. U.S. A and U.S.S.R. showed similar interests of controlling and influencing the new states. This made the new states of Africa, Asia: and later Latin America to join the non aligned movement so as to safe guard their hard won independence.

3. To disengage the developing countries from superpower rivalry and cold war politics. The new states were politically young, militarily weak and economically poor. Taking sides in the cold war would make them soft targets in the military confrontations between the super powers. It was a practice by the super powers to set up military bases in countries aligned to them. This seemed to offer security but only in the short run because in event of super power conflicts, such military bases would be attacked as was the case with Egypt during the 2nd world war. So, to detach themselves from future military conflicts between super powers, the newly independent states decided to become none aligned.

4. They wanted to preserve world peace, security and justice. They would do this by preventing the cold war from spreading to their continents thereby limiting the scope of cold war, by condemning the production of deadly weapons and condemning the setting up of military bases in various parts of the world and calling for disarmament.

5. To oppose and bring an end to colonialism in various parts of the world. The stand of non aligned countries was that colonialism was an evil which had to be stumped out of the world through concerted efforts. The NAM therefore aimed at supporting all anti-colonial struggles in the world.

6. To promote unity and co-operation between African, Asian and Latin American countries. In solidarity, the developing countries would exert a strong influence on world affairs. Together they would also find solutions to various problems in their countries without begging for help from the first and second worlds (Western and Eastern blocks respectively). Through the NAM, they also hoped to promote and stimulate economic cooperation among the member states through the application of capital, economic and technical assistance.

7. To maximize economic and technical assistance. Developing countries in Asia and Africa still need a lot of foreign aid to finance their development projects. If they became aligned with one block, this would restrict them from getting assistance from countries of the other block. So, in order to receive and maximize aid from various sources, the third would countries choose to remain non aligned.

8. They hoped to eliminate the strings attached to foreign aid. They preferred multi lateral aid accessed through international joint bodies like IMF and World Bank to Bilateral aid accessed directly to one country by another. This was the surest way of getting aid without strings.

9. To prevent the interference of big powers into the political and military affairs of weaker nations. They hoped to achieve this by preventing weak states from signing the one sided military pacts with powerful nations, preventing the establishment of military bases in weak states and testing of nuclear weapons in smaller states.

10. The NAM also aimed at promoting economic independence and development in the new states. To promote economic independence and reduce economic dependence, the new states devised a strategy of self reliance. They also called upon the richer members of the NAM like Korea, India, Egypt, Argentina and Cuba to initiate joint economic projects for the benefit of all non aligned countries.

11. They wanted to have a combined Voice in the United Nations General Assembly. Being non aligned didn't mean being passive or neutral. It meant involvement and so, the Non aligned countries were ready to debate on all international issues and give their position - a position, arrived at in NAM public conferences.

12. They wanted to contribute to world peace by sending army units in emergency operations. This would be done after careful assessment of the nature of emergence situations.

13. To fight against racial discrimination to which Asians and Africans were subjected in the whole world. Together they would condemn the racist literature, racist slogans, paintings, drama and reconstruct their histories that had been written through the racist imperialistic eye/mind.

14. To strengthen the negotiating capacity of the developing countries in the North to South dialogue.

Principles of Non Alignment Movement

1. Preserving independence and territorial integrity.

2. Making decisions regardless of foreign influence.

3. Open friendship to all nations of the world that respected their independence.

4. Avoidance of making bi-lateral military pacts.

5. Rejection of military bases in their territories and for those that already had them, to advocate for their removal.

6. To reject foreign aid with strings that ties a non-aligned state to a donor state.

7. To support liberation movements in countries still under colonial rule.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT.

1. It has had a long history of existence. As a block of third world countries opposed to pressure from the first and second worlds (Western and Eastern blocks respectively) the NAM has survived for more than 50 years. It has survived through holding meetings such as the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Belgrade Conference of 1961, the Cairo Conference of 1964, Durban Conference 199, and Abujah Conference 1996, The Bundung charter constitution still stands.

2. It has expanded its membership from the original 29 member states at Bandung to about 113 countries by 2000. These include countries not only from Asia, Africa and Latin America but also peace loving European counties like Finland, Cyprus, Yugoslavia and Sweden. They continue exerting a strong influence in world affairs in the post cold war period.

3. The Principles of non alignment were adopted by the Pan African Movement and the Organisation of African Unity. During the April and December 1958 Accra Conferences, Nkrumah and other Pan Africanists adopted the doctrine of non alignment for all the new states of Africa and those yet to be politically born. In 1963, the 32 African country representatives also vowed to stand non aligned in world conflicts.

4. Member states of the NAM strongly opposed colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They gave moral, financial and some limited military support to liberation movements fighting against colonialism. Their uncompromising stand against colonialism in Africa, especially against apartheid in South Africa and brutality of Portuguese rule in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau made the United Nations Organisation to stop its doable standards e.g. it imposed economic sanctions against the Portuguese, the South African and S. Rhodesian white minority rule. The result was independence.

5. The Non Aligned Movement stimulated African nationalism in Africa and the diaspora. Through its conferences, seminars, newsletters and radio programmes, Non aligned individuals and states painted the inhuman side of colonialism e.g. they showed how colonialists brutally massacred South African children during the Sharpville demonstrations of 1960, how children were forced to overwork in mines for up to 16 hours a day, how Portuguese murdered innocent civilians at Catete, Niasa, Luanda, port Laurenco Marque and so on. Africans and Negroes all over the world sent help to African liberation movements.

6. The well off Non Aligned countries extended scholarships to African students. For instance India, Pakistan, Cuba, China, Egypt helped to finance the education of primary school leavers who had been denied access to higher education. The education obtained translated African elites into politically, militarily and economically sensitive persons. More so, while in these none aligned states, they learnt about principles of democracy, self sacrifice, guerilla war fare etc. On returning to Africa, they applied what they had learnt and weakened colonialism.

7. The mass media in non aligned states criticized colonialism and neo colonialism in Africa and contributed to its collapse. For instance, after India's independence, the Green Pamphlet turned to the colonial evils in the remaining Asian and African countries.

8. Through non alignment, African countries entered diplomatic relations with many states of the world. They were no longer restricted to diplomatic ties withonly their former colonial masters. They exercised freedom of Choice on which countries to deal with. For instance, they opened up diplomatic ties with Eastern European countries, Western European countries, Asia, etc.

9. On world matters such as war non aligned states took independent decisions, quite different from those of super powers or even their former colonial masters. For instance, they denounced the intervention of United States into the affairs of Vietnam, supported Soviet Union's proposal to suspend all nuclear tests that had not been approved by the international inspection team but opposed Soviet Union's proposal to have a body of three persons serving as UN Secretary General, Recognized the Peoples' Republic of China despite U.S.A.'s opposition to it, condemned British and French attack on Egypt in 1956, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, USA attack on Libya in 1986, Soviet Union's intervention in the affairs of Czechoslovakia, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, American war in Iraq e.t.c. Most non-aligned African countries campaigned for the admission of China in the UNO. All these above demonstrate the desire of non-aligned countries to stop serving the interests of big states.

10. Non aligned states developed trade links with very many states of the world These included China, Soviet Union, United States of America, Japan and Eastern European countries which was non existent during the colonial era. While trade with new partners has been on the increase, that with former colonial masters has been on the decline. This is true non alignment.

11. Non aligned African states managed to solicit for economic, technical and military foreign aid from various sources. They have even tried to reject aid with strings attached. For instance, the Western block tried to use economic and technical aid to hook Egypt into a military alliance in the Mediterranean but Nasser rejected this, leading to the 1956 crisis. After that, Egypt turned to the Soviet Union for aid but kept on checking against Soviet influence in Egypt. When their influence grew to suspicious proportions the then President of Egypt Sadat Arthur suddenly expelled Soviet technical and military experts from Egypt in 1972. Similarly, earlier in 1964, Zambia, Malawi and Niger had taken a bold step against Chinese influence in the countries.

12. Through the NAM, African countries were able to obtain a lot of grants and aid from well to do non aligned states. This aid mostly came from India and China which financed the Tanzam railway to link Tanzania to Zambia. They also extended some technology hitherto denied by Europeans.

13. African countries contributed to world peace. Firstly their stand reduced the scope of rivalry between the Eastern and Western blocks to the extent that both USSR and USA extended aid to Ghana to accomplish the Upper Volt River Project. Secondly, NAM member states influenced the super powers to sign treaties that reduced the arms competition e.g. International Nuclear Proliflcation treaty of the 1970s.

14. Non aligned countries made their influence felt in the United Nations General Assembly. Delegates for NAM countries became serious debaters on all issues of world interest and this dispelled the myth that non alignment means neutrality. It doesn't mean neutrality but rather conscious involvement with care. They opposed colonialism in UN for a, supported UN proposals against the Arms Race and supported the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I, II and III).

15. In times of catastrophes and national crises, non aligned states have always extended physical, financial, man power and moral assistance e.g. in periods of famine and drought.

PROBLEMS, WEAKNESSES AND FAILURES OF THE NAM

Non alignment was expected to enable African and Asian countries to loosen ties with former colonial masters, to enhance independent decision making in the new states and to enable African and Asian states to defend their interests against the wishes of European powers. However, reality has shown that it is impossible for poor and weak third world states to make independent decisions and remain none aligned for long. There were both internal and external forces that undermined and weakened the spirit of non alignment especially in Africa.

1. African countries maintained economic ties with their former colonial masters. Even a decade after independence, African economies were still controlled by multi national companies of European origin. These controlled and directed trade in many poor African countries which continued importing finished products from Europe while exporting raw materials. This hindered industrialization which many non aligned philosophers had envisaged.

2. The need for financial and technical aid made the poor African countries subservient to their former colonial masters. Despite the noise made, African countries have continued receiving foreign aid with strings attached simply because they are poor and helpless. As for Dahomey and Gambia, they couldn't even run the day to day expenses of government and had to rely on financial grants from their former colonial masters. Even to date, budgets of many African countries (including Uganda), are financed by external grants almost to the tune of 50 percent. To such poor countries, non alignment remains an unaffordable luxury.

3. African states became associate members of the European Economic Community (EEC). Hoping to gain a wider market for their products, hoping to bargain for higher prices and gain access to development loans from the EEC's Development Fund, eighteen (18) French speaking countries joined the EEC as associate members in 1963. Fore sighted African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah warned that joining the EEC would compel African countries to remain economically tied to European economies as suppliers of raw materials - a factor which would undermine industrialization in Africa. Joining the EEC would even make African states aligned to the political philosophy of European powers. Despite this warning, from 1965 on wards more African countries joined the EEC from 1965 on wards and these included; Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and radical Nigeria.

4. Independent African states also maintained political ties with former colonial masters. Former British colonies joined the British Common Wealth while former French colonies joined the French community. Through these organizations, the British and French have continued influencing African policies to their advantage. E.g. over the question of the UDI in Southern Rhodesia, most African countries acted in Britain's favour because they were members of the common wealth.

5. Over reliance on former colonial masters and UN to solve continental and national crises rendered the NAM impotent. Faced with army mutinies in 1964, governments of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya called for help from Britain. Faced with civil strife from 1965 on wards, Francois Tombalbaye called for French help against the FROLINAT forces of Gorkouni in T’chad. African countries under OAU called upon Britain to end the illegal unilateral Declaration of independence in Rhodesia in 1965.

6. Political instabilities in non aligned states have made them uncommitted to the NAM. They have little time to think about non alignment and to organize meetings. Though there has always been a feeling or even evidence that former colonial powers have engineered the civil wars in non-aligned states like Uganda, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, Myanmar, Kampuchea (former Cambodia), etc and that they have engineered coups in Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Ethiopia and Congo, these NAM countries have surprisingly turned to those they suspect for military assistance.

7. Most African countries maintained military ties with former metropolitan powers e.g. at independence, French colonies made military pacts with France. French soldiers remained in Senegal for several years after independence. Some African countries opened their doors to super power military bases e.g. Kenya become a US satellite state with a US military base. On a sad note, military alignment made the Brazzaville group to back the French nuclear tests in the Sahara desert. This made Nigeria and Ghana which had cut off diplomatic ties with France to look foolish.

8. Border conflicts between non aligned states made mutual understanding impossible e.g. India and Pakistan conflict over Kashmir land, Kenya and Somalia conflicted in 1960s, Northern and Southern Korea, Morocco and Algeria, Cameroon and Nigeria, Ethiopia and Somalia have all conflicted.

9. Some third world countries succumbed to super power ideologies. Malawi under K. Banda, DRC under Mobutu, Cote d' Ivoire under Houphovet Boigny became purely capitalist and pursued a pro Western foreign policy while Guinea under Sekou Toure, Mali under Modibo Keita, Ethiopia under Mariam Mengistu, Ghana under K. Nkrumah became socialist and pursued a pro-Eastern foreign policy. This contravened the principles of NAM.

10. NAM was infiltrated by USSR. It welcomed countries that were out rightly and undisguisedly communist e.g. Cuba and China, Tanzania, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia. At one time the NAM conference was held in communist Cuba which was perfectly aligned to USSR. This made the US secretary of state Henry Kissinger to complain that the NAM was unfair to USA whose mistakes it exaggerated while lip shining those of USSR. In anger, USA embarked on a vigorous anti USSR crusade blaming it for all evils. Many African states succumbed to US propaganda against Soviet Union, China and the Eastern block countries in general. US portrayed Soviet Union as a source of all evils and forced many of its allies to ban Soviet literature in their schools, to exclude Soviet Union, China, Cuba from the list of countries to which their passports could be used to get entry (to deny visas to those going to communist countries), to suspect the action of all citizens who had studied in communist states especially in Monrovia group.

11. There have been divisions and animosities between Non aligned countries and their leaders. Differences of attitude to Eastern and Western blocks were a very crucial factor in dividing Africans into the Monrovia group and Casseblanca group. This divided Africans and made them conflict. The Western Media painted some African leaders as good e.g. William Tubman of Liberia, and Felix Boigny of Ivory Coast and Sir Abu Baker Tafawa Balevva of Nigeria but painted others as unprogressive e.g. Nkrumah and Sekou Toure. This led to personal animosity between African leaders and states and weakened African solidarity. This had an effect on NAM

12. Lack of a proper and uniform definition harmed the NAM. Surkano of Indonesia defined it as a policy to contain the cold war, Nyerere as a policy of self determination, Modibo Keita as an approach to policy making in all international affairs etc. This has led to contradictions and has made each member state to use it to promote personal interests and policies.

13. There is continued manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons especially by U.S., Israel, Northern Korea.

14. The disintegration of USSR and end of cold war in early 1990s led to changes in world politics that rendered non alignment frootless. Only one super power remained (USA) and behaves like a lone bull in the kraal. It imposes western democracy, gives aid with strings and goes for military crusades unhindered e.g. in Afghanistan and Iraq. The NAM has to redefine its objectives, strategies and tasks.

15. The absence of a permanent secretariat for the NAM has hampered its success. It has no permanent base from where to run its activities. This problem has been worsened by the geographical location of member states and different levels of economic development. Member states are scattered in different geographical areas e.g. Latin America, Africa, Middle East, Asian main land which has led to operational difficulties and expenses of Conferences. Many have set up continental bodies like OAU for Africa, OPEC for Middle East, Arab League for Arab countries, and Association for South East Asian nations.

16. There is an increasing gap between the NAM member states. Some of them are economically and technologically well off e.g. China, Cuba, Egypt which contrasts with the many undeveloped African states. In recent years, Asian countries like Taiwan have turned Africa into a dumping ground for poor quality industrial products like Radios, TVs, and flat irons. African states have remained largely agricultural and technologically dependant.

THE LUSAKA DECLARATION OF 1970

This was the fourth Conference of the Non alignment movement conference. It was held in Lusaka Zambia in 1970. It was attended by 54 delegates from Non aligned countries around the world. Like earlier conferences, the Lusaka conference men discussed issues of common interest to NAM countries and the entire world e.g. world peace, colonialism, under development, democracy, international co-operation, environment, arms race and so on

1. They appealed to the United Nations Organisation to become more committed to the elimination of the scourge of war in the world.

2. They appreciated UNO's efforts to end human rights abuses in the world but pointed out that the UNO had to become more vigilant and faster in pressuring all world nations to respect human rights, the dignity and equality of all peoples and nations.

3. They denounced the cold war which had infiltrated various parts of the world. It had led to the establishment of military bases in poor, weak and helpless African countries, had led to signing of complex military alliances and to divisions amongst states of the world. This was a danger to world peace. Already, cold war rivalry had contributed to wars in Cambodia, S. Africa, Korea and Vietnam.

4. They condemned the endless wars in Cambodia, South Africa, Korea and Vietnam.

5. They called for an end to colonialism and neo colonialism. They asserted the right of all peoples of the world to choose a government of their own choice as per the statutes of UNO. They pointed out that colonial governments had been imposed on to the people and were therefore exploitative and anti-people e.g. in S. Rhodesia, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, G. Bissau, Mozambique.

6. They criticized racism in the whole world. They disapproved of the contempt with which Africans, Asians and Negroes were treated. Particularly critical was racism against the black man in South Africa, Namibia, S. Rhodesia and Portuguese African colonies.

7. They condemned the interference of big powers into the internal affairs of smaller states. This was in form of political and economic pressure aimed at diluting the independence of smaller states.

8. They called for genuine democracy in the world. They pointed out that it was undemocratic of UNO to ignore the views of smaller/minority states. Its decisions were influenced by the views of bigger states. They stated that they were tired of receiving hand outs of decisions already made by bigger states concerning international affairs.

9. They committed themselves to unity and solidarity amongst the NAM member states. It was only unity which would make their voice respectable on international issues. United, they would easily achieve their goals and strengthen their mutual co-operation in regional, bi-lateral and international cycles.

10. They addressed the issue of poverty and underdevelopment, especially in Africa. They observed that the major hindrance to economic development in Africa was lack of capital. The developed countries of the world had developed through capital accumulation. They pointed out that foreign capital would be good if it had no strings attached. They suggested alternative means of capital accumulation such as forming closer economic co-operations. If the markets of NAM states became integrated and if they opened up barter means of trade, the result would be increased economic development for all within a span of 55 years.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. For economically, politically, ideologically and military weak states, Non alignment is a dream/myth. Discuss.

2. Assess the achievements of the Non aligned movement.

3. How successful was the Non aligned movement in achieving the objectives of its founders.

4. Assess the influence of the non aligned movement on the growth of African nationalism.

WESTERN SAHARA AND THE POLISARIO WAR OF LIBERATION, 1976 - 2000

Western Sahara is located in North West Africa and is bordered by Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria and the Atlantic Ocean. Its capital city is EL Aoum. It fell into the colonial hands of Spain, in the wake of the 1884 Berlin Conference in Europe that partitioned African states between various European powers. No wonder the area was referred to as Spanish Sahara during the colonial period. Like elsewhere on the continent, the Saharawi people never welcomed foreign rule. The aims of the Spanish were to exploit both the human and natural resources of Western Sahara for their benefit/advantage.

Spanish rule evoked resentment from the Saharawis (people of Western Sahara) who called for reforms but in vain. In 1973, they formed a political movement known as the Peoples' Front for the Liberation of Saquiet el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (POLISARIO). The name of the movement speaks of its major aim - to liberate their two provinces of Saquiet el Hamra and Rio de Oro from Spanish colonialism. The POLISARIO devoted itself to fighting for the aspirations of the Saharawis using peaceful methods of negotiation. It would only apply force in the event of Spanish refusal Lo grant the wishes of the Saharawis. Unfortunately, the Spanish refused to recognize the POLISARIO Front. The movement therefore embarked on vigorous mobilization, sensitization, recruitment and training of Saharawis

In 1975, the POLISARIO went as far as presenting its case to the international court of justice for a fair hearing. This was because at the time even Morocco had resumed its territorial claims over Western Sahara.

In 1976, the Spanish king, General Franco died and with him went the Spanish hold on Western Sahara. Spain planned on an immediate withdrawal from Western Sahara. The joy of the Saharawis was short lived because on their departure, the Spanish partitioned Western Sahara into two regions which they handed over to Morocco and Mauritania as new colonial masters over Western Sahara! This was unacceptable to the Saharawis. The POLISARIO declared independence and renamed the country Sahara Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) which Morocco and Mauritania refused to recognize. They moved their troops into the SADR and the POLISARIO began its lengthy and bitter war of Liberation.

CAUSES OF THE POLISARIO WAR

1. The desire for self rule was at the centre of the POLISARIO war of liberation. The peoples of Western Sahara wanted independence, first from the Spanish and later from Moroccans and Mauritanians. Their self determination had come to an end way back in 1884 when the Berlin Conference "officially" or "un officially" allocated their country to Spain. Ever since, they had never accepted Spanish rule because it was foreign. In their rule, the Spanish divided Western Sahara according to their wishes e.g. in 1958, they divided the country into two provinces namely Spanish Sahara and Ifini. They did so without consulting or even explaining to the concerned people. They went ahead and declared Spanish Sahara as a province of Spain. All these were intolerable. The call for reform failed and war was the last resort.

2. Religious and cultural differences created suspicions, fears and war fever. The Spanish colonial masters were Christians while the Saharawis were Moslems who valued Arabic language, the Holy Koran, their religious dressing and morals. On the contrary, the Spanish valued their Bible, were care free with dressing code, drunk wines and ate pork. This created an uncomfortable relationship and the Saharawis wanted their country free from Christian contamination. Religious differences therefore created a background for war.

3. The formation of the POLISARIO front in 1973 declared the war of liberation. This was a nationalistic movement of the Saharawis. Though the POLISARIO never went to war straight away, it made the necessary ground work. First it sensitized the peoples of Western Sahara (Saharawis) about their rights. Secondly its representatives approached the Spanish colonial over lords and demanded for independence. Thirdly it mobilized and recruited the Saharawis - especially the militant and war like Reguibat tribe and gave them military training. All these were roles relevant to the war of liberation. By 1976, POLISARIO was fully poised for war.

4. The partition of Western Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania precipitated the war. Following the death of their king General Franco, the Spanish decided to withdraw from Western Sahara. However, on their departure, they made an agreement with Morocco and Mauritania to partition the territory between these two states. The largest part of Western Sahara in the North (about 2 third) was handed over to Morocco while one third in the South went to Mauritania. By handing over Western Sahara, Spain wanted to divert Morocco's attention from the Moroccan ports of Cueta and Mellila over which Spain herself had serious interest. Whatever the motive, the partition of Western Sahara was a gross under estimation of the nationalistic feelings of the Saharawis. It was greeting by immediate fire from POLISARIO.

5. The refusal by Morocco and Mauritania to withdraw their forces from the coastal towns of Western Sahara and to recognize the SADR prompted the POLISARIO into war. On the departure of the Spanish, the Moroccans and Mauritanians sent in their troops to occupy the coastal towns.. This was very provocative. The POLISARIO decried this move and announced the independence of the Saharawis under the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). It called upon the Moroccan and Mauritania troops to withdraw from the newly born state of SADR. However, the invading countries neither withdrew their troops nor recognized the SADR. They were also least prepared to negotiate with the SADR. This provoked the Saharawis into a war of liberation.

6. The personal ambition of King Hassan II of Morocco provoked the POLISARIO into war. He came to power as both religious and political /civil leader. A firm believer in rnonarchism, he was both conservative and reactionary. One of his greatest ambitions was to revive the mightier Morocco of medieval ancient times. He wanted to emulate his predecessors who had expanded Morocco's frontier up to Western Sahara. In 1975 he led a massive "Green march" into Western Sahara in a dramatic show of Moroccan over lordship over the Saharawis. The Saharawis were not ready to be subjected to feudal rule and hence their war of liberation.

7. The desire by Saharawis to protect their economic resources drove them into war against Moroccans. In 1965, very large and high grade phosphate deposits were discovered at Bou Craa in Western Sahara. Since Morocco was the largest exporter of Phosphates and the controller of Phosphate prices on the world market, she didn't want any world power to take over the Bou Craa phosphate deposits. If this happened, there would break out competition and lowering of phosphate prices. So, she occupied Western Sahara with a view of controlling and later exploiting her phosphate deposits. However, the Saharawis were not ready to surrender their only mineral to imperialistic Morocco. Morocco didn't want any competitor on phosphates because prices would fall. In addition to phosphates, Western Sahara had rich fishing grounds which they wanted to protect from the ambitious imperialistic eyes of USA, Korea, Britain etc.

8. The peoples of Western Sahara were fighting against high taxes, land grabbing and acts of forced labour. First the Spanish and later Moroccans made an attempt to drive the Saharawis into forced labour on their farms and in the phosphate mines. In addition, taxes were high. These provoked POLISARIO into war activity.

9. Morocco's failure to respect the ruling of the International court of justice (ICJ) provoked POLISARIO into a war of liberation. In 1976, the international Court of Justice (ICJ) listened to both SADR and Moroccan claims. It acknowledged the fact that Morocco had some historical claims over Western Sahara but ruled that these were faint, feudalistic and no longer relevant in the fast moving world of the 1970s. It ruled that the people of Western Sahara had a right to self determination or to form a government of their own choice as per the UN (UDHR). All the same, Morocco turned a deaf ear to ICJ ruling. However, this ruling in favour of SADR made POLISARIG men to fight for their natural rights.

10. Foreign support and influence situated the Saharawis into war mood e.g. the influence of the successful Algerian war of independence inspired the POLISARIO to fight for independence. In 1954, the Algerians had started a liberation war against their oppressive and exploitative French colonial masters/overlords. After eight (8) years of bitter resistance, the Algerians had succeeded in obtaining full independence in 1962. This inspired the people of Western Sahara to form the POLISARIO. They believed that POLISARIO would do for Western Sahara what FLN had done for Algeria. Algeria did not only provide inspiration but also funds and arms to POLISARIO against Moroccan imperialism. So did Libya under Colonel Muamer Gadafi, China and Soviet Union and other radical Arab states.

11. Cold war politics contributed to the POLISARIO war of liberation. Right from its formation in 1973, the POLISARIO Front adopted radical socialism. It received enormous support from the Eastern blocks in form of trainers, arms, funds and so on. This enabled her check the Moroccan incursions into the coastal areas of Western Sahara. However, USA's fear of socialist influence in the Mahgreb region made the Reagan administration extent help to King Hassan of Morocco. So did a number of conservative Arab states like Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan.

12. The recognition of the SADR by a number of African states inspired the POLISARIO Front to defend it. Alter several disputes over the legitimacy of SADR, by November 1980, twenty eight (28) African countries had recognized both the POLISARIO Front and SADR. This made POLISARIO men step up its opposition to Moroccan imperialism.

13. The weakness of the UNO also partly explains the outbreak and continuity of POLISARIO war of liberation. Despite UNO's constant call for decolonization in the post second world war period, Spain refused to decolonize Western Sahara. UNO took no serious steps to punish her. On her departure from Western Sahara, Spain divided the country between Morocco and Mauritania and UNO allowed this to hold. The 1980 UN summit called upon Morocco to vacate Western Sahara but never enforced its resolution. The various efforts of UN secretary General Perez De Queres and Kofi Anan (1997) didn't receive full blessings of the UN. This left POLISARIO in fighting against Morocco.

14. The failure of the 1993 referendum led to more fighting. News of the approaching referendum were received with sighs of joy and relief from both warring countries. Unfortunately, the representatives of the two countries failed to agree on the terms and design of the referendum question. They postponed the referendum to 1998 - 1999. This meant that the POLISARIO had to continue defending the SADR till then. To date, the question of Western Sahara remains un concluded though a cease fire was reached in 2000.

15. Morocco's plan to encircle Western Sahara with an electronic wall angered the Saharawis and led to open fighting. In areas where construction had began, Moroccan architects and engineers had planted deadly mines all around the electronic fence. This made POLISARIO to take the guerrilla surprise attacks inside Morocco itself. As more and more Moroccan towns and garrisons came under POLISARIO attacks, Morocco abandoned the wall construction to defend itself at home.

EFFECTS OF THE POLISARIO WAR OF LIBERATION

1. The POLISARIO war led to colossal loss of lives. These were mainly soldiers of Morocco, Mauritania and Western Sahara's SADR. Among the dead was Ouali Mustapha Seyyid the founder of POLISARIO. He was replaced by Mohammed Abdullah Azizi. The dead also included innocent women and children.

2. The war contributed to a refugee crisis in North Western Africa. A number of people fled from the war zone (Western Sahara, Morocco and Mauritania) to Algeria. To thousands of out flowing refugees were added thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Life for both refugees and IDPs was full of suffering, abuses and scarcity of essential utilities.

3. It led to mass destruction of property and economic ruin. The more than 20 years of fighting drained the resources of all the parties involved. It is estimated that at the height of the POLISARIO war, Morocco was spending up to 14% of its budget on this war alone. As for Mauritania this war led to its bankruptcy by 1978. The POLISARIO hit and run attacks led to a great destruction of property. For instance, it damaged the railway line that carried Mauritania's iron ore from Zouerate to Nouadhibou, it also threw long range shells on Mauritania's capital Nouakchott and left it damaged etc. Similar raids were also made on the conveyor belt used by Morocco to carry phosphates from Bo Craa to El Aioun. Roads, plantations and towns were also bombed. All these led to economic retardation. As for Western Sahara, it is amongst the world's poorest nations.

4. It led to a "hostage crisis." This came about when POLISARIO Front captured a number of Portuguese, Spanish and Korean fishermen who were illegally using Western Sahara's fishing grounds. They were transported across the Sahara desert and taken hostage to POLISARIO camps in Algeria for further interrogation. The international community appealed and negotiated for their release but POLISARIO didn't release them without conditions.

5. It led to the defeat of Mauritania in 1978. Owing to the high costs, sufferings and bankruptcy resulting from this war, the government of Ouid Daddah became unpopular. In July 1978, a military coup de tat overthrew Ouid Daddah. On taking power, the young soldiers withdrew from war and signed a cease fire agreement with POLISARIO, By this cease fire, the new military government recognized the SADR (Sahara Arab Democratic Republic).

6. POLISARIO war intensified the cold war conflict in the Mahgreb region. This was because the Eastern block supported the aspirations of the peoples of Western Sahara and even recognized the SADR whereas USA and other Western capitalist countries supported Moroccan unrealistic claims over Western Sahara. As funds, weapons and trainers flocked into the region from either blocks, the area was partially turned into a theatre for cold war politics until the collapse of the cold war in the 1990s.

7. The war destabilized family, community and religious life especially in Western Sahara. As more and more men joined the war, especially amongst the Reguibat people, women were left to manage homesteads. And, as more and more men died in the war, many women remained widowed and children orphaned. This led to social distress. Many people turned into prostitution, social delinquents and, or criminals. Many were crippled by Moroccan land mines. All these led to family, religious and community disequilibrium for quite long.

8. The Saharan war exposed the weaknesses of the OAU and left it divided. This was because the radical members of OAU such as Algeria and Libya supported the POLISARIO Front and the SADR while the conservative ones such as Chad, Senegal and Gambia supported Moroccan and Mauritanian claims over Western Sahara. During the 1976 OAU council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa, the Algerian delegate urged fellow delegates to recognize the SADR but this led to disagreement because delegates feared to annoy Morocco whose financial backing the OAU needed most. Even during the July 1980 OAU summit in free town, the OAU failed to take a uniform stand on the legitimacy of SADR. When Morocco threatened to walk out of the summit and to resign from the OAU altogether, the issue remained unresolved and was left to individual states. By Nov. 1980, twenty eight (28) OAU member states had individually recognized the POLISARIO and SADR, a position OAU ought to have taken in July 1980 at Free Town (Mazrui, 353).

9. The war also exposed the weaknesses of the UNO. The UN was attracted to the POLISARIO war early enough. For instance, it sent a fact finding mission in Western Sahara in 1975. Then in 1980, a UNO General Assembly voted to end the Moroccan occupation of Western Sahara. Then in 1988, the UN Secretary General Perez De Queres proposed a cease fire between Morocco and POLISARIO. The UN also planned a referendum on the question of Western Sahara in 1993, 1997, 1998, 2000 etc. However, no serious steps were taken to implement UN resolutions.

10. The war left the Arab league divided and weaker. This was because the radical states within the League support the POLISARIO Front and recognized the SADR, while conservative states of the League supported Morocco's imperialistic and feudalistic claims over Western Sahara.

FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE POLISARIO WAR

1. Determination was a key factor in facilitating the success of the POLISARIO Front. The peoples of Western Sahara were very determined to get rid of any kind/type of foreign rule - whether Spanish, Moroccan or Mauritanian.

2. POLISARIO Front was blessed with the war like Reguibat people. It is true that all tribes in Western Sahara were determined to get rid of colonialism. However, the Reguibat stand out as unique. They were militarily creative and so daring. They planned military incursions within Morocco itself from 1978 onwards. Quick to learn military tactics and to adjust them and to sense danger, they were an asset.

3. The assistance from Algeria and Libya propelled the POLISARIO to success. These supplied the POLISARIO guerillas with up to date ammunitions, funds and other war logistics. Socialist Algeria even allowed POLISARIO to open up its bases and refugee camps on its land.

4. POLISARIO used appropriate military strategy of splitting its enemies and fighting one at a time. It began by fighting and defeating Mauritania. In June 1976, it launched long range raids on Mauritania's capital Nouakchott. Then throughout 1976 and 1977, it made regular guerilla attacks on the railway line carrying Mauritania's iron ore from Zouereta to Nouadhibou. These incessant attacks made Mauritania bankrupt and worked up the soldiers. By 1978, Mauritania had been defeated and POLISARIO now turned to Morocco.

5. The July 1978 coup in Mauritania played in the favour of POLISARIO. Tired of the fruitless battles, Mauritanian soldiers ousted President Ould Daddah 1 from office and signed a ceasefire agreement with POLISARIO. Under its new President Mokta, Mauritania also recognized the SADR. This did not only give the guerillas some relief but also a ray of hope. Their struggle had started producing tangible fruits. This two years' war also gave the guerrillas the experience they needed to embark on stronger and wealthier Morocco.

6. The economic hardships faced by Mauritania played in the favour of POLISARIO Front. From the mid 1970s, the world demand for iron ore started dropping and so did the prices on the world market. Mauritania could no longer sponsor the war since she had no alternative sources of income. This made POLISARIO to succeed over Mauritania

7. POLISARIO benefited from assistance from the communist block. From the start, its ideological orientation was socialist. This enabled her obtain invaluable aid from the Soviet Union in form of funds, ammunitions, medicine, tinned foodstuffs and military uniform, anti-aircraft guns etc.

8. The Saharan women were a factor in the success of the POLISARIO war effort. At the height of the war against renewed Moroccan imperialism, Western Saharan women took up the challenge. They offered their services to POLISARIO as cooks, nurses, weapon bearers and excelled as spies.

9. The drought and famine in Mauritania weakened her soldiers and this gave POLISARIO an upper hand.

10. Military weakness and low fighting morale amongst Moroccan and Mauritania soldiers proved an advantage to POLISARIO. The lack of morale was due to the fact that their war against Western Sahara lacked clear objectives. Everyone in the world seemed to recognize the S ADR and to condemn the aggression against it. This played down the morale of Moroccan and Mauritanian soldiers.

11. The ruling of the ICJ inspired the POLISARIO Front to fight on. It approved the efforts of the Saharawis to self determination. Its decision helped to tilt world opinion in sympathy of the SADR.

12. The recognition of the SADR by 28 O.A.U. individual member states by November 1978 stimulated POLISARIO's war efforts.

13. The role played by the UNO cannot be underscored. It recognized the POLISARIO Front as a true nationalist movement. This raised the morale of Saharawis.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the nature of Spanish rule in Western Sahara.

2. Discuss the causes and consequences of the Western Saharawi war of liberation.

3. Assess the role of the POLISARIO Front.

4. Account for the success of the POLISARIO war efforts by 2000.