

S5 P210/1 AFRICAN NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND NEW STATES

READ, COPY AND RESEARCH ON THE QUESTIONS IN THE PACKAGE

This work is for term 1 and 2

A level History Syllabus

P210/1 AFRICAN NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND NEW STATES

OBJECTIVES:

- 1. Understand and identify National movements, which led to the New States in Africa.**
- 2. Understand and develop sympathy in various efforts being made to overcome problems on African continent.**
- 3. To stimulate discussion by use of history case studies selected from different parts of Africa.**

S.5 TERM I

- 1. Meaning of African Nationalism**
- 2. Background of African Nationalism**
- 3. Characteristics of African Nationalism**
- 4. Factors for the growth of African Nationalism**
- 5. The Colonial policies in the Decolonisation**
- 6. Italo-Ethiopian crisis 1935-1941:**
 - Background**
 - Causes of the crisis**
 - Reasons for defeat of Ethiopia in 1936**
 - Effects on Ethiopia**
 - Effects on African nationalism**
 - Reasons for defeat of Italy in 1941**
 - Emperor Haile Selassie**
- 7. The Second World War 1939-1945 in growth of African Nationalism**
- 8. Atlantic Charter 1941 in the in growth of African Nationalism**
- 9. The Brazzaville conference 1944 in the Decolonisation of Africa**
- 10. The role of ex-servicemen in rise of African Nationalism**
- 11. The role of UNO in growth of African Nationalism**
- 12. The super powers in the Decolonisation**

S.5 TERM 2

- 1. Role of Education/ African Elites in the Decolonisation of Africa**
- 2. The political parties in the decolonisation of Africa**
- 3. Asian nationalism in the growth of African Nationalism**
- 4. Indian independence in the growth of African Nationalism**

5. The Egyptian Revolution 1952:

- Background**
- Causes of the Revolution**
- Reasons for the success of Revolution**
- Effects on Egypt**
- Effects on African nationalism**

6. Suez Canal crisis: Background

- Causes of the Nationalisation of the Suez Canal**
- Effects of the Nationalisation of the Suez Canal**
- Causes and effects of Suez Canal crisis**
- Abdel Nasser Ghammal**

7. Ghana's independence in 1957 in the Decolonisation of Africa:

- Background**
 - Causes of the Revolution**
 - Reasons for the success of Revolution**
 - Effects on Ghana**
 - Effects on African nationalism**

8. Pan Africanism in the growth of African Nationalism: Aims and objectives, factors for development, Achievements and failures

- Manchester conference 1945**
- Accra conference 1958**

9. OAU: Aims and objectives, Achievements and failures

10. Non-Alignment policy/ Bandung conference 1955: Aims and objectives, Achievements and failures, why it is still useful.

11. The Mau-Mau rebellion 1952-1960: Causes, effects, failures, role of Kenyatta and KANU

S 5 TERM 3

1. **Malagasy Uprising 1947: Causes, effects, failure**
2. **Algeria Revolution 1954: Causes, effects, success of the revolution, Ben Bella**
3. **Rwanda Revolution 1959: Causes, effects**
4. **Rwanda Re-invasion 1990-1994: Causes, effects**
5. **The Zanzibar Revolution 1964: Causes, effects, success of the revolution, John Okello**
6. **Libyan Revolution 1969: Causes, effects, success of the revolution, Gaddafi Muammar**
7. **Ethiopian Revolution 1974: Causes, effects, success of the revolution, Mariam Mengistu**
8. **African culture : effects of colonialism on culture, revival, African writers in revival of culture**
9. **Neo- Colonialism: Manifestations, effects, solutions**
10. **Interstate conflicts: Causes, effects, solutions**
11. **Military coups in Africa: Causes, effects**
 - **Uganda coup 1971: Amin, Economic war/ Expulsion of Asians in 1972**
 - **Ghana coup 1966**
 - **Ghana coup 1972**
 - **Nigeria coup 1966**
 - **Zaire coup 1965**
 - **Algeria coup 1965**
 - **Liberian coup 1980**
 - **Etc.(some revolutions were military coups as well)**

S 6 TERM 1

1. **Social-economic problems:**
 - **Famine : causes, effects, solutions**
 - **Corruption : causes, effects, solutions**
 - **Unemployment : causes, effects, solutions**
 - **Poverty : causes, effects, solutions**
 - **Refugee crisis : causes, effects, solutions**
 - **Rural-urban migration : causes, effects, solutions**

- **Population explosion : causes, effects, solutions**
- **Foreign Aid : Roles, problems**
- 2. African unity**
 - **East African Attempted Federation : causes and failure**
 - **Central African Federation 1953-1963: reasons for formation, effects, why took long, collapse**
 - **French West African Federation : reasons for formation, effects, collapse**
 - **East African community 1967-1977 : Aims and objectives, reasons for formation, Achievements and failures**
 - **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) : Aims and objectives, reasons for formation, Achievements and failures**
 - **COMESA : Aims and objectives, reasons for formation, Achievements and failures**
 - **SADC : Aims and objectives, reasons for formation, Achievements and failures**
 - **Preferential Trade Area (PTA) : Aims and objectives, reasons for formation, Achievements and failures**
 - **African Union (AU)**
 - **Etc.**
- 3. Political Party System: Definition, Types, Reasons for, Advantages and Disadvantages of Multi-Party system. Reasons for, Advantages and Disadvantages of Single Party system.**
- 4. African Socialism : Aims and objectives, reasons for adoption, Achievements and failures , key features of African Socialism**
 - **Tanzania Socialism /Ujamaa policy/Arusha Declaration 1967: Background, Aims and objectives, reasons for adoption, Achievements and failures , Nyerere**
 - **Uganda Common man's Charter 1969: Aims and objectives, reasons for adoption, Achievements and failures, Obote**
 - **Harambee Philosophy 1963: Aims and objectives, reasons for adoption, Achievements and failures**
 - **Guinea Conakry under Sekou Toure: Aims and objectives, reasons for adoption, Achievements and failures**
- 5. Capitalism ideology: strength and weakness**
- 6. Wars of liberation:**
 - **Portuguese colonies: Angola , Mozambique, Guinea Bissau**
 - **Morocco and Tunisia liberation**

S 6 TERM 2

1. South Africa liberation war :

- **Background of Apartheid African reaction to Apartheid**
- **Impact of Apartheid**
- **Success of independence struggle**
- **Role of OAU in Decolonisation of South of Africa**
- **Role of UNO in Decolonisation of South of Africa**
- **Role of the Front line states in Decolonisation of South of Africa**
- **Role of Nelson Mandela in Decolonisation of South of Africa**

2. Namibia liberation:

- **Background of Namibia**
- **Reasons for the struggle**
- **Effects of liberation**
- **Reasons for delayed independence**
- **Success of independence war**
- **Sam Nujoma**

3. Zimbabwe liberation:

- **Background of Zimbabwe**
- **Why UDI was launched in Zimbabwe**
- **Impact of UDI**
- **Delayed independence**
- **Success of war**
- **Robert Mugabe**

4. Western Sahara (POLISARIO) Background ,Reasons for the struggle, Effects, Reasons for delayed independence, Success of independence war

5. Uganda war of liberation 1978-1979: Background of Namibia

- **Reasons for the struggle**
- **Effects of liberation**
- **Role of UNLF**

6. Civil wars and Secession wars: causes, effects, failure

- Katanga crisis 1960-1963
- Nigeria civil war (Biafra) 1967-1970
- Buganda crisis 1966
- Chadian civil war 1965
- Sudan civil war
- South Sudan civil war
- Somalia civil war
- Eritrea civil war
- Instability in the Horn of Africa
- Angola civil war
- Mozambique civil war
- Etc.

S 6 TERM 3

REVISION AND DISCUSSIONS

NB: Check your notes and hand-outs to find out what is missing and not clear.

Use summary and questions to revise.

How to present a good essay

A good essay or presentation must be a logical sequence presentation i.e. it should or must have an introduction, body and the conclusion

1. An introduction

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

How to introduce an essay

- Identify the main topic or sub-theme or subject of the question

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

Note:

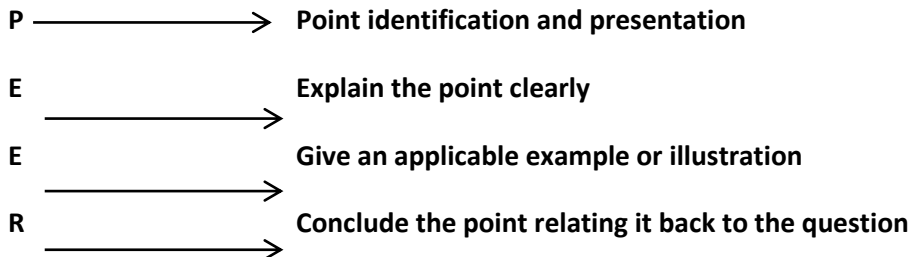
- An introduction is not a summary of the points to be presented in the essay. It must therefore, be brief and precise. It should be about 5-7 lines.

2. The body

- The body comprises the relevant points presented, well stated, explained, illustrated and linked to the question.
- It is important that you start every paragraph with the point, well linked to the question i.e. present a paragraph point.
- Avoid starting your paragraphs with such words and phrases like first and foremost, also, to begin with, to add on the above, as if that is not enough, I am still coming, etcetera. Such phrases may bias the examiner.
- Use very simple English when explaining your points; avoid complicated vocabularies and slangs.
- Where possible, give an example for every point you present. Examples may range from dates and years of historical events, places of events, parties involved in the events i.e. countries, personalities and organisations, etc.
- Avoid congesting many ideas in one paragraph; every paragraph should represent a different idea or point of discussion.
- Proper punctuation should be observed. Write short sentences for easy punctuation.
- Punctuating prevents the essay from being narrative
- Avoid heading or underlining your points, present paragraph points to ensure a systematic flow of ideas in the essay. Link every point to the question before explaining it.
- Ensure a systematic flow of ideas i.e. chronological order (arrangement) of historical facts.
- Every paragraph should answer the following questions,

- (i) What caused an event (statement of the point)?
- (ii) How did it cause the event (explanation with an example)?
- (iii) So what; a good analysed point with a conclusion linking the point back to the question.

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



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

3. The conclusion

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

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

Chronology and systematic presentation

What is chronological presentation and how should chronology be observed?

- A good essay in "advanced level history" should have a center of direction. It is not a fair play if your ideas are simply scattered or thrown anyhow throughout the essay.
- A student of history at advanced level should aim at presenting a quality-essay in order to score very good or excellent marks.
- One of the aspects of quality and excellence in presenting A' level history is ensuring chronology or systematic flow of historical facts.

- Chronology is the arrangement of historical facts or events in order of what occurred first to the last event to occur, or by considering political, social and economic aspects.
- Chronological arrangement of the essay can depend on dates and years of events.
- Some events lead to the occurrence of other events and these should be arranged in order of sequence.
- Chronology may be determined by considering the strength of factors that cause an event under discussion.
- A systematically flowing essay can also be considered by discussing primary events (most important factors) prior to or before events that followed later.
- It can also be arranged between internal and external factors

Standpoint:

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

Basics of a standpoint

- A standpoint must be clear, specific and quantifiable or measurable.
- It must be maintained throughout the essay and not contradicted.
- The standpoint should be identified in the introduction, transition paragraph (commonly known as "however part") and conclusion.
- A standpoint does not depend on the number of points presented but it rather concerns the most important event or factor of all facts presented.
- Any essay without a standpoint on a question that requires it may not score above 12 of 25 marks.
- In the same way, a contracted standpoint will affect the score of the essay that could have been very good (19-21 marks) or excellent (22-25 marks). A contracted standpoint may fetch a maximum of 13 of 25 marks.

Examples of clear, specific and valid standpoints

- a) To a larger / bigger / greater extent
- b) To a largest / biggest / greatest extent
- c) To a very large / very big / very greatest
- d) Largely led...
- e) To a smaller / lesser extent
- f) To a smallest / least extent
- g) To a very small / very less
- h) More important / more significant
- i) Most important / most significant
- j) ... was primarily responsible
- k) Played a tremendous role

Examples of unclear and invalid standpoints

- a) To some extent
- b) To a certain extent
- c) To a fair extent
- d) Could be to a big extent
- e) May be to a large extent
- f) The contribution was fifty-fifty

Examples of contradicted standpoints

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

THE NOTES

DEFINITION AND UNDERSTANDING OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Reference questions:

a) Examine the factors that led to the growth of modern African nationalism

b) Explain the factors that influenced the struggle for independence in Africa

c) Account for the growth of African nationalism

d) What were the factors responsible for the growth of modern nationalism in Africa?

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

1. European oppressive colonial policies in Africa

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

2. Missionary activities in Africa

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

3. The rise of African independent churches

The emergence of African independent church movement was a step towards anticolonial struggles in Africa. By the late nineteenth Century, African clergymen had failed in their demands to be included in church governance that was dominated by the white priests and missionaries. African converts (priests)

established their own churches based on African principles. The independent church movement was active in Nigeria, Nyasaland and Kenya. The leaders of these churches like John Chilembwe of Nyasaland and Isaiah of South Africa preached against oppression of Africans and demanded for African rights. The African churches exhibited the fact that Africans could run their own affairs. The success of independent Churches influenced African demand for political independence.

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

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

5. Lessons from Japanese success since 1880

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

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

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

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

The outbreak and eventual end of World War I had a hand in the growth of African nationalism. The events that followed World War I provoked nationalistic feelings in Africa. Following the end of the war, Germany lost her colonial possessions in Africa, which raised hope of independence among these territories. In 1918, Lloyd George the Premier of Britain stated that the idea of self-governance was relevant to only former German colonies and occupied territories in Europe. This denied the former German African colonies the opportunity to be free from foreign domination. It also partly led to the 1919 Pan African Congress in Paris all of which influenced African to demand for Freedom.

8. The Russian revolution (1917)

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

9. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia (1935)

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

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

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

11. Impact of the Atlantic Charter (1941)

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

12. Ethiopian success over Italy (1941)

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

13. The contribution of the Brazzaville conference (1944)

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

administrative posts, native assemblies were introduced; de Gaulle increased African representation in the French parliament and allowed Africans to form political groupings. The outcomes of the Brazzaville conference influenced Africans to demand for their independence.

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

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

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

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

16. Impact of the Manchester Conference (1945)

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

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

The rise of USA and the Soviet Union (USSR) as to the rank of superpowers after World War II facilitated the decolonisation of Africa. The new superpowers replaced France, Britain and Germany at the top of world affairs. USA and the Soviet Union expressed an anti-colonial attitude through disliking direct imperialism. They condemned the continued domination and exploitation of Africa by Europeans. The USA and the USSR allied with Africans by giving them financial, military and moral support, and education scholarships to aid their liberation struggles. The African beneficiaries included Morocco, Mozambique and South Africa. The emergence of the Soviet Union as a world power led to the spread of socialist and communist ideas which encouraged the colonised people to use militarism as a strategy of attaining sovereign equality.

18. Urbanisation in Africa since 1946

The development of towns and the increased settlement of Africans in urban centres was a step towards the growth of African nationalism. These urban centres included Nairobi, Kampala, Accra, Lagos and

Pretoria. Many Africans flocked to towns in search for greener pastures but were disappointed with the expensive cost of living, lack of employment as well as discrimination by the whites and colonial agents. All these conditions frustrated the idle Africans who were easily mobilised into trade unions and political parties to oppose colonialism.

19. The independence of India and Pakistan (1947)

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

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

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

21. The Contribution of western education and African elites

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

22. The Formation and the role of political parties

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

23. Influence of press and mass media

Through press and mass media, Africans increasingly demanded for independence. African freedom fighters established nationalistic newspapers like the Accra Evening News in the Gold Coast, Sekanyolya in Uganda, Sauti ya Mwafrika in Kenya and Malawi News in Nyasaland.' and radio broadcasting through Radio Cairo, Radio Accra and the Algerian Free Voice. Through mass media, Africans spread anti-colonial

propaganda by criticizing colonial atrocities like arbitrary detention of freedom fighters and use of violence against African demonstrators. Mass media became an instrument of sensitising and mobilising masses to join the struggle for independence.

24. Impact of MDD and African Artistes

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

25. The Chinese Communist revolution (1949)

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

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

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

27. The Egyptian revolution (1952)

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

28. Effects of the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya (1952-1955)

The Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya increased the desire for independence especially among the British colonies. The revolt created awareness to the British colonial masters that Africans were determined to get rid of colonialism at all cost. The British began granting political concessions to their colonies; these

included increased African representation in the Legco, African participation in administration, as well as constitutional reforms. These political developments influenced Africans to demand for political freedoms hence influencing the growth for African nationalism. The Mau-Mau uprising also hastened independence attainment in Ghana, Tanganyika and Uganda.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

33. Influence of Guinean independence (1958)

The independence of Guinea Conakry in 1958 made the growth of African nationalism inevitable. Through the 1958 de Gaulle referendum, Sekou Toure Ahmed led French Guinea to independence. Guinea hence became the first French West African colony to achieve self-rule. Immediately after

granting independence to Guinea, the French prepared the rest of their colonies for political freedom. In Ivory Coast and Senegal, the French allowed majority Africans in administration and in the native assembly. The independence of Guinea Conakry hence increased the chances for independence among other French colonies.

34. The role of the Commonwealth of Nations since 1959

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

35. Harold Macmillan's Wind of change speech (1960)

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

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

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

37. Effects of the Lisbon coup (1974)

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

THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS 1935-1941

The Italo-Ethiopian conflict of 1935-1941 was a war between Benito Mussolini's Italy and Ethiopia led by Emperor Haile Selassie. The war broke out on October 3, 1935 when Italy attacked Ethiopia. At the time of Italian aggression, Ethiopia and Liberia were the only two states in Africa that had survived European imperialism. The invasion of Ethiopia by Italy was an extension of the scramble and epilogue (conclusion) to the partition of Africa.

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

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

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

Reference questions:

a) Account for the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935

b) "Mussolini was primarily responsible for the 1935-1941 Italo-Ethiopian crisis." Discuss

c) How far was the Whiteman's conspiracy responsible for the Italian occupation on Ethiopia between 1935 and 1941?

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

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

2. The anti-Italian policy of Haile Selassie

Benito Mussolini attacked the Ethiopian monarchy to revenge against Haile Selassie's anti-Italian policy. Since his rise to power as the Military Governor of Harar Province, Ras Tafari adopted a diplomatic policy which isolated Italy. He completely ignored Italy in Ethiopian foreign relations. Even after signing the 1928 Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship, Ras Tafari continued isolating Italy, which frustrated Mussolini in 1932; Emperor Selassie recruited foreign advisers from other European powers except Italy. He also appointed economic and military experts from Sweden, France, Switzerland, Belgium as well as the USA. Mussolini took it personal hence the 1935 attack on Ethiopia was to enable Italy have influence in Ethiopia.

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

The desire by Benito Mussolini to avenge the humiliation suffered by Italy at the Battle of Adowa (Adoa) caused the war against Ethiopia. The Italian Kingdom had wished to capture and add Abyssinia to her African colonial empire which led to the outbreak of the first Italo-Abyssinian war between 1894 and 1896. The Italian force commanded by General Oreste Baratieri was defeated by Ethiopia at the Battle of Adowa on March 1, 1896. The people of Italy had not forgotten such humiliating defeat that did not only

leave Abyssinia independent but also kept haunting them for years; Mussolini resurrected the Italian ambition of revenging against Abyssinia with enough confidence that an attack against Ethiopia could arouse the patriotic of Italians towards removing the shameful scar of Adowa.

4. Need to form the United Italian East African Empire

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

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

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

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

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

7. Mussolini's ambition to have full control over Ethiopia's ports Massawa and Assab

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

8. Need to civilize Ethiopia

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

9. The unfairness of the Versailles Peace Settlement

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

10. Mussolini's ambition to demonstrate Italian military strength

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

11. Mussolini's allegation of Ethiopian Planning to attack Eritrea and Somaliland

The alleged intention of Ethiopia to expel Italy from her colonies of Eritrea and Somali- land Influenced Italy to invade Ethiopia. Soon after his coronation as the emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie embarked on modernising the Ethiopian forces as fast as the Empire's resources could allow. Mussolini suspected the re-organisation of the Ethiopian army as a plan by Selassie to attack the Italian colonies in the Horn of Africa. The Italian spokesperson had to comment that Ethiopia was arming her troops in an updated European manner. This fear made the Italians to appeal to the Italian government and Mussolini responded by attacking Ethiopia.

12. Impact of economic crisis in Italy

Europe after World War I influenced Mussolini to attack Ethiopia. The effects of World War I were a multiple of economic problems in Europe between 1929 and 1932, and this situation came to be known as the economic crisis. This economic situation severely affected every state in Europe but the condition of Italy was the unhappy. The crisis led to high cost of living in Italy with a budget deficit of over 12,000 million Lire (\$228000 million) which made it impossible for the government to ensure proper economic planning. The Italian currency (Lire) was depreciated, unemployment had greatly increased due to collapse of industries, and many Italians were retrenched from their jobs while wages of those who employed were cut down. Italy had an adverse balance of trade as her import volumes compared to the

exports. Such poor economic atmosphere made Mussolini to look at the virgin resources of Ethiopia as the only hope that would stabilise Italy's collapsing economy hence the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

13. The unfair Italian share at Berlin

The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 had an effect on the outbreak of Italy Ethiopian conflict. The Conference was convened in Germany, organised by Bismarck the German Chancellor. At Berlin, Africa was partitioned like a piece of cake among the European colonial powers. Italy paid the price of entering the colonial race much later than other powers by acquiring the semi-arid territories of Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland. Her joining the colonial business late was due to lack of military and industrial resources like other powers. The Italian dissatisfaction at Berlin influenced her attempt to conquer Abyssinia which failed by 1896. With such unfair share at Berlin, Italy kept alive her dream of controlling Ethiopia, and the opportunity came in 1934-1935 during the time of Dictator Mussolini.

14. The weakness of the League of Nations

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

15. Japanese occupation of Manchuria

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

16. Impact of the 1934 Stresa Front (Anglo-French conspiracy)

The Stresa Front and the Italo-Anglo - French alliance gave Mussolini morale to invade Ethiopia. The Stresa Front was an agreement made during a tripartite conference in a small Italian town of Stresa. It was signed on April 14, 1934 between French Prime Minister Pierre Laval, British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, and Italian Prime Minister Benito Mussolini. The three states represented at Stresa, France, Britain and Italy signed the treaty as an alliance against German rearmament plan, which threatened peace and security in Europe. Mussolini discussed with British delegates his plans of making Italy 'great, respected and feared' through the Invasion and conquest of Abyssinia and ultimately create an all-powerful Italian Empire in East Africa. Benito Mussolini believed that the signing of the "Stresa Front" would mean Britain and France would not interfere in the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. This encouraged him to organise a military invasion on Ethiopia in 1935.

17. The weakness of Ethiopian army

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

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

18. Need for territories to resettle Italian desperate population

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

19. Desire to exploit Ethiopia

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

20. Support from German's Hitler

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

22. Impact of the Hoare-Laval Pact

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

Please note:

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

23. The role of the 1934 Wal-Wal incident

The immediate cause of the Second Italo-Abyssinian war was the 1934 Walwal incident. This incident resulted from the ongoing conflict between the Kingdom of Italy and the Empire of Ethiopia. In 1930, Italy created a military fort of Italian and Somali officers at the Walwal (Welwel) oasis in the Ethiopian territory of Ogaden bordering Italian territory of Somaliland. Ethiopians called this a direct intention to colonise Ethiopia. In December 1934, the Ethiopian local commander attacked the Italian troops at Walwal (Welwel) and left some dead. The fighting involved Somali officers in the Italian forces and Ethiopian army of about 6000 men. Two Italian fighter planes bombed and destroyed the Ethiopian camp leading to the final conquest of Walwal. Mussolini used the incident to make unrealistic demands to Selassie which included a written apology, an indemnity (compensation) of about 20000 US dollars and a delegation of Ethiopian officials to salute the Italian flag at Walwal. Haile Selassie rejected the demands of Mussolini, who hence, used it as an excuse to attack Ethiopia the following year, 1935.

Impact of the Italo Ethiopian war

Reference questions-

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

Negative effects

1. Ethiopian resistance was crushed as the Italian troops finally captured the Ethiopian capital which ended the 2000 years of Ethiopian independence. By January 1936, the people of Ethiopia had been decisively defeated; however, the Ethiopian army managed to resist the Italian attack for about a few more months but finally gave in by May 1936 when the Italian army commanded by General Pietro Badoglio entered the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa.
2. Consequently, the advancement of Italian troops to Addis Ababa led to the abdication and flight of Emperor Haile Selassie to exile in London through Djibouti. Emperor Haile Selassie had returned to Addis Ababa in April, the first time since the outbreak of the war. Selassie fled into exile on May 2, 1936 to escape possible capture by the Italian invading troops, and to solicit for

external support and international sympathy that would enable him regain his Ethiopian throne. His family and several of his closest associates accompanied him. The loss of the empirical throne by Emperor Selassie led to a leadership vacuum in Ethiopia that dealt a final blow to the Ethiopian forces.

3. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia was a sign of humiliation to the Ethiopian monarch. It was a sign of naked aggression on an internationally recognised sovereign state. The once African symbol of dignity and freedom now fell to the Italian aggressors. The occupation of Ethiopia exposed the military weakness of the imperial regime of Haile Selassie, whose economic constraints could not sustain the resistance against Italy. The Ethiopian reputation built by Emperor Menelik II declined with Italian success over Italy in 1936. It was a sounding success to Benito Mussolini who inspired the Italian revenge of the Adowa (Adwa) defeat of 1896.
4. The war led to loss of lives and subsequent destruction of property. The use of poisonous gas and aerial bombing left the villages ablaze where Ethiopians suffered heavy casualties. Many of the victims were innocent women and children. Soldiers, elites, peasants and priests also perished in the Italo-Ethiopian war.
5. The conflict caused and exposed divisions among Ethiopians. The grievances that were held against the Amharic tribe (Selassie's origin) by other tribes like the Galla, Sidona and Somali due to the tribal tendencies held by the Emperor's government made the other tribes to support Italian forces against the Ethiopian national army. Such gross disunity influenced the Galla to fight the Amharic, and the Italians to bribe the Ethiopians to identify the operation areas of the Ethiopian army. The Ethiopian army officials of Galla origin always led their forces into Italian ambushes.
6. The conflict ushered in a political crisis that contributed to the refugee crisis in the horn of Africa and the emergence of internally displaced people in Ethiopia. This refugee crisis exploded to the neighbouring states of Kenya, Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea where many Ethiopians sought for asylum as Italy occupied Ethiopia.
7. On defeating Ethiopia, the Italians established their imperial rule. The Italian occupation brought Emperor Haile Selassie and the Royal Imperial House of Ethiopia to experience direct European rule which other Africa leaders had already experienced about fifty years before. The Ethiopian defeat of Italy at Adwa made the country survive colonial domination and exploitation which other African countries had faced from the second half of the 19th century. Her independence worked to create a sense of peace and prosperity of Ethiopian people within the borders of their own country. However, following the Italian occupation (1936-1941) Ethiopians experienced land grabbing, forced labour and arbitrary rule of a European colonial master.

8. They introduced harsh and exploitative administrative policies like forced labour, excessive Coition, arbitrary arrests and execution of Ethiopians opposed to Italian leadership. All these deprived Africans in Ethiopia of their freedom.
9. Consequently, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia led to the introduction of fascism for which Ethiopia became a victim. Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia was aimed at spreading his fascist ideology beyond Italian boundaries. The ideology emphasised survival of the fittest and the dominance of weaker nations by powerful ones. Ethiopia thus experienced military dictatorship and the uncompromising character of fascist Italians.
10. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis exposed the weakness and double standards of the League of Nations, which inevitably led to its collapse. Later on, the United Nations Organisation emerged to roll the boat of peace, security and justice in the world. Ethiopia received an invitation to the new international world peace keeping body.
11. The successful occupation of Ethiopia by Italy in 1936 prompted Hitler of Germany to invade Poland which was a sparking factor in the outbreak of World War II. The threat posed by the axis alliance and the refusal of German to withdraw from Poland made the allied alliance led by France and Britain to declare war on Germany, eventually making World War II inevitable.

Positive

12. The brief Italian colonial occupation of Ethiopia witnessed socio-economic developments in the country. Hospitals, schools and roads were set up! While Italian settlement led to growth of towns, hence urbanisation.
13. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis led to the formation of a guerrilla movement known as the "**Black Lions**" under the leadership of Ras Imru (Immiru). This Ethiopian liberation movement stood against ethnic differences in Ethiopia and ensured a successful struggle against Italy. The "**Black Lions**" movement made a major contributory factor that led to the defeat of Italy in 1941.
14. The war inspired the formation of a committee of Union in 1937. This was a step towards promoting unity among over 100 tribes of Ethiopia, as well as ending the divisions within the Ethiopian army that fought against Italian aggression.
15. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia led to international recognition of Emperor Haile Selassie and Ethiopia against Italy. Ethiopia and Haile Selassie became popular all over the world as the international community condemned the Italian naked aggression against an internationally recognised independent state of Ethiopia. Major Powers of the League like Britain channeled their support to enable the restoration of Ethiopian sovereignty.

16. The end of war in 1941 provided the opportunity for the re-organisation of the Ethiopian military. Haile Selassie realised the need for a strong modern military force hence encouraged training of many military officers in modern warfare technology. In collaboration with countries in Europe, Selassie sent military cadres to military schools in France and England, The Emperor also introduced modern military schools in Ethiopia so that more military generals could be trained. This great move towards the military was motivated by the Ethiopian defeat to Italy in 1936.
17. Following the increased international popularity of Ethiopia, the African state got the invitation as a founder member of the United Nations Organisation (UNO). After World War II, in 1945, Ethiopia was invited as one of the founder members of the United Nations organization. This did not only make the Ethiopian empire more popular, but also a major contributor to international peace and security.
18. It led to the rise of the Ethiopian Patriotic Church and the increase in its participation in the rational affairs of Ethiopia. The participation of the Ethiopian Patriotic Church in the struggle against the Italian aggressors was paramount in the restoration of Ethiopian sovereignty'. The Church mobilized the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians to die for their country. In 1938, Bishop Pedros was publically executed for refusing to broadcast against the patriots. The Italians also killed 380 monks in the ancient monastery of Debra Limonas after arms were discovered there this act of murder on the Church officials was a motivation factor in the Ethiopian resistance against the Italian aggression.
19. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis elevated the popularity of Ethiopia among Blacks in Africa and the world over. The war strengthened black unity and co-operation towards supporting Ethiopia against Italian occupation. The Blacks recognized Ethiopia as the last cathedral of African freedom and thus were profoundly shaken by the destruction of a country that had been a proud symbol of African independence and black achievement amidst the era of colonialism. Protest spread from Lagos in Nigeria to New York in USA and London in England. All over the world blacks were protesting against Mussolini's naked aggression against a virgin Ethiopia that had stood as a symbol of black freedom of dignity.
20. The war influenced the co-operation of Ethiopia with Eritrea against Italian imperialism. The successful Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936 was partly favoured by support from Eritrea However, the good spirit of the Italian colonial government in Eritrea changed soon after Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Mussolini's administration stressed the racial and political superiority of the Italian people in the Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somaliland. Segregation became the hard and fast rule, and Africans in the three countries were reduced to the lowest class of society in their own homeland. The Eritreans hence worked closely with the Ethiopians to end Italian imperialism.

21. The war awakened racial consciousness of the Ethiopian people that they are Africans and that Ethiopia is part of the African continent. For longtime, Ethiopian rulers preferred seeing themselves as part of the Middle East rather than Africa. The widespread support given by Africans and blacks to Emperor Selassie and the Ethiopian people during the Italian occupation made them to develop a sense of belonging to Africa and not the Middle East. After Ethiopia regaining her sovereign freedom from Italian aggression, Emperor Haile Selassie became strongly active in the African affairs as one of the greatest Pan Africanists and elder statesmen of post-colonial Africa. No surprise that Haile Selassie got actively involved in the liberation of Africa and establishment of unity on the continent.

REACTIONS OF THE BLACKS TO THE ITALIAN INVASION OF ETHIOPIA:

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

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

Reference Questions:

- a) **How did the Black world respond to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935?**
 - b) **Examine the reactions of Africans to the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopia war of 1935-1941**
1. Pan Africanists like Marcus Garvey immediately spoke out to condemn the invasion of Ethiopia by Italian dictator Mussolini. According to Marcus Garvey, Ethiopia was part of the great African race that was going to help Africans get rid of colonialism thus, Italy had committed a naked aggression against an internationally recognized independent country.
 2. In West Africa, the nationalistic newspapers called for the mass uprising to protest against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. This was meant to show a mass protest by Africans against European humiliation.
 3. In New York about 20,000 blacks went to the streets to demonstrate against the Italian rape of Ethiopia. This was an indication that blacks in the Diaspora (abroad) still had a strong devotion towards their land of origin.
 4. Jomo Kenyatta in a monthly Labour Publication wrote an article "Hand off Abyssinia". His article was aimed at condemning the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the only symbol and oasis of African independence. Kenyatta commented that his weapon against the Italian naked practice against Ethiopia was only the pen and paper.

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

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

REASONS WHY ITALY DEFEATED ETHIOPIA IN 1936

Reference questions:

a) Discuss the factors that led to the Ethiopian defeat by Italy in 1936

b) Account for the military success of the Italians against the Ethiopians between 1935 and 1936

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

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

main Ethiopian army towards Italian ambushes. The Italians hence got a better opportunity to facilitate more divisions among Ethiopians, by bribing many non-Amharas and influencing them to desert and join Italian army, just like Gus, while others helped Italian troops to identify the operation areas of the Ethiopian army.

3. The military superiority of the Italians over Ethiopia was a great asset in the defeat and occupation of Ethiopia. The Italians had all sorts of military hardware like powerful bombs, aerial photographs and a well organised and trained army of more than 200,000 troops. The people of Abyssinia could not stand the Italian force that were thoroughly mechanised and fully equipped in every way. The Abyssinian army was full of volunteer fighters. It had very few professional soldiers who either had outdated tactics or had forgotten them since the reign of Menelik II. Abyssinians had practically no modern weapons of warfare. For the few that were available, some were faulty. The Ethiopians had only eleven (11) fighter planes, three (3) of which could not leave the ground and one (1) of them had been given to the Ethiopian Red Cross Society. The national forces had only 371 bombs, 13 anti-aircraft guns and most of their rifles could not fire. This enabled the Italian armies to weaken Ethiopian troops, penetrate farther into the hilly Ethiopian country and occupy the capital, Addis Ababa.
4. Consequently, the general weakness of the Ethiopian forces enabled the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian army comprised a total of about 1,000,000 but a maximum of 100,000 could fight effectively against the invading Italian troops. Majority of the fighters were volunteers with traditional fighting skills. Some of the fighters who volunteered to join the forces only because they wanted food and money. Most of the Ethiopian soldiers that fought the Italians were either sick or old. A tenth of them were women, another a tenth were priests who had no strong commitment to the national causes against Mussolini's men.
5. The weakness of the League of Nations was a disadvantage to Ethiopia. The League could not condemn the Italian action nor could she intervene by sending forces to check the Italian aggression. This left the Ethiopians at the mercy of Italians. The League failed to effect sanctions on Italy as the big powers (Britain and France) used the organisation to achieve their own needs. They recognized the Italian occupation of Ethiopia simply to appease Mussolini.
6. The Whiteman's conspiracy led to the defeat of Ethiopia such conspiracy made Britain and France not to respect the sanctions imposed on Italy by the League. They went ahead to effect the arms embargo, which was a ban on sale of military equipment to Italy and Ethiopia which solely affected Ethiopia to the advantage of Italy who manufactured her own weapons.
7. The poor financial status of Ethiopia at the time of the war made the defeat of the Ethiopian army inevitable. The Ethiopian imperial government of Emperor Selassie was so poor that it could not maintain an army in the fighting field for long. It was also expensive to transport fighting men from distant parts of the empire to the areas where fighting took place. The

government hardly provided logistical support to the soldiers to ensure that they put up a tough resistance against the Italian invaders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reference questions:

a) Why did the League of Nations fail to avert the war between Italy and Ethiopia 1935 - 1941?

b) To what extent did the League of Nations cause the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935?

1. The league showed an impotent response towards the first international tension. This precedent occurred when Japan attacked and occupied the Chinese industrialized province of Manchuria. The unrealistic weaknesses of the League towards an aggression by a non-European power prompted Italy to attack Ethiopia expecting no reaction from the world peacekeeping body.
2. The League failed to effect resolutions of the 1932 Geneva disarmament conference. The resolutions were aimed at disarming Germany and Italy, the two powers that threatened European stability. The two powers were not to manufacture or import arms; however, the very two powers failed to meet the demands of the conference but the League looked on as they accumulated arms, which gave Italy military confidence to attack Ethiopia.
3. The League of Nations also violated the Geneva protocol, which had been imposed on the two belligerent countries; Ethiopia and Italy. The two Nations were not to import arms and no member state would connive with either of the two in trade items related to arms and ammunitions. However, the sanctions on Italy were violated; weeks after, items like oil, steel and coal found their way to Italy from Britain and France. These items were important for Italian arms manufacturing industry.
4. The death of Mr. Briand the French foreign minister in 1932 robbed the League of a resolute policy maker. Briand was a major political actor who advocated for a policy of settlement of all conflicts between member states of the League only by peaceful means. Thus after his death universal peace remained only a dream as men like Mussolini suddenly woke up to the crude realities of aggression like the case of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935.
5. The weakness of the League of Nations was further witnessed when she failed to restrain aggressive nations from re-arming. Italy spent years reorganizing and rearming her military in preparation for an invasion on Italy. Had the League implemented her aims of disarmament, may be the Italian aggression on Ethiopia could have been averted.
6. The military strength of Italy also scared the League of Nations from intervening to prevent the crisis. Italy had manufactured and bought advanced and sophisticated military hardware such as

planes, machine guns and bombs. To say that Italy was militarily stronger is not to suggest that the League of Nations was militarily weak; but the League feared military intervention because the cost in terms of blood and resources would have drained the international body.

7. The League also failed to avert the war because Italy was expanding her colonial possession just as other members had done. Britain and France the Major Powers of the League had acquired colonies in a similar manner. They therefore lacked the moral obligation to stop Italy from acquiring more territories in Africa more so -to invade an internationally recognised sovereign of Ethiopia.
8. The negligence on the part of the Major Powers of the League also rendered the body incapable of stopping the invasion on Ethiopia, Britain and France neglected Ethiopia as a weak poor third world country without international significance. They thought that the invasion would take a matter of days. They also did not anticipate international condemnation of Italy. To their surprise the entire Black World condemned the naked aggression on the free land (Ethiopia) left to Africa amidst a sea of colonialism.
9. Racism in the League led to the Ethiopian occupation by Italy between 1935 and 1941. European members of the League showed very high levels of racism in favour of Italy against Ethiopia. They too seemed to have shared Mussolini's argument against Ethiopia that the people of Ethiopia were barbaric, backward and practiced slavery; and so they needed a dose of European civilization. Hence prompting Mussolini to go ahead and invade Ethiopia.
10. The appeasement policy of the major powers of the League of Nations towards Mussolini i.e. France and Britain expressed the white man's conspiracy, which instead weakened the effectiveness of the league. They turned a blind eye towards the Ethiopian crisis in order to discourage Mussolini to disorganize Europe.
11. The League of Nations lacked the services of big powers that could have strengthened her stand against the Italian aggression. The League had a principle of free entry and exit, which prompted Germany and Italy to withdraw from the body in 1934. Russia had joined the League in 1934 but left in 1939. The USA on the other hand maintained her isolation so she did not join. This denied the league of ideas and services of these big powers, which could have avoided the crisis.
12. Member states were disunited, suspicious and had mistrust against each other after World War I. This made the League to lack spiritual unity and corporation that would have prompted successful unity in the body. Thus, when Italy attacked Ethiopia, no power was willing to call for intervention.

13. Members of the League were in deep economic crisis after the great economic depression of 1929 and therefore could not meet the budget of the League effectively. Hence, when the war started, the League of Nations got no meaningful assistance from member states as they worked in resolving their own economies.
14. Another contribution of the League towards the defeat of Ethiopia by Italy was that almost all member states including France and Britain recognised the Italian government in Ethiopia. The British had confirmed the Italian occupation of Ethiopia through the Hoare-Laval pact of 1935 although they condemned Italy at the beginning.

REASONS WHY THE ETHIOPIANS DEFEATED ITALY IN 1941

The defeat of Ethiopians by the Italians in 1936 did not push African resistance to silence. Africans in Ethiopia re-organized under a prominent liberation movement called the "Black Lions" led by a devoted Ras Imru. Together with the defeated Ethiopian forces, they staged counter attacks against Italy. In 1941, the Ethiopians were able to throw out the Italians due to 1 following factors:

Reference questions:

a) Account for the defeat of Italy by Ethiopia in 1941

b) To what extent did the outbreak of World War II in 1939 influence the 1941 Ethiopia victory over Italy?

1. The formation of a guerrilla group (the Black Lions) that comprised graduates mainly with modern political and democratic concepts: the leaders of the movement headed by Imru were in the Ethiopian resistance to Italian aggression. The "**Black Lions**" movement mobilized the masses, provided pragmatic (strong) leadership and ensured solidarity amongst the Ethiopians. The guerrilla tactics employed by the "**Black Lions**" humbled the Italians in 1941.
2. The Ethiopians through tireless patriots like Ras Imru forged unity of purpose against the Italians. A committee of union was set up in 1937 to reconcile the antagonistic groups. The Ethiopians hence forgot their cultural and ethnic differences and fought under a general cause. This made the resistance popular amongst all groups of Ethiopian masses.
3. The Ethiopian Patriotic Church played a significant role in the defeat of the Italians. The Church mobilized the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians to die for their country. In 1938, Bishop Pedros was publically executed for refusing to broadcast against the patriots. The Italians also killed 38C monks in the ancient monastery of Debra Limonas after arms were discovered there. This act c: murder on the Church officials was a motivation factor in the Ethiopian resistance against the Italian aggression.

4. The Ethiopians were haunted and motivated by the Graziani massacre of 1937. Marshal Graziani, the Italian viceroy (Governor) had announced the distribution of essential commodities to the poor Ethiopians in the city. Unfortunately, some of the members of the "Black Lions" were hiding in the crowd and threw grenades at Graziani, which injured him severely. The Italian troops retaliated by firing indiscriminately at the crowd and causing chaos in the city. The chaos spread in the country making the incident one of the major events in colonial history that tarnished the Italian image on the international scene.
5. The Italians carried out oppressive and exploitative policies against the Ethiopians. They forced Ethiopians to offer labour at public works like roads, hospitals, and schools; forced them to grow cash crops and imposed heavy taxes in Ethiopia. All these increased grievances in Ethiopia and attracted mass support to the anti-Italian uprising.
6. The Italian army was brutal and barbaric which cost Italian administration dearly. The army burnt Ethiopian huts and houses, raped Ethiopian women including those who surrendered, executed, and buried civilians in mass graves. This made the Italian leadership unpopular even from Ethiopians who had sympathised with the Italian administration.
7. The invasion received strong condemnation from African states and political leaders. Nationalists like Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Wallace Johnson and Nnamdi Azikiwe used the press and other associations to demand Italian withdrawal from Ethiopia. They sent financial assistance and other logistics to Ethiopia patriots. Their activities attracted the International community to isolate Italy.
8. The change of mind by the British favoured Ethiopian Liberation. The British soon after Italy joined World War II on the side of the axis alliance, sent assistance to Ethiopians through the neighbouring states of Kenya and Sudan. This British support boosted Ethiopian resistance against Italy.
9. Consequently, the Italian involvement in World War II alongside the axis alliance weakened the hold on to Ethiopia. Italy was occupied in the war with less concentration on Ethiopia. She went ahead to withdraw many of her troops from Ethiopia. The British began viewing Italy as an enemy that deserved to be defeated. Apart from raiding Italian Somali-land and Eritrea, the British extended assistance to Ethiopia, which strengthened her resistance.
10. The stealthy return of Emperor Haile Selassie to Ethiopia played a significant part on the side of Ethiopia. Through Sudan, Haile Selassie crossed into Ethiopia in January 1941 to strengthen Ethiopian resistance against Italian aggression. Therefore, the presence of Emperor Selassie boosted the Ethiopian camp that fought with determination until the Italians were thrown out.

IMPACT OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS ON THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

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

Reference questions

- a) How did the Italian attack on Ethiopia (1935-41) influence the growth of African nationalism?
- b) Assess the impact of the (1935-41) Italo-Ethiopian war on the growth of African nationalism

1. Italo-Ethiopian war strengthened black unity and solidarity all over the world against white domination. Black men worldwide were profoundly shaken by the destruction of a country that had been a proud symbol of African independence and black achievement amidst the era of colonialism.
2. The crisis caused political awareness and deepened the cause of African nationalists to struggle for independence. Africans came to know that the whites were determined to completely conquer the African continent mercilessly and therefore Africans had a cause to de-campaign colonial rule in Africa.
3. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia exposed the Whiteman's conspiracy. Africans became unhappy with the British and the French who reluctantly failed to prevent Italy from attacking Ethiopia. Consequently, African resistance increased in British and French colonies in Africa through applied boycotts and demonstrations.
4. Consequently, the Ethiopian reaction to Italian rule became a lesson to the rest of African states under white domination. The Ethiopian resistance to Italian land grabbing, forced labour arbitrary arrests and poor taxation inspired the activities of Africans elsewhere against white orders. The methods used by Ethiopians against the Italians, which included violent attacks on Italian settlers and their installations were witnessed in Kenya, Angola, Algeria and British Central Africa where white property and investments became increasingly the targets of African patriots in the struggle for self-rule.
5. The invasion, had profound revolutionary impact on African nationalists' Nkrumah of the Gold Coast on reading a heading on a newspaper stand proclaiming a report **"Mussolini invades Ethiopia"** he lamented **"That moment, it was as if the whole of London had declared war on me...my nationalism surged to the fore."** Jomo Kenyatta on the other hand vowed never to cut off the beard until Ethiopia was free again. All these were expressions of attachment towards Africa and hatred against foreign domination.
6. The crisis sparked off hostile press attacks against colonial rule mostly in West Africa. Wallace. Johnson of Sierra Leone and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria produced a dynamic and explosive article in the press **"Has Africa a God?"** The two were questioning the wisdom of spreading Christianity by use of poisonous gas. Jomo Kenyatta wrote an article **"Hands off Abyssinia."** These articles inspired Africans elsewhere in Africa to agitate for the liberation of Africa.
7. The war militarised African nationalism. It changed the minds of Africans who had opted for peaceful means of transfer of power from colonial rule. The Africans began adopting a similar military approach, as the **"Black Lions"** which they thought was the only language the colonial roasters would understand. Case studies are the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya (1952-55) and the FLN war in Algeria (1954-62).

8. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis was one of the major events that led to the seating of the Manchester conference in 1945. The fifth Pan African conference at Manchester recognised the means employed by Ethiopians against Italy and demanded for the return of Africans from abroad to lead independence struggles in their respective countries.
9. The crisis provided a platform for Africans to air out their grievances against the evils of colonialism. Emperor Selassie at the League general assembly stated that the Ethiopian resistance to Italian rule was a case of defending the cause of all people that were threatened with foreign domination. This publicised the crisis for the sake of Africans and attracted international sympathy to the African cause for independence.
10. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia led to the rise of the Rastafarian sect, a black cultural nationalist movement in Jamaica. The movement rejected Christianity of the white race; had the vision for worldwide Black liberation and regarded Ethiopia as the last cathedral of African collective security and the last piece of land left for Africans. The movement looked urgently for a radical cure of the sickness of colonialism in Africa. The Rastafarian movement therefore militarised the Pan African movement in its attempt to seek African freedom and independence.
11. The war marked the collapse of the League of Nations and dealt a final nail in the coffin of international collective security, paving way for the formation of the United Nations Organisation later in 1945. The UNO adopted a charter that emphasised equality of all nations and the sovereign rights to independence of states under oppression and domination.
12. Consequently, the Italo-Ethiopian war influenced the outbreak of World War II (1939-45) which had an impact of African Nationalism. Having seen Italy successfully occupying Ethiopia, Hitler led Germany to invade Poland in 1939, which was a sparking factor in the outbreak of World War II. World War II produced African ex-servicemen who used the military skills acquired from the war to fight against colonialism.
13. The crisis influenced black protests in America. About 20000 blacks and coloured Americans took to the streets in Cities like New York to demonstrate against the Italian rape of Ethiopia and show their support and sympathy to all African states that were under Europeans domination.
14. The Italian invasion of the Ethiopian monarchy influenced the activities of the West African Students Union (WASU) in London. Members of WASU organised an Ethiopian committee consisting of J.B. Danquah, Asomali, Jomo Kenyatta, and five members from West Indies. The African members later became leaders of the independence movements in their respective countries.

THE CAREER OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE (1930 - 1974)

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

Haile Selassie was a man of remarkable mental abilities and exceptional talent. This brought him to a stately appoint at an early age of fourteen years as governor of in Harar province where he was born. At the age of 24, he became the regent of the realm (empire) became Ras Tafari. He also became the crown

prince or the next Negus Negast or "**King of Kings**" after while Empress Zewditu (Zauditu), the daughter of Menelik II.

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

ACHIEVEMENTS OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE

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

Reference questions:

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

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

11. Selassie also emerged as a modernizer in the printing field. He made efforts to transform the Berhanenna Salam, or "**Light and Peace**," Printing Press into a modern printing press. He founded Press in 1923 during his days as a regent to Empress Zawditu. The press printed an Amharic newspaper with the title of "**Berhanenna Salam.**" The newspaper published articles popularising the cause of reforming and modernising Ethiopia. A steady flow of literature, religious, and educational books in Amharic were published.
12. The emperor introduced modern political structures in Ethiopia where modern and important ministries like finance, internal and foreign affairs, health and communication were established. A council of ministers was also set up to strengthen administration of the empire. Haile Selassie put up a formidable civil service in Ethiopia. All these political developments elevated him to the position of a moderniser.
13. Haile Selassie introduced a school of aeration (piloting) where Ethiopia trained her own pilots, aircraft engineers and operators. By 1971, of all commercial airlines on the African continent, the Ethiopia airline was fully officered and ran by Africans.
14. The emperor introduced a five-year development plan in which he involved foreign technocrats to assist Ethiopia in her development programs. These technocrats (experts) from European countries like France, Sweden, Belgium, and Britain, as well as from the USA were an example of a cardinal (very important) relationship, the emperor had with Europe. Therefore, the ancient empire of Ethiopia shifted to modernity and overall progress.
15. He had a keen interest in all kinds of sports although with a personal bias in tennis, horseback riding and hunting. He facilitated sports such that during his regime, Ethiopia produced outstanding sportsmen and women including the legendary Abebe a successful long distance runner.
16. Haile Selassie is remembered for his attitude and care for the unfortunate and unprivileged. Hardly a day could pass without him visiting hospitals, orphanages and institutions of the disabled. He put some of his earnings in the disposal fund, which was charged with planning and administering institutions of the poor and the sick.
17. Emperor Haile Selassie had love for nature. Despite of his aging life, the Emperor found time to rest with his petties that included Horses, dogs and birds. He kept about thirteen lions in his Addis Ababa palace, together with many horses and parrots. This was an indication of modern care for nature during his private life.
18. During his regime, the emperor succeeded in securing and maintaining the Ethiopian seat in the League of Nations. Selassie had registered Ethiopia as a member of the league in 1924, during his reign as a regent to the Ethiopian throne. This enabled Ethiopia to interact with major European powers like France and Britain at the same level. It enabled Ethiopia to participate in influential decisions at the international level. Being part of the League of Nations also proved that Selassie had great desire for promote Ethiopian foreign affairs (relations). The League provided him with a valuable platform in his efforts to defend his country against the fascist-Italian attack which greatly threatened Ethiopian independence.
19. As a sign of concern to humanity, the leader of Ethiopia supported the opening up of the Ethiopian branch of the Red Cross. The emperor was impressed by the support given by the Red Cross to the victims of the Italian aggression and occupation of Ethiopia between 1935 and

1941. He therefore gave the body permanent premises in Ethiopia to continue with their humanitarian work towards Ethiopian people.

20. His international popularity led to the invitation of Ethiopia as one of the founder members of the United Nations organization in 1945. This made the Ethiopian empire not only popular but also a major contributor to international peace and security. Hence because of Emperor Haile Selassie, his country became part of the determining powers of modern world affairs.
21. Haile Selassie promoted Pan Africanism, through emphasising continental unity in Africa. His constructive influence was seen when he worked with Nkrumah of Ghana and Nasser of Egypt to reconcile the Casablanca and Monrovia groupings, leading to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The OAU Charter was signed in Addis Ababa on May 25, 1963 under the chair of Haile Selassie. This was a major step towards bringing together different peoples of Africa.
22. Consequently, Emperor Haile Selassie proudly sheltered the permanent headquarters of the OAU in Addis Ababa. This was a memorable symbol of the modern concept of Pan Africanism that called for unity on the African continent. This move by the emperor made Ethiopia become the center of African politics, replacing Accra of Ghana and Cairo of Egypt.
23. As a modern nationalist, Emperor Selassie stood firm behind the cause for complete freedom on the African continent. He worked closely with other African statesmen to ensure total decolonisation of the African continent from European dominance. He sharply criticised the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Zimbabwe and condemned the British government for failing to interfere and stop the Rhodesian rebellion that denied Africans freedom in their land.
24. Haile Selassie strongly supported peaceful settlement of interstate conflicts in Africa. He advocated for peace talks and initiated several peace missions to settle disputes on the continent. He used his good office to mediate in the Sudan civil war leading to the Addis Ababa Peace Treaty signed in 1972 between the Sudanese government and the Anyanya Movement. The Emperor also mediated in the border dispute between Sudan and Egypt, among others.

Weakness of Emperor Haile Selassie

1. Much as Haile Selassie was regarded a modernizer, he did not live to the expectations of some Ethiopians many things went wrong and many factors failed him during his nation building for instance,
2. The 1955-revised constitution did not fully democratise Ethiopia. The constitution gave the emperor absolute powers which turned him into a despot (dictator). Even when the parliament existed, its pressure was unnoticed. The emperor never allowed political pluralism as it would subject him to criticism.
3. Because the emperor came from the Amhara tribe, the tribe dominated all the affairs of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian masses were expected to speak Amharic as a national language during Haile Selassie's reign. Such exhibition of tribalism was also experienced in the political offices where nepotism became a formula for stately appointments. Many Amharas maintained sensitive positions in the Emperor's government.
4. The emperor made Orthodox Christianity a state religion. Much of his religious attributes were directed to the Orthodox Church. This annoyed the Muslim community especially in the Eritrean

province. The Muslims rallied behind revolutionists to bring about a fundamental change in Ethiopia by 1974.

5. During the era of Emperor Selassie, Ethiopia remained backward. The industrial sector was diminishing. A lot of unemployment existed and Ethiopians experienced poor standards of living. This was partially due to the foreign domination in the economic activities. By the time of his overthrow, the major means of transport in Ethiopia was by horses.
6. Consequently, the emperor employed foreigners as his government advisers. He appointed a Swiss for legal issues, an English adviser for internal affairs and a Swede for foreign affairs. He also, had an American who gave him financial advice. This was in no doubt promotion of neo-colonialism.
7. The emperor put his effort to improve infrastructure on a hard rock. This was because the roads and railway lines remained inadequate while a few that were existing had broken down. Many areas in the countryside as well as some towns remained remote, not connected or inaccessible. This was one reason why Ethiopia remained economically backward.
8. There was gross violation of human rights during Emperor Selassie's reign. The Ethiopians were deprived of freedom of worship, of speech, freedom of Assembly and of Association. This meant that the period Ethiopia was under Haile Selassie was dominated by undemocratic policies and political anarchy.
9. The Emperor failed to reform the land tenure system. The land problem remained constant and affected many of the Ethiopian peasants. The mostly affected people were residents of Southern Ethiopia who were landless and stayed under cruel landowners that charged them heavy land dues. Therefore, Ethiopia suffered from feudalism and serfdom during Selassie's reign.
10. Between 1972 and 1974, drought and famine befell Ethiopia and affected many of Ethiopian masses. Among the victims of these catastrophes were the Tigre, Oromo, Somali and the Eritrean community. The government of Emperor Selassie however did little to rescue the situation. Close to 200,000 masses lost their lives. This was one of the unrealistic treatments by Haile Selassie's government that led to its overthrow.
11. Political instabilities in Ethiopia at the time were attributed to Haile Selassie's government. The emperor refused to recognise the internal self-government of Eritrea and the Ogaden claim by Somali residents. These continuously involved the Ethiopian community in war with Eritrea and the Somalia respectively. Many Ethiopians suffered due to these instabilities, which led to unpopularity of the Emperor.
12. The Emperor was reluctant to improve on the conditions of the army. The soldiers were subjected to poor payments, poor living conditions, and nepotism during the process of promotion. Raised grievances in the army, which prompted young army generals like Haile Mengistu to plot a coup in 1974.
13. The Ethiopian society by 1970 was facing an economic crisis characterised by unemployment, scarcity of essentials commodities, economic stagnation and acute inflation. This left many Ethiopian starving; the workers received low payments while the fresh graduates could hardly be posted. This prompted many Ethiopians especially youths to go on strike, hence exposing the weakness of the emperor as he was ageing.

14. Emperor Selassie failed to curb down the high levels of illiteracy. By the time he was overthrown the illiteracy rate was 90-95%, the highest in Africa. Many of the illiterates were unemployed. This increased the unpopularity of the emperor.
15. Biting poverty claimed majority of the Ethiopian population. Many of them could not afford to educate their children, cloth them or shelter them. It was hard for an Ethiopian during Haile Selassie's regime to meet the daily necessities of life, therefore, leading to poor standards of living.
16. There was too much labour exploitation in Ethiopia during the regime of Haile Selassie. The working conditions were very poor in the country characterised by little pay because the government of Selassie had not regulated a just wage. The workers were also exploited through heavy taxation.
17. Corruption and economic mismanagement ruined the government of Emperor Haile Selassie. Many of his government officials squandered public resources to satisfy their selfish interests. They had little concern to the problems of the masses. The emperor did not attempt to convict the corrupt government officials, which called for military intervention.

WORLD WAR II AND THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

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

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

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

Africans who served in the war included Bildad Kaggia, Dedan Kimathi and Waruhiu Itote General China of Kenya, Jaona Jiny of Malagasy (now Madagascar), Leopold Sedar Sengoh of Senegal, Mzee Muhammad of Zanzibar, Jean Bedel Boukassa of the Central African Republic, Ahmed Ben Bella and Belkacem Kerim of Algeria, Sergeant Walasi from East Africa etc.

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

Reference questions:

- a) How did World War II influence the growth of African nationalism?
- b) Assess the impact of World War II on the growth of African nationalism

c) To what extent did World War II contribute to the growth of African nationalism?

Impact of World War II on decolonisation of Africa:

1. World War II created political awareness among Africans, which influenced them to demand for immediate independence. During the recruitment of Africans. European colonial masters claimed they were taking them to fight against German imperialism and restoration of a "**free world in Europe.**" African servicemen like Bildad Kaggia got exposed to ideas of western democracy. In 1945, while in Britain, Kaggia campaigned for the Labour Party against the Conservative Party. Upon returning to Africa, the ex-servicemen of World War II organised uprisings against European colonialism with an aim of establishing similar democratic governments like in Europe.
2. Africans recruited to fight in the Second World War acquired training in military skills and guerrilla tactics which enabled them to struggle for independence. The African combatants learnt how to operate sophisticated weapons and conduct modern warfare. On their return the African ex-servicemen of World War II used such skills to fight for independence. Ben Bella used the National Liberation Front (FLN) to fight against the French imperialism in Algeria (1954-62). In Kenya, General China and Dedan Kimathi led the Mau-Mau uprising against the British (1952-1955).
3. World War II exposed Africans to the weaknesses and conspiracy of the Whiteman. African servicemen were surprised to see that Europeans could die of the same bullet that killed the Africans. It shocked them to see European soldiers run away from the battle fields. Africans witnessed the existence of slums and a destitute kind of life among some Europeans. The Africans also came to learn that European colonialists were only interested in independence of European countries like Poland but not Africa. All these destroyed the invisibility and superiority of the Whiteman, hence increasing African anti-colonial sentiments.
4. Consequently, the military losses suffered by the major Allied powers during and soon after the war had impact on African patriotism. In South-East Asia, Japan overrun and pushed the British out of Malaya, Hong Kong, and Burma. The worst defeat faced by the British at the hands of Japan was the loss of Singapore. After the war, the Indonesians defeated the Dutch while the Vietnamese humiliated the French in the presence of their African subjects like Ben Bella, leader of the Algerian revolution and Jean Bedel Bokassa, who later became president of the Centra. African Republic. The defeat of European colonialists by yellow people encouraged African peoples to organise struggles that would mark the decolonisation of Africa.
5. The end of World War II led to increased European exploitation of resources in their African colonies. The war negatively affected European powers in economic terms to the extent that where it ended, colonial masters like the French and the British immediately ran to Africa to seek economic remedy. They targeted African mineral resources, African human resource (or labour and cash crops. More mining and trading companies came to Africa, while labour exploitation worsened as colonialists implemented compulsory growing of cash crops. Heavy

taxes were imposed on African natives as European colonialists tried raising resources to reconstruct their economies ravaged (destroyed) during the war. This continued European exploitation increased African suffering which influenced them to express their nationalism by agitating for self-rule through peaceful and armed resistance.

6. During the course of World War II, there was rapid influx (arrival) of white settlers in Africa which provoked Africans to fight for independence. Most of these European settlers who arrived in Africa were running away for their lives as Europe became unstable and insecure. They settled in Kenya, Algeria, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe today) and South West Africa (Namibia today) and elsewhere in Africa. Their settlement in Africa increased the evils of colonialism which included increased racism, land grabbing, over taxation and competition for the existing jobs they caused destruction of African Culture, poverty, exploitation of African labour and the general suffering of Africans. This led to African hatred against foreigners, hence causing them to fight for political freedom and self-determination.
7. The Second World War led to economic boom in Africa. During the war, many of the African resources and commodities were highly demanded for in Europe. These included minerals and cash crops. Groundnut oil from the Senegal, Palm oil from Nigeria, Cocoa from the Gold Coast (now Ghana), coffee from Ethiopia and Ivory Coast; uranium from Congo Leopoldville (now DRC) and copper from Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) found their way to Europe. Besides, some European investors relocated their investments to Africa, which influenced increased growing of cash crops, expansion of mining activities and the emergence of small scale industry that employed many Africans. In colonies like Kenya, Africans were allowed to grow crops like tea and coffee which they were previously denied. All these improved the socio-economic conditions of Africans; first, trade unions were created to fight for workers' rights, then it enabled peasants to pay for their children's education and later, they could afford to fund political activities geared towards attaining independence.
8. The Second World War led to increased urbanization in Africa hence influencing the growth of African nationalism. This was due to white settlers, who developed towns and improved on the transport network. Such towns included Nairobi in Kenya; Suez in Egypt, Salisbury (now Harare) in Southern Rhodesia, Accra and Cape Coast in the Gold Coast, Algiers and Setif in Algeria and Lagos in Nigeria, among others. The growth of urban centers attracted African populations to settle in mining centers, towns and ports. Africans who flocked to towns in large numbers shared ideas and experiences and suffered from the same problems of unemployment, discrimination from the whites and high costs of living. The conditions in the urban areas frustrated Africans who easily mobilised and united themselves under anti-colonial movements to struggle for independence.
9. The outbreak of World War II led to the liberation of Ethiopia from Italian occupation in 1941. Mussolini joined the war on the Axis side led by Hitler, which worsened his friendship with Allied powers of France and Britain. The French and the British approved the Italian occupation of Ethiopia expecting Mussolini to stay away from Hitler. The Allied powers were disappointed

by Italy hence diverted their support towards Ethiopia through Sudan and Kenya. Consequently, Italy withdrew her troops from Ethiopia to concentrate in the Second World War, which also enabled Ethiopians to defeat Italy. The victory of Ethiopia over Italy inspired the hope of Africans under colonialism that European powers can be defeated.

10. During the course of World War II, the Atlantic charter was signed in August 1941 between Winston Churchill of Britain and Franklin Roosevelt of USA; with Stalin of USSR as an observer. The Atlantic Charter called for self-determination of all peoples through its Article III which acknowledged the sovereign right of states under foreign domination and for the colonial people to choose a government of their own. The resolutions of the Atlantic Charter on self-government and sovereignty existence of states under domination were adopted by the United Nations Charter of 1945. The Atlantic Charter influenced African nationalism through calling for independence and improved livelihoods of the colonised people.
11. The Second World War influenced the Brazzaville conference of 1944. General Charles de Gaulle the French leader called a meeting of representatives of French colonies of West and Equatorial Africa. The aim was to find ways of thanking Africans for supporting France in the Second World War and for standing with the French during trial moments when Germany occupied France. At the conference, the French administrators also laid strategies to divert African attention from demanding for independence. The conference proposed political reforms in French West and Equatorial Africa, which included; the establishment of native assemblies, increasing African representation in the French parliament and allowing African participation in administration. The political reforms created political awareness of Africans to demand for independence, instead of keeping them silent and naive as the French colonialists thought.
12. World War II led to the rise of USA and USSR to the rank of superpowers, replacing Britain, France and Germany, that had failed to protect world peace. The USA and the Soviet Union had an anti-colonial attitude thus they encouraged colonial powers to decolonize. The new superpowers wanted to be free to pursue their trading interests in Africa but could not due to the colonial restrictions established at the Berlin Conference in 1885. USA also wanted to spread the ideology of capitalism while the USSR would spread communism. They therefore provided logistical support to African liberation in form of morale, finances, weapons, and scholarships for education. The USA and the Soviet Union used their influence in the UN to call for immediate independence of African colonies, and this encouraged the development of African nationalism.
13. The end of World War II resulted into the formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945 as the new world peacekeeping body, replacing the League of Nations. The emergence of the UNO gave Africans hope that decolonisation was within their reach. UN provided Africans with a platform to talk against colonialism by inviting freedom fighters to present their anticolonial grievances to the General Assembly. It created a **"Trusteeship Council"** to take care

of mandated Territories. (Mandated territories were former German and Italian colonies previously under the League of Nations). The United Nations declared the years between 1950 and 1960 as a decade of decolonisation; during these ten years, colonial masters were required to promote political developments (changes) in their colonies aimed at preparing Africans for independence.

14. The war led to the coming to power of the Labour party in Britain that influenced independence agitations in British Africa. Shortly after World War II elections were held in Britain with the Labour Party of Clement Attlee defeating the Conservative Party of Winston Churchill. The Labour government under Clement was liberal; initiated political reforms in British Africa-colonies which included new constitutions i.e. the Burns constitution in The Gold Coast and the Richards constitution in Nigeria (both in 1946); and increased African representation in the Legco. These political developments increased African morale for independence.
15. The end of World War II led to the calling of the Fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester in 1945, which increased African desire for self-rule. The conference was organised by Africa-descendants like W.E.B. DuBois and George Padmore, and was attended by many delegates from Africa like Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (one of the secretaries), Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya (assistant secretary), Kamuzu Banda of Nyasaland and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. The Manchester conference encouraged African nationalism by recommending that freedom fighters must form political organisations and involve masses in the struggle against foreign rule and the use of military means if non-violence was ineffective in achieving self-rule. The conference influenced the return of Africans from abroad to lead independence agitations, hence Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946 while Nkrumah went back to the Gold Coast in 1947.
16. World War II weakened European colonial empires in Asia, which affected the rise of African nationalism. The end of the war led to the notable independence of India and Pakistan in 1947. Independent India immediately joined the UNO and increased on the members of the General Assembly who voted in favour of total decolonisation of the whole world. India went ahead to extend financial, technical and military assistance to enhance the African struggle for independence. India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru became a political counselor to many of the African nationalists like Apollo Milton Obote of Uganda and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. The success of Gandhism (Non-violence) in India inspired many freedom fighters in Africa like Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast and Albert Luthuli of South Africa, to employ defiance campaigns, boycotts, demonstrations and strikes as part of nationalist activities against foreign rule.
17. World War II exhausted and depleted the resources of Allied powers like the British and the French. This followed the high investments made in the war and the shattered economies during the war. The French and the British suffered economic challenges like inflation, low export volumes and unemployment due to poor industrial performance during the course of war. The post war period witnessed loss of colonial will of the British and the French to continue administering Africa and instead preferred to put more effort in restructuring their nations

which were heavily destroyed by the war. The colonial masters gradually withdrew from Africa hence creating the opportunity for Africans to achieve independence.

THE 1941 ATLANTIC CHARTER AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM

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

Reference questions:

a) Explain the influence of the Atlantic Charter on African nationalism

b) Examine the impact of the 1941 Atlantic Charter on the growth of African nationalism

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

5. The signing of the Atlantic charter made Britain to declare her commitment to respect democracy and the right of the colonial people to self-government. When the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill signed the agreement, it was made clear to the people of Africa and the world at large that Great Britain wanted a world of peace, of sovereignty, of independence. This increased African hope for independence across British colonies.
6. It also influenced American commitment to supporting the decolonisation process in Africa. America knew where the Africans were coming from; due to the fact that they, were both colonised and ruled by a Britain for many years, American government of Roosevelt felt Africa's pain and wanted to do something about it. After signing the charter, Roosevelt set out to encourage African leaders to actively lead anti-colonial struggles. In 1943, the US-president met the Moroccan sultan-Muhammad and motivated him to engage in the anti-colonial crusade against the French. The result was witnessed when the sultan immediately spearheaded the struggle for Moroccan independence.
7. The signing of the Atlantic charter exposed the Whiteman's conspiracy: while addressing the house of commons; Winston claimed the charter applied to European nations under Nazism/ Germany influence including France that had been occupied by Germany in the early years of World War II. This caused colonial resentment among Africans. The African question was,

"If it wasnot right for Germans to govern Frenchmen, then how could it be right for Europeans to govern Africans?" It is on such basis that Africans became strongly firm on agitating for self-rule from European colonialism.

8. The Atlantic charter opened up the gates for the USA and the Soviet Union (Russia) to intervene in World War II in 1941. The decision of these two powers to join the Allied powers led by Britain and France was to help end the war and ensure the commitment of Britain and other colonial masters in implementing the Atlantic Charter. The end of the Second World War led to the rise of the USA and the USSR as new super powers, replacing Britain and France that had colonial empires in Africa. Their anti-colonial attitude influenced the decolonisation process in Africa. American and Russian governments became close allies of Africans in pressurising for the implementation of the 1941 Charter, which fastened the decolonisation process in Africa,
9. The Atlantic charter led to the formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945. The UNO became the new custodian (keeper) of world peace and rights of man. Africans petitioned their colonial masters to the UNO for their failure to grant them political rights. Therefore, the new world peacekeeping body became a platform for African struggle for independence. UNO established a **"Decolonisation Committee"** and a **"Trusteeship Council"** that became instruments of encouraging the decolonisation of Africa.

10. The Atlantic charter influenced the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) in 1948. This new charter for Human Rights adopted many of the articles of the Atlantic Charter on independence and political freedoms. The UDHR re-affirmed the right of the colonial people to self-determination and right of all people to have the freedom to decide their own political destiny. The UDHR therefore became an inspiration to Africans to demand for their independence.
11. The charter influenced the activities of the Manchester Conference. During the fifth Pan African Conference in Manchester, the delegates passed a resolution demanding for the implementation of the Atlantic Charter and cautioned the reluctance of European powers to implement the 1941 Charter that had been publicized across the world. Pan Africanists quoted the sovereign right to self-government of states under foreign domination, as declared in the Atlantic Charter. It therefore influenced the activities of the pan Africanists in the struggle against foreign domination.
12. Consequently, during the Bandung conference of 1955 in Indonesia, the Afro-Asian delegates were influenced by the Atlantic charter to declare their support to self-determination and equally demanded for the respect of the sovereign right of the colonial people to be free from colonial domination. Led by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the delegates at Bandung adopted the policy of non-alignment as part of their isolationist strategy against European powers that still maintained colonial territories in Asia and Africa.
13. The Atlantic charter influenced the activities of West African Students Union (WASU) led by Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. WASU was an association of all African students pursuing further education in Great Britain. Immediately after the end of World War II, Members of WASU visited the "**British House of Commons**" and presented to the British Parliamentarians a memorandum (document) entitled "**the atlantic charter and british west africa**". These WASU members wanted substantial political reforms, which would lead to independence in British West Africa, as proclaimed in the charter. These African students continued organising demonstrations, political debates and writing newspaper articles through which they condemned the British policy of refusing to implement the Atlantic Charter to which they were a signatory.
14. The failure of the European colonial masters to implement the resolutions of the Atlantic charter influenced Africans to resort to military means of demanding for their independence. Africans in Kenya organised the MairMau uprising in 1952. In Algeria, political movements like the FLN were founded, which declared an armed struggle against the French colonial administration.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANSATION (UNO) AND THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA

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

the League, the UNO was committed to solving the concern of big powers dominating weaker states in the name of imperialism.

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

IMPACT OF THE UNO ON AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Reference Questions:

a) How did the formation of UNO inspire African struggle for independence?

b) Explain the contributions of the United Nations Organisation to the decolonisation of Africa

c) Assess the role of the UNO in the growth of African nationalism

1. The United Nations Organisation immediately adopted the resolutions of the 1941 Atlantic charter and this influenced the growth of African nationalism. The Charter of the UNO incorporated most of the articles of the Atlantic charter on independence and sovereign rights. Notable of the resolutions was **"Restoration of the Sovereign Rights and Self-government to those who were deprived of them."** Major Powers of the UNO called upon foreign governments to give the colonial people in Africa an opportunity to claim for their sovereign equality and independent existence without foreign manipulations. This hence legitimised and formalised African aspirations for self-rule.
2. The UNO set up a **"Decolonisation Committee"** to ensure that all colonised people of the world were free from all forms of foreign domination. The major role of this committee was to attend to grievances of people and states that were under domination, and monitor political developments aimed at preparing these colonies for self-rule. The Decolonisation Committee sent visiting missions to African colonies like Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Somaliland and Libya to supervise independence arrangements and constitutional progress. The committee mounted pressure against European powers to dismantle their colonial empires in Africa and Asia
3. Consequently, the United Nations Organisation established the "Trusteeship Council" with the responsibility of preparing the mandated territories for independence. Mandated territories were the former German and Italian colonies, and all territories which had been put under the defunct League of Nations. **"Chapter XI of the UNO-Charter obliged the Trustee-powers to put into account the political interests of the peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions."** The Council was therefore, tasked to supervise political and constitutional reforms in the mandated states as part of transformation towards self-rule. Hence African states like Tanganyika, Rwanda, Togo, Libya, Somaliland and Cameroon immediately independent. The council sent commissioner Pelt Adrian to prepare the Libyan independence constitution and in 1954, it attended to the TANU proposals for self-rule in Tanganyika. Thus independence was given to Libya (1951), Somaliland and Togo (1960), Cameroon and Tanganyika (1961), and Rwanda (1962).

4. The UNO issued the "**Universal Declaration of Human Rights Charter**" (UDHR) in 1948, which inspired African agitation for independence. The Human Rights Declaration spelt out fundamental rights and freedoms of all peoples of the world. The rights and freedoms presented in the articles of the UDHR included freedoms of speech, association, assembly, press, fair representation and the sovereign right to independent existence, among others. African freedom fighters used the UDHR charter to rise up and agitate for their rights and freedoms deprived of them by European colonial masters.
5. The UNO declared the years from 1950 to 1960 as a decade (ten years) of decolonisation. One of the objectives of the UNO was total decolonisation and granting of sovereignty and independent existence to all peoples and states under foreign domination. The body hence gave dominating governments a timeline by which they had to initiate political developments which would prepare Africans for self-determination. Therefore, African agitation for political freedoms was influenced by the activities of the United Nations.
6. The United Nations Organisation provided African nationalists with a political platform to address their anti-colonial grievances; seek for political guidance and pressurize imperial powers to end their colonial domination. In 1955, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika was given an opportunity to address the UN General Assembly and consequently demanded for immediate decolonisation of Tanganyika, which was realised later in 1961. In 1966, the SWAPO was allocated a permanent seat in the General Assembly of the UNO to represent the Namibian people, hence Kerina one of the Namibian nationalists took up the seat. Such UN efforts encouraged decolonisation of Africa.
7. The International Peacekeeping Body passed strong condemnatory resolutions and imposed strict embargoes and sanctions against stubborn foreign regimes who delayed to withdraw from their colonial territories. The regimes targeted by the UNO included the Portuguese colonial regimes in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, the apartheid regime in South Africa and Namibia, and the UDI-regime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The condemnatory resolutions threatened the political image of foreign regimes in Africa while the sanctions and embargoes caused diplomatic, trade and economic setbacks (disadvantages). Whereas strong UN-condemnations encouraged nationalist uprisings in Africa, the diplomatic and economic sanctions humbled the foreign governments to initiate political and administrative reforms which led to self-rule in their colonial territories,
8. Consequently, the United Nations Organisation passed and emphasised the observation of Resolution 1515 on independence which had an impact of the growth of African nationalism. The resolution legitimised the right to independent existence of all peoples of the world and denounced all cases of foreign domination exercised against the colonial people. The provisions of Resolution 1515 were adopted by the liberation committee of the OAU and used them to condemn Britain for looking on as the minority whites declared themselves independent in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) at the expense of independence for majority Africans.

9. The UNO directly participated in the decolonisation process of Africa through influencing and observing independence discussions between foreign governments and African nationalist organisations. The United Nations initiated such roundtable discussions to ensure a peaceful transition from imperialism to majority rule. In 1974, the UNO sent its delegation to preside over the Alvor Peace Talks between the Portuguese government and Angolan nationalists, which led to the decolonisation of Angola in 1975. The UNO was also instrumental in independence discussions in Rwanda, Eritrea, and multiracial Peace Talks in Southern Rhodesia (1978-80) South Africa (1990-94) and Sudan (2005-2011), which resulted into liberation of majority blacks from racism.
10. The United Nations General Assembly provided a platform for the consolidation of Afro-Asian solidarity. African and Asian delegates always found the opportunity to stand together and use one voice during the sessions of the General Assembly, as they condemned domination by western powers. African nationalists interacted with other nationalists from Asia and the Arab world. Out of this interaction, there was the formation of the Afro-Asian-Arab solidarity. This solidarity or unity enabled the Africans to get support from member states like India and China which helped them in the struggle for independence.
11. The United Nations worked closely with and through the OAU to ensure total independence for Africa. Most of the UN support to the African decolonisation process went through the OAU. The UNO and the OAU collectively put pressure on foreign governments in Africa to initiate political reforms in their territories. The OAU used the UN-General Assembly to promote the African cause for complete independence. An African delegation consisting of foreign ministers of Liberia, Tunisia, Madagascar and Sierra Leone was commissioned by the OAU to speak at the meetings of the UN Security Council (UNSC), addressing the issue of genocide (mass killing) in Portuguese colonies,' which, attracted international attention against the atrocities of Portuguese colonialists in Africa, and paved way for self-rule in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.
12. The United Nations Organisation influenced African nationalism and decolonisation process through sending observer missions to monitor elections in different African colonies. Most of the independence elections in Africa were influenced by pressure from the UNO in its attempt to completely liquidate imperialism and bring an end to colonial domination in the world. UN Observer missions were witnessed to Algeria in 1962, in South West Africa (Namibia) in 1990, in Eritrea in 1993 and South Africa during their first historical multi-racial election in 1994, among others. The supervision given by the United Nations ensured peaceful transfer of instruments of power from foreign governments to natives, hence inspiring African independence.
13. The United Nations Organisation recognised African nationalist organisations (political parties and liberation movements), thus inspiring independence attainment. In 1966 the UN General Assembly agreed to recognise the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) as the rightful representative of Namibian national interests. Many nationalist organisations consequently petitioned for the intervention of the UNO in favour of their nationalist agitations

as a strategy to seek the international body's recognition. In the due course, the UNO morale boosted the struggle for African independence.

14. The UNO extended direct support to the African states struggling for independence. Financial military and logistical support was extended to liberation movements through the UN-Committee to spearhead nationalist agitations against foreign domination especially in Southern Africa. Beneficial organisations included the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) of South African consequently, the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) sought for assistance from the UN-Security Council during their quest for self- rule. The UNO hence became an ally of the African liberation movement, which sped the Colonisation process.
15. The organisation promoted African nationalism by supporting consolidation of African independence. It condemned and intervened in civil wars which broke out in Africa. In 1960, the UNO worked to preserve the independence of a very young state of Congo Leopoldville (Zaire) by condemning the Katanga secessionist attempt, and went ahead to deploy peacekeepers in the country. The UN-mission intervened in the Sudanese civil war (1955-2005), Nigerian civil war of 1967 -70 in Angola (1975-2000) and Mozambique (1977-1992)

THE 1944 BRAZZAVILLE FRENCH AFRICAN CONFERENCE:

This was a meeting of senior French colonial officials. Governors General and military officers of French Equatorial Africa (French Congo); Madagascar (Malagasy) and French West African colonies. It was held between January and February 1944 in Brazzaville the Capital of French Equatorial Africa. The conference was organised by General Charles de Gaulle the French leader and presided over (chaired) by Mr. Plevin the commissioner of colonies. Africans had no delegates to represent them at the conference, but one black man, Felix Eboue from French Guyana attended.

The Brazzaville conference was aimed at the following:

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

NOTE:

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

Impact of the Brazzaville Conference on the decolonisation of Africa

Reference Questions

a) How did the calling of the Brazzaville Conference in 1944 influence the collapse of French rule in Africa?

b) Assess the impact of the 1944 Brazzaville Conference on the delonisation of Africa.

c) Of what impact was Brazzaville Conference on African nationalism?

1. The Brazzaville Conference increased African representation in the French Parliament (National Assembly) in Paris. Delegates at the conference resolved that all colonial peoples deserved to represent themselves in the Paris Assembly hence from 1945; French African territories were each required to send two representatives to the French National Assembly. The resolution of Africans representing themselves in the French Assembly was later included in the constitution of the French Fourth Republic. African opportunity to represent themselves in the French Parliament gave them a platform for political agitations geared towards self-determination.
2. The conference led to the enfranchising of Africans in French colonial territories. The French colonial administrators agreed to grant Africans the right to vote for their representatives to the French Assembly and local parliaments with less colonial influence. As a result, one million Africans in the French colonies got empowered to participate in the election of representatives of their choice like Felix Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast and Leopold Sedar Senghol of Senegal. The rewarding of Africans with voting rights prompted them to demand for more political rights including their sovereign right to self-determination.
3. The conference provided for the establishment of native assemblies (territorial parliaments) in the French African colonies. These native or local parliaments empowered Africans to play local politics through electing local representatives to discuss solutions to problems created by the French colonial system. In the same way, French colonies witnessed political growth as many political organisations were created to compete for political participation and representation in the French Assembly and local parliaments.
4. Consequently, Africans were given civil rights like freedom of association which enabled them to form mass political associations that actively involved in the decolonisation process. These modern political associations were formed either at regional or country level. They included the "Independents d'outre Mer" IOM) and the Ressement Democratique African (RDA). The RDA was formed in 1946 with representative branches in Equatorial and French West Africa and was very instrumental in influencing political concessions (changes). Other parties included Bloc

Democratique Senegalais (BDS) formed in 1948, Union Soudanaise (US), Parti Democratique de la Guinee (PDG) founded in 1947.

5. The Brazzaville conference elevated (promoted) the status of Africans in French territories which inspired African nationalism. The French authorities agreed to accord (grant) Africans in French colonies equal status as Frenchmen and also recognise them as equals to French citizens. The abolition of French harsh colonial policies and the granting of Africans voting rights and representation in the French parliament, as well as spreading French civilisation in Africa, were all steps towards granting Africans equal status as Frenchmen. The intention of granting Africans equal status as Frenchmen was aimed at diverting their attention from demanding self-rule but instead, it exposed the weaknesses of French rule, causing African resistance. Out of 16 million Africans in French West Africa, only 1 million could vote and of the 622 seats in French Parliament, Africans were given only 13 seats.
6. The Brazzaville conference denounced (called to an end) French atrocities (bad colonial policies) which the French government claimed had tarnished the image of France. The conference cautioned the colonial authorities in French Equatorial and West Africa to reverse the harsh policies in order to win back African trust. Consequently, the policies of forced labour and arbitrary (arrest) without trial which characterised French colonialism in Africa were officially abolished. The Africans had suffered because of these bad policies and therefore, when they were abolished, it became a major step towards restoring African freedoms and later influencing Africans to agitate for independence.
7. The conference passed a financial resolution to promote investment and socio-economic development of French West African colonies. Consequently, in 1946, the French government formed the "Fund for Investment and socio-economic Development of Overseas Territories" (FIDES) to spearhead investment projects in her colonies. Between 1946 and 1957, France had invested about 425 million pounds in West Africa in transport (roads), education and health. Such developments facilitated the road to independence in French colonies of Guinea, Senegal, and Ivory Coast among others.
8. The Brazzaville conference recommended the extension of French civilisation to French Africa through western education and French language. The French government instructed the colonial office to establish educational institutions in French colonies through which free education would be extended to Africans. The French civilisation programme facilitated the rise of African elites who later engaged in political activities aimed at achieving self-government.
9. The French delegates at the conference resolved to change the status of the French territories in Africa from provinces to colonies. The conference abolished the use of "overseas territories" in regard to French colonies. The status of African colonies as overseas territories or provinces had destroyed all African hopes of regaining their lost freedoms through constitutional means, referring to French territories as colonies restored a ray of hope of Africans finally becoming free independent from French domination.

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

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA

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

Reference Questions-

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

1. The anti-colonial tactics used by Mahatma Gandhi helped to shape the strategy of anti-colonial struggle in Africa. During the period of Indian independence struggle, Gandhi used the principles of Satyagraha (or passive resistance) through non-violent methods. African nationalists and

(freedom fighters) like Kwame Nkrumah of The Gold Coast, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Albert Luthuli of South Africa and Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria adopted the policy of non-violence during the struggle against foreign domination. The non-violent methods also known as Gandhism involved boycotts on trade and colonial products, strikes, demonstrations and sometimes disruption of traffic flow in towns by sitting in the middle of the roads. Gandhi himself encouraged Africans to adopt the non-violence spirit if their efforts of struggling for independence were to be rewarding.

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

Diversities and other institutions of higher learning to African students. East Africa was most blessed with a number of Kenyans and Ugandans attending Indian education. African students interacted with Indian students which shaped their political development. They also got exposed to Gandhi's nationalist activities. Kirunda Kivejinja and John Kakonge of Uganda studied from India. On his return to Uganda, John Kakonge became a founding nationalist of the Uganda people's Congress and the first Secretary General of the party.

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

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

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

ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

NB: use attached power point

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

The Egyptian revolution / coup was organized between 22nd and 23'd July 1952 by the Free Officers' Movement (F.O.M). The leaders included Abdel Gamel Nasser, Anwar Sadat and Nguib Muhammed against the despotic regime of King Farouk.

CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

The causes were political, social and economic in nature. ECONOMIC CAUSES

1. The extravagancy of King Farouk contributed to the outbreak of 1952 revolution. The king spent a lot of tax payers' money to meet his luxurious life; he constructed mansions for women in Cairo and Alexandria. He was ever on foreign trips to European countries leading to his unpopularity by 1952.
2. King Farouk and his government were very corrupt. The king and the Wafdist party leaders were very corrupt and composed of the privileged class in Egypt. These withdrew money from the National treasury and made lavish spending. This accelerated financial bankruptcy in the country leading to the revolution.
3. Failure of King Farouk to industrialize Egypt led to the coup of 1952. The Egyptian society remained largely backward. There were very few industries established and the country largely depended on imported goods. This resulted into unemployment, low revenue, hence the revolution.
4. Land alienation / conflicts partly caused the revolution. The largest percentage of land amounting to 87% had been grabbed by the Wafdist party and foreigners from France. This made the people (peasants) to lack agricultural land and become victims of food insecurity.
5. High levels of poverty among the Egyptians caused the revolution. This was attributed to the low levels of industrialization that made the peasants to live below the poverty line. Majority of the peasants could not afford a meal a day, pay fees for their children and access medical care hence creating a revolutionary mood.
6. Over taxation imposed on the Egyptians led to the revolution. King Farouk and his government imposed retrogressive taxes in Egypt intended to compel the poor people to work hard. However, the royal family, the Wafdist party were exempted. This made the army officers to organize a revolution in order to institute taxation reforms.
7. Massive unemployment in Egypt led to the collapse of Egyptian monarchy. The levels of unemployment had been created by the neglect of the industrial sector. Also, the Egyptians

were not performing well in the agricultural sector in drought conditions given the semi-arid nature of Egypt; therefore F.O.M organized a coup against the Egyptian government.

8. High rates of inflation also caused the Egyptian revolution. The Egyptian economy was characterized by imported goods from countries experiencing inflation, hence imported inflation. High levels of corruption and extravagancy, persisted increase in prices of goods all contributed to inflation hence creating lack of trust in the government of King Farouk.
9. The continued occupation of the Suez Canal zone by foreigners led to the outbreak of the revolution. The Suez Canal was an international water way and it was used for lucrative (profitable) trade between Africa and Middle East. However, the taxes were collected by Britain, France and shared with the government of King Farouk. The army officers wanted to stop the economic imperialism hence a revolution.

SOCIAL CAUSES

10. The poor health conditions of the Egyptians led to the outbreak of the revolution. King Farouk failed to manage the public health; there were very few hospitals amidst very few trained medical workers. The people of Egypt died of treatable diseases like Trachoma, Bilharzia, Dysentery, and this undermined the government of King Farouk which reduced people's life expectancy.
11. The neglect of the education system by King Farouk also caused the revolution. Egypt was characterised by high levels of illiteracy. The country had very few schools, education was very expensive and therefore the peasants would not educate their children. This made the public to get fed up with the government of King Farouk by 1952.
12. The gender inequality in Egypt caused the revolution. There were high levels of women discrimination. Women were not allowed to join politics and civil service yet they represented the highest percentage of the population. This led to wide spread discontent in society which undermined the government of King Farouk.
13. Nepotism and favoritism practiced by King Farouk led to the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy. The government of King Farouk reserved all lucrative jobs for the members of the royal family and the cabinet ministers. It is on record that Gen. Mohammad Neguib was dropped as an army commander in favour of King Farouk's cousin hence this compelled the F.O.M to organize a coup.
14. Classification in Egypt caused the revolution. King Farouk divided the Egyptian society into three classes, ie royal family at the top, foreigners, ie Turks and Britain in the second class, the business men and peasants at the bottom. This inspired Gamel Nasser and the colleagues to over throw the government.
15. The influence of the Muslim brotherhood led to the downfall of King Farouk. This movement was formed by Hassan —as- Banna. He advocated for Islamic theocracy and therefore he won the support of Egyptian s leading to the collapse of King Farouk's regime.
16. Outbreak of famine caused the 1952 Egyptian revolution. This was attributed to land grabbing that left the peasants landless and Egypt experienced food shortages. The government of King

Farouk attempted to import food which was highly expensive to the ordinary people, hence creating a revolutionary situation in 1952.

POLITICAL CAUSES

17. Dictatorship of King Farouk led to the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy. He led without a constitution and imposed policies on the people. He was intolerant to the members of the opposition, banned political parties which led to the collapse of the government.
18. The impact of the Palestinian war of 1947-48 led to the outbreak of the revolution. The war was between Palestine and Israel and the government of Egypt contributed an army of defense to help the people of Palestine. The army was ill equipped, used outdated weapons hence its poor performance. Therefore, the F.O.M organized a coup to discipline the government of King Farouk.
19. Egypt's failure to be active in the Arab politics led to the outbreak of the revolution. Egypt was not highly sounding in matters of the Arab League and therefore the army decided to overthrow King Farouk and make Egypt become influential in the Arab affairs.
20. The political ambitions of Gamel Nasser contributed to the outbreak of the revolution. Nasser was prompted to take over power right from childhood in secondary school. Nasser also wrote articles criticizing the government of Farouk, "The Egyptian government is dominated by corruption, Who will change it?", "Where is dignity?" , Where is Nationalism?", Where is one that can call the activity of the youth?" this led to demonstrations which undermined the government of King Farouk.

21. Influence of World War II led to the downfall of King Farouk. This war produced a class of ex-servicemen who had military skills, the war also made Egypt to become bankrupt as King Farouk supported the British financially. The war led to inflation and poverty among Egyptians. All these contributed to the toppling of King Farouk's government.
22. Neglect of the Egyptian army by King Farouk led to the revolution. The army didn't have the required logistics in form of uniforms and army boots. The army was poorly paid, poorly accommodated and no meetings were organized to diagnose the challenges. This compelled the army officers to overthrow the government of King Farouk.
23. Foreign domination in Egypt caused the revolution. It should be noted that Egypt was granted independence in 1922. However, this remained on paper. Egypt was dominated by the British, French and the Turks who controlled the resources, eg the Suez Canal zone, therefore the army officers organized a coup.

QUESTIONS

1. Examine the causes of the 1952 Egyptian revolution. (Political, Social, and Economic)
2. To what extent was King Farouk responsible for his downfall in 1952?
3. 'The collapse of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952 was inevitable.' Discuss. (Causes of the revolution).
4. 'The political factors made the outbreak of the Egyptian revolution inevitable'. Discuss.

THE IMPACT OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

The effects of the revolution on the people of Egypt were political, social and economic in nature.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

1. The status of women was improved in Egypt. These were employed as teachers, factory workers, accountants to earn money. The killing of girls in Egypt was banned. Women became cabinet ministers in the government of Gamel Nasser and many acquired university education.
2. Nasser introduced health reforms. This was accompanied by free medical services, the number of doctors and nurses increased hospitals, clinics and dispensaries were set up and this increased the life expectancy of the Nationals.
3. Improved on the education sector. This was done by establishment of primary, secondary and universities. Nasser banned the moslem and non moslem courts in Egypt. All cases were referred to the secular government court in an attempt to unite administration and promote justice.
4. Nasser also fought poverty by encouraging family planning. Large families were not encouraged and Egyptians were limited to three children and other children were to be taxed hence promoting the welfare.
5. Nasser encouraged the establishment of low cost houses in Egypt. The revolutionary government set up houses in Cairo, Alexandria, in order to cater for their standards of living.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

6. The Egyptian revolution led to the formation of state controlled co- operatives. These were intended to provide modern agricultural services, cheap transport, fertilizers and machinery, hence leading to agricultural modernization.
7. There was improvement in the taxation system in Egypt. The revolutionary government introduced the progressive taxation system where the Egyptians were taxed according to their income. This was contrary to the retrogressive taxes imposed on the poor people.
8. Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This had been occupied by the British, the French and the Israelites hence creating employment opportunities, leading to increased revenue and making Egypt get full independence.
9. The revolution led to the setting up of industries in Egypt. The government of Gamel-Nasser came up with a five year development plan of 1960 — 1965 leading to the establishment of manufacturing industries like steel products, tractors, fertilizers in Cairo, and Alexandria.
10. The government of Nasser promoted the tourism sector in Egypt. This targeted the Middle East, European countries using the Suez Canal zone as the short cut.
11. The government of Gamel-Nasser carried out land reclamation in Egypt. This was done through irrigation process in the desert areas of the Western parts of Egypt, ie Al-Qatara.
12. The government of Gamel-Nasser carried out land reforms in Egypt. The land which had been grabbed from the Fellaheens (Peasants) by the royal family and the Wafdist party was re-distributed among the peasants, hence reducing the land pressure.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

13. The revolution led to the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy. The government of King Farouk was defeated on the 26th of July 1952 and was forced to abdicate his throne and went to exile in Europe. This led to the establishment of the Republican government in Egypt.
14. The Free- officers' movement established a revolutionary command council in Egypt. This was the executive arm of the government under Neguib from 1952 — 1954 which was removed by Gamel Nasser.
15. Gamel Nasser drafted a democratic constitution in 1956. This led to the establishment of parliamentary democracy regulating the freedoms of the people.
16. Gamel Nasser promoted Arab unity in Egypt and abroad. Nasser made Egypt to join the union of the Magreb region, ie Tunisia and Algeria hence consolidating close allies.
17. Nasser fought against the corrupt leaders in Egypt. It is true that the government of King Farouk was dominated by rampant corruption. However, Nasser arrested and tried the corrupt people though many were pardoned to promote reconciliation.
18. The political prisoners were freed by the government of Gamel Nasser and this promoted justice and equality in the society.

19. The revolutionary government led to the establishment of a strong army in Egypt. The army was fully trained equipped using the appropriate weapons in the Soviet Union (USSR).

NEGATIVE IMPACTS

20. The government was dominated by inflation. This was attributed to the increased development projects which undermined the value of national currency and led to increase in the prices of essential goods.
21. The government was dominated by financial bankruptcy. This was due to increased external borrowing that made Egypt to be highly indebted to USA and Britain.
22. There was massive loss of lives and property due to Egypt's involvement in numerous wars eg the Suez Canal crisis of 1956, 6 days war of 1967 between Egypt and Israel.
23. Unemployment persisted in Egypt due to failure to create more jobs to match with the increasing population.
24. Egypt experienced unfavorable balance of payments. This was attributed to the poor progress in the export trade and high expenditure on imported goods.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

25. The government failed to reduce poverty among the people of Egypt. This therefore made the social, economic welfare of the people to remain low.
26. The government of Nasser failed to achieve total food security in the country. This made the country to resort to the purchase of American wheat and meat, imported rice to sustain the population.
27. Women emancipation was not fully achieved. Very few women were absorbed in the political circle; there were pockets of women segregation in Egypt.
28. The government ban on the Moslem brotherhood in Egypt intensified the terrorist activities in the country.
29. The education system in Egypt led to overcrowding in classes due to the free education provided to the children. This watered down the quality of education.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

30. The revolution paved way for the dictatorial and authoritative regime of Gamel Nasser.
31. Political activity among the civilians was suppressed and this led to the suffocation of people's rights and freedom.
32. The aggressive foreign policies of Gamel Nasser made Egypt to get more enemies eg Israel and this resulted into numerous wars between Egypt and Israel in Gaza province.
33. Nasser's socialist party failed by 1970 when he began cooperating with the capitalist bloc.

QUESTIONS:

1. Examine the consequences of the 1952 Egyptian revolution.

2. Assess the impact of the Egyptian revolution on Egypt.
3. How successful was Gamel Nasser's domestic policy?
4. Assess the achievements of Gamel Nasser in Egypt between 1954 — 1970

THE IMPACT / ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION TO THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

To what extent did the Egyptian Revolution influence the growth of African nationalism?

Approach: 2 sided question, background of the Egyptian revolution, role of Egyptian revolution and other factors in the growth of African nationalism, and stand point.

The Egyptian revolution took place in 1952, organized by the free officers movement led by Gamel Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat against the puppet regime of King Farouk.

To a greater extent, the Egyptian revolution contributed to the growth of African nationalism in the following ways;

1. The revolution led to the establishment of Radio Cairo. The radio was used to spread anti-colonial propaganda in Africa. This was used by the Mau-Mau fighters in Kenya to run a Kiswahili program against the British.
2. The Egyptian revolution served as an eye opener to dictatorial regime in Africa. It began with the destruction of the Egyptian monarchy and it spread across the continent targeting colonial masters.
3. The Egyptian revolution under Gamel Nasser extended the education scholarships to African students. This helped African nationalists from other countries to enroll in Egyptian universities. This in turn helped to fill up the man power gaps in Africa after the departure of colonialists.
4. The Egyptian revolution militarized African struggles for independence. Egypt under Gamel Nasser gave military and financial assistance to African countries like Kenya under the Mau-Mau, Algeria under Ben Bella leading to African independence.
5. Gamel allowed the nationalists to establish military external bases in Cairo. This included the FLN in Algeria formed in 1954. Gadafi had F.U.O training in Egypt.
6. The Egyptian revolution gave political asylum/protection to African nationalists. These included Ignatius Kangave Musazi from Uganda, Patrice Lumumba from Congo. This helped their countries to destroy the colonial powers using Egypt as a coordinating centre.
7. Egypt under Gamel Nasser changed the attitude of the Arab North. It is historically true that Arabs had been associated with slave trade and therefore the countries south of the Sahara looked at Arabs as enemies. Therefore, Gamel Nasser united the African continent for the sake of independence.

8. Gamel Nasser of Egypt contributed to the formation of OAU in 1963. This was a result of the reconciliation of the Monrovia and Casablanca grouping in Addis Ababa. The OAU gave financial and military support to African countries.
9. The Egyptian revolution under Gamel Nasser encouraged the revival of African cultural values. This was done through encouraging African countries to practice local languages like Arabic, Kiswahili, Hausa etc, which brought unity among the people.
10. Gamel Nasser of Egypt encouraged African countries to nationalize foreign property. This began with the nationalization of the Suez Canal in Egypt 1956 that chased the British from the country. Other countries were encouraged to do the same for example Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Idi Amin Dada of Uganda and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.
11. Gamel Nasser of Egypt encouraged socialist policies. Socialist countries particularly USSR gave Nasser military and financial support to solve its external problems after the removal of IMF / W.B loan. Therefore, Nasser encouraged other countries to solicit support from the socialist countries, eg Mozambique, Angola, and Algeria.
12. Gamel Nasser under Egypt influenced African countries to adopt Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Nasser was part of the Bandung conference organized in 1955 that advocated for independent African ideologies, promoted Afro-Asian solidarity that made Asian countries to support Africans to get independence.
13. Revolutionary Egypt helped to destroy the British and French empires. It is on record that Gamel Nasser gave the Algerians support in 1954 making them get independence in 1962 leading to the rise of African Nationalism.

GAMEL NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICY (1954 – 1970)

Gamel was one of the free Officers Movement that overthrew the puppet regime of King Farouk in 1952. He was first the prime minister of Egypt and later became president in 1954 after the overthrow of Muhammad Neguib.

AIMS OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- ✓ To achieve total decolonization of the African continent.
- ✓ To destroy the state of Israel.
- ✓ To promote pan Arabism
- ✓ To dominate world affairs.

SUCSESSES OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- ❖ Nasser successfully sent expatriates to African countries to help fill the man power gap after the departure of colonial masters. These expatriates included teachers, engineers, and doctors, for example in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

- ❖ Nasser promoted the use of African languages on the continent. This included Kiswahili, Arabic, Amhara, Hausa among others hence easing communication.
- ❖ Nasser succeeded in destabilizing the state of Israel. This was done through sponsoring the fierce fadyeen commandos who destroyed the state of Tel Aviv and bombarded areas in the country.
- ❖ Nasser succeeded in providing scholarships to African students. The African nationalists from Algeria, Congo Zaire and other Arab states were allowed to study from Egyptian universities i.e. Cairo and Alexandria. This helped to create a class of elites to destroy the colonial bondage in Africa.
- ❖ Gamel Nasser provided propaganda support to African nationalists. Nasser gave moral, military and financial support to FLN of Algeria, the Mau- Mau of Kenya leading to independence.
- ❖ Nasser influenced the overthrow of pro — western leaders in Africa and Middle East. This included the overthrow of King Idris of Libya by Muammar Gaddafi, the prime minister of Iraq.
- ❖ Gamel Nasser gave moral and diplomatic support to Tunisia and Morocco against the French rule which led to the twin independence of these countries in 1956.
- ❖ Nasser fully supported and promoted Pan Arabism. It is on record that Nasser made Egypt to be the headquarters of the Arab League and proceeded to establish the United Arab Republic i.e. Egypt and Syria in 1958.
- ❖ Gamel Nasser was one of the founder members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. This was done through the reconciliation of the Casablanca and Monrovia groupings leading to the total unity of Africans.
- ❖ Nasser succeeded in promoting the Non — Aligned Movement (NAM) adopted in 1955 in Bandung. This was a conference organized by the Asian leaders i.e. Nehru of India and Sukarno of Indonesia. The policy promoted positive neutrality in Africa and Afro — Asian Solidarity.
- ❖ Nasser promoted research in the African past. He encouraged the writing and the reconstruction of African history leading to the promotion of African cultural values.
- ❖ Nasser bridged the gap between the Arab North and Negro Africans. This changed the attitude of the blacks towards the Arabs hence a success.

FAILURES OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- Nasser promoted conflicts among Arab states and these included Morocco and Algeria. In this conflict, Nasser sided with Algeria leading to political instabilities in North Africa.
- Nasser frustrated the formation of the United States of Africa (USA). This had been proposed by Kwame Nkrumah to bring the continent together under one leadership.
- Nasser failed to maintain the United Arab Republic with Syria. Syria seceded and broke away in 1961 due to Nasser's foreign policies.
- Nasser failed to maintain and stick to the policy of Non — Aligned Movement adopted in 1955. The policy demanded that African countries Egypt inclusive do not follow socialism and capitalism however; Nasser got financial aid from USSR and Czechoslovakia to construct the Aswan High dam.

- Nasser lost many provinces of Egypt to other countries. These included the West bank of Jordan, the Golan heights, the eastern parts of Suez Canal, the Sinai province during six days war of 1969 with Israel.
- Gamel Nasser promoted political instabilities in Yemen and some parts of Saudi Arabia hence undermining the principles of Pan Arabism.

Reference Questions

1. How successful was Gamel Abdel Nasser's foreign policy between 1954 and 1970?
2. To what extent was Gamel Nasser's foreign policy successful between 1954 and 1970?

Approach

- A brief background of Gamel Nasser
- State the aims of his foreign policy
- A clear stand point
- Successes verses failures
- Conclusion

THE NATIONALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL JULY 1956

The Nationalization of the Suez Canal referred to the transfer of the ownership, control, management and financing of the Suez Canal into the hands of the Egyptian government. It took place in July 1956.

REASONS FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL

➤ The failure of the British to respect the 1936 Anglo — Egyptian Agreement led to the nationalization of the canal. It should be recalled that the British entered an agreement to construct the canal and upon completion, the British were to take 40% and Egyptian economy was to take 60% however, this was not respected hence the nationalization.

➤ The strong anti — colonial feelings of Nasser contributed to the nationalization of the canal. This is evidenced when Nasser gave military and financial support to the Africans in Kenya against British and the FLN of Algeria against French.

➤ Nasser's recognition of the Bandung conference contributed to the nationalization of the canal. The conference emphasized positive neutrality of Africans against colonial masters i.e. capitalism which was being preached by the British hence the nationalization policy.

➤ The need to provide employment opportunities and generation of revenue compelled Nasser to nationalize the canal. Nasser reasoned that the expulsion of the British workers would create employment opportunities to the Egyptians, Egypt would be able to across the canal leading to nationalization.

➤ Nasser's arms deals with Czechoslovakia contributed to the nationalization policy. Czech Republic supported the policy of communism which had been embraced by Nasser which contradicted with capitalism. This inevitably caused the nationalization policy.

➤ The withdrawal of the offer of the financial assistance for the construction of the Aswan High Dam made nationalization inevitable. Egypt under Nasser had applied for a financial loan in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. However, this had been blocked by USA and British hence the nationalization of the Canal to generate the funds to construct the dam.

➤ Nasser's wish to establish his superiority in Egypt and in the Middle East led to the nationalization policy. It should be noted that Nasser attempted to establish the Arab League i.e. the composition of Arab countries in Africa and the Middle East and to sustain this program required money hence the nationalization principle.

➤ Nasser nationalized the Canal for personal reasons and prestige. It ought to be noted that Nasser wanted to consolidate his power by generating money from the Canal Zone hence nationalization policy.

➤ The need to increase the amount of the irrigable land in Egypt made nationalization inevitable. There was need to generate water from the Suez zone, Red sea and Mediterranean Sea hence the nationalization of the canal to ensure food security.

➤ The impact of the Constantinople Convention made the nationalization policy inevitable. Articles in the convention emphasized the respect or property of independent countries and therefore Gamel Nasser based on the convention to nationalize the canal.

➤ Egypt's military skills in Africa contributed to the nationalization of the canal. It ought to be noted that Gamel Nasser had established a strong army which he used to support African nationalists. This military strength gave Nasser confidence to nationalize the canal.

Reference questions

Account for the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956.

THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS OCTOBER 1956

Questions

1. Account for the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956
2. Examine the causes and effects of 1956 Suez Canal Crisis
3. To what extent was the tripartite alliance responsible for the Suez Canal Crisis in 1956?
4. Assess the impact of the Suez Canal War in 1956.
5. To what extent was Gamel Abdel Nasser responsible for the outbreak of the 1956 Suez Canal Crisis?
6. Why was the Suez Canal nationalized in 1956

7. Explain the causes and effects of the Suez Canal nationalization.

It was a conflict that took place in 1956 when Britain, France and Israel conspired to attack and overthrow Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt who had nationalized the Suez Canal [It was an imperialistic and aggressive war on the side of allied powers and a war of a liberation war for Egypt]

CAUSES

Israel attacked Egypt on 29th October 1956 and occupied the Sinai Peninsula marking the beginning of the crisis so the crisis was due to the following factors:

- Nasser support to Fedeyean commandos against Israel caused the canal crisis. So between 1954 and 55, Nasser organized the Fedeyean guerillas and carried out sabotage acts on important installations in Israel and destroyed property and killed people. This provoked Israel and attacked Egypt in 1956 and the city of Telviv was left in shambles.
- The British and French secret assurance of support to Israel caused the canal crisis. This assurance made Israel courageous and convinced her to occupy the Sinai Peninsula on 29th October 1956. This compelled Nasser to respond militarily and on 5th November 1956, the Anglo- French forces intervened to assist Israel against Egypt. This escalated the attack into a full scale crisis.
- Nasser's closure of the gulf of Aquaba led to the Suez Canal Crisis. The Gulf was the only direct route for Israel. Its blockade disorganized Israel's trade and commercial activities. This provoked Israel to attack Egypt in order to reopen the gulf of Aquaba
- Nasser's consistent demand that British should remove her military base from the Suez Canal zone as provided for in 1954 Anglo – Egyptian agreement caused the crisis. However, the British were not set to leave the Canal Zone for strategic military interests. This provoked anti- Nasser reactions inform of Anglo-French attack.
- The Nationalization of the Suez Canal resulted into the canal crisis of 1956. Nasser took over control of the Suez Canal activities to the annoyance of Britain and France. The nationalization threatened Anglo French economic interests, for the Suez Canal wars, the shortest route for Britain and France to the oil producing states of the Persian Gulf. Therefore Britain and France were not prepared to give up control of the canal of Egypt. This resulted into the canal crisis.
- Nasser's rejection of the free users Association of the Suez Canal caused the Suez Canal Saga. Britain and France suggested the formation of the association to protect their interests in the Canal Zone, but Nasser rejected it for fear of losing revenue. This made France and Britain to decide that Nasser should be over thrown at all costs for free use of canal services.
- Nasser's financial, military and moral support to the national liberation front (FLN) of Algeria provoked France to conspire with Britain and Israel to cause the Suez Canal Crisis. When Nasser started giving support to FLN freedom fighters in the war of independence, France felt antagonized and plotted to overthrow Nasser, in order to continue perpetuating their colonialism in Algeria.
- Nasser's strong support for anti – British rebels in Cyprus and in the Mau Mau activists in Kenya caused the Suez Canal Crisis. Nasser used Radio Cairo to propagate anti-colonial propaganda of the

Mau – Mau, supplied war logistics to the Aouko rebels in Cyprus, etc. this threatened British Colonial interests and angered her to the extent of conspiring against Nasser's government.

- Nasser's anti-British influence in Jordan resulted into the canal crisis. Nasser persuaded king Hussein of Jordan to expel his British Chief of Staff. This incited anti-Nasser reaction from the British causing the Suez Canal Crisis
- Nasser's opposition to the Baghdad pact of 1955 caused the canal crisis. This pact was an anti-Soviet military alliance of Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. This was a threat to (NATO's) Nato's strategic interests in the Middle East during the cold war period, thus the capitalist countries reacted by invading Egypt.
- Nasser's recognition of the communist regime of Mao – tse – Tung in Peking and the denouncement of the Western backed government Nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek on the Island of Taiwan resulted into the crisis. This was seen as a gesture of defiance against the capitalists thus prompting them to ally against Nasser's government.
- Nasser's arms deal with the communist (Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) for Russian bombers and tanks caused the crisis. Nasser also invited the soviet experts to train Egyptian soldiers. This military advance of Egypt within the communists angered the western powers making them conspire against Nasser's government.
- The influence of the Bandung conference of 1955 on Nasser caused the Canal crisis. Nasser as a delegate to the Bandung conference came back and called for total eradication of all forms of colonialism, he was inspired to nationalize the Suez Canal which was the last part of British colonialism thus Britain teamed up with France and Israel to fight the government of Nasser.
- The withdrawal of financial assistance meant for the construction of Aswan High dam which was of the centre stage of economic development of Egypt caused the canal crisis. Britain and U.S.A withheld substantial loan amounts meant for the dam construction and left Nasser with no option but nationalizing the Suez Canal to get revenue from the Canal to construct the Aswan High Dam.
- Nasser's desire to fix Egypt's economic problems led to the canal crisis in 1956, Egypt's rights to 15% of the net profit from the Suez Canal as rent for the territory was sold away by the British and the French thus millions of pounds flowed to Britain and France without a single penny going into Egypt's treasury. This did not please the people of Egypt forcing them to nationalize the Suez Canal to end economic hemorrhage/plunder. However, this provoked Anglo France attack of Egypt.
- Nasser's Pan Africanist/ nationalism caused the canal crisis.
- Nasser organized the Fedeyean commandos to carryout raids in Israel in 1954-55 which angered Israel to invade Egypt in 1956. Further Nasser's recognition of Palestine and opposition to the existence of Israel as a state caused the canal crisis.

“Gamal Abdel Nasser was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the tripartite aggression of Egypt.”
Discuss (Role of Nasser & Other factors).

- His domestic reforms which have socialistic in nature
- His recognition of Palestine and opposition of Israel as a state
- Nasser's attendance of the Bandung Conference of 1955
- Nasser's rejection of the free users association
- Nasser's support to the Fedeyean commandos

Nasser's September 1955 arms deal with communist (Czech Rep) Nasser's anti-British influence in the Arab states e.g. Jordan

- Nasser's financial and military support to FLN of Ben Bella
- Nasser's Pan-Africanist Nationalism

Nasser's opposition to the Baghdad pact of 1955 Nasser's anti-British rebels support in Cyprus

- His recognition of Mao — tse — Tung communist regime
- Nasser's desire to fix Egypt's economic problems
- Nasser's blockade of the Gulf of Aquaba Nationalization of the Suez Canal by Nasser

Other factors

- The British violation of the 1936 Anglo — Egyptian treaty which required them to leave Egypt in 1956 after 20 years
- Britain's fear to lose 40% revenue that it was getting from the canal
- The British and the French secret assurance of support to Israel
- Britain and U.S.A's withdraw of millions of dollars loan which they had promised to Egypt for the Aswan High Dam Project
- The strategic location of the canal to all parties i.e. France and Britain, Israel and Egypt.
- Israel's desire to expand her imperial ambitions to Africa/desire to spread the Zionist ideology
- Anti — British feelings in Egypt by the Egyptians by 1956/Desire for full independence
- Israel's attack on Egypt's territory i.e. Sinai Peninsula on 29'h October 1956

IMPACT OF THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS

The Suez Canal war was a military conflict between Egypt on the one side against Israel, Britain and France on the other side in 1956.

POSITIVE IMPACT ON EGYPT

Egypt registered a diplomatic victory over the British, French and Israel. The Anglo- French invasion of Egypt evoked strong condemnation from the international opinion expressed from the UN support of Nasser even from their ally of U.S.A.

- Egypt's self-rule became more meaningful. The Anglo-French troops were forced to withdraw from Egypt thus complete independence was realized.
- Nasser became a celebrated hero in the Middle East States and Egypt itself. Nasser's portraits were placed on streets many streets, were named after Nasser and Nasser's portraits became a household property.
- Egypt gained full control of the canal. Under international pressure, the Anglo French troops were forced to withdraw leaving the canal in the hands of Egypt. The canal was well managed under Egyptian managers, traffic increased, generated a lot of employment and revenue.
- Egyptian nationalism was strengthened as people united behind Nasser to get rid of foreign rule.
- Nationalization policy was intensified. Nasser was incited to takeover British and French property in Egypt as compensation for Anglo-French subversion [imperialistic tendencies].
- It laid a foundation for the success of the Aswan High Dam Project. It was constructed using Revenue generated from the canal with some support from U.S.R. this made Egypt the first African country to put radical socialist policies into practice.
- Socialism was spread in Egypt which implied more aid from the socialist countries e.g. U.S.S.R, China, and Czech Republic.
- There was efficient administration of the canal after the war. This was in the hands of Egyptian engineers.
- It led to the opening of the Gulf of Aquaba which benefited Israel. She regained entrance and exit for her trade and tried to improve the strained relationship.

- It laid a foundation for aid to other nationalists like Ben Bella, (Ahmed) from Nasser and this catapulted the quick self-determination from the French in 1962.
- Egyptian diplomatic victory during the canal war inspired nationalism elsewhere e.g. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco [Twin independence in 1956].
- It enabled the U.N to register an achievement. It condemned the Anglo French invasion of Egypt and called for their withdraw by stationing the UN Security Council to take charge.
- It resulted into the promotion of Pan – Arabism, i.e. creation of the United Arab Republic (Egypt plus (+) Syria) in 1958 [UAR].
- Afro Asian states turned to the East as an ally in fighting colonialism. They solicited for support from the communist bloc e.g. U.S.S.R, China, and Czech Republic etc.
- Inspired political development in Francophone states. In 1958, the fourth Republic of France was overthrown by Charles de Gaulle and immediately organized a referendum for the Africans to

decide/determine their political future [De Gaulle referendum that made Sekou Toure to vote for [NO] that deliberately destroyed the French federation.

- The spirit of NAM was strengthened. Nasser was established as one of the defenders and leaders of NAM, convincing African countries to adopt the principles of NAM that emphasized the positive neutrality on the continent and adoption of independent ideology.
- The resignation of the British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and three members of his cabinet led to the freezing of British and French military equipments which were channeled to the liberation movements. Large consignments of arms and ammunitions especially rifles got from the withdrawing Anglo – French forces were sent to African Guerilla fighters.

NEGATIVE IMPACT

- There was massive destruction of life and property for example in the Sinai battle alone 3,000 soldiers were killed and vast quantities of equipment lost to Israel.
- Egypt was forced to withdraw from Sinai and Gaza and was taken over by Israel and even the military post at sharm- As-Shail in Southern Sinai was taken over. However, Israel later withdrew
- Egypt suffered military humiliation; Egyptian soldiers were badly beaten and defeated.
- Refugee crisis in the Canal Zone was witnessed and this led to increased misery and suffering
- There was reduction in revenue to Egypt or traffic was diverted to the cape and this was attributed to the wars that Nasser fought and lowered the morale of investors.

- Increased hostility between Egypt and Israel leading to the 1967 six day war, in which Egypt lost more territories.
- NAM principles were undermined by Nasser's adoption of socialism, principles of neutrality were abandoned and this affected the credibility of African complete independence from the colonial hegemony.
- Led to suffocation of Israel's trade in Africa and the Middle East. This was because she had tampered with Egypt under Nasser who was seen as a focal point/figure of nationalism
- NATO members were divided especially those who blamed Britain and France e.g. U.S.A identified with Nasser and blamed the Anglo – French attack of Egypt and also compelled France to withdraw temporarily from NATO in 1966.
- Led to the Oil crisis in the world which resulted into collapse of world economies and overthrow of many African governments ie between 1960s and 1970s, it also affected regional bodies as Arab countries cut off relations with western allies ie EAC collapsed in 1977.
- Intensified cold war politics in Africa and this partly delayed the attainment of independence of African countries like Portuguese colonies and South Africa.

NATIONALISM IN GHANA

The Ghanaian nationalism or revolution refers to the tremendous changes registered by the nationals in Gold Coast in the struggle for independence. Ghana was a British colony and she was the 1st African country south of the Sahara to achieve independence on 6th, March, 1957. Nkrumah chose the name Ghana in memory of the ancient empire of Ghana. Political parties were formed early such as united gold coast convention (UGCC) formed in 1947. Convention people's party (CPP) in 1949 among others

Sample questions

1. Account for the early independence of Ghana
2. Examine the factors that facilitated the independence of Ghana
3. Discuss the factors for the rise of nationalism in the gold coast.

The factors for Ghana's early independence include the following:-

1. The influence of the historical traditional resistances in gold coast led to the independence struggle. Following the British rule, the masses in gold coast staged resistances against the poll

- tax, the Fante also pushed for the independence, Asante people also resisted the British not to take away their traditional stool (Golden). All these inspired nationalistic sentiments laying grounds for independence.
2. The homogenous nature of the gold coast promoted national unity and promoted independence. The people had common history and culture, they were proud of their origin and the majority i.e. 60% was Akan speakers who had positive influence on other tribes like Ga, Ewe, Kwamu. This created a strong sense of nationalism due to absence of ethnic differences.
 3. Gold coast had a progressive and developed economic infrastructure. The road and railway systems were well developed, the harbors were also modern. The roads included the Accra – Tema road, the Kumasi railway. These were built by the British to exploit resources, but the nationals used the roads to mobilize the masses for independence struggle.
 4. The relative economic status of gold coast contributed to the early independence. The country enjoyed high income per capita from cocoa production that made Ghana the leading producer in the world. Also palm oil, timber, mining of gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite. This gave the nationals economic power to finance the struggle for independence.
 5. The wide spread western education in the gold coast led to early independence. The country registered a large number of elites by 1946 such as lawyers, teachers, journalists and business people. They included Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. J.B. Danquah, and William Ofori Attu among others. These were paid less compared to the whites and it generated anger that made them to condemn colonialism.
 6. The formation and role of political parties contributed to the struggle of independence. These parties included UGCC and CPP formed in 1947 and 1949 respectively. The parties were dominated by rich middle class who financed party activities, Nkrumah under CPP promoted political awareness by opening up party branches in the country side. This sped up the rate of independence.
 7. The impact of the 1948 riots in gold coast laid a firm ground for independence. The riots were staged by the ex – servicemen of World War II in Accra to present a list of grievances. The British police fired at the crowd and killed people, arrested other nationalists like Nkrumah, Danquah, Akuffo Ado etc. The arrest hardened the anti-colonial sentiments leading to independence.
 8. The impact of World War II was equally responsible for the independence struggle. Gold coast had about 50,000 ex – service men who had returned home by 1946. The ex – servicemen had been frustrated by the retrenchment and unfulfilled promises. These had witnessed the independence of India in 1947 and got military and democratic principles to weaken British policies leading to Independence.
 9. The influence of the swollen shoot disease in gold coast aroused nationalism in Ghana. The disease attacked and destroyed cocoa trees at an alarming rate, but the colonial government ordered the cutting of cocoa trees without compensation. The Ghanaians interpreted this as a deliberate move to weaken over 65% of the peasants. This created a revolutionary mood for independence.
 10. The small and manageable population of Ghana explains its early independence. Ghana is a very small country and its population was very small, compact and controllable. By 1930s, it

- had 5 million people and it was very easy to mobilize and organize for a national cause which sped up the rate of nationalism and independence in 1957.
11. The role of governor Burns also made Ghana attain her early independence. Burns as the governor of Ghana was very understanding, sympathetic, empathetic, cooperative and accommodative. He introduced constitutional changes in 1944 / 1946 that allowed African representation in LEGCO and in 1946, the labor government in Britain ordered him to increase African representation in LEGCO. These changes reduced the colonial oppression and gave the people of more bargaining power of forge for self-rule in 1957.
 12. The positive role of Sir Arden clerk also helped Ghana to attain her independence. Arden became the governor of Ghana after the 1948 riots to bring peace in the country. He ordered for the release of Nkrumah from prison and worked closely with him, Nkrumah was made the leader of government business (prime minister) in 1954 and this accelerated the rate of independence in Ghana.
 13. The attainment of independence in Asia accelerated similar developments in Ghana. Several Asian states were decolonized at the end of World War II e.g. India and Pakistan in 1947, Indonesia and China. India extended moral and financial support to the African continent and inspired the leading nationalists like Nkrumah and J.B Danquah. The nationalists also adopted Gandhi's positive strategy, peaceful demonstrations were staged by Nkrumah and this was a great boost in arousing self-rule.
 14. Gold coast had a strong network of the press and mass media and this accelerated nationalism. A series of instruments of communication like the gold coast independence news (1945), Accra evening news (1948). The morning telegraph and daily mail in 1949. These made political publications like 'Towards colonial freedom', Neo – colonialism, the last stage of colonialism' These were read by elites and the evils of colonialism were exposed hence early independence.
 15. The influence of the Manchester conference of 1945 contributed to Ghana's early independence. The conference was organized in the Diaspora, but was attended by very many African nationalists including Nkrumah as a co – secretary. The conference demanded for positive action against colonial rule, made Nkrumah to be exposed to international focused leadership skills. He became a true democrat and his ideology was shaped to form the CPP party with slogans like: 'Independence now', 'Forward ever', 'Backward never'
 16. The positive impact of UNO in 1945 accelerated the independence of Ghana. In 1956, the UN intervened and organized a referendum which saw the **ewe** tribe in Togo joining Ghana and this boosted the unity, added pressure and reinforced political parties to demand for self-rule in Ghana.
 17. The charismatic leadership of Nkrumah led to early independence of Ghana. Nkrumah had exceptional skills, very visionary, had organizational ability, handsome, eloquent and an orator. He returned from abroad in 1947 and became a powerful factor in demanding for self rule, he accepted leadership in UGCC, he won the support of workers, the unemployed and became the Leninist kaizer of Africa to dismantle colonial rule in Africa.
 18. The impact of the national congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) led to the struggle for independence. The congress was founded in 1920 by a leading Ghanaian patriot Joseph

- Hayford. The aim of the congress was to decolonize the West African countries of Gambia, gold coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone etc. It demanded for equal representation of Africans in the LEGCO, stopped the whites to select traditional rulers, separate power of judiciary from the political power of the governor. The congress set up papers called the “African morning post” that published anti — colonial articles. These weakened the colonial arm of Britain by 1957.
19. The impact of the Mau — Mau uprising in Kenya (1952 — 55) threatened Britain to initiate reforms. The labor party in London learnt lessons from the Kenyan nationalism and devised means of granting political rights to Africans on the continent. The British government in London conditioned Governor Arden — Clarke to bring changes in Ghana to prevent the violent scenario similar to that of Kenya and increased cooperation with Nkrumah, reforms were made’ to allow political party activities.

THE ROLE / CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE IN GOLD COAST

THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC)

The UGCC was formed in 1947 in August by a group of people like Sekondi — a prominent business man in Central province, George Grant, Dr. Joseph B. Danquah, Ernest Adjei, and Edward Akufo Addo among others. UGCC played the following roles:

1. UGCC was the first modern political party to be formed and its leadership advocated for constitutional reforms. These led to the attainment of self-rule in Gold coast.
2. UGCC provided charismatic leadership under Kwame Nkrumah as a full time general secretary in November 1947. He used his organizational and oratory power to attract the youths, civil servants and this increased the pressure against Britain.
3. UGCC took part in the 1948 Feb riots which were a turning point in the independence struggle. These riots saw many nationalists arrested because of boycotting British and Syrian goods. The killing of the leaders and arrest weakened the colonial rule.
4. The UGCC leadership intensified violence on the British rule due to the harsh action of Governor Gerald creasy. The Big six including Nkrumah, Danquah and others made the colonial government to lose popularity.
5. UGCC condemned and rejected the constitutional reforms of 1951. The constitution had loop holes of having many traditional chiefs as representatives in parliament. The nationalists opposed the chiefs as they were collaborators.
6. The party adopted effective use of the press to mobilize and sensitize the masses. The UGCC used the ,Accra Evening News‘ established in 1948 to condemn the colonial atrocities of the British.

7. UGCC influenced the establishment of a revised constitution in 1954 under Sir Arden Clarke. This provided for the national assembly with representatives voted by majority Ghanaians hence increasing demand for independence.
8. The party under the dynamic rule of Kwame Nkrumah established many party branches throughout the country. It became a mass party and brought together all people.
9. The UGCC identified with the problems of the masses that included the scarcity of imported goods, inflation and swollen shoot disease of cocoa. This move increased the popularity of the party to defeat colonialism.
10. UGCC acted as a mouth piece of the people of gold coast. It complained and condemned the oppressive policies of the British. It also demanded for immediate independence.
11. The UGCC participated in the pre — independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. These elections increased African membership in the LEGCO and this laid a platform for independence demands.

THE ROLES OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY (CPP)

The party was formed on 12th June 1949 after Nkrumah stepping down as secretary general of UGCC due to ideological differences. Other members of CPP included K.A Gbedemah, Kwamena Ninsin and Kojo Botsio.

The following are the roles of CPP:

1. The CPP adopted radical slogans such as “self — government now” and “seek your first political independence and other things shall be added later” these energized the nationals for independence struggle.
2. The CPP intensively mobilized the natives against the British colonialism. The party tried to expose the evils of colonialism that made Ghana get independence in 1957.
3. The CPP provided a framework for consolidated unity. It discouraged the ethnic differences. The party opened gates for citizens including the youth hence boosting independence.
4. The CPP established a newspaper called Accra evening news to spread anti-colonial propaganda. The articles written captured the emotions of ordinary people hence opposing the British.
5. The CPP rejected the constitutional changes proposed course of 1949 as being fake. This also made many Ghanaians to oppose the 1951 constitution that failed to eliminate traditional chiefs used by the British.
6. The CPP used Gandhism and positive action against the British colonialism. It took part in the wide spread strikes and riots e.g. in 1950, the British schools, shops were boycotted, cut the cocoa plantations of the British hence reforms were affected.
7. CPP employed constitutional means of demanding for independence. The party demanded for reforms and this increased African representation in the LEGCO and in 1954, CPP had 79 out of 104 seats.

8. CPP participated in pre – independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. In 1951, CPP won 34 out of 38 seats in parliament and in 1956, 71 out of 104 to form the first independent government for gold coast.
9. The party defeated favoritism and Regionalism. All tribes and other political parties such as the national liberal movement of the Asante cooperated leading to independence.
10. CPP opened up branches of the party across the country. The party sounded much in the same way in rural areas as in urban centres e.g. in Accra, Tema, Kumasi hence a broad based party.
11. CPP expanded the civil service and the senior posts were Africanized. This made a big number of people to ably prepare for Ghana's independence.
12. CPP painted their vehicles with party colors and this inspired the local people in Ghana with nationalistic sentiments, commitment to attain independence in 1957.
13. CPP organized political values and composed slogans singing Nkrumah's names and titles i.e. "a man of destiny", "deliverer of Ghana", "leader of street boys". All these inspired people to work for independence.
14. CPP scrapped off the 10 years development plan of the colonial government proposed in 1946 and reduced it to 5 years. This boosted the economic stand of Ghana hence quickening independence in 1957.
15. CPP changed the name gold coast to Ghana at independence in memory of the strong ancient Ghana Empire. This was a symbol of African personality that brought identity.
16. CPP led Gold coast to independence on 6'h march 1957 with Nkrumah as prime minister and later president. This led to the formation of the black Africans government.

KWAME NKUMAH

Nkrumah was born on September 21st 1909 in the southern region of gold coast and his father was Mr. Mwayi Kofi Francis. He was a teacher by profession but later became a lawyer while in the US after acquiring a master's degree.

Nkrumah returned to gold coast in 1947 after spending 12 years in the diaspora. He embarked on political mobilization in the UGCC party where he was a secretary general.

Question

1. Examine the role of Kwame Nkrumah in the attainment of independence in Ghana.
2. To what extent was Nkrumah responsible for the decolonization of Ghana?

The following are the roles of Nkrumah:

1. Nkrumah accepted the leadership in UGCC as secretary general in gold coast in 1947. He used the position to popularize the need for independence, opened up party branches in various districts.
2. He made effective use of the press to spread anti — colonial propaganda in the country, he set up the Accra evening news and the cape coast daily mail written in local languages understood by the people. The press used the slogan "independence now".

3. Nkrumah worked with the trade unions of teachers and railway employees to advocate for better conditions. He used these professionals to make them employ positive action like strikes and demonstrations against the unfair policies of the British.
4. Nkrumah formed a committee of the youth after 1948 riots and this increased the youth membership to demand for independence. He also used the school leavers desperately looking for jobs to oppose the government for its unfair policies; the youth regarded Nkrumah as Osagyefo` the redeemer.
5. Nkrumah condemned the British colonialism and sensitized the masses against the British policies. He made countrywide tours, had rallies and lectures which united the masses for independence.
6. The arrest and imprisonment of Nkrumah by the colonial government boosted his radical campaign. He was arrested in 1948 with other members of ,Big six` and in 1950 for inciting workers. This turned Nkrumah into a hero and made him win 1951 elections.
7. Nkrumah formed the CPP party in 1949 after breaking away from UGCC. The CPP addressed the aspirations of the people up to the remotest village with a slogan, self-independence now`.
8. Nkrumah opposed the Coussey constitution of October 1949 that proposed increased representation of traditional chiefs. The chiefs were to sing the colonial language and this made him get more support for independence.
9. Nkrumah accepted to become leader of government businesses in 1951 after his release from prison. This made CPP to win 34 out of 38 seats in the LEGCO that led to his acquiring of the office of Prime minister to initiate projects like Volta dam project.
10. As a prime minister, social service delivery was improved e.g. he extended the health sector to rural areas and provided (UPE) to children below 12 years, water and electricity too were provided to the local people.
11. Nkrumah defeated tribalism during the independence struggle by encouraging national unity. Nkrumah worked with all the ethnic based parties such as Togoland progressive party (TPP), national liberation movement (NLM) of the Asante among others. Nkrumah was visionary that made CPP get support.
12. Nkrumah cooperated with the colonial authorities under governor Sir Charles Arden Clarke. He established a mutual trust with the governor and worked on the policy of independence from the British.
13. Nkrumah led the CPP to participate in the 1954 and 1956 pre — independence elections. Nkrumah`s party won overwhelmingly i.e. in 1954, CPP got 79 out of 104 seats and 71 in 1956 creating room for leading the country at independence in 1957.
14. Nkrumah under CPP received the instruments of power at independence in 1957 from the British. The new nation adopted the name Ghana in memory of the ancient empire and Nkrumah became the 1st president.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF NKRUMAH AND THE CPP GOVERNMENT (1951 — 1966)

Nkrumah and CPP assumed the arms of an internally self-governing gold coast in 1951 when there was rising prices of cocoa and Nkrumah therefore embarked on development projects as below;

1. The government of Nkrumah proclaimed a five year development plan of 120 million pounds. This replaced the 10 year program of governor Allan Burns in 1946. This money was used to import capital equipment, expert personnel and train the local people to provide services to the people.
2. The development of the transport sector was also a major concern of Nkrumah. Roads were expanded from Accra — Takoradi, Kumasi, the railway line was also expanded, Ghana Airways was also established which greatly improved mobility.
3. The communication sector was also developed by Nkrumah. The CPP government modernized Radio and Television services to increase education, entertainment and information. The telephone and wireless telegraphy systems were built, automatic communication services were greatly improved in the urban centers.
4. The CPP government initiated the construction of the hydroelectric power dam at Volta River. The dam was aimed at promoting industrialization and it was commissioned in 1961 and it began functioning in 1966 January before the overthrow of Nkrumah. The dam also generated electricity to solve the domestic needs of the people and it was exported to countries like Benin and Togo to increase revenue.
5. Nkrumah promoted industrial development in Ghana compared to the colonial government. The black government ensured the setting up of export promotion industries targeting market in England; local industries were given incentives like tax exemptions majorly on imported capital equipment. The Nkrumah government also partnered with manufacturing centres to produce essentials like safety matches and sugar.
6. CPP government promoted the agricultural sector in Ghana. The agricultural sector was diversified to reduce reliance on cocoa and bring new crops like maize, yams, G.nuts, coffee among others. Also state farms were set up to encourage livestock farming, poultry and teaching of agricultural science was emphasized in universities.
7. Nkrumah and the CPP government fought the swollen shoot diseases that affected the cocoa sector. There was a nationwide campaign against cocoa disease; trees were cut and farmers given better varieties. The livelihood of farmers was greatly improved through the marketing boards established that offered financial assistance.
8. Nkrumah's CPP government promoted the welfare of the Ghanaians. The government embarked on the housing scheme to solve accommodation shortage created by massive industrialization, the ministry of housing was established that set up houses in Accra, Takoradi and Kumasi and these were rented at low costs and people were also encouraged to buy houses slowly through the savings.
9. Reforms in education were also undertaken by the CPP government. By 1961, the Nkrumah government became the first African country to start the universal primary education (UPE) that made all children below 12 years to attend. It was later extended to secondary and tertiary levels and textbooks were provided to improve quality. The Ghana Education Trust (GET) was

- set up to build and manage the schools, scholarships were also given to students to study from abroad.
10. Health services were greatly improved upon by the Nkrumah government. Hospitals were established both in rural and urban centres, regional hospitals were built, the Sekondi – Takoradi hospital, clinics were set up to bring services closer to the rural people. A medical school was set up in Accra and many nursing schools were set up in the entire country to address the problems of medical personnel.
 11. Nkrumah administration reformed the local government system. District and urban councils were introduced and elective politics became the order of the day. The local councils were in charge of the construction of the roads, water services and education. The central government provided operational grants for local council development projects.
 12. The CPP government Africanized the civil service in Ghana. From the time Nkrumah joined active government leadership in 1951, a plan was launched to include the natives in the management of country affairs. The Ghanaians were encouraged to take up education in order to manage the country affairs after the departure of the colonialists.
 13. Nkrumah introduced constitutional reforms for Ghana from 1953. The committee to carry out political mapping for Ghana was headed by a Ghanaian called Van Lare to demarcate the constituencies of the country. Elective posts were highlighted under universal adult suffrage.
 14. The government defeated regionalism in Ghana. All the competing political parties based on ethnic lines were made to focus on nation building e.g. the Muslim party association, Ghana congress party, Togo congress, the national liberation movement led by the chief opposition leader Kofi Busia.
 15. Nkrumah condemned and fought neo — colonialism. Nkrumah regarded neo — colonialism as the worst stage of imperialism and he blocked ties with the British government. Nkrumah also called upon all African independent governments to dissociate from the former colonial masters, discourage the western balkanization of Africa (divisionism).
 16. Nkrumah promoted the culture of Ghana. There was cultural rejuvenation through the promotion of dance, music, art and literature. Ghana ensemble promoted the local music and dance abroad, games and sports were given priority and Ghana was crowned the champion of boxing in the common wealth in 1963, also took part in continental football.
 17. CPP government increased mineral exploitation in Ghana. Ghana exploited the gold and aluminium effectively and this boosted economic development, increased industrialization and increased the balance of payment through mineral export.

FAILURES OF NKRUMAH / DOWNFALL

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP- government lasted up to 1966. Despite the numerous achievements of Nkrumah, the country was dominated by many weaknesses that led to the February 24'h, 1966 coup organized by Colonel Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, Col. A. Ocran, major Afrifa and the police commissioner Harley. Nkrumah was overthrown while away to Hanoi — Vietnam on an international peace mission.

The following were the weaknesses of Nkrumah:-

1. The change in the personality of Nkrumah was a major weakness, he turned from a selfless, humble and osagyefo (redeemer) to a power hungry politician, become intolerant and proud that made his boot lickers [henchmen] to become his enemies hence downfall.
2. Nkrumah became autocratic and authoritarian. He destroyed the democracy after independence; he undermined the constitution of 1960 and became a dictator with absolute powers. Nkrumah ruled Ghana by decree, in 1965 — Nkrumah appointed units instead of the elections the Ghanaians waited for and the constituencies were created to the surprise of the people.
3. Nkrumah used the powers of the presidency to interfere with the judiciary. In 1962, Nkrumah survived an assassination, and he ordered for the arrest of the chief opposition leader Adamayo as the chief suspect, but later acquitted due to lack of evidence. Nkrumah ordered for the dismissal of the chief justice and many judges, in 1964 organized a referendum to make Ghanaians decide and make the country a one party state.
4. The dictatorial and tyrannical rule of Nkrumah was a major weakness. He had a tight spy network and passed preventive detention acts, his powers became unquestionable and arrested numerous opposition leaders like JB Danquah, Adamayo and Kofi Busia, others were forced to go to exile hence became unpopular.
5. Nkrumah and the CPP government plunged the country into financial bankruptcy. The government became insolvent due to the extravagant and lavish life of Nkrumah, corruption and embezzlement became eminent in the country, the large number of cabinet ministers was ever on foreign missions leading to the downfall of Nkrumah in 1966.
6. The CPP government failed to address the scarcity of essential goods. These included sugar, drugs, milk, and paraffin, among others. The country adopted unrealistic policies of controlling imports that resulted into scarcity. This was accompanied by lack of employment in urban areas hence the government became unpopular.
7. The Nkrumah government interfered with the police department. The police had attempted to get involved in the abortive coups against Nkrumah, therefore, many of them were terminated and others arrested. These police officers dismissed by the government joined the coup plotters to stage the exit of Nkrumah.
8. Failure of the CPP government to address the grievances of the army led to the down fall of Nkrumah. The army was divided after the creation of the President's Brigade; this was well facilitated at the expense of the national army. Worse of all, Nkrumah opened a military academy and recruited CPP supporters, the 1965 decree led to the dismissal of the chief of staff i.e. General Otu and his deputy Lt. Ankrah which undermined the government.
9. Nkrumah's proposal to send the army in southern Rhodesia to fight the UDI government led to his down fall. The army was already nursing grievances, the attempt to send the army out of Ghana exposed his indifference to national suffering, and this undermined the credibility of the CPP government.

THE CONCEPT OF PAN-AFRICANISM (PAM) SINCE 1900

Pan-Africanism refers to the desire bring together all people of the black origin in Africa and in the diaspora in order to attain their political and economic independence and also to revive the African heritage or culture. It also means an expression of solidarity among all the black people across the world. In an attempt to strengthen this solidarity, a movement known as the **Pan-African Movement (PAM)** was set up.

Pan-Africanism was about Africa but it emerged in the new world among the Black Negros in America and the adjacent islands. These were descendants of the black slaves that had been taken to provide labour in the plantations, homes and mines. Pan-Africanism therefore grew out of the segregation, poor working conditions, abandonment of African culture in preference to the western cultural values that were subjected to the blacks in the new world.

As a result of the mistreatment of the blacks, black intellectual leaders emerged and they became the promoters of Pan-Africanism. These included Dr. William Edward DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Henry Sylvester Williams and George Padmore. It later attracted Blacks from the African continent especially West African elites like Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal and Sekou Toure of Guinea Conakry among others. These African elites participated in conferences outside Africa in an attempt to restore the glory and dignity of the Africans. Later, the Africans from East Africa also joined the movement like Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere.

Pan-Africanism started in 1900 and went through two major phases. The first phase was between **1900** and **1945**. During this conference, six major Pan-African conferences were held by the various political leaders and intellectuals from Europe, North America and Africa. The first one was in London in 1900. The second conference was organized in 1919 by W.E. DuBois in Paris. Other conferences took place in London and Brussels in 1921, London and Lisbon in 1923, New York in 1927 as well as Manchester in 1945. The second phase of Pan-Africanism stretched from **1945** to 1963. A number of conferences were organized in this phase starting with the Accra Conference of 1958. The first phase was dominated by the Blacks living in the diaspora and the second one was dominated by those who shifted the movement onto the African continent led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

THE AIMS OR OBJECTIVES OF PAN-AFRICANISM

It was initiated to unite the people of the Blacks descent or origin both within Africa and in the diaspora.

It was formed to bring about the independence or liberation of the entire African continent from colonialism.

It aimed at uplifting the standard of living of the black Africans. This was to be done through economic integration, transfer of skills and technical knowledge and the attraction of investors to Africa.

It aimed at promoting the revival of the African traditional heritage and culture in terms of dressing, music, dance and drama which had been greatly undermined by colonialism and slave trade was another aim.

It was initiated to restore the dignity or respect of the Black man or people in the entire world. This dignity had been destroyed by the slave traders when they turned the Africans into an item of trade.

It was initiated to encourage the Africans in the diaspora to go back to Africa and contribute towards the development of their continent.

It aimed at forming a united and strong black voice in international affairs which had been dominated by the whites.

Pan-Africanism aimed at ending racial segregation and discrimination which was rampant not only in Africa but in the whole world.

Pan-Africanism aimed at promoting international co-operation and understanding regardless of one's race, creed and nationality.

Pan-Africanism also aimed at fighting neo-colonialism in African countries after independence.

Pan-Africanism aimed at training and equipping the Africans and black leaders with the knowledge on how to manage their own affairs.

Pan-Africanism aimed at promoting democracy in Africa by encouraging the African leaders to be democratic and to allow the Africans enjoy liberties like freedom of speech among others.

Pan-Africanism aimed at eradicating all bottlenecks or obstacles towards political, economic and social progress in Africa like corruption, unemployment, civil wars and military coups among others.

FACTORS FOR THE GROWTH OF THE PAN-AFRICANISM UP TO 1963

The first Pan-African Conference of 1900 contributed to the growth of Pan-Africanism. This conference was organized by the blacks in the diaspora led by Henry Sylvester Williams from Trinidad. The conference was held in London from 23rd to 24th July 1900 and it took place in Westminster Town Hall. This conference was attended by 37 delegates, including Dr. William Edward DuBois and about 10 other participants and observers from Africa, the West Indies, the USA and the United Kingdom. The conference therefore brought the blacks together for the first time, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

Racism contributed to the growth of Pan-Africanism. For a long time, there was widespread racial segregation against the black race in Africa, the USA and Europe. With time, this racism made the Blacks all over the world to come together so as to fight and end this segregation. In the process therefore, this promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Africans in the diaspora influenced the growth of the Pan-African Movement. Pan-Africanism as an idea started in the diaspora by the black intellectuals that included George Padmore, Dr. William Edward DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Henry Sylvester Williams among others. These wrote explosive articles condemning racial discrimination, colonialism, cultural erosion, exploitation of black race and other social injustices. Their literature created awareness among the blacks, hence inspiring them to come

together so as to liberate themselves from such injustices. In the process therefore, this promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

European colonialism also led to the growth of Pan-Africanism. During the colonial period, the European colonial masters in Africa introduced many unfair colonial policies that inflicted a lot of suffering on the black race. For example, they were carried out forced labour, taxation and land alienation among others. As a result, the blacks or Africans decided to come together in order to fight and liberate themselves from such colonial policies. In the process therefore, this promoted unity among the blacks which eventually promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Pan-African Conference of 1918 also contributed to the growth of Pan-Africanism. This conference was organized in February 1919 by Dr. William Edward DuBois and it took place in France. There were 57 delegates representing 15 countries, a smaller number than originally intended because the British and American governments refused to issue passports to their citizens who had planned to attend. Their main task was petitioning the Versailles Peace Conference held in Paris at that time. The fact that this conference brought the blacks together made it important in the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The role of other earlier conferences was also vital in the growth of Pan-Africanism. These conferences took place in London and Brussels in 1921, London and Lisbon in 1923 and New York in 1927. All these Pan-African conferences were attended by the blacks from different parts of the world and discussed matters of common interest. This promoted unity amongst them, hence facilitating the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The formation of the West African Students' Union (WASU) in 1925 also led to the growth of Pan-Africanism. This was an association of students from various West African countries who were studying in the United Kingdom. It was founded on 7th August 1925 by twenty-one law students, led by Ladipo Solanke and Herbert Bankole-Bright. This organization brought these African students together to demand for the independence of the West African countries which promoted unity amongst them. In the process therefore, this promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Italo-Ethiopian Crisis of 1935 also promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. This crisis involved the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy under Benito Mussolini so as to avenge the Italian defeat and humiliation at the Battle of Adowa of 1896. By 1935, Ethiopia was regarded as the symbol of Africa's independence since she had managed to survive the 19th European colonialism and therefore she was highly respected. Consequently, when Ethiopia was invaded by Italy, the blacks like George Padmore and Marcus Garvey organized demonstrations in the Diaspora as an expression of solidarity or unity with the Ethiopians. This therefore promoted unity among the blacks, hence leading to the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The 5th Pan-African Conference of 1945 promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. This conference which was held in the United Kingdom in October in 1945 was a major event in the growth of Pan-Africanism. It was held in Manchester City, in Charlton Town Hall. The Manchester conference brought together a number of black intellectuals and activists who later became influential leaders in promoting the activities of the Pan-African Movement, including Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana,

Peter Abrahams of South Africa and Negroes like Dr. William Edward DuBois among others. This conference therefore greatly promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The role of mass political parties influenced the growth of the Pan-African Movement. During the struggle against colonial rule in Africa, a number of political parties were formed by the leading African nationalists to spearhead the independence struggles. For example, there was the *National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon* (NCNC) as well as the *Ressement Democratique Africain* (RDC). These political parties crossed national boundaries and therefore helped to unite the Africans in such countries. There were also political parties within countries like the CPP of Ghana, ANC of South Africa, TANU of Tanganyika and many others which united the Africans, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Egyptian Revolution of 1952 also promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. In 1952, three young Egyptian military officers that included Gamel Abdel Nasser, Mohammed Neguib and Anwar Sadat organized a revolution that overthrew the unpopular government of King Farouk of Egypt. After this revolution, Gamel Abdel Nasser who took over power supported liberation struggles in Black African countries south of the Sahara Desert like Kenya. This helped to change the attitude of the Black Africans towards the Arab Africans, hence promoting unity between the Arab North and Black South. This therefore promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Bandung Conference of 1955 also promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. This conference was hosted by Indonesia under the leadership of President Sukarno with the help of **Jawaharlal Nehru** - the Indian Prime Minister. It aimed at promoting co-operation among the Third World Countries from Asia and Africa. It was attended by the nationalists from African countries like Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia and Liberia. Others came from Algeria, Gold Coast (Ghana), Sudan and South Africa. This therefore promoted unity amongst these Africans, thus facilitating the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The independence of Ghana in 1957 was another factor that promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. In March 1957, Ghana achieved her independence from the British and she became the first Black African country, south of the Sahara to score this milestone. The independence struggle in Ghana was led by Kwame Nkrumah who, after Ghana's independence, clearly stated that the independence of Ghana was useless without the independence of other African countries. Kwame Nkrumah therefore made Accra a base of African nationalism from where he co-ordinated activities that helped other African countries to get independence. He strongly believed in the creation of a United States of Africa (USA) and this could only be achieved after all the African countries had got rid of colonial rule. Kwame Nkrumah therefore offered moral, financial and military support to the liberation movements in Africa. In the process therefore, this promoted unity between Ghana and other African countries, hence contributing to the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The independence of Guinea Conakry in 1958 also promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. On 2nd October 1958, Guinea Conakry declared its independence from France, with Sekou Toure as the new nation's first leader. This independence was achieved after the French leader **Charles De Gaulle** organized a referendum asking all the French colonies in Africa to vote **"NO"** to French colonialism and

get their independence or “YES” and remain under France. Consequently, Guinea Conakry under Sekou Toure that voted “NO” and therefore she was granted independence in 1958. After independence, Sekou Toure supported various liberation movements like the PAIGC which fought for the independence of neighbouring Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands from the Portuguese colonialists. In the process therefore, this promoted unity between Guinea Conakry and other African countries, hence leading to the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Accra Conferences of April and December 1958 also contributed to the growth of Pan-Africanism. In 1958 one year after attaining independence, Ghana organized the two Pan African Conferences in Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The first conference was held in April and this was followed by another one in December 1958 which came to be known as the All African Peoples’ Conference (AAPC). These conferences were attended by different African nationalists who included Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Robert Sobukwe of South Africa, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Tom Mboya of Kenya among others who came together to discuss matters of common interest and therefore this promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. Similarly, these conferences turned Accra into a base of Pan-Africanism from where its activities were co-ordinated. All this facilitated the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The 1961 Conference held in Egypt also promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. This was the third meeting of the All African Peoples’ Conference and it was held in Cairo, Egypt on 25th March 1961. The Cairo Conference brought together many delegates from both the independent and non-independent African countries who jointly condemned the neo-colonialism of USA and the American domination of the United Nations among other issues. This conference further promoted unity among the Africans, hence facilitating the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The formation of the Organization African Unity (OAU) in 1963 was another factor that promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. In May 1963, the two conflicting African blocs i.e. the Casablanca bloc and the Monrovia bloc reconciled their differences and formed the Organization of African Unity (OAU). They put its headquarters at Addis Ababa under the chairmanship of Emperor Haile Selassie. The OAU was primarily formed to promote unity and solidarity among the African States. Therefore, by all means this organization helped to unite the African states that had attained independence by 1963, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The role of press (mass media) promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism. A number of radio stations and newspapers were set up in Africa by the leading African nationalists so as to spread anti-colonial messages. For example, there was Radio Accra in Ghana as well as Radio Cairo in Egypt. These mass media channels were later used to call up on the Africans to come together, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

Sample Questions:

- 1. Account of the growth of Pan-Africanism between 1945 and 1963.**
- 2. Describe the origins and growth of the Pan-African Movement up to 1963.**

3. Explain the factors that influenced the growth of the Pan-African Movement (PAM) between 1945 and 1963.

THE OBSTACLES TO PAN-AFRICANISM OR PROBLEMS FACED BY THE PAN-AFRICANISTS BEFORE AND AFTER 1945

The Pan-Africanists experienced a number of problems which made it difficult for them to perform their responsibilities effectively. These problems were both from Africa and the outside world as shown below;

The Pan-Africanists held all their first conferences outside Africa. This meant that the Africans could not attend these conferences partly because of the restrictions of the colonial governments and also partly because they could not afford the travel expenses. This therefore limited the African exposure to the Pan-African conferences and the idea of Pan-Africanism itself.

The Pan-Africanists lacked support from the independent African countries like Ethiopia and Liberia. These countries did not support and act positively in spreading Pan-Africanism on the African continent. This was mainly because they were constrained by internal problems. In the process therefore, Pan-Africanism in Africa appeared more theoretical than practical.

The Pan-African Movement was regarded as a movement of the elites and intellectuals. This therefore alienated or left out the majority of the Africans. The leadership of the Pan-African Movement was therefore in the hands of the minority who lived in different parts of the world. The uneducated Africans who were the majority were left out of the conferences in the first phase of Pan-Africanism. Therefore, the failure to involve the peasants in Pan-Africanism made it difficult for its development in Africa.

The backwardness and widespread illiteracy among the Africans was another obstacle to Pan-Africanism. Many Africans were illiterate which made it hard for the Pan-African messages to be transmitted to them yet the Pan-Africanists needed to educate the masses about the importance of this movement. Indeed, many Africans had accepted their positions as servants of the colonial administrators. They were therefore totally unaware of the need for self-determination and independence and the need to enjoy their rights and freedom.

The complete absence of a propaganda base on the African continent was another obstacle to Pan-Africanism. Before 1957, there was no Pan-African secretariat in Africa. Therefore, the Pan-African Movement operated from abroad and it remained in the minds of the Negroes and the few Africans that received western education.

The colonial policies in Africa were another obstacle to the growth of Pan-Africanism. The colonial administrators ensured that there was strict censorship of the press and the control of the mass media. Other policies like forced labour, poor taxation policies and assimilation within the French and Portuguese colonies greatly divided the Africans. Therefore, as long as the Africans were divided the growth of the Pan-African Movement became very slow.

The colonial masters also put in a lot of effort to ensure that the Pan-Africanist ideas did not reach the majority peasants within their territories. They therefore banned all Pan-African activities from their colonial enclaves. For example, in 1927 Britain and France frustrated the fourth Pan-African conference which was to take place in Tunisia. This therefore delayed the spread of the Pan-African ideas in Africa.

The low levels of patriotism and nationalism in Africa before 1945 were an obstacle to the spread of Pan-Africanism in Africa. This was because many Africans had accepted colonialism and they therefore feared to oppose it. This therefore frustrated the efforts of the Negroes in the diaspora because they were not getting the support of the Africans within Africa. It also limited the impact of Pan-Africanism on the African continent within that time.

The language barrier was another obstacle towards the growth of Pan-Africanism in Africa. The majority of the Africans who dominated the Pan-African Movement were elites who used foreign languages especially English and French which belonged to the colonial masters. This therefore meant that in the end they had problems of passing on the Pan-African information to the rest of the members in their countries. Therefore, the lack of a language of communication hindered the spread of the Pan-African ideas.

The ideological conflict within the Pan-African Movement was another obstacle towards the growth of Pan-Africanism in Africa. The Pan-Africanists failed to agree on the methods of achieving their aims. For example, during the 1950s and 1960s, the African countries were divided into two hostile camps of the *Casablanca* and the *Monrovia* blocs. The Casablanca bloc was radical and it included Ghana, Mali, French Guinea and Egypt among others. This group advocated for the use of force in trying to achieve their aims. They also favoured the formation of a United States of Africa (USA) under a single leader. The Monrovia group on the other hand was moderate and preferred peaceful means of achieving their aims as well as a loose association of African states. This group was led by Liberia. This greatly hampered the growth of Pan-Africanism up to 1963 when the two groups reconciled their differences.

The large size of the African continent was another obstacle towards the growth of Pan-Africanism. The African continent was very wide and made up of different races like the Arabs in the North, the Negroes (Blacks) in the middle and mixed races in South Africa. Unfortunately, the people in North Africa beyond the Sahara Desert considered themselves to be more of Arab than Africa. Therefore, they found it hard to relate with the Africans south of the Sahara. In the same way, in South Africa where there were mixed races the Africans preferred to copy the European ways than the African ways. This diversity of the African continent was therefore a very big obstacle towards the growth of the Pan-African Movement.

The assassination of the original Pan-Africanists like Patrice Lumumba of Congo weakened the growth of Pan-Africanism. Similarly, the occurrence of military coups in many African countries after independence led to the overthrow of the first generation of African leaders who were interested in Pan-Africanism like Kwame Nkrumah and Haile Selassie. This therefore became a very big obstacle towards the growth of Pan-Africanism in Africa.

The personal differences among the African leaders undermined African unity. There were personal differences among many leaders of the newly independent African states which greatly worked against

the spirit of togetherness that was enshrined in the Pan-African Movement. For example, Idi Amin Dada of Uganda conflicted with Julius Nyerere of Tanzania as well as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.

The formation of regional economic groupings was another obstacle towards the growth of Pan-Africanism. After the attainment of independence, many regional economic organizations were formed so as to foster development in Africa. These included the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) as well as the South African Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which later became the Southern African Development Community (SADC) among others. These organizations promoted regional rather than continental interests, hence weakening the spirit of Pan-Africanism among the Africans.

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE (THE 5TH PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE) OF 1945

The Manchester Conference took place in the English city of Manchester at Charlton Town Hall from **15th to 19th October 1945**, immediately after the end of World War II. It was the most successful conference held by the Pan-Africanists after the first conferences which were held in London in 1900, Paris (1919), London and Brussels (1921), London and Lisbon (1923) and New York City (1927) that did not have a significant impact on the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The conference was organized by the Pan-Africanists in the diaspora. However, it attracted over 90 delegates from all over the world. The conference was chaired by Dr. William Edward DuBois from the USA. The conference was attended by many Africans, including Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast who acted as the Secretary General during this conference. Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya represented East Africa. Others included Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Wallace Johnson of Sierraleon, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Ras Makonnen of Ethiopia and Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria among others.

There were so many events in the world that prompted the calling of the Manchester conference in 1945. For example, between 1934 and 1941 there was the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. There was also the signing and declaration of the Atlantic Charter of 1941. There was also the end of World War II in 1945 and the exploitation of the ex-servicemen. There was the emergence of the two super powers i.e. the USA and USSR which were advocating for the decolonization of Africa. There was the victory of the Labour Party in Britain in 1945. This was followed by the opening of the Pan-African letter to the new Prime Minister Clement Attlee which was calling for the implementation of the 1941 Atlantic Charter. The most important however was the emergence of an elite class in Africa. The economic boom during the Second World War resulted into educational opportunities which enabled many Africans to attend the conference. The meeting organizers also catered for the travel expenses of the delegates from Africa and America to Europe.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE OF 1945

The conference was significant in the growth of Pan- Africanism in the following ways;

The Manchester conference of 1945 brought together the Blacks from Africa and those from the diaspora to discuss their problems. It should be noted that this was the first time that the Africans were getting involved in the Pan-African meetings. Therefore, the blacks from Africa like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Peter Abrahams, Wallace Johnson, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Ras Makonnen and Obafemi Awolowo joined hands with Negro Blacks like William Edward DuBois, George Padmore and Marcus Garvey from abroad to discuss matters of common interest. This therefore promoted unity among the blacks as they exchanged ideas, thus promoting Pan-Africanism.

The Manchester conference of 1945 Africanized the concept of Pan-Africanism. This was the first conference in the history of Pan-Africanism where the Africans attended and acted as leading participants unlike the first Pan-African conferences which were only attended and dominated by the blacks in the diaspora. This time round they were not just participants but they also had leading roles during the conference. For example, Dr. Peter Abrahams from South Africa worked hand in hand with Dr. William Edward DuBois to chair the meeting. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana served as the Secretary General and again Peter Abrahams of South Africa served as the Publicity Secretary. This therefore put the Africans in the limelight of the Pan-African Movement and they embraced it as their own. This was important because the real message of the conference went to a real “cadres” or the right people who were to promote the ideas of Pan-Africanism in Africa like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Peter Abrahams, Wallace Johnson and Hastings Kamuzu Banda among others.

It led to the adoption of a more radical and militant approach towards colonialism in Africa. During the Manchester conference, the delegates agreed to apply force where necessary in the struggle to attain their independence. Therefore, it was from this conference that the Africans got determined to get rid of the colonialists. They agreed that, “Africans, as a last resort, may have to use force in order to achieve freedom even if force destroys them and the world”. This means that the delegates in the Manchester conference adopted force as a means or method of fighting for the independence of Africa instead of using peaceful means. It is because of this that violence broke out in some African countries after the Manchester conference for example the Mau-Mau rebellion in Kenya. Therefore, the conference militarized African Nationalism.

The conference encouraged the Africans in the diaspora to return to the continent and lead the struggle against colonialism. The Pan-Africanists at Manchester resolved to call up on the elites living abroad and the blacks of the African origin to come back to Africa and liberate their people from colonialism. They were urged to help in the transformation of the social, economic and political ways of life of the Africans. Consequently, Jomo Kenyatta returned straight away to Kenya in **1946** and inspired the Kenyans to demand for independence from Britain which was attained in 1963. Similarly, **1947** Kwame Nkrumah returned and set out a strategy to bring about the independence of Ghana within only 10 years. Indeed, he successfully achieved this in 1957.

The Manchester conference of 1945 intensified the condemnation of colonialism in Africa by the elites. Those African elites who got the opportunity of attending this conference like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya among others used it as a platform to condemn vehemently colonial

rule in Africa without fear. This therefore awakened the minds of the Africans, hence promoting the struggle for independence and unity in Africa.

The Manchester conference of 1945 also condemned racism or racial segregation in Africa. During this conference, racial segregation against the blacks was one of the major issues that were extensively discussed and condemned by all the delegates as a crime against humanity. This anti-racist stand of the conference therefore inspired the Africans in countries like South Africa, Kenya and the Portuguese colonies where racial discrimination was at its climax to start demanding for immediate independence from the colonialists as a step to end segregation. In the process therefore, this promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Manchester conference was also significant because it led to the formation of mass political parties in Africa. During the conference, the delegates were called upon to form mass political parties so as to spearhead the struggle for independence in Africa. As a result, most of the Africans who had attended this conference formed mass political parties when they returned to their respective countries. For example, in Ghana there was the Convention People's Party (CPP) formed by Kwame Nkrumah in 1949. In Kenya, the Kenya African Union (KAU) was transformed by Jomo Kenyatta into the Kenya African National Union (KANU). All this was mainly because the Manchester conference had emphasized the need for mass political parties that would be able to challenge the colonialists and demand for independence.

The Manchester conference of 1945 also condemned slavery in Africa. During the conference, the delegates vehemently attacked the enslavement of the Blacks in Africa by the whites. This therefore inspired the Africans in countries like Kenya, Algeria, Angola and Mozambique where slavery in form of forced labour was still being practiced by the colonialists to rise up in armed struggles against the colonial masters. This eventually led to the attainment of independence in the above African countries.

The theme of the Manchester conference of 1945 also promoted Pan-Africanism. The theme that guided the discussions during this conference was **"Africa for Africans"**. This implied that the Africans who attended this conference were determined to fight for their freedom from the colonial masters so as to make "Africa for Africans". It therefore promoted political awareness among the Africans which inspired them to rise up and demand for their independence from the colonial masters, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Manchester conference of 1945 advocated for cultural revival in the African states. It emphasized the identity and uniqueness of the Africans. It therefore encouraged the Africans to promote the African culture and the African ways of life. It also encouraged the Africans to rehabilitate those African traditional institutions like religion, education, music, dance and drama which had been degraded or damaged by the European colonialists.

The Manchester conference of 1945 promoted unity among the African nationalists. This conference was attended by 26 delegates from Africa and this was therefore important in the growth of Pan-Africanism because at the end of the day, the nationalists of the old generation like Jomo Kenyatta were united with the young nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah. Similarly, the conference came up with the

idea of continental unity. The delegates agreed to work for the unity of Africa to the extent of creating the United States of Africa as proposed by Kwame Nkrumah. This idea later gave way to the birth of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa.

The Manchester conference of 1945 shifted Pan-Africanism from the diaspora to the African continent. During the Manchester conference, the Pan-Africanists agreed to get a base on the African continent. It was from this base that they were to operate and co-ordinate the Pan-African activities in Africa. Therefore, in 1957 when Ghana got independence, Accra became the base for the Pan-African activities in Africa. As a result, two Pan-African meetings were held in Accra both in April and December 1958 by Kwame Nkrumah and this marked the shifting of the Pan-African movement on to the African continent.

The Manchester conference of 1945 increased the activities of the **West African Students Union (WASU)**. The WASU was organization of students from the various West African countries that had been founded in London in 1925. Members of this organization were invited to attend this conference and they actively participated in the discussions and the passing of resolutions thereafter. Therefore, this participation in the Manchester conference influenced the WASU to greatly condemn colonialism in Africa. For example, it organized demonstrations in London and West Africa against colonial rule. This therefore increased the desire for independence and unity among the Africans especially in West Africa, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Manchester conference of 1945 led to the formation of the **West African National Secretariat (WANS)**. This was a Pan-Africanist movement founded by Kwame Nkrumah, based in Britain. Nkrumah founded WANS on 15th December 1945 immediately after the Manchester Conference and he became its Secretary-General. Other founder members included Wallace Johson (who was elected as Chairman), Bankole Akpata, Kojo Botsio and Bankole Awooner-Renner (the first President). This organization aimed at uniting the Africans in the British, French and Portuguese West African colonies who agreed to work together so as to defeat European colonialism and attain independence throughout West Africa. This therefore promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The Manchester conference demanded universal implementation of the 1941 Atlantic Charter. During the conference, the delegates demanded that the Atlantic Charter of 1941 should be applied to all the colonized people in the world but not only those under the Nazi occupation in Europe as Britain had suggested after World War II. This influenced the Africans to rise up against their colonial masters, thus leading to the attainment of independence and unity.

The Manchester conference of 1945 also laid a foundation for other Pan-African conferences. These conferences were held to make a follow-up on what had been discussed at Manchester in 1945. These included the All African Peoples' Conference (AAP) of December 1958 organized by Kwame Nkrumah, the African People's conference in 1960 as well as the Addis Ababa conference of 1963. All these conferences encouraged unity among the Africans, thus promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

Sample Questions:

- 1. Assess the contribution of the Manchester conference of 1945 to the growth of Pan-Africanism.**

2. Examine the contribution of the 1945 Manchester conference to the growth of African Nationalism.

THE 1958 ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE IN ACCRA (GHANA)

This conference was organized by Kwame Nkrumah in December 1958 after achieving Ghana's independence. It was attended by representatives from 62 nationalist groups from 28 African countries and these included delegates from both the independent and non-independent states in Africa. These included among others Robert Sobukwe of South Africa, Patrice Lumumba of Congo-Zaire, Keneth Kaunda of Zambia, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Holden Roberto of Angola and Tom Mboya of Kenya who was elected chairman of the conference

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1958 ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

This conference was a land mark in the growth of Pan-Africanism in the following ways;

The All African People's Conference of 1958 promoted unity among the African nationalists who attended this conference. This was because they discussed and exchanged ideas amongst themselves. Among those who attended this meeting was Patrice Lumumba of Congo-Zaire, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi as well as Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika. This therefore promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The conference made the idea of Pan-Africanism to move from an idealistic dream to a reality by shifting it onto the African continent. For the first time, a Pan-African conference was organized on the African continent which officially established a base for the Pan-Africanist activities in Africa. Consequently, the Pan-African Movement became a sound organization with established structures, clear plans of action, programmes of action and with clear objectives to achieve by the delegates. For example, it established a permanent Secretariat in Ghana for Pan-Africanism. This was a body of staff members which was used to run the affairs of the Pan-African-movement.

The All African People's Conference also conference led to the emergence of regional groupings which promoted African unity. During the conference, the delegates resolved to form regional economic organizations so as to foster unity and development in the different regions of Africa. Consequently, a number of regional bodies emerged in Africa following this conference. For example, in May 1959 Ghana and Guinea formed the **Ghana-Guinea Union** which was later joined by Mali to form the **Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union** in 1960. This brought about unity among these West African states, hence promoting Pan-Africanism.

The conference was also significant because it encouraged the formation of political parties in Africa. During the conference, the delegates were called upon to form mass political parties so as to spearhead the struggle for independence in Africa. It was for that reason that when all the delegates who had attended this conference returned home, they were determined to form mass political parties to fight for independence in their respective countries. For example, in 1959 Robert Sobukwe formed the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in South Africa while Patrice Lumumba formed the **Movement Nationale**

Congolaise (MNC) in 1958. These mass political parties did a lot of work to liberate the African countries from colonial rule, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The conference also laid a foundation for the formation of the Organization African Unity (OAU) in 1963. During the during the 1958 All African People's Conference in Accra, the delegates conceived and adopted the idea of forming organization so as to bring about continental unity. This idea was finally implemented in 1963 during the Addis Ababa conference in Ethiopia when the thirty independent African states by then agreed to form the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This organization greatly helped to promote unity among the African states after 1963, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The conference laid a foundation for other Pan-African conferences in Africa. These conferences were held to follow up what had been discussed at Accra in December 1958. For example, there was the **All African Trade Union Federation Conference of November 1959** which held on the initiative of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. It was attended by representatives of all trade unions in Africa. There was also the Cairo conference of 1961. In all these conferences, issues like African Unity and culture were seriously addressed, hence promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The conference encouraged a spirit of commitment among the Africans. The African nationalists who attended this conference were called up on to be committed to each other in case of problems whether independent or not. That is why the independent countries by then like Ghana, French Guinea and Egypt promised assistance to all those countries still under colonial rule so as to get independence and indeed the above countries supported liberation struggles in many African countries. This in the process promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The conference turned Ghana into a home base for African freedom fighters. During the conference, Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the newly independent Ghana called upon the freedom fighters in various African countries to establish bases there. Consequently, many nationalist organizations across Africa used Ghana as a base to spearhead independence struggles. This promoted unity between Ghana and other African countries, thus promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The conference attacked the racism in Africa. During the All African People's Conference, the delegate took time to condemn the racist policies that were being practiced by the Apartheid regime in South Africa as well as the unfair colonial policies in the Portuguese and French colonies. This condemnation therefore inspired the Africans to rise up against the colonial masters in the above countries. This eventually promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The All African People's Conference of 1958 also adopted the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This movement had been formed in 1955 during the Bandung Conference where Kwame Nkrumah had been one of the delegates. Therefore, under his influence, the policy of **Non-Alignment** among the Africans was discussed and adopted by the participants who therefore adopted non-alignment at least in the theory. This helped to promoted unity among these neutral African countries, thus promoting the growth of Pan-Africanism.

The All African People's Conference of 1958 was also significant because it helped to bridge the gap between the Arab **North** and Black **South**. For long, the people in North Africa beyond the Sahara Desert who were mainly Arabs were not on good terms with the Blacks South of the Sahara due to the role that the Arabs had played during the slave trade era. However, this attitude was changed by the All African People's Conference of 1958. This was because the conference was attended by delegates from even the Arab countries like Egypt who interacted with those from the Black South like Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba and Hastings Kamuzu Banda among others. In the process therefore, this promoted the growth of Pan-Africanism.

Sample Questions:

1. Examine the contribution of the 1958 All African People's Conference to the growth of Pan-Africanism.

GENERAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT (PAM)

The Pan-African Movement was not very active between 1945 and 1958 and beyond. However, despite this it was able to achieve the following;

The Pan-African Movement (PAM) has had a long history of existence or survival. It started as way back as 1900 and it continued to pursue its aims and objectives for quite a long time. For example, in **May 1963** the two conflicting Pan-African groups namely the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group were reconciled in Addis Ababa leading to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as a body to unite all the independent African states by then. Today, the OAU has transformed itself into the African Union (AU) which started its work in 2002.

The Pan-African Movement successfully promoted solidarity, unity and co-operation between the Africans in Africa, the Negroes in the diaspora and the blacks in the diaspora. Therefore, the two worlds of the black people i.e. the new world of the blacks in the diaspora and the old world of Africa were successfully linked together by the Pan-African Movement. Right from the Manchester Conference of 1945, these two groups would come together and resolve a number of issues that successfully led the Negroes to transfer knowledge, technology and investment capital to Africa.

The Pan-African Movement successfully fought for the decolonization of Africa. From 1958 after the Accra Conference, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah made it clear that the independence of Ghana was useless unless it was accompanied by the independence of the rest of Africa. Therefore, the members of the Pan-African Movement worked very hard to end colonialism in Africa by extending moral, material and financial support to the African liberation movements fighting for their independence. Due such efforts, the former Portuguese colonies got independence starting with Guinea Bissau in 1974, Angola and Mozambique in 1975. Other countries included Zimbabwe in 1980 and Namibia in 1990. Therefore, with the support of the Pan-African Movement all the African countries received their independence except the Spanish Sahara or the Western Saharan Republic. Hence, the Pan-African Movement (PAM) achieved its major objective of liberating the African continent from colonialism.

The Pan-African Movement successfully fought to reduce racial segregation in Africa. it welcomed all the races on the African continent i.e. the Arabs from North Africa, the Black Africans South of the Sahara and the whites and coloureds from South Africa. it therefore successfully fought against racial segregation in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Algeria, the Portuguese colonies and it successfully got rid of the Apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994. It also successfully campaigned against racism in the Metropolitan or large cities of the world so as to protect the Blacks from discrimination by the whites.

The Pan-African Movement succeeded in getting a home base in Africa in 1958 and it was from this base that there was increased Pan-African activity on the continent. When Ghana got independence in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah turned Accra into the Pan-African base. Therefore, the Pan-African Movement which had been dominated by the Negroes in Europe, America and West Indies got a permanent secretariat in Accra. It was from here that the Pan-African activities were co-ordinated until the base was shifted to Addis Ababa in 1963.

The Pan-African Movement restored the dignity and respect of the African people or blacks all over the world that had been eroded by slave trade and colonialism. As a result, the Africans have successfully competed for international jobs and awards. For example, Kwame Nkrumah served as the Secretary General of the Fifth of Pan-African Conference of 1945 while Nelson Mandela and Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa are both Nobel Prize winners. Similarly, two prominent Africans have been made United Nations Secretary Generals and these were Boutros Boutros Ghali from Egypt and Kofi Anan from Ghana.

The Pan-African Movement managed to survive the Cold War Politics by adopting the non-alignment policy in Africa. This was a policy that advocated for positive neutrality of the Africans. This therefore enabled many African countries to join the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) that had been formed in 1955 during the Bandung Conference. This therefore made many African countries to keep out of the conflict between the communist and capitalist countries. African countries like Egypt were therefore able to switch and get aid from whoever was willing to offer it so as to complete projects like the Aswan High Dam.

The Pan-African Movement tried to promote economic development in Africa. The movement encouraged the African states to form a continental or Pan-African bank known as the African Development Bank (ADB) in **May 1963** with its Headquarters in **Abidjan**, Ivory Coast. This bank has given out financial assistance in form of loans to the member states so as to undertake major investment projects as a step to fight poverty in Africa. In the process therefore, this has promoted economic development in Africa.

The Pan-African Movement (PAM) successfully returned some Africans in the diaspora back to the African continent. For example, it returned many freed slaves from America to the West African states like Liberia and Sierra Leone where they were resettled. It also convinced many African elites, especially during the Manchester Conference of 1945 to return to the continent and struggle against colonialism and indeed many of them returned. These included Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Leopold Sedar Senghor and Julius Nyerere among others.

The Pan-African Movement fought against slavery and slave trade in Africa. It should be noted that during the slave trade era, many Africans were trafficked across the Atlantic Ocean and were consequently subjected to inhuman treatment by their slave masters in America and other parts of the new world. The Pan-African Movement constantly condemned the practice of enslaving the Africans and partly because of this inhuman practice was abolished.

The Pan-African Movement groomed African leaders. The movement was able to train a high class of Pan-Africanists who influenced both African and international politics. Through the activities of such people, Africa was decolonized, a loose confederation of African states (OAU) was created in 1963 and co-operation was created among the African states. Such personalities included Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Sekou Toure of Guinea Conakry. Others included Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania among others. These people were trained to have strong feelings and concern for the entire African continent.

The Pan-African Movement promoted research in the African past. The movement encouraged the African elites to write books about the African past. As a result a number of African elites wrote books about African literature, culture and history. These included Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Chinua Achebe of Nigeria, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o of Kenya and Okot P'Bitek of Uganda. All these books helped to develop interest among the Africans about the African past.

The Pan-African Movement encouraged the formation of regional economic groupings in Africa. After 1960, a number of regional economic groupings emerged in Africa with the support of the Pan-African Movement. These included the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) as well as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) among others. These regional bodies helped to promote unity as well as economic development in the different regions of Africa.

It attracted international recognition or sympathy towards the Africans. For example, in 1941 the signing of the Atlantic Charter was in line with the objectives of the Pan-African Movement especially the need to eradicate colonialism and racial segregation.

The Pan-African Movement tried to improve on the transport and communication infrastructures in Africa. The founders of the Pan-African Movement were very much aware of the fact that much of the African continent had a serious challenge of poor transport facilities and that's why they attempted to deal this with issue. For example, the movement planned to construct a road known as the **Trans-African High Way** from Mombasa (Kenya) to Lagos (Nigeria). Some sections of this road have been completed, thus improving transport and communication in such areas.

The Pan-African Movement has promoted peace and political stability in Africa. It should be noted that after acquiring independence, the African states experiences serious problems like civil wars in Sudan, Angola, Nigeria, Uganda, Congo-Zaire, Chad and Uganda among others as well as interstate conflicts. However, with the timely intervention of the Pan-African Movement, such conflicts have greatly reduced and some were even resolved. For example, the Katanga secession of 1960-1964 in Congo-Zaire and the Biafra Secession of 1967-1970 in Nigeria were brought to an end through the efforts of the Pan-

African Movement. Similarly, the interstate conflict between Chad and Libya over the Aouzou strip or area was settled in 1980 by a Pan-African Congress chaired by the Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi. This has therefore helped to promote political stability on the African continent.

The Pan-African Movement has fought against neo-colonialism which tried to undermine the independence of the African states. The Pan-Africanists described neo-colonialism as the worst and most dangerous state of imperialism. They therefore called upon the African states to fight it with all their might. Consequently, the participants in the Accra Conference of 1958 condemned the relationship between the independent African states and the European Economic Community. The former French colonies like Guinea Conakry were therefore advised to avoid a federal union with France as a step to check against neo-colonialism.

The Pan-African Movement has promoted democracy in Africa. This has been done by encouraging transparent elections in several African countries. For example, the Pan-African Movement has sent observers to monitor elections in several countries like South Africa in 1994 and Eritrea in 1993. This has helped to avoid reduce cases of election rigging in such African countries.

The Pan-African Movement also attempted to defend or preserve African culture. It should be noted that when the colonial masters came to Africa, they introduced their western cultures which eventually degraded the African cultures. When the Pan-African Movement was set up in 1900, it tried a lot to revive these which had been eroded by European colonialism. For example, it organized the 1994 Cultural Conference in Kampala, Uganda to discuss ways of promoting African culture. African languages like Swahili, Hausa, Luganda, Zulu and Lingala among others have also been encouraged by the movement and even taught in schools as a step to rejuvenate the African cultural values.

FAILURES OF THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT (PAM)

The Pan-African Movement failed to bring about complete unity of the African states. Kwame Nkrumah's dream of a United States of Africa (USA) has not been realized. Instead, the African states formed a loose confederation of African states known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 which means that member states can join and live at will. This weakness has been exploited by African dictators who have at times withdrawn from the movement like Bokassa of the Central African Republic. Therefore, the movement has failed to create total unity in Africa.

The Pan-African Movement has not been very successful in preventing interstate conflicts among the member states. These interstate conflicts have at times resulted into open wars. Indeed, there were conflicts between a number of African countries like Kenya and Tanzania in 1974, Uganda and Tanzania in 1979 as well as Libya and Chad over the Aouzou strip which resulted into full scale wars that destabilized the continent.

The member states of the movement have failed to follow the principles of the Pan-African Movement properly. This could be seen by the fact that some leading African states took on the socialist ideology

like Tanzania under Julius Nyerere, Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah and Guinea Conakry under Sekou Toure while others like Kenya embraced the capitalist ideology. Therefore, the Pan-African Movement failed to wipe out ideological camps in Africa because the African countries aligned themselves either to the Socialist or Capitalist blocs which undermined African unity.

The Pan-African Movement in Africa has mainly remained within the elite circles. It is mainly the intellectuals that have embraced the Pan-African ideas. It is these intellectuals that see the need for the Africans to work together to solve African problems. However, the masses are so pre-occupied with meeting their daily needs that they do not see the reason why their leaders have been involved in African issues. For example, Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Muammar Gaddafi of Libya became unpopular in their countries because of giving too much attention to the African problems at the expense of the needs of their countries.

The Pan-African Movement failed to wipe out neo-colonialism in Africa. The movement failed to break the attachment of the African countries with their former colonial masters and this gave way to neo-colonialism. Consequently, Africa is still dominated by the western culture. For example, the style of dressing is copied from the western world and the Africans always look for the trendy fashions. Also, the mode of communication is still dominated by the Western languages such that the Africans still use English and French among others as their languages of instruction in schools.

The Pan-African Movement failed to completely eliminate racial segregation in Africa and the diaspora. It's true the movement officially ended racial segregation by the whites in African countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Kenya. However, there is still racism between the blacks in the South and the Arabs in the North beyond the Sahara Desert. There is also inter-black segregation in some African countries. For example, between 1983 and 1985 many Rwandese refugees were being chased away from Uganda by the government of Apollo Milton Obote on ethnic grounds.

The Pan-African Movement has failed to train a new generation of African leaders with patriotic feelings. It's true the movement managed to train an early class of African elites who spearheaded independence struggles in Africa and consequently took over leadership in most countries immediately after independence like Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Leopold Senghor, Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere among others. These leaders were trained to have strong feelings and concern for their people and entire African continent. With the demise of such great Pan-Africanists, most African leaders who replaced them are selfish, corrupt and power hungry, hence leaving their countries very poor.

The Pan-African Movement failed to convince all the blacks or Africans in the diaspora to come back home and contribute to the development of their continent. Instead, today many other Africans are continuing to the diapora especially to the Middle East, Europe and Asia for "greener pastures". For example, many doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, bankers and other professional people have left Africa, thus causing brain drain that has affected the overall economic development Africa through the loss of skilled man power.

The Pan-African Movement failed to bring about the total liberation of the African continent. Despite the efforts that were put in by the Pan-Africanists to fight against colonialism, some parts of Africa still

remained under foreign control. For example, in West Africa, a rebel movement known as the **POLISARIO** has been struggling for the independence of the Spanish or Western Saharan Republic from the Moroccan imperialism since the 1970s. Therefore, the Pan-African Movement failed to liberate this part of Africa from imperialism.

The Pan-African Movement has failed to completely eliminate the practice of slavery on the African continent. Consequently, slavery still exists in Africa in form of child labour and women trafficking to the diaspora where many young women today work as sex slaves. This has persisted especially in war torn African countries like Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mauritania among others.

The Pan-African Movement has failed to raise the standards of living of the people on the African continent. For example, problems like poverty, diseases and ignorance have continued to dominate the African continent. Therefore, the standards of living of the Africans are still poor despite the presence of the Pan-African Movement.

The Pan-African Movement failed to stop the assassination of its members or African leaders. From the 1960s, many African leaders were assassinated under mysterious circumstances. For example, Patrice Lumumba of Congo-Zaire was killed in 1961 as well as Sylvanus Olympio of Togo in 1963. Others included Anwar Sadat of Egypt in 1981, Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda in 1994 and Laurent Desire Kabila of Democratic Republic of Congo in 2001. The Pan-African Movement was unable to avert all these assassinations and this was a clear manifestation of its weakness.

The Pan-African Movement has failed to end military coups in Africa. Since the 1960s, a number of military coups have taken place in African countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria, Libya, Zaire, Ethiopia, Sudan, Chad and Uganda among others. These military coups have at times led to the overthrow of civilian leaders, leading to the rise of military governments in the above countries. These military governments have established dictatorial regimes like that of Idi Amin Dada in Uganda, Mariam Mengistu in Ethiopia, Joseph Arthur Ankrah and later Ignatius Kutu Acheampong in Ghana among others. These military governments have continued to oppress the masses especially opposition leaders as the Pan-African Movement is just watching.

The movement failed to set up a Pan-African High Command or continental army that would be used to promote peace and stability in Africa. As a result of poverty, many African countries cannot meet their financial obligations to the Pan-African Movement. Consequently, the movement cannot maintain and sustain a joint African force without the help from the United Nations. It is because of this that the movement has failed to end civil wars in a number of African countries like Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia. These persistent civil wars have worsened the refugee problem in Africa.

The Pan-African Movement failed to significantly improve the transport and communication infrastructures in Africa. As a result, the transport and communication facilities are still poor in Africa. For example, the Trans-African High way from Kenya (Mombasa) to Nigeria (Lagos) which had been planned by the Pan-African Movement has never been completed.

Sample Questions:

- 1. Assess the achievements of the Pan-African Movement (PAM) up to 1963.**
- 2. To what extent has the Pan-African Movement (PAM) fulfilled the aims of its founders?**

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), 1963 – 2002

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was a continental body that was formed on **25th May 1963** in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital by thirty two independent African States as the founder members. It was a result of the compromise between the Casablanca group of radical nationalists and the Monrovia group of the moderates. It was spearheaded by Kwame Nkrumah after the failure of the United States of Africa (USA).

OBJECTIVES OR AIMS OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

- To promote unity and solidarity among the African States.
- To eradicate all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.
- To co-ordinate and intensify the co-operation of African states in order to improve the welfare of the Africans.
- To promote international co-operation with regard to the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Charter.
- To promote regional economic integration.
- To defend the sovereignty (*independence*) and territorial integrity of all the member states.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) survived for a long period of time which was a clear indicator of its success. Formed in 1963, the OAU survived up to 2002 when it was transformed into the African Union. It met several challenges like ideological conflicts among the member states, but it was able to survive for thirty nine years without collapsing.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was able to expand its membership. At the time of its formation, the OAU had only thirty two member states. These were the African countries that had attained independence by 1963. However, this number had increased to fifty two members by July 2002 when the OAU was transformed into the African Union (AU). With this increased membership the OAU was able to achieve most of the objectives of its founders.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) managed to liberate the African States from colonialism except the Western Saharan Republic. The member states of the OAU set a special committee in 1974 to

facilitate liberation struggles in Africa. This committee which was known as the **Liberation Committee** had its headquarters in Tanzania. The committee looked for moral, financial and military support that the OAU then used to liberate the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in 1975, Zimbabwe from the white minority rule (UDI) in 1980, South Africa from the Apartheid regime in 1994 as well as Namibia from the South African domination in 1990.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) tried to promote unity among the African states. During its existence, the member states of the OAU always met annually to address themselves on important matters affecting the continent and pass resolutions thereafter. Therefore, the OAU helped to uphold the idea of African Unity which was one of the major aims behind its formation in 1963.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) attempted to settle or resolve interstate or boarder conflicts among the African countries. A number of interstate conflicts broke out between several African countries in the 1960s and 1970s which threatened peace in Africa. For example, there was a conflict between Morocco and Algeria in 1969, Uganda and Kenya in the 1974, Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden province in the 1970s, Morocco and Mauritania over the Western Saharan Republic, Uganda and Tanzania over the **Kagera Basin incident** in 1979 as well as Libya and Chad over the Aouzuo strip. The OAU always intervened and resolved these interstate conflicts, thus creating peace on the continent.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) also worked hard to dismantle (destroy) the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The OAU mobilized military and financial support from its member states which was given to the nationalists in South Africa. This support enabled the South African nationalists to fight and defeat the Apartheid regime by 1994. The OAU also imposed economic sanctions on the Apartheid regime of South Africa which weakened its economic stand and therefore led to its collapse by 1994.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) promoted economic co-operation and integration in Africa. In its efforts to stimulate economic development in Africa, the OAU supported the formation of regional economic groupings. For example, it supported the formation of the East African Community (EAC) in 1967, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1976 as well as the Southern African Development Coordination Council or Conference (SADCC) in 1979. These regional groupings helped to promote regional economic development and unity among the African states.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) tried to promote economic development in Africa. The member countries of the OAU agreed to form a continental bank known as the African Development Bank (ADB) in **May 1963** with its headquarters in **Abidjan**, Ivory Coast. This bank provided loans to the African countries at low interest rates to enable them undertake giant investment projects as a step to promote economic development and fight poverty in the continent.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) won recognition from the international community as a great force. This was because of its strength as evidenced in its numerous achievements. For example, it secured the good will of international organizations like the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), the United Nations Organization (UNO) as well as the Commonwealth Organization.

This helped the OAU to acquire social and financial support from such organizations for the development of the African countries.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) tried to improve upon the transport network in Africa. Upon its formation in 1963, the OAU planned to construct a road network known as the **Trans-African Highway** from Mombasa (Kenya) to Lagos (Nigeria). Although this road was not completed, at least some of its sections were constructed. It also designed a similar road project connecting West Africa with North Africa across the Sahara Desert. In the process therefore, this improved on the transport and communication facilities in Africa.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) tried to revive African culture. This culture had been degraded by the western cultures that were introduced by the various European colonial masters. In an effort to restore the African cultures, the OAU organized cultural festivals aimed at promoting the African cultural heritages for example in Algeria in 1969 as well as in Lagos – Nigeria in 1976. It also set up the **African Kora Awards** aimed at recognizing prominent African musicians. In the process therefore, this helped to restore African music, dance and drama which had been eroded by the European powers. The OAU also tried to promote African languages by setting up a language Bureau or office with its headquarters in Makerere University (Kampala). This office aimed at promoting the use of African languages like Kiswahili, Zulu, Hausa and Luganda among others so as to liberate Africans from foreign languages. Unfortunately, the language Bureau collapsed in 1985.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) promoted scientific research in African countries in the field of drugs and traditional herbs. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) set up an organization known as the **African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF)**. Through this body the OAU carried out important research in livestock diseases like the Rinderpest disease and the East Coast fever which were later controlled in Africa. This therefore helped to improve upon the status of agriculture on the African continent.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) attempted to promote the policy of **Non-Alignment** or positive neutrality on the African continent during the Cold War Politics. The OAU advised the African countries to remain neutral in this ideological conflict between the USA and USSR which threatened African unity. As a result, the OAU saved Africa from the direct involvement in the Cold War politics. Therefore, the African countries like Egypt were able to get funds from the super power of their choice so as to finance developmental projects that enhanced economic development.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) condemned secession attempts or movements in Africa. Immediately after attaining independence, many African countries experienced secession movements as some regions wanted to break away and establish independent states of their own. These secessions threatened the internal unity and stability of the newly independent African countries.

However, the OAU came out strongly and condemned these secessions in an attempt to promote unity. For example, upon its formation in 1963, the OAU condemned the Katanga secession in Congo which had broken out in July 1960 and this eventually contributed to its failure by 1964. It also campaigned against Biafra's attempt to break away from the rest Nigeria. This eventually led to the failure of the

Biafran secession attempt by 1970. The failure of these secessions helped to maintain or keep the independence and unity which these countries had attained from their colonial masters.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) promoted democracy in Africa. During its existence, the OAU encouraged the holding of regular transparent elections in several African countries as a step to entrench democracy and the rule of law. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) even sent observers to monitor elections in several countries like Namibia in 1990, South Africa in 1994 as well as Eritrea in 1993. This helped to reduce electoral malpractices like rigging in the above countries.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) tried to address the refugee crisis in Africa. Refugees were wide spread in African countries like Sudan, Congo, Chad and Somalia among others which experienced civil wars and interstate conflicts. Consequently, in 1965 the OAU came up with a resolution known as the **“Refugee Problem in Africa”** and it called upon the member countries to give all the necessary humanitarian assistance to support the refugees. It also worked together with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to provide the refugees with necessities like food, tents and protection. In 1974, the OAU set up a general African Fund to cater for the refugees in Africa. In the process therefore, the OAU helped to reduce the suffering of the refugees in Africa.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) tried to promote human rights observance in Africa. The OAU condemned African governments which violated human rights, abused constitutions and governments which did not respect term limits. It also set up a **Human Rights Commission** that worked hand in hand with international human rights organizations like **Amnesty International** to expose cases of human rights violation in countries like Namibia, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as Libya among others. This helped to reduce the state of human rights violations on the continent.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) tried to end civil wars in Africa. It should be noted that after independence, many African states experienced civil wars that created instability on the continent. As a continental body, the OAU always intervened in these civil wars and some of them were peacefully resolved. For example, in 1972 the OAU intervened in the Sudan civil war, leading to the signing of the **Addis Ababa Peace Agreement of 1972**. This agreement led to relative peace in Sudan for ten years between 1972 and 1982. It also intervened in the Chad civil war of 1965 to 1982 although with little success. In 2002, the OAU convened the Lusaka peace Accord or meeting to resolve the civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

FAILURES OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to completely liberate all the areas of the African continent from colonialism. Its true by 2002 when the OAU was transformed into the African Union, many African countries had attained their independence with the supports of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). However, it failed to secure the independence of Spanish Sahara in West Africa which is still under the Moroccan domination.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to set up an African High command or continental army of its own so as create stability on the African continent. As a result of the poverty among the African

states which were member states of the OAU, they could not maintain and sustain a joint African force without the help from the United Nations Organization. Consequently, whenever civil wars broke out in African countries like Sudan, Chad, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Mozambique among others, the OAU could not do much to stop them. For example, in the Chad Civil war that broke out in 1965, the OAU sent three hundred men to end the war but these were forced to withdraw before the end of the war. In 1990 to 1994, the OAU also failed to ensure peace in Rwanda which eventually led to the Rwanda genocide.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to wipe out neo-colonialism in Africa. Despite the presence of the OAU, the African states still remained under the influence of their former colonial masters and other developed countries. Through organizations like the Common Wealth and the French Community, the Developed Countries like Britain, France and USA imposed their economic, social and political policies on the African countries. For example, the Western culture in terms of dressing, language, music, dance and drama which continued to dominate Africa. Therefore, the OAU failed to maintain the independence of the African states.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to bring about complete unity among the African states. Kwame Nkrumah's dream of the United States of Africa which had been planned by its founders was never realized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This was because the member states increasingly became more concerned with their internal affairs rather than continental problems. The former colonial masters also created divisions between the Anglo-Phone and the Franco-Phone countries. As a result, Africa remained divided during the time when the OAU existed.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to establish an African parliament. This continental parliament was supposed to meet regularly and discuss the major issues that concerned the African continent. Without this parliament therefore, the OAU Heads of State instead used to meet in terms of crisis. This therefore left the organization in a very weak position whose members were mere crisis managers.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to end interstate conflicts in Africa. A number of interstate conflicts broke out among the African countries especially in the 1960s and 1970s and these at times led to full scale wars in Africa. For example, between 1977 and 1978 there was a conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden province. There were also other conflicts between Uganda and Tanzania in 1979, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as Libya and Chad. The OAU was however, unable to resolve most of these interstate disputes which greatly undermined its credibility.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to end military coups in Africa. Immediately after regaining independence by the African countries, a number of civilian governments in Africa were overthrown by greedy military men. For example, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was overthrown in 1966, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria in 1965, Joseph Kasavubu of Zaire and King Idris of Libya in 1969. Others included Apollo Milton Obote in 1971 as well as Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia in 1974. Similarly, there was widespread assassination of political leaders in Africa like Patrice Lumumba of Congo in 1961,

Sylvanus Olympio of Togo in 1963 as well as Anwar Sadat of Egypt in 1981. Others included Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda in 1994 and Laurent Desire Kabila of Democratic Republic of Congo in 2001. However, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) did nothing to avert the occurrence of all these military coups and assassinations on the African continent but instead just condemned them.

The member states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to follow the principles of the organization properly. Consequently, during the existence of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the African countries failed to speak with one voice and to adopt a common stand on some ideas. For example, in the Biafran crisis or secession of 1967-1970, some African countries like Ivory Coast, Tanzania and Zambia supported Biafra to break away from the rest of Nigeria. Similar differences were witnessed when some African countries that were full members of the OAU supported the South African Apartheid regime and the economic sanctions imposed on her were violated by the member states of the OAU like Lesotho and Malawi. This eventually prolonged the survival of the Apartheid regime in South Africa up to 1994.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to enforce the policy of Non-Alignment in Africa. Many OAU member states became aligned either to the Eastern or Western blocs. For example, leading African countries like Tanzania, Nigeria, Mozambique and Ghana adopted the socialist ideology while others like Kenya, Zaire and South Africa became capitalist countries. Such ideological differences undermined unity in Africa.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to ensure that human rights are observed in Africa. Most member states of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) were headed by dictators who abused the rights of their subjects like Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, Mobutu Seseseko of Zaire and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi among others. These leaders banned political parties, censored the press, imprisoned and tortured their opponents but the OAU just looked on.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to improve the transport and communication network in Africa. It had been envisioned by the founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that the organization would make a great contribution towards the improvement of the transport and communication facilities. Unfortunately, the OAU was unable to achieve this. For example, the proposed Trans-African Highway from Mombasa to Lagos was never been completed. As a result, Africa continued to have poor transport and communication in the face of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to convince the member states to meet their financial obligations. As a result of poverty, many African countries could not meet their financial obligations to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU failed to establish a mechanism of forcing these member countries to pay their annual subscription fees. As a result, the OAU lacked funds to carry out its activities.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) failed to promote economic co-operation or integration among the African states. Due to the varying economic interests among the member states, most African states became committed to their regional bodies which solved their immediate problems like the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Common Market for

Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) as well as the South African Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) among others rather than the OAU. This even partly explains why most African states failed to meet their financial obligations to the OAU.

Sample Questions:

1. **To what extent did the Organization of African Unity (OAU) fulfill the aims of its founders?**
2. **How successful was the Organization of African Unity (OAU)?**
3. **To what extent did the Organization of African Unity (OAU) live up to the expectations of its founders?**

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

- The ideological differences between member states.
- The death of the OAU founder members like Kwame Nkrumah and Haile Selassie.
- The lack of funds to finance all activities.
- The lack of support from the grass roots worked against the OAU. Many Africans did not know the use of organization, its structures as well as functions and therefore they did not support it.
- The presence of dictatorial regimes like in Chad, Angola and Mozambique caused civil wars which drained the organization as it tried to crush them.
- The lack of an army of its own.
- Lack of a common language across the African continent.
- Personal differences among African leaders like Julius Nyerere and Idi Amin Dada.
- Difference in colonial history which created divisions between the Anglo-Phone and the Franco-Phone countries.
- Neo-colonialism was a major challenge. The foreign powers divided the African countries.
- Differences in the level of development among African countries undermined unity. For example, South Africa and Egypt were more developed than other countries.
- The large size of African continent which brought about poor infrastructures as it became difficult to cover the entire continent with transport facilities.
- South African denied OAU resources due to the prolonged colonialism there because they were not independent.
- The rivalry between the Arab North and Black South.

- Interstate conflicts and disputes like the one between Ethiopia and Somalia, Uganda and Tanzania created enmity among the African states.
- The establishment of regional economic groupings like ECOWAS, SADCC and EAC.
- The prolonged colonialism in the Portuguese colonies like Angola and Mozambique denied the OAU resources from such countries.
- Poverty among the African countries made the member states unable to meet their financial obligations to the OAU.
- The occurrence of natural calamities like famine.
- The assassination of political leaders like Anwar Sadat of Egypt in 1981.
- The presence of trade barriers meant that the African countries could not trade with each other freely, thus undermining unity.
- The frequent occurrence of military coups led to the overthrow of civilian leaders and gave to the rise of dictatorial leaders.
- The lack of common currency in Africa undermined trade.

Sample Questions:

1. **Account for the failure of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) by 2002.**
2. **Examine the challenges faced by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) between 1963 and 2001.**

THE CONCEPT OF NON — ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)

The Non — aligned movement was founded during the collapse of the colonial systems in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world. It emerged at the height of cold war politics that had established military blocks of NATO (1949) and Warsaw pact of 1955 for the capitalists and communists respectively. The NAM idea was conceived in 1955 at Bandung conference organized by the Indonesian president Surkano, Jawaharlal Nehru the premier of India and Gamel Nasser the president of Egypt.

The concept of NAM at Bandung was composed of a delegation of 29 members from India, Indonesia, China, Egypt, Algeria, and Ghana among others. It became official in 1961 at the Belgrade summit in Yugoslavia with Joseph Broz Tito as its first general secretary.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF NAM

Reference question

1. **Account for the adoption of the Non — alignment policy by independent African states (UNEB 2006)**
2. **Why was the Non — aligned movement (NAM) formed in 1955? (UNEB 2011)**

The aims of Non — aligned movement included the following:

1. To maintain world peace by promoting Non — violent means and reject the use of force.
2. To support self-determination and national independence in the 3rd world, reject all forms of imperialism.
3. To safeguard the sovereignty of the member states against the domination by the upper powers i.e. encouraging the independence of the non — aligned nations from cold war politics.
4. To discourage military alliances and push for the disarmament of the superpowers to decelerate world conflicts.
5. To promote economic independence of the member states.
6. The desire to encourage active participation of non — aligned states 3rd world in the international affairs especially in the UN without coercion i.e. domination of the great powers of NATO.
7. To strengthen the UNO towards effective performance in its endeavors of decolonization and peace preservation globally.
8. To enhance socio — economic development and restructuring of international economic systems.
9. To promote the south - south cooperation i.e. the cooperation among the 3rd world nations with mutual understanding and tolerance.
10. To ensure the peaceful co — existence among all nations of the world i.e. democratize international relations.
11. The desire to reject all forms of racial discrimination like apartheid and Zionism (Israel related movement)
12. To encourage the respect for human rights as contained in the universal declaration of human rights charter of UN adopted in 1948.

13. To ensure the peaceful resolution of disputes in the world without resorting to wars that had shattered world economies.
14. To oppose and castigate in union the stationing of military bases in the foreign countries. This had been done by the members of NATO having satellites in African countries (information gathering gadgets).

SUCSESSES / ACHIEVEMENTS OF NAM

1. The non – aligned movement has had a long period of existence since 1961 as inaugural year. The movement has been in existence for over 55 years and this is attributed to the numerous conferences held i.e. from Belgrade, the attendance to the UN general assemblies hence consolidating its stay.
2. The movement has expanded its membership by attracting many developing countries. This was attained after the attainment of independence by many African and Asian countries from 29 members to over 100 countries. The last members to join included FIJI from Oceania and Azerbaijan of Asia in 2011 respectively.
3. The NAM greatly contributed to the world peace and stability. The movement contained the cold war politics that had threatened world peace. It condemned the arms race by the super powers through supporting the strategic Arms limitation talks (SALT) and strategic Arms reduction talks (START). These castigated the production of nuclear weapons that reduced militarization by creating peace.
4. The NAM greatly led to the collapse of cold war politics or super powers. The member states continued with the policy of neutrality and castigated the arms race of the super powers. The members of NAM used the platform of the UN to isolate the ideological wars of USA and USSR, the NAM also led to the collapse of the Berlin wall and re – unified Germany leading to peace.
5. The NAM advocated for the reformation of the United Nations hence making it more effective. NAM openly criticized and structures of the UN– structure and power dynamics. The security council of the United Nations was highly criticized of being undemocratic and asked the UN to reshape its structures to promote international democracy.
6. NAM contributed for the respect of small states in the world. The weight of small states was increased not to be dominated by the super powers. This completed USA to work with the NAM member countries to fight terrorism in the world and kept peace in Yugoslavia, Somalia etc.
7. Non – alignment has promoted unity and cooperation among member states. This ensured the south – south cooperation of the 3rd world nations. This ensured a united front of member states to have a stronger voice in the UN – general assembly to reduce the dominance of the super powers.

8. NAM was instrumental in the promotion of Afro – Asian solidarity. The mutual cooperation between Africans and Asians became official at the Bandung conference. The idea of solidarity was further propagated to the subsequent conferences like the Belgrade of 1961 and 1979 Lusaka conference.
9. The non – alignment policy promoted economic relations among states. The NAM nations have extended financial and technical assistance to member states. The NAM powers like India, Indonesia, UAE, Saudi Arabia provided funds and technical expertise to the projects in weaker states e.g. Angola, Uganda and Tanzania. The movement boosted confidence among the weaker states to distance themselves from the super powers.
10. The NAM led to the establishment of the south – south commission in 1988. The commission was formed to address the economic backwardness of the weaker nations of the world. NAM collaborated with other organizations like the group of 77 to promote dialogue and cooperation among the 3rd world.
11. The non – alignment condemned imperialism and encouraged friendly relations of all nations. The movement has greatly condemned imperialist attacks, acts of aggression and other injustices of the big states against the small states. The NAM condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1981 and also condemned the unhealthy and senseless assassination of Muammar Gadhafi in 2011.
12. The NAM contributed to the development of African nationalism. The members of NAM used the platform of UN to voice out anti – colonial sentiments against imperialism. It demanded the intervention of the UN to impose sanctions on colonial masters, made Africans to become recommitted to independence.
13. Non – alignment condemned racial discrimination and dominance in the world. The spirit of the movement fought the racist apartheid policy in South Africa and the UDI government of southern Rhodesia. Member states extended military and financial support to the blacks to fight the whites. The movement also pressurized the UN to intervene in the Palestinian question against Zionist Israel.
14. NAM has attempted to intervene in the conflict among member states. It condemned the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and mediated in the Pakistan conflict. The members tried to arbitrate in the Sudan conflict that ended the conflict that started in 1955. This finally led to the independence of South Sudan in 2011.
15. The non – aligned nations have tried to promote the respect of human rights. This has been done in line with the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) of the UN that advocated for equality of people. The policy also condemned the aggression of the powerful nations and promoted justice and respect and cultural diversity. (Cross – cultural management)

16. Members of the non — aligned movement have continuously emphasized democracy and establishment of peoples' governments. It condemned dictatorial regimes of Idi Amin in Uganda, Saddam regime in Iraq among others. The movement calls for the peaceful handover of power through constitutional and democratic means. The NAM nations have collectively stood against coups and unlawful takeover of governments.
17. The NAM members have exercised freedom of action while dealing with great powers. This was exhibited by Libya against NATO invasion in 1911. Egypt exercised the same and nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This was done after USA and UK withdrew the economic aid to enable Nasser to complete the Aswan project.

WEAKNESSES / FAILURES OF NAM

1. The movement has failed to solve interstate conflicts among the non — aligned nations. Conflicts and misunderstandings have existed between India and Pakistan, Iraq and Kuwait, Uganda and Sudan, the Congo question which caused tension between Uganda, the Kabila government and Rwanda.
2. The NAM failed in its attempt to maintain political stability and security of its member states. Many military coups and civil wars have existed in African states like Congo, Uganda, Sudan, CAR, Asian countries like Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Afghanistan. This affected peace in these nations rendering the movement ineffective.
3. NAM has failed to develop into a body that can threaten the world power blocks. The eastern and western blocs have continued to exist even after the cold war politics leading to a new trend of imperialism. It is true the NAM is a big organization of next to UN, but it has been undermined by the power blocks and it has remained inferior in international conventions.
4. The NAM failed to uphold the principle of 'Positive neutrality'. The member states have ended up identifying with foreign ideologies of capitalism and communism. This has perpetuated neo — colonialism undermining the independence of the states.
5. The NAM has failed to prevent ideological conflicts among the member states, conflicts have occurred among members. The bigger nations have undermined the proceedings forwarded by non — aligned members for the weaker states. This has affected the process of finding a common approach to the problems of the world and hindering solidarity.
6. The movement has failed in its endeavors to improve on the living conditions of the people of its member states. Majority of the non — aligned member states have been increasingly affected by the high levels of ignorance, disease, poverty, starvation and other socio — economic problems.
7. NAM has failed to stop the intervention of western international NGOs. This has opened gates to increased domination and exploitation of the non — aligned states. The poorest nations of the world according to the UNDP and HDI that reflect poverty index are members of NAM.

8. The movement has failed to check on personal conflicts among the heads of states. The evidence was in 1969, Fidel Castrol of Cuba organized the Havana conference of NAM and was ignored by other member states. Conflicts existed between the Sultan Hassan of Morocco and Ben Ali of Tunisia, Joseph Kabila of DR. Congo and Paul Kagame of Rwanda among others.
9. The NAM has failed to condemn militarization of the great powers in the non – aligned countries. The major world powers have since 1990s acted aggressively on NAM nations e.g. France tested its nuclear bomb in the Sahara, US bombardment of Benghezi in Libya in the 1980s, NAM members only verbally condemned without practical solutions. Also this militarism was extended in Libya in 2011 by the NATO – explosions that saw the death of Gadhafi.
10. Non aligned members have failed to prevent the influence of western cultures. The native cultural heritage has been eroded by western imperialism leading to dubious western acts like homosexuality and gay – marriage, money has been poured in NAM countries to promote such acts due to economic desperateness.
11. Some member states of NAM have allowed the bigger powers to establish military bases in their territories. These include Pakistan, Egypt, Kenya, Central African Republic, Iraq among others. This has undermined the sovereign integrity that the movement desired to promote.
12. Non — aligned states have become breeding grounds for the terrorist activities in the world hence a failure. Terrorism has been harbored, organised and unleashed using the aligned states like Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. Osama Bin Laden - the leader of the Al — Qaeda was assassinated in Pakistan which is a strong supporter of NAM. (This followed the September 2011 attack on USA trade centre.

PROBLEMS OR CHALLENGES OF NAM

1. Persistent poverty and economic backwardness
2. Ideological differences creating mistrust among members
3. Neo colonialism
4. Political instabilities hindering progress
5. The end of cold war that left the movement with no enemy to fight.
6. Lack of a proper definition of NAM — Surkano looked at it as containing cold war Vs Nyerere for self-determination of weaker nations, variance affected decisions.
7. Foreign supervision and patronage by great powers i.e. Cuba used USSR, Kenya with USA.

8. NAM states are affiliated to other groups or organizations e.g. OAU, AU, OPEC, regional bodies ECOWAS, Arab league, this create conflicting loyalty.
9. The persistent interstate conflicts create disunity and disharmony
10. The death of core members like Nkrumah, Nehru and leaving active politics, Nasser died in 1970. The new generation leaders lack initial vision
11. Other member states are either driven by personal or national interests e.g. Nasser joined to promote Pan Arabism, Yugoslavia joined to reduce the cold war tension and promote country security etc.
12. Wide operation area of NAM. The members of the South included Asian, African, South America and parts of North America i.e. the Caribbean / West Indies.

NATIONALISM IN KENYA

The road to independence in Kenya was a mixture of violence and non-violence. In 1895 after the British had established Kenya as a settler colony, white settlement increased in the country. By 1920, the whites had taken charge of the political, social and economic affairs of Kenya. The settlers had occupied Land especially in the central; they established an unfair education system established and above all racism. These among other atrocities influenced Africans in Kenya to struggle for independence. The struggle for Kenyan independence was not however-a straight path; the Kenyan nationalists faced many challenges.

OBSTACLES TO KENYAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Reference Questions:

1. **Account for the delayed independence of Kenya**
2. **Examine the obstacles to Kenyan nationalism**
3. **Discuss the challenges faced by Kenyan nationalists in the struggle against British imperialism**
 - The British colonial policy of divide and rule affected the development of nationalism in Kenya. As a matter of consolidating the colonialism in the colony, the British policy instigated rivalries among Kenyan masses and this worsened the existing ethnic conflicts in Kenya for example, the Nandi against the Masai, and the rest of the other tribes against Kikuyu. The divide and rule policy therefore, disunited the Kenyans which greatly affected the struggle for independence.
 - The colonial government in Kenya implemented political restrictions which retarded Kenyan nationalism. The government slapped barriers on African political participation to the

advantage of white settlers and perhaps Asians. The fear was that African politicians would sabotage and cut short British rule and white settlement. This hostile attitude of the British colonial government was evident with the banishing of the operations of political parties (organizations) especially KAU after the defeat of the Mau Mau movement.

- Consequently, the brutal policy employed by the British during their colonial governance in Kenya hindered the progress of nationalism. The colonial officials coerced the Kenyans in a way of intimidating them from joining the political struggle. Some of the political activists were killed like Dedan Kimathi one of the influential leaders of the mau-mau armed resistance.
- The presence of a high number of foreigners i.e. whites and Asians held back the decolonization process in Kenya. The whites and Asians worked as colonial agents which put them in a position to have a political and economic advantage over Africans. The advancement of African nationalism posed a great threat to the foreigners whose desire to protect their economic and political positions influenced them to oppose the Kenyan nationalist struggle.
- The political suppression by the colonial government threatened the spirit of nationalism in Kenya. During the MAU-MAU rebellion, the British adopted a counter revolutionary approach which involved rounding up suspected collaborators in urban centers. The colonial government hunted down and arrested prominent political leaders like Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.
- The emergence of tribal, regional and sectarian nationalism in Kenya contributed to the delay of independence. The Kenyan political leaders were divided on tribal lines where many from other tribes blamed those from kikuyu of being egocentric. This tribalism was witnessed in political mobilizations like Mau-Mau movement and the political parties like KANU and KADU.
- Economic constraints affected the process of Kenyan struggle for independence. The Kenyan nationalist leaders were incapacitated financially; they could not raise the desirable funds to enable local and national mobilization against British dominance. Most of the economic and / or commercial ventures were under the monopoly of foreigners i.e. whites and Asians who were colonial agents.
- Ideological differences among Kenyan nationalists worked against the struggle for independence. The Kenyan politicians differed in their approach to achieve independence. Some like Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya opted for discussions with the colonial government while others like Dedan Kimathi and Jomo Kenyatta seconded militarism. Even at the Lancaster conference with the British government Ngala and Mboya clashed in disagreement over each other's views.
- Nationalism in Kenya was further discouraged by the inconsistency of Kenyan nationalists. Political leaders like Kenyatta and Mboya concentrated their political mobilizations in urban centers among the elites and middle class citizens. The majority peasants in the countryside were ignored until 1960.

- Consequently, lack of political consciousness among Kenyans partly delayed independence attainment. Due to the discriminative education policy by the colonial government, the majority of the Kenyan populace was left in ignorance due to the high levels of illiteracy. Sensitization on the colonial atrocities was hence not effective especially in 1940's and 1950's. This delayed Kenyan independence.
- The poor transport and communication system led to the delayed independence of Kenya. The inability of Kenyan politicians from urban centers to access the countryside (rural areas) to extend their political activities affected the struggle for independence. This ineffective mass mobilization rendered the opposition to colonialism a tough time.
- The delayed independence of the neighbouring states i.e. Uganda and Tanganyika was a setback to the attainment of independence in Kenya. The fact that the British were in charge of Uganda and Tanganyika made them to have strong hold unto Kenya. In the same way, it was hard for Uganda and Tanganyika to extend assistance to their Kenyan counterparts as they were equally involved in struggling against British rule.

THE MAU-MAU UPRISING / REVOLUTION 1952-1955

The Mau-Mau uprising was a war of independence that occurred in Kenya between 1952 and 1955. It was the first revolt in Kenya against colonialism and the first military uprising in British Africa. The origin of the uprising is not clear although some historians say; it is derived from the phrase in Kiswahili, "Mzungu Arudi Ulaya Mwafrika Apate Uhuru".

The Mau-Mau rebellion was spearheaded by the Kikuyu and it was centered in Central Kenya.

The rebellion was organized under the banner of Kenya land and reform army led by General China (Waruhiu Itote), Bildad Kaggia and Dedan Kimathi the ex-service men of World War II. Other key persons in the uprising were Jomo Kenyatta and Paul Ngei.

Causes of the revolution

Reference Questions:

- 1. To what extent was the land problem responsible for the outbreak of the Mau-Mau uprising in 1952?**
- 2. "British policies were primarily responsible for the 1952-55 Kenyan revolts." Discuss**
- 3. How far was the Mau-Mau movement a nationalist movement?**
- 4. Assess the contribution of racism to the outbreak of Kikuyu uprising in Kenya 1952-55**
- 5. Discuss the causes and effects of the Mau-Mau uprising of 1952-55**

- The land question was primarily responsible for the mau-mau uprising in Kenya. By 1950, the British policy in Kenya had resulted into land alienation by the white settlers especially of the fertile lands of Kirinyaga highlands (Mt. Kenya). The ultimate goal was to turn Kenya into a Whiteman's country. This policy affected the Kikuyu, Masai and other groups in central Kenya. Due to African land hunger, they rose up through a rebellion.
- Consequently, many Kenyans were compelled to abandon their ancestral homes. Many of them became squatters on estates and plantations owned by whites who settled in the country from South Africa, Austria, and Britain. It should be noted that some whites left commission did not solve the problem. Therefore, the strong attachment of Africans to their ancestral traditions influenced them to stage up an uprising.
- The creation of reserve by the British colonial government to resettle some of the Africans grievances land had been grabbed raised African grievances. These reserves were mainly dominated by the Kikuyu and the Masai. The Masai were once forced out of the fertile Vasin-Gishu plateau and later the Laikipia plateau to Ngong reserves. Many of the reserves were small, over populated and less productive. This congestion coupled with poor conditions in the reserves influenced many Africans to flock to towns like Nairobi and Nakuru in search for employment. Their frustrations while in these towns influenced them to join the uprising.
- Introduction of soil conservation methods by the British was looked at as a mockery. The Africans were taught methods of using terraces across the ridges as a way of checking soil erosion. As they toiled to earn a living through cultivation, discontent among Africans grew due to unproductivity of land. This influenced them to rebel against the British.
- The desire for independence influenced militant nationalism in Kenya. This could be derived from the Kiswahili meaning of the phrase 'Mau-Mau'. The Kenyans were tired of political marginalisation from the time their country was established as a settler colony. Africans were left out of politics with the whites assuming all political responsibilities.
- The oppressive colonial policies of the British hardened the people's grievances in Kenya. Amongst them was the Kipande (identity card) system where Africans could not be allowed to move from one county to another freely unless they had a special pass issued by the colonial authorities. This restriction of African movements annoyed them to rise up against the British.
- The British colonial administration imposed agricultural restrictions that increased the hatred of Africans towards the British / whites. Africans were not allowed to grow some of the cash crops such as coffee and pyrethrum. Africans were not supposed to involve in cattle ranching as well. All these agricultural activities were reserved for the white farmers. The policy was looked at as a measure to impoverish Africans in Kenya. Hence they staged the mau-mau uprising to redeem themselves.
- Forced labour as instituted by the colonial government caused untold suffering to the masses. Through this policy, the Kenyans were compelled to provide free labour on public works like

roads, railway line and government stations. Many others employed by the white plantation owners were paid very low wages. This exploitation compelled a sizeable number of Africans to flock to towns such as Nairobi. Without education and any skill, these Africans found themselves unemployed and desperate. They were easily recruited into the mau-mau forces.

- The British colonial government adopted a poor taxation policy. Africans were forced to pay high taxes through the hut and gun tax policy. Taxes were also levied on land. The taxation policy was aimed at forcing Africans to work for whites on their plantations as well as government stations. This repressive taxation system with a poor method of tax collection influenced Africans to rise up against the British.
- Racism caused the mau-mau rebellion. Kenya, like South Africa and Algeria had a colour-bar problem. This was due to the presence of a sizeable white and Asian population. The Asians were mainly in towns while the whites were found in the countryside as well. The whites practised undisguised discrimination especially against the blacks. This attitude was also shared by the Asians who kept their distance away from the blacks even though these Asians were equally under looked by the British. Such racism was clearly visible in the political and economic system where Africans were generally excluded.
- The conflicts in culture and traditional beliefs had a hand in the rebellion. The Scottish missionaries established a strong base in kikuyu land to Christianise the country. Christianity was strongly opposed to some of the traditional practices of the kikuyu tradition. A case in point was female circumcision. Missionaries had also excluded the Africans from the top church leadership. Therefore, mau-mau was partly inspired by differences in religion.
- Consequently, the independent African churches in Kenya influenced the mau-mau uprising. Some Kikuyu nationalists had founded key independent churches. This was an attempt to glorify the position of the blacks. The impact of this was the cementing of a strong sense of independence within the African church movement. It is for this reason that many of the mau-mau fighters were members of the independent African churches and opposed Christianity in its original sense.
- The impact of World War II had an electronic effect on nationalism in Kenya. The war brought about the return of African ex-service men who had gained military skills and renewed patriotism. Those who returned included Bildad Kaggia and Waruhiu Itote popularly known as General China. These 'returnees' had observed the Asian national movement and were exposed to democratic politics. By 1950, many of the ex-service men were discontented owing to the declining standards of living and inadequate political reforms by the British colonialists. They therefore, opted for violence out of political and economic grievances.
- The inadequate constitutional changes initiated by the British tasted the patience of Africans to revolt. Around 1946, the African elites led by Mathu Eliot founded the Kenya African union (KAU). These Africans pressed for African participation in Kenyan politics, equitable

representation of all races, social justice and self-determination. KAU demanded for better working conditions and called for land reforms. The members of KAU who believed in constitutional means ignored by the colonial secretary who refused to meet the delegates that the party had sent. Consequently, some of the members of KAU realized the failure of peaceful means and therefore, influenced the mau-mau uprising.

- Grievances among the urban petty traders and workers influenced the mau-mau uprising. These traders and workers in Nairobi and Nakuru were overtaxed, commercially discriminated and denied lucrative deals by government in favour of Asian traders. Most of these traders influenced the formation or joined the "40 group" which mobilized assistance among town dwellers and prepared ground for the uprising.
- Consequently, the formation of the "40 group" laid grounds for the mau-mau uprising. The "40 group" was formed in the 1940's led by Mwangi Macharia and Stanley Mathenge. The "40 group" operated secretly in urban areas especially Nairobi, mobilizing assistance and recruiting fighters. This "40 group" also known as Chama Cha 40 (the political party of 40) and /or young men of 40 administered the Kikuyu oath which was a dedication by the freedom fighters to fight for the land of Gikuyu and Mumbi. Most of the member of this group of 40 became mau-mau fighters.
- The emergency of radicals in KAU made the mau-mau revolt inevitable. Many of these radicals were ex-service men of World War II who never believed in peaceful means of demanding for self-rule and land reforms. Around 1946, these radicals founded the Kenya land and reform army (later the Ma-Mau movement) and established links with the "40 group" in Nairobi that operated secretly among the petty traders, workers and the unemployed Africans. By 1952, the stage was set for a revolt.
- The rise of kikuyu nationalism, whose ambition was to capture power and lead the rest of the country. At the top of this Kikuyu movement was Eliot Mutonyi and Dedan Kimathi. These Kikuyu nationalists collected guns and other weapons and established camps in Nairobi, Kiambu, Nyeri, Embu and Muranga. They recruited members from within and outside KAU and administered the 'oath of secrecy' (kikuyu oath) to the new recruits.
- The growing nationalism in West Africa inspired the Kenyans to rise up against the British. After World War II, the West Africans intensified their demand for self-government both in the French and British colonies. In 1944, The French colonial authorities organized the Brazzaville conference which resulted into some political concessions in French colonies. Africans got the right to vote, establish political parties with an increased African representation in the French parliament. Similarly, the Gold coast and Nigeria received constitutional changes from the British colonial authorities i.e. the Burns constitution and Richards constitution in 1946 respectively. All these lacked in Kenya which influenced Kenyans to resort to violence.

- The Egyptian revolution of 1952 organized by Nasser paved way for the wider mobilization of Africans against colonial rule. Nasser used radio Cairo to broadcast programs in Arabic, English, Hausa and Kiswahili, which programs appealed to the African patriots to intensify their effort against European colonialism. The benefits from radio Cairo, with moral and financial support from Egypt crystallized Kenyan nationalism in form of an armed resistance through mau-mau movement.
- The role of Kenyan elites influenced the mau-mau uprising. The most influential was Jomo Kenyatta whose importance was to sensitize the middle class, offer espionage information to the freedom fighters and solicit for financial support. The activities of the Kenyan elites towards the uprising caused concern on the British who later arrested many of them including Jomo Kenyatta.

THE COURSE OF THE REVOLT

The revolt started in 1952 when the mau-mau fighters went to the bush and started attacking government stations, farms of white settlers and destroying their property in the process. The fighters slaughtered / mutilated the settlers' animals, attacked their shops and killed colonial officials.

In March 1953, a police station at Naivasha was invaded and about 173 prisoners were freed. Up to April 1954, the guerrillas were on rampage due to a number of factors;

- The rebellion started in an area that was heavily populated and very close to Nairobi, a city of unemployed idlers. The people also had access to newspapers, radios and were able to monitor the activities of the rebels.
- The declaration of the state of emergence by the British colonial government aroused more fear among the people of Kenya, forcing them to go to the bush.
- In 1953, the government made a blunder of arresting Jomo Kenyatta who was tried and imprisoned at Kapenguria. Although he belonged to KAU, there was no clear evidence that he was an active member of mau-mau. With a wide following, the arrest of Kenyatta resulted into an increase in the number of rebel sympathizers among the kikuyu.
- The role played by the ex-servicemen of World War II who had military skills and courage favoured the Mau-Mau. This together with the secret nature of the movement made it difficult for the British to discover the plans of the fighters well in advance.
- The fighters also fabricated weapons like guns and grenades from their workshop, collected finances and other war provisions from their supporters hence were able to sustain the uprising at the beginning.

- The fighters were also well mobilized and organized at the beginning of the rebellion; they" boasted of a strong leadership under Dedan Kimathi and General China who tried to unify the guerrilla army on Mt. Abadares.
- The geographical factor greatly assisted the mau-mau. The rebellion occurred around Mt. Abadares and Mt. Kirinyaga. The mountains had steep slopes and bamboo forests, which were suitable for guerrilla warfare. In a short run, the rebels were able to recruit and train their forces without much interference up to 1954. Thereafter, the colonial government embarked on a systematic campaign and suppressed the rebellion, leading to its collapse by late 1955.

FACTORS THAT LED TO THE DEFEAT OF MAU-MAU

Reference Questions:

1. Account for the failure of the Mau-Mau movement by 1956

2. Discuss the factors that led to the collapse of the Mau-Mau movement

3. Account for the military defeat of Kenya in the period 1952-56

- Mau-Mau was organized on ethnic lines especially that it was dominated by the Kikuyu. The British were able to exploit this by turning the rest of the tribes against the kikuyu. It should be noted that the kikuyu leaders administered the oath of secrecy in kikuyu language and sang praises to Gikuyu and Mumbi. By doing so they scared away the rest of the tribes.
- Disunity among the Africans failed the mau-mau. The British effectively used the divide and rule policy and turned the kikuyu themselves against the Mau-Mau. The great landowners and the elderly as well as the Christians were all opposed to the use of violence. They therefore discouraged their tribesmen from joining the rebellion, which suppressed the uprising.
- The military weakness of the mau-mau movement frustrated Africans. Many of the fighters lacked training and experience; they were ill-equipped and ill-organized compared to the British. Many were armed with rudimentary homemade guns and pangas. Besides; the British had recruited Africans to fight fellow Africans.
- The mau-mau movement did not receive much assistance from external sources. This was due to the strong hand of the British and the existence of colonial rule all over Africa. The movement also failed to capture and retain the internal bases where they could expand and consolidate the uprising.
- On the other hand, the British colonial government in Kenya had a powerful and well equipped army. Some of the colonial troops were recruited from Kenya and the rest of British Africa; for instance, Idi Amin and other Ugandans were taken to suppress the mau-mau movement. The colonial troops did so with a lot of brutality. The colonial army was also supported by jet fighters which bombed the rebel possessions.

- The British counter insurgence measures scared the kikuyu into gradual withdrawal from the rebellion. The government rounded up thousands of the Kikuyu in the areas of Nyeri, Nairobi and Kiambu. These were detained in concentration camps where they were subjected to forced labour, and torture. Some of the Africans died in the process. This policy isolated the fighters and denied those supplies and recruits.
- Geographical obstacles contributed to the defeat of the mau-mau. Due to the difficult terrain e.g. the ridges, fighters were cut off from their reserves as the government forces surrounded the hills and forests. This facilitated their defeat and the victory of the British.
- Consequently, the conditions of the war could not favour the freedom fighters. They suffered from famine and starvation and many survived on wild games e.g. monkeys and plants. The more freedom fighters starved to death, the more the rest were demoralized and surrendered to the colonial forces.
- The economic weakness of freedom fighters facilitated their defeat. At the initial stage, the Mau-Mau fighters survived on handouts from a small middle class of mainly petty traders and workers. By mid-1954, suppliers were scarce as the middle class declined financially.
- The white settlers in Kenya gave the British government formidable assistance. They provided much of the food and espionage information while others were recruited as troops in the colonial army. Their desire to protect the economic and political position in Kenya inspired them to give full support to the colonial government against the Africans.
- The mau-mau movement gradually lost her leadership. This was mainly after the capture of General China in February 1954 and Kimathi in October 1956. Kimathi was later convicted and hanged. The loss of influential leadership declined the spirit of freedom fighters and weakened them tremendously.
- By 1956 the number of freedom fighters had shrunk due to the deaths, arrest and desertions. Some of the victims were betrayed by former fighters who on their capture were released by the British to spy on their fellow fighters. By the end of 1956, mau-mau was dead.

EFFECTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MAU-MAU UPRISING

Reference Questions:

- 1. Assess the impact of the Mau-Mau uprising**
- 2. How did the Kikuyu revolts of 1952-1955 affect the people of Kenya?**

Significance / positive effects

- Mau-Mau laid a foundation for African self-rule in Kenya. The British were compelled to abandon their plan of continuing to rule the country for the interest of white settlers.

Thereafter, they assumed direct responsibility for Kenyan advancement and saw the need to speed up constitutional and economic progress in favour of Kenyan natives.

- Reforms were carried out in the agricultural sector. The Kenyan government opened the Kenyan highlands to some of the African peasants. The government issued out land titles to those who owned land and resettled many of kikuyu peasants to areas with fertile soils.
- Consequently, African farmers were allowed to grow cash crops especially coffee and pyrethrum. Between 1954 and 57, coffee produced by Africans rose from 4,000 to 26,000 acres. This reduced African political grievances.
- The Mau-Mau uprising influenced the British government to initiate constitutional changes in Kenya. In 1954, the colonial secretary Oliver Lyttleton created a multi-racial council of ministers comprising three Europeans, two Asians, and one African. B. Apollo Ohanga was the African representative. The above figures were later revised and in 1960 the constitution gave majority of the posts to Africans.
- Africans were enfranchised and started electing their fellow Africans to the national assembly in 1957. This empowered Africans and gave them hope for self-determination.
- The political activities which were banned during the rebellion were resumed. In 1955 political parties were formed leading to the emergence of prominent nationalists such as Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga and Arap Moi. Mboya was influential among the workers. These politicians were also elected to the LEGCO and later joined the major political parties i.e. KANU and KADU.
- The colonial policies were revised. The labour policy changed and forced labour was abolished. Gradually, the kipande system declined and the taxation system was revised. This created relative harmony between the British colonialists and African community and with the white settler community in Kenya.
- The end of the rebellion and abolition of the kipande system facilitated the closure of African reserves and detention camps. By late 1956, the state of emergency was denounced.
- Indirectly, Mau-Mau influenced African nationalism in the British colonies of east, central and West Africa. The British feared that violence could break out in other colonies. They therefore, hurried / hastened to initiate constitutional changes that prepared their respective colonies for independence.
- In the final analysis, the Mau^lMau movement had a tremendous impact on Kenya. It was a nationalistic movement that Africans lost militarily but won politically.

Negative effects

- The Mau-Mau uprising was a disaster to Kenyans at least militarily. The movement was crushed and Africans were defeated hence the rebellion was short lived due to the military defeat suffered by Africans.
- The uprising claimed thousands of lives. Over 13,000 Africans, 100 whites and 29 Asians perished during the war. Many of the Africans who died were not actually freedom fighters.
- The uprising led to the creation of concentration camps as an isolationist policy adopted by the British. Africans mainly of kikuyu and Masai origin faced harsh conditions in these detention camps due to famine and starvation, diseases and other problems. Most of them died and were part of the 13,000 that the war claimed.
- To note is that in the wake of the uprising, the British carried out counter revolutionary measures. They declared a state of emergency in 1952 which lasted until 1956. During this period, a vast number of Africans mainly kikuyu and some Masaai, Embu and Meru were arrested, tortured and imprisoned or put in detention camps. All these occasioned psychological torture and human suffering.
- Many politicians and other Kenyans suspected of collaborating with the Mau-Mau fighters were arrested. Among them were Jomo Kenyatta, Gen. China, Kimathi and other kikuyu politicians. They suffered long periods of detention up to 1960. Others like Kimathi were convicted and executed.
- Consequently, the uprising disrupted the economy and scared away some of the white settlers. The cattle, farms, plantation, homesteads, shops etcetera were destroyed during the war. This was an economic set back to the colonial government as it disrupted agricultural and industrial production.
- It should be noted that Africans and Asians also lost property due to insecurity during the uprising. These included gardens being destroyed and businesses, especially in Nairobi and Naivasha.
- Politically, there was a temporary setback on African nationalism caused by the loss of some of the patriots or their imprisonment for instance Kimathi and Kenyatta. The demand for African freedoms and rights therefore declined.
- KAU as a party was banned with her leadership, and for some time, the kikuyu lost their enthusiasm and leadership. They were replaced by upcoming politicians from other ethnic groups such as Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya. Both of these were Luo.
- Furthermore, there was a delay in the transition to independence. More particularly, the British exploited the kikuyu elements by promoting tribal sentiments among different ethnic groups against the kikuyu. The political parties that emerged like KANU and KADU reflected tribal and regional royalties. They were antagonistic and hostile which occasioned future political conflicts.

- Besides, the uprising fractured the Kenyans society even among people of the same tribe. Long after the suppression, families and clans remained divided along loyalties and Mau-Mau groups. It became difficult to have a united front against the colonial administration.

The factors that facilitated the growth of nationalism in Kenya included the following:

Reference Questions:

1. Examine the factors that facilitated the growth of Kenyan nationalism

2. Account for the rise of nationalism in Kenya by 1963

3. Discuss the factors that facilitated the attainment of Kenyan independence in 1963

- The emergence of the independent African churches in Kenya influenced the political struggles. The activities of the Scottish missionaries in the areas around Kiambu, Nairobi, Meru among others raised discontentment from the African converts. Besides, Africans wanted to maintain an African cultural heritage. This influenced them to establish their own churches which later became significant in mobilizing political activists especially in Kikuyu land.
- The earlier political organizations in Kenya influenced the desire for political freedoms. Political associations like the Kenya African Union (KAU) and the other minor organizations established on tribal lines mobilized masses against the colonial activities in Kenya. Even though they were less successful in the earlier years, they laid a foundation for the development of nationalism in Kenya.
- The British colonial activities influenced the desire for independence in Kenya. The colonial government adopted a poor taxation policy, and established a land commission that worsened the land problem in Kenya. These among other colonial policies hardened the hearts of Africans to resent foreign rule. To make matters worse, such policies favoured the white settlers at the expense of Africans. Therefore, African grievances against the colonial policies were witnessed through their struggle for independence.
- World War II had a profound effect on Kenyan nationalism. The war produced Kenyan ex-servicemen like Kimathi, Kaggia and Itote. Upon their return to Kenya these ex-servicemen engaged in violence (through the Mau-Mau movement) to struggle for independence. They were concerned with the unfair policies of the British, unemployment levels and the costly but poor standards of living of the Africans. To note, the aftermath of World War II saw the increased colonial exploitation and white racism which aggrieved Africans to demand for independence.
- Consequently, the Mau-Mau uprising of 1952-55 was a sign of African discontentment against British colonialism. Even though Africans lost militarily; politically, success was on their side. The uprising checked the colonial policies, led to political reforms like increased African representation and rang the bell to the colonial masters that Africans in Kenya were politically

mature for independence. No-wonder the years after Mau-Mau witnessed political developments that finally brought independence to Kenya.

- The emergence of Kenyan elites influenced independence struggles. These included Jomo Kenyatta, Oginga Odinga, and Tom Mboya among others. The elites condemned colonialism, demanded for political reforms while some engaged in pre-independence discussions with the British colonialists. Amongst them were some that were voted to the LEGCO and became a mouthpiece for African demands.
- The desire to revive and maintain the African cultural heritage in Kenya influenced nationalism in the country. The activities of the Scottish missionaries in central Kenya together with the British colonial policies were gradually eroding the cultural practices in Kenya. This created awareness among Kenyan radicals to demand for independence.
- The poor education system in Kenya angered Kenyans to demand for self-government. The education given to Africans was more inferior to that acquired by whites and Asians. The unemployment levels in Kenya and the disadvantaged position of Africans were all attributed to the poor education system adopted by the British colonialists. Therefore, the desire for equal education opportunities influenced Kenyans to engage in political activities.
- Consequently, the continued dominancy of Kenya by the white settlers and their racist policies increased African grievances. The white settlers monopolized cash crop production and all the-- other profitable agricultural ventures like cattle ranching. They owned most of the land in the countryside and discriminated Africans from politics. The desire for equal political rights influenced the growth of nationalism in Kenya.
- The contribution of political parties led to independence attainment in Kenya. The parties like the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) mobilized masses to engage in anti-colonial struggles. KANU united Kenya against tribal sentiments. The popularity of KANU put her in an influential position to lead the Kenyan struggle for independence.
- The activities of trade unions in Kenya cannot be underestimated in the Kenyan agitation for independence. Like in Tanganyika, the trade unions were organizations by workers and professionals to demand for their rights, better social welfare and working conditions. However, the negative response by the colonial masters influenced trade unions to engage in political activities which had a positive impact in the struggle for independence.
- The role of the press influenced the growth of nationalism in Kenya. Newspapers like 'Sauti ya Mwafrika', 'Kenyan weekly news', etcetera helped to sensitize masses on the colonial atrocities and the need to struggle for independence.
- The charismatic role of Jomo Kenyatta brought independence to Kenya. Kenyatta spent most his education days abroad where he was able to attend the Manchester conference in 1945.

Kenyatta turned KAU into a vibrant KANU, engaged in mobilization for the Mau-Mau uprising which led to his arrest for seven years. Even in prison, the influence of Kenyatta was still felt among Kenyans which motivated them to oppose colonialism.

- The impact of the Manchester conference influenced the struggle for independence in Kenya. Kenyatta from Kenya was among the African delegates at the Fifth Pan African conference. The conference proclaimed total independence of African states and the complete eradication of all forms of colonial oppression. The resolutions at the conference were much felt in Kenya upon the return of Kenyatta in 1946.
- The attainment of independence by India in 1947 led to growth of nationalism in Kenya. Indian independence from the British motivated Kenyans to employ similar method of positive resistance against the same colonial master. India also extended assistance to the Kenyan nationalists during the process of the struggle for independence.
- The independence of Ghana in 1957 led to the increased independence struggles in Kenya. Ghana would later organize the 'All African People's Conference' in 1958 where Kenyans like Tom Mboya attended. Mboya claimed the Accra conference was a '**redefinition of Africa**' 'consequently, the independence of Ghana from the British increased pressure on the colonial master to initiate political reforms that put Kenyans in the independence mood.
- Impact of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis (1935-41) motivated Kenyan nationalism. The Italians on establishing their imperialism in Ethiopia implemented dictatorial policies by land grabbing, imprisonment of African political activists, over taxation, etc. which policies were similar to those implemented by the British in Kenya. The response of the Ethiopians to Italians colonialism motivated Kenyans to rise up against the British colonial rule and the white settler community.
- The role of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) influenced nationalism in Kenya. The UNO established the years 1950-1960 as a decade of decolonization. During this period colonial masters were expected to prepare their colonies for independence. The Kenyans used this chance to petition the British to the UN for their slow reaction in preparing Kenya for independence. The Kenyans therefore, used the UN as a platform to demand for their independence.

The contributions of Kenyatta in the struggle for the independence of Kenya

Reference Questions:

- 1. Examine the contribution of Jomo Kenyatta to the decolonization of Kenya**
- 2. Assess the role of Jomo Kenyatta in the rise and growth of Kenyan nationalism**

Jomo Kenyatta was born as John Kamau Wa Nsenyi in 1893 at Nsenda in Kikuyu land. He attended missionary education in 1914 before travelling to London for further studies in 1931. He was politically known to Kenyans by his popular name Kenyatta (Kenya's light). His role in the struggle for Kenyan independence was as follows:

- Kenyatta was an activist for the rights of workers through the Kikuyu Workers Organization. He therefore, became the voice of the oppressed Kenyan workers, where he demanded for better working conditions e.g. better wages and housing facilities
- He accepted the post of secretary general of Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1928. The main objective of KCA was to fight for Kikuyu-land lost to the white settlers. It was during his work with KCA that he abandoned his original name Kamau for Kenyatta.
- Kenyatta represented the demands of KCA to the colonial secretary in London in 1929. During his visit to London, Kenyatta demanded the colonial secretary to influence the return of Kikuyu lost land.
- During his studies in England, Kenyatta wrote a literally political book "**Facing Mount Kenya**", whose ideas created political awareness of the state of colonial rule in Kenya.
- Jomo Kenyatta attended the 5th Pan African Conference in November 1945 at Manchester. During the Manchester conference, Kenyatta interacted with other prominent pan Africanists like Nkrumah, Padmore and Dubois. The Manchester conference therefore influenced him to turn to Kenya and participate in the struggle for independence.
- Consequently, Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946 and immediately replaced James Gichuru as leader of Kenya African Union (KAU). Kenyatta used KAU to demand for the decolonization of Kenya through positive resistance.
- During the mau-mau uprising, Kenyatta worked as an underground member whose task was to mobilize funds from the petty traders in Nairobi. His association with mau-mau fighters threatened the British colonialists.
- Kenyatta became an activist for the rights of Kenyans. In 1951, he presented a memorandum to the colonial government demanding for the rights of Kenyans.
- Kenyatta was suspected by the colonial government as a collaborator of the mau-mau which led to his arrest in 1953. His arrest however, caused sentiment among Kenyans and increased political pressure on the colonial government to decolonize Kenya.
- When KAU was revolutionalised into Kenya African National Union (KANU), Kenyatta was elected as chairman in absentia of the new party. This was a clear indication of the influence of Kenyatta on the Kenyans even though he was in prison. Such influence was witnessed when members of KANU refused to form a government in 1961 after winning the pre-independence election demanding for the release of Kenyatta first.

- Kenyatta led the delegation that attended the second Lancaster House Conference in London in 1962. This followed his appointment to the legislative council in the same year. At Lancaster, the independence constitution of Kenya was drafted.
- Kenyatta led KANU to form a coalition government with Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) in 1962. This coalition government set the pace for self-governance in Kenya,
- Jomo Kenyatta led KANU to victory in the independence elections of May 1963. He went ahead to form an internal government on June 1, 1963 attaining the title of first prime minister.
- As leader of KANU, Kenyatta accepted the instruments of independence on December 12, 1963 and became the first president of the independent government of Kenya.

The role of Kenya African National Union (KANU) in the struggle for Kenyan independence

Reference Questions:

1. To what extent did the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) contribute to the attainment of independence in Kenya?

2. Explain the influence of KANU to the struggle for Kenyan independence

- KANU was formed in March 1960, by African members in the legislative council dominated by the Kikuyu. KANU replaced KAU, which had outdated ideas and no clear program of achieving Kenyan independence. However, the contribution of KANU is discussed below:
- KANU designed a clear political program aimed at attaining independence for Kenya. This Program included bringing all tribes on board, increased demand for workers' rights and increased pressure on the colonial government through political discussions.
- The party demanded for the release of Kenyan political prisoners who included Jomo Kenyatta. The release of political prisoners increased the capacity of KANU to attain independence.
- Through prominent politicians like Jomo Kenyatta, the KANU gave charismatic relationship to the struggle for independence. Through KANU politicians, it was easy for the party to mobilize masses throughout the country and sensitized them to join the: political struggle.
- The Kenya African National Union identified herself with the national problems in the country. The party increased pressure on the colonial government to ensure sounding land reforms. KANU also condemned the colonial government and the white settler community for abusing the African culture.
- The party cut across ethnic lines throughout the process of mobilization. The leaders of KANU encouraged national unity during the struggle for independence. She therefore, condemned the British policies of ensuring disunity among Kenyans.

- The KANU worked to ensure economic emancipation of Kenya. She condemned the colonial policy of discriminating Africans from the economic activities of the country namely agriculture, trade and commerce. This won the party popularity of masses.
- The KANU organized political campaigns throughout Kenya. During these campaigns the leaders of KANU spread anti-colonial propaganda and encouraged the masses to join the struggle for dependence.
- The activities of KANU inspired the formation of other political parties like Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The emergence of these new parties increased the African pressure on the colonial government to grant independence to Kenya.
- The KANU was greatly opposed to federalism in Kenya. The party demanded for the establishment of a unitary government for fear that federalism would worsen tribal nationalism and regionalism in Kenya,
- Leaders of KANU participated in the second Lancaster House Conference of 1962. At this conference, the independence constitution of Kenya was drafted. This motivated the mood Kenyans to achieve independence.
- The KANU formed a coalition government with KADU in 1962. This was the first government dominated by majority Africans. The coalition government paved way for the independence of Kenya later in 1963.
- The party participated in the pre-independence elections of 1961 and 1963. In 1961, KANU won majority seats (19) but, refused to form a government before Kenyatta was released. In 1963, KANU won majority of the seats in the May elections.
- The KANU formed an internal government on June 1, 1963 with Jomo Kenyatta as the first prime minister. This government prepared ground for Kenya to finally achieve independence.
- The party received the instruments of independence on December 12, 1963 with Jomo Kenyatta as president. This marked the collapse of British colonial rule in Kenya.

THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLES IN TANGANYIKA (1945-1961)

Tanganyika was a German colony from 1895 until 1919. Tanganyika was then transferred to the League of Nations as a mandated territory following the defeat of Germany in World War I. Britain was given administrative mandate over Tanganyika on behalf of the League.

After World War II, Tanganyika was put under the trusteeship council of the United Nations Organization (UNO) and Britain received full mandate over the territory as a trustee power. The people

of Tanganyika rejected the second stunt of colonialism under the British and began struggling for self-rule as early as 1945. However, independence only came by in 1961.

The path of Tanganyika's independence was very drastic and smooth compared to that of Uganda and Kenya who had problems especially of ethnic sub-nationalism and internal disunity. In 1945, two Africans were elected to the membership of Tanganyika national assembly (legislative council). This was followed by the establishment of a constitutional committee to design a constitution for Tanganyika.

In 1945, the UN mission visited Tanganyika and recommended that Britain, administering Tanganyika on behalf of the UNO should prepare the country for immediate independence. The UN mission had originally fixed the date for Tanganyika's independence on May 1, 1961, but, due to bureaucracy, Tanganyika attained only internal self-governance with Kambarage Julius Nyerere as the prime minister. Tanganyika was declared fully independent on December 9, 1961, when the British colonial government handed over the instruments of power to Tanganyika Africa national union (TANU).

FACTORS FOR DELAYED GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA

Reference Questions

a) Account for the delayed independence of Tanganyika

b) Examine the challenges to the independence struggles in Tanganyika

- The large size of the country led to the delayed growth of Nationalism. The vast geographical size of Tanganyika made it extremely hard for the Nationalists to travel across the country to sensitize and mobilize masses especially in the countryside to rise up against the European colonialists.
- Poor transport and communication network in Tanganyika led to the delayed growth of nationalism. The colony of Tanganyika had low infrastructure development i.e. the road network was poor with some areas inaccessible. It was difficult for nationalists to travel from coastal areas like Dar-es-Salaam to interior areas like Karagwe in the west, Kilimanjaro areas in the north and to the extreme South along the border with Mozambique. This limited the spread of nationalistic ideas.
- High levels of illiteracy affected the struggle for self-rule in Tanganyika. During the colonial period, Tanganyika had few educated people who were mostly concentrated in towns and mission centers. The masses were ignorant of their rights yet nationalistic literature was inaccessible, by the rural populace.
- Extreme poverty among Tanganyikans caused economic hardships hence hindering the forces of nationalism in Tanganyika. Tanganyika had the most backward economy in East Africa whose population was predominantly made up of peasants who practiced subsistence agriculture with very little to sell. Such a population was unable to contribute to nationalistic activities, which affected Tanganyika's road to independence.

- Failure of the earlier violent attempt against European rule caused a hiccup to Tanganyika's dream for self-determination. Between 1905 and 1907, the people of South Tanganyika who included Pogoro, Wangido, and Matumbi staged an unsuccessful Maji-Maji uprising against the Germans. The defeat of the Maji-Maji by the Germans demoralized the people of Tanganyika hence affecting their quest for political freedom.
- The exclusion of Africans from political participation delayed the growth of nationalism in Tanganyika. German colonialists and later the British despised the people of Tanganyika and denied them involvement in political decision-making. Very few Africans were given administrative posts in the colonial government yet on the overall; Africans lacked voting rights, which meant affected preparations for self-rule.
- The opposition from the British colonialists also delayed the independence of Tanganyika. When the British took over the affairs of Tanganyika on behalf of the United Nations Organization, they were not prepared for the activities of TANU. Britain encouraged Africans against TANU to form the United Tanganyika party (UTP) in 1956, to work against TANU.
- The imprisonment and restriction of TANU leaders also delayed the independence of Tanganyika. Besides supporting activities against TANU, the British usually rounded up and arrested a number of TANU leaders they even used to close TANU branches and in 1957, Nyerere was stopped from addressing any rally. This negatively affected political mobilization and delayed the independence of Tanganyika.
- The tribal diversity of the Tanganyika also delayed the independence of Tanganyika. As a heterogeneous state composed of different tribes and cultural groups, Tanganyika faced challenges towards fostering national unity, which was desirable to boost nationalism. It took time before Kiswahili played a very important role in boosting nationalistic struggles in the colony.
- The introduction of a multi-racial policy by the British in 1951 was another obstacle to the decolonization process of Tanganyika. The British introduced a policy that provided for the representation of all the races of African, Asian and White at all levels of administration. This new policy affected African interests especially the demand for independence, which the Asians and whites reluctantly supported.
- The mandatory status accorded to Tanganyika delayed the decolonization process. Following the defeat of German in World War I, Tanganyika became a mandated territory of the League of Nations with Britain as the caretaker. This mandatory status of Tanganyika under the British was further confirmed by the UNO in 1945. To note is that the Versailles settlement of 1919 had recognized sovereignty of territories formally under German occupation, but Lloyd George of Britain declared that the resolution applied to only former German territories in Europe. This eventually delayed Tanganyika's independence.

- Lack of capable leaders at the initial stages of independence struggles delayed the decolonization of Tanganyika. Before emergence of Julius Nyerere, Tanganyika lacked capable, charismatic and foresighted leaders to mobilize masses and stir them towards self-rule. The independence movement in Tanganyika only gathered momentum after the emergence of Nyerere, who went ahead to achieve self-rule for the country.

FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE INDEPENDENCE OF TANGANYIKA

Reference Questions:

1. Examine the factors for the early independence of Tanganyika

2. Discuss the factors that facilitated the growth of nationalism in Tanganyika

- Absence of tribal nationalism favoured the independence of Tanganyika. The colony had no single tribe or ethnic group that was powerful enough to claim control over the politics of the country like it was for Buganda in Uganda and Kikuyu for Kenya. By the time of the independence struggle, the different ethnic groups in Tanganyika i.e. the Sukuma, Masaai, Yao, the Makonde, the Nyamwezi and Chagga etc, were weak and none of them could threaten the neighbours to cause state conflicts. Besides, the various ethnic groups were spread throughout Tanganyika without a concentrated settlement for a particular tribe. Due to this, the tribes were able to unite against the British colonial system, which enabled Tanganyika to attain independence before the other East African states.
- The role of Kiswahili as a common language among the people of Tanganyika helped to quicken independence. Kiswahili created unity among the various tribes and this facilitated communication. Parties like (the TANU) used Kiswahili to mobilise the masses into passive resistances like strikes and demonstrations. Therefore, Kiswahili compromised the language differences in Tanganyika, and this helped the nationalists to have good organisation that enabled them to attain independence. Kiswahili had been the lingua-franca right from the days of Arabs at coast all through to the time of German and British rule, which never imposed their respective languages unto the people of Tanganyika.
- The lessons learnt from the earlier resistances against German rule motivated the demand for independence. The major rebellions were the Hehe rebellion and Maji- Maji uprising (1905-07), but in particular, the latter was instrumental in bringing independence to Tanganyika. The uprisings united the various ethnic communities mostly in Southern Tanganyika like the Ngoni and the Mponde against the Germans. Though the Germans crushed the Maji- Maji uprising, the unity and organisation shown by the tribes of Southern Tanganyika inspired the nationalistic struggle. It taught the nationalists in Tanganyika that the attainment of independence could be successful if non-violence and passive resistance are used. The new generation-nationalists in Tanganyika led by Julius Nyerere employed non-violence in the struggle against the British, which convinced the colonial masters to grant independence to Tanganyika earlier than Uganda and Kenya.

- Absence of religious conflicts in Tanganyika favoured independence attainment. Even though Christianity and Islam coexisted in the country, this was never a divisive factor that would hinder unity and proper organisation against British colonialism. Instead, the Muslims in the coastal regions worked closely with Christians in the interior to achieve independence. This was in contrast with Uganda, the Sudan and Nigeria, where religion played a major role in dividing people during the struggle for the independence. Political leaders like Julius Nyerere worked hand in hand with Muslim-counterparts, to achieve independence for Tanganyika. In fact, the entire Tanganyika populace accepted Nyerere a Catholic to lead the struggle for independence.
- The role of trade unions (welfare associations) that had emerged after World War II accelerated the independence of Tanganyika. Tanganyika had very strong trade unions of farmers, teachers and other civil servants, which engaged in the struggle for independence. These associations included the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association and the most important one as the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). In an attempt to raise the welfare of the respective various groups of people, these trade unions engaged in non-violent protests like sit down strikes and peaceful demonstrations, which greatly threatened colonial rule in Tanganyika. The activities of trade unions especially the (TAA), formed in Dar-es-Salaam in 1929 motivated many disgruntled and frustrated workers in Tanganyika to join the struggle for independence. The TAA cut across the different ethnic groups and encouraged togetherness in the struggle against foreign domination.
- The role of the United Nations Organisations (UNO) accelerated the independence of Tanganyika. In 1946, Tanganyika was put under the UN trusteeship council, which entrusted retain to govern Tanganyika. The UNO was anti-colonial and went ahead to put pressure on the British to prepare Tanganyika for self-rule. The body accepted Julius Nyerere to use its General Assembly as a platform to demand for the independence of Tanganyika. The UN sent a visiting mission to Tanganyika to supervise political developments enhanced by the British in preparing Tanganyika for independence. Consequently, the UN pressurized the British to end their colonial influence in the mandated state of Tanganyika.
- The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) played a role in the success of the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika. After electing Julius Nyerere as the president of the Tanganyika African Association in 1953, Nyerere went ahead to transform the association into the TANU which was confirmed on July 7, 1954. The objectives of the TANU included achieving the socioeconomic welfare of the people of Tanganyika and above all the demanding for the immediate independence of Tanganyika. The TANU united the various ethnic groups in Tanganyika against the British colonial administration.
- The presence of able leaders in Tanganyika worked in favour for independence. In particular was Julius Nyerere who became a key figure in the struggle for independence. After graduating from Makerere College, Nyerere went to England for further studies before he returned to Tanganyika in 1953. Immediately, Nyerere was appointed the president of Tanganyika African Association (TAA), which he later transformed into the Tanganyika African National Union

(TANU), a mass political party that struggled for Tanganyika independence. Nyerere represented the people of Tanganyika during the independence negotiations with the British colonial administrators, led accepted the instruments of power from the British.

- The absence of a strong settler community also accounted for the quick decolonization of Tanganyika. By the end of World War II and the aftermath, there were a smaller number of white settlers in Tanganyika compared to Kenya. This meant that there was no white objection to the African demand for independence, and was an opportunity for Tanganyika to attain self-rule. Hence, the fact that Tanganyika was not a settler colony quickened her process of independence attainment.
- The unfair colonial policies awakened the people of Tanganyika to demand for independence. The British colonialists in Tanganyika grabbed land from the Africans, tried to enforce plantation agriculture and other related evils like heavy taxation. Such policies angered Africans who were imposed of heavy fines because of resisting growing new crops with new farming techniques brought by the colonialists, such as compulsory soil terracing. These policies generated fear and hatred of Africans against colonialism and this was exploited by nationalists like Nyerere to mobilise the masses to demand for independence.
- The role of Richard Turnbull (1958-61) accelerated the independence process of Tanganyika. Turnbull was appointed as the new British governor of Tanganyika with instructions to prepare Tanganyika for independence. He had previously been the chief Secretary in the Kenyan colonial government at the time of the Mau Mau rebellion and he was determined to avoid such related havoc in Tanganyika. He became co-operative and established a close relationship with Julius Nyerere. Turnbull helped a lot to sell the TANU in the UNO, which was helpful in the early advancement of Tanganyika self-rule.
- The impact of the Mau- Mau (1952-1956) was partly responsible for the early independence of Tanganyika. Because the Mau- Mau was an anti-colonial uprising that was very destructive and expensive for the British, they never wished to experience another revolt of the kind. It was because of this that Turnbull was appointed governor of Tanganyika due to his Mau- Mau experience. Thus to avoid such, the new governor was instructed to prepare Tanganyika for independence.
- The Kabaka crisis (1953-1955) in Uganda had a threatening impact on the colonial government in Tanganyika. Though it occurred in Uganda, the event had a profound impact that created awareness to the colonial government that the Africans in East Africa were politically mature to attain independence. The crisis weakened the British position on the formation of the East African federation and instead, they initiated political concessions that prepared the atmosphere for Tanganyika's independence. From the effects of the Kabaka crisis, the British learnt to cooperate with Africans in Tanganyika as a way of avoiding political conflicts in the trusteeship territory.

JULIUS NYERERE KAMBARAGE

Reference Questions:

1. Explain the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the decolonization of Tanganyika by 1961

2. Assess the role of Julius Nyerere in the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika

Nyerere was born in March 1922 in Butiama village, Musoma district southeast of Lake Victoria to Chief Burito Nyerere of the Wazanaki ethnic group and his eighth wife Kambarage. Nyerere lived his life in a traditional setting which enabled him acquire skills of traditional leadership. He went to Mwisenge primary school, Tabora secondary school and later Makerere College in Uganda.

- In 1945, Nyerere attended the fifth Pan African congress together with other Africans like Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah. On his return from the conference in 1947, like Nkrumah, Nyerere demanded for the immediate independence of Africa and hoped to lead Tanganyika to independence.
- In 1949, Nyerere left for further studies at Edinburgh (Scotland) and obtained a Masters of Arts in history, economics and philosophy. The studies abroad widened the mind and commitment of Nyerere to the struggle for self-rule. He returned to Tanganyika in 1952 with a strong desire to end British colonialism in Tanganyika.
- Nyerere was elected President of the Tanganyika African Association in 1953. The TAA was basically fighting for African civil rights and improved welfare of African workers. With this, Nyerere represented the symbol of charisma and forward looking, which qualities would help to confront the exploitative policies of the British.
- Because of his strong -zeal and love towards independence, Nyerere used his leadership qualities and skills to transform the TAA into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which became an "all inclusive" and radical mass political party that would help in the mobilisation of masses for self-rule.
- As a leader of the TANU, Nyerere influenced the party to adopt peaceful means (pacific resistance), in order to avoid conflicts with the British colonial administrators. Thus, Nyerere organized and led workers strikes and street demonstrations all aimed at showing African grievances against colonial rule.
- In 1955, Nyerere accepted the presidency of the TANU. He immediately consolidated the struggle for better welfare of the people of Tanganyika; but above all the increased membership of Africans to the legislative council.
- Nyerere led the TANU to petition the British colonial administrators to the UNO with an intention of achieving international concern towards the independence of Tanganyika. The leadership and activities of Nyerere influenced the UNO, especially the Trusteeship Council to have direct interest in Tanganyika's advancement towards self-determination.

- In 1957, Nyerere joined the legislative assembly and was immediately elected President of the assembly. In a short while however, Nyerere stepped down as President of the legislative assembly because this position was bound to hinder his demand for the immediate independence of Tanganyika.
- Between 1958 and 1960, Nyerere led the TANU to landslide victories in the local elections. After the August 1960 elections where the TANU won seventy of the seventy-one (70 out of 71) seats in the LEGCO, Nyerere was made Chief Minister hence, giving him an upper hand to use the government to demand for the independence of Tanganyika.
- The activities of Nyerere through the TANU mounted more pressure on the British colonial administrators to grant Tanganyika an internal autonomy (self-government), which was declared in 1958. Nyerere became the first Prime Minister. This new position motivated him to demand for total independence, which was granted on December 9, 1961.
- Julius Nyerere established a cordial relationship with Sir Richard Turnbull the colonial governor of Tanganyika (1958-61). Turnbull was forward looking and went ahead to support Nyerere's actions; he (Turnbull) worked well with (Nyerere) until the last stages of the independence of Tanganyika.
- As the President of the TANU, Nyerere accepted the instruments of power from the British colonial government of Tanganyika. He consequently established the first independent African government for Tanganyika.

THE ROLE OF TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (TANU)

Reference Questions:

1. To what extent did the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) contribute to the attainment of independence in Tanganyika?

2. Explain the influence of TANU to the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika

The TANU was a mass political party that was founded on the July 7, 1954. It evolved from the existing popular trade union, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). It was founded with Julius Nyerere as its first leader. The TANU was formed along the same principles of the Convention People's Party (CPP) of the Gold Coast under Nkrumah. It was aimed at achieving socio-economic welfare of the people of Tanganyika, promoting unity and creating a spirit of nationalism to achieve independence in Tanganyika.

The TANU played a major role in the struggle for the independence of Tanganyika as seen below:

- From the beginning, the Tanganyika African National Union advocated for an increase in the number of African seats in the Legislative Assembly and government. This would give Africans an upper hand in voting against colonialism.

- In 1954, the party utilized the position of the country in the UN Trusteeship Council to demand for the independence of Tanganyika. The party made demands to the UNO to quicken the independence process of Tanganyika. The TANU convinced the UNO mission to visit Tanganyika in 1954, which visit came in 1955. Consequently, the TANU issued a petition to the UN visiting mission to put pressure on Britain to grant independence to Tanganyika.
- The TANU promoted unity of the various ethnic groups in Tanganyika with the aim of achieving self-rule. Membership to the party was granted to all ethnic groups like Nyamwezi, the Makonde, the Sukuma, and the Mponde with no discrimination. The major medium of communication for the TANU was Kiswahili, which strengthened national unity contrary to ethnic nationalism during the process of demanding for independence.
- Consequently, the TANU adopted passive resistance and non-violent means of demanding for independence. The means included peaceful strikes and demonstrations and negotiations with the colonial government that made the British to accept the political demands of the TANU. On December 9, 1961, the British transferred the instruments of power to the TANU leadership.
- The TANU leadership established branches of the party throughout Tanganyika, which helped to quicken the decolonization process. After her transformation from the (TAA), the TANU took over all the TAA upcountry branches. The party therefore, used these branches scattered throughout the country to spread anti-colonial propaganda that enabled her to succeed in the struggle of independence. The party branches eased the task of mass mobilization.
- Consequently, the TANU identified itself with the people's problems in Tanganyika, which the Party used in its plan to turn the masses against the British colonial government. In an effort to win the peoples of Tanganyika and their support, the party allied with the masses to condemn the colonial government for the various problems in Tanganyika like loss of land, low prices for the farmers' produce and lack of quality education for African children. The party hence won support of the masses and eventually forced the British to grant independence to Tanganyika.
- The TANU gave charismatic relationship and a clear political program through Julius Nyerere, which were vital in the independence struggle. Nyerere had unique leadership skills and qualities; he was soft spoken and lived in harmony with other political activists. Such leadership made the TANU popular among the masses in Tanganyika and the mass support to the TANU activities made the road to independence in Tanganyika smoother.
- The party also set up a close relationship with trade unions in Tanganyika to struggle against British imperialism. This won support of workers for the TANU and increased her popularity, this was evident in such a way that by 1958, the party had more than a quarter million members. The TANU equally embraced the values of trade unions like demanding for improved welfare of masses. The alliance of the TANU with trade unions forced the British to grant dependence to Tanganyika in 1961.

- Through the skills and works of Julius Nyerere, the TANU established a good working relationship with Governor Richard Turnbull. From the start of his regime in 1958, Governor Turnbull was influenced by the TANU to adopt relatively moderate policies in administering Tanganyika compared to how other colonial governors administered Uganda and Kenya.
- The Tanganyika African National Union established a close link with the Convention Peoples Party of Kwame Nkrumah, which was instrumental in the independence struggle in Tanganyika. Nkrumah went ahead to extend moral advice to Julius Nyerere as well as influencing the party to adopt the policy of non-violence that accelerated independence in Tanganyika.
- The party participated in the local elections where she achieved landslide victories. Between 1958 and 1960, elections to the LEGCO were conducted and the TANU won these elections majority seats and let many of the TANU representatives become ministers in the colonial government and the LEGCO and consequently Nyerere became the Chief Minister.
- The TANU called for the immediate independence of Tanganyika following the landslide victory in the 1960 elections. The party under Chief Minister Nyerere Africanised the civil service and introduced a special training scheme to accelerate Tanganyika's path to independence.
- The Tanganyika African National Union accepted the instruments of power and led Tanganyika to independence that was granted by the British on December 9, 1961. The TANU leadership went ahead to establish the first independence government following the attainment independence.

Questions:

- 1. Explain the role of Julius Kambarage Nyerere in the social, political and economic development of Tanzania**
- 2. To what extent did Julius Nyerere's leadership benefit the people of Tanzania?**
- 3. Examine the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the history of Tanzania up to 1985**
- 4. Assess the achievements of Julius Nyerere between 1961 and 1985**
- 5. How far did Julius Nyerere contribute to the development of Tanzania?**