

## **NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA**

### **Definition of Neo-colonialism**

Neo-colonialism can be defined as the indirect control over the independent African states by their former colonial masters or any other powerful western nation.

It has also been defined as the use of economic, cultural, political and social policies or means by the former colonial masters to control or influence the affairs of their former colonies and other less developed African countries.

Neo-colonialism is also defined as a system in which the former colonial masters continue to indirectly dominate and control the African states politically, economically, culturally and socially despite the independence of these African states.

According to Walter Rodney a renown/famous historian/scholar colonial masters left Africa through the front door and came back through the back door. This is because African states got independence in name, flags, national anthems and boundaries but are still controlled by their former colonial masters culturally, economically, politically, technologically and militarily.

### **MANIFESTATIONS/SIGNS/CHARACTERISTICS OF NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA:**

1. Neo-colonialism manifests itself through giving of foreign aid by the former colonial masters, developed western nations and other donor agencies like IMF, World Bank, USAID etc. to poor African states. This aid exposes the African states to continued foreign control because it is given with strings attached e.g. the recipients of the aid are forced to invest in particular projects e.g. agriculture to offer cheap raw materials to MDCs, they are forced to open up their economies for private foreign direct investments and to adopt certain political systems.
2. It is shown through the existence of Multi-National Corporations such as TOTAL, Shell, Barclays, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Africel, Airtel etc. in African states and these exploit the African resources and the nationals and make abnormal profits that they repatriate to their home countries leaving the African countries poor, underdeveloped and dependent on the western powers.
3. Neo-colonialism also shows itself through the use of foreign languages as the official languages of communication of the independent African states. For instance, former British colonies like Uganda, Ghana, Kenya use English as their official languages of communication in schools and offices, former French colonies like Mali, Cote D'Ivoire use French and this has undermined the African languages and promoted the continued control over African states by their former colonial masters.
4. It also exists through existence of foreign religions in Africa. For instance, there are many foreign evangelical groups in Africa mainly the Born again faith such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, Mormons that mainly originate from UK and USA. These foreign religions exploit the poor Africans through church offertories, sowing of seeds, tithes leading to the under

development of the Africans and promote the loyalty of Africans and their dependence on western powers.

5. Neo-colonialism further manifests through the presence of foreign spy networks/espionage systems such as FBI and CIA of America, Russia's KGB and Israel's Mossad and Britain's Scotland Yard M16 etc. in Africa. These monitor the activities of African leaders and they have engineered the overthrow of African leaders that don't work in their interests e.g. Obote in 1971, Nkrumah in 1966 thus undermining the independence of the African states.
6. Through the membership of African countries in neo-colonial organizations like Common Wealth of Nations for British former colonies Franco-phone organization for former French colonies. The former colonial powers like Britain use these organizations to continue controlling the African states e.g. their cultures, political decisions, economic policies and education systems.
7. The African education systems are still based on the colonial syllabi and this is a manifestation of Neo-colonialism. For example, African states still use the syllabi left behind by the colonial masters and they teach in the language of the colonial masters e.g. Uganda still teaches the geography of North America and the Rhine lands, European History, the education system is also theoretical and hence produces white collar job seekers other than job creators. This was deliberately designed to keep the Africans under developed and dependent on the western nations.
8. The existence of foreign Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Africa is also a sign of neo-colonialism. Many foreign NGOs that operate in Africa like DANIDA, USAID, World Vision, Care Plan international, Save the children etc. offer humanitarian assistance to African states in times of crisis and natural calamities but they lead to African underdevelopment through promoting laziness and a dependence syndrome, discourage innovativeness in Africa and they promote western cultural practices like homosexuality in Africa.
9. Neo-colonialism also exists in Africa through western literature and leisure activities. For example, western literature and leisure activities in Africa such as films, novels and magazines portray African people as evil, the romantic novels and films promote sexual immorality by portraying sex as a pass time activity, they promote pornography and concentrate on spreading western ways of life like homosexuality and lesbianism, dressing styles etc.
10. The presence of foreign embassies and high commissions in Africa is also a sign of Neo-colonialism. The foreign ambassadors and high commissioners that operate in Africa are here to protect the interests of their home countries and sometimes they directly interfere in the politics and decision making of the African states e.g. European Union ambassadors openly criticized the Ugandan government for passing the anti-gay bill and they forced the Ugandan government to withdraw the bill in parliament as a condition to continue receiving their aid.
11. Through the signing of Bi-lateral and Multi-lateral trade agreements and concessions e.g. AGOA signed between Uganda and USA government where Uganda was allowed to export her textile products to the USA. This however left Uganda under developed and dependent on the western world because it continued importing highly priced manufactured industrial goods from the

more developed Western nations and this left Uganda with unfavorable Terms of Trade and BOP deficits.

12. Existence of western military bases in Africa e.g. USA has a military bases in the Indian ocean in Kenya and in Congo from where the NATO and American troops are stationed to monitor the African politics and this base has been used by America and her western allies to intervene in African politics by removing some African leaders who don't subscribe to the interests of the West from power.
13. Technological dependence is also as an instrument of neo-colonial control in Africa. e.g. African countries have remained scientifically and technologically dependent on the developed western world through technology transfer which has killed the craftsmanship of African people and has also left the continent dependent on the western nations for spare parts, raw materials, and expatriates to run the modern western technology.
14. The signing of military pacts between the African states and western powers. E.g. African states like Kenya, Uganda, Ghana have signed pacts with western powers like USA, Britain and Russia, Israel, Korea etc. where skilled military personnel from these developed nations like the US marines provided training and weapons to the African armies and this has exposed such African countries to military dependence and domination by these developed nations.
15. Through the presence of private foreign direct investors in the Acan continent that influence the economic policies of the Acan government e.g. they put pressure on the African governments to liberalize the economy, they ask for tax holidays, free land etc. while exploiting African resources, workers and repatriating their profits.
16. Sponsoring of military coups/military interventions by the western powers in Africa e.g. western powers like Britain, France have intervened in African politics by sponsoring military coups to remove some African leaders who try to follow their own independent political views e.g. Gaddafi of Libya, Obote of Uganda, Nkrumah of Ghana were all removed from power through coups financed and plotted by western powers so as to safeguard their interests and this has promoted instability and undermined the development of Africa.
17. The promotion of western ideologies e.g. capitalism and socialism in Africa is another sign of neo-colonialism. The western powers like Britain and USA have forced African states to adopt political/economic ideologies of the developed western nations such as capitalism or communism as a pre-condition to benefit from foreign aid and this has left these states under the mercy and direct control of the western powers.
18. The sabotage of the African Regional economic integrations by the western powers also shows neo-colonialism in Africa e.g. the western powers sabotaged regional economic integrations like EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC etc. leading to the collapse of these organizations because they looked at these bodies as stepping stones for Africa's development, unity, economic cooperation yet they wanted African states to remain dependent on the western nations.
19. The use of foreign currencies by African states is also a sign of neo-colonialism. African governments/countries still use foreign currencies like the Dollar, Pound, Euro, Japanese Yen to determine the strength of African currencies and determine foreign exchange rates. This has led

to Africa's underdevelopment because of the persistent devaluation of the African currencies like the shilling and unfavorable foreign exchange rates for the LDCs.

20. The presence of white settlers in Africa is another symptom of neo-colonialism. Even after independence there are still many white settlers in countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Kenya etc. who continued controlling the wealth and key sectors of the economy like land, plantation agriculture, mining sector, industrial sectors and continued exploiting Africa's resources while Africans remained poor and underdeveloped.
21. The presence of foreign expatriates in Africa also manifest neo-colonialism. Most of the MNCs in Africa and donor funded projects road construction tend to employ foreign expatriates in the key and top ranking positions while the Africans are employed in low ranking jobs and these expatriates are paid in foreign currencies which they repatriate to their home countries thereby causing the underdevelopment of Africa.
22. The control of commodity prices in the world market by the MDCs is also a sign of neo-colonialism. The prices of African primary products are determined in the world market by MDCs and they always fix very low prices for the African products and yet the African states have to purchase/import the industrial products from Europe at very prices and this leaves the African states with BOP deficits and makes them persistently dependent on the western nations.
23. The adoption of political pluralism and or multi- party politics by African states is yet another sign of neo-colonialism. The western nations have pressured African states to adopt multi-party politics and the political parties like DP, UPC, NRM, FDC, ANC, ZANU etc. are sponsored by the powerful western nations to spread western democracy and promote their interests but these parties have promoted divisions among the African that made Africans vulnerable to be controlled by the western nations.

### **THE IMPACT OF NEO-COLONIALISM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA.**

Neo-colonialism has affected the development of Africa both positively and negatively and these effects included the following:

1. Negatively, it has led to the massive exploitation of African resources like minerals, lakes, forests by the western powers e.g. Multi-National Corporations like Coca-Cola, Tullow, Pepsi etc. have exploited the African resources, human resource and have made abnormal profits that they repatriate back home leaving the African countries under-developed.
2. Neo-colonialism has also promoted brain drain which has left the African continent under-developed. The colonial education system that the African countries continue to use produce white collar job seekers other than job creators and because the jobs are few in the LDCs most of the highly educated Africans e.g. doctors, lawyers, engineers etc. have migrated to the developed countries in search of employment and better pay/working conditions and this has deprived the continent of its human resource that would have contributed to the continent's development.

3. It has also led to political instabilities in Africa. This is because the western powers have financed military coups, political assassinations and civil wars against some African leaders that are opposed to the interests of the western powers and they have also sold weapons to different conflicting parties thereby causing instability that has led to the under development of the African continent.
4. Neo-colonialism has also led to the collapse of some regional economic integrations in Africa such as the EAC and OAU which were sabotaged by the western powers because they didn't want to see a United Africa and because these regional bodies were promoting Africa's development and trade among African states by providing a wider market for Africa's product.
5. It has also led to low levels of industrial development in Africa. This was because the neocolonial powers gave loans to African states to be used for development of the agricultural sector such that they can continue supplying raw materials to the western industries and providing market for the western industrial goods and this has left the continent under-developed.
6. It also promoted the dumping of poor quality and cheap European products to the African continent e.g. 2<sup>nd</sup> hand clothes, shoes, electronics like radios, phones etc. that are environmentally unfriendly and hence have led to environmental degradation and at the same time have killed the local industries leading to under development of the continent.
7. It has also promoted the accumulation of foreign debts by the African states which also worsened Africa's under- development. This is because the western powers have offered loans to the African states at high interest rates which has left many Africans in the vicious cycle of debt repayment hence living the Africans with little money to finance African's developments.
8. It has also undermined the development of African technology and craftsmanship due to technology transfer from the western world which pushed out African black smiths, potters since they lost market for their products and this killed the African technology.
9. Neo-colonialism has further worsened the B.O.P position of the African states. This is because the western powers have offered loans to Africans to invest in agriculture and therefore have continued to export agriculture primary products whose prices are low in the world market while they import industrial products whose prices are high in the World market.
10. It has promoted laziness and a dependence syndrome in the African continent whereby the African countries have lost the desire for work and creativity because they expect to receive loans, aid and donations from the developed western powers.
11. It has also groomed puppet and selfish African leaders who work as agents of the West to exploit their own countries leading to the continent's under development e.g. some Ugandan ministers and government officials have been accused of taking bribes from western powers like Tullow and CNOOC in order to give them contracts to construct the standard railway project and other projects.
12. Neo-colonialism has also promoted regional imbalance in development in African states. This is because the multinational companies from the colonial masters prefer to set up their investments in urban areas leaving the rural areas under developed, they have also invested

largely the in mining and industrial sectors which has left other sector like agriculture under-developed.

13. Neo-colonialism has also led to the loss of independence and sovereignty by African states i.e. the African states are not independent when making social, political and economic decisions e.g. the western powers like Britain forced Uganda to withdraw the anti-gay bill as a pre-condition to benefit from their aid.
14. Neo-colonialism has also led to the collapse of the African cultures. This is because the western powers have influenced African people to leave out their cultures and adopt foreign languages, cultures, behaviors and general ways of lives as preconditions to benefit from donor aid and assistance.
15. Neo-colonialism has made the African countries to produce what they don't consume and consume what they don't produce. This made the African states persistently dependent on the western economies for their imports and market for African products and hence the western powers continued controlling African states.
16. Neo-colonialism has also prevented African states from pursuing the NAM policy. This is because the neo-colonial powers forced the African states to adopt foreign political ideologies of Capitalism and Communism. This prevented the African states from fully implementing the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) policy because they started dancing to the tunes of the two power blocs.

**Positive effects of Neo-colonialism on African states:**

1. It promoted democratic governance/the Rule of Law in the African continent. This is because the neo-colonial powers through bodies like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty international have forced African leaders to respect human rights and the rule of law as a pre- condition for the African states to benefit from donor aid and loans, they pressurized African states to adopt multi- party democracy and also through financing the overthrow of various dictatorial African leaders from power
2. It has also facilitated the development of infrastructure in the African continent. For example, the western powers and donor agencies like the World Bank, IMF etc. have provided increased financial aid to finance the development of socio-economic infrastructures such as road constructions, construction of schools, power generation Dams, provision of drugs etc. in African countries. This has supplemented on the efforts of the African governments to promote development of the African continent.
3. It has also led to political stability in the African continent. This is because western powers like USA, UK have provided military hardware to friendly African states to help them fight instabilities, they have also deployed peace keepers in the African continent e.g. in Congo, Somalia among others to try and solve instabilities in such African countries.
4. Neo-colonial powers have also provided emergency relief aid to African countries that have experienced natural calamities like the outbreak of diseases and epidemics, drought and landslides e.g. the USA, UNHCR, WHO etc. have provided, help in fighting Ebola in African states,

provided relief aid like food, shelter for victims of natural calamities and conflicts and this has enabled the African states to solve such challenges.

5. It has also provided budgetary support to the African governments which has enabled them to finance development projects e.g. Uganda's budget of 2014 has financially been funded by the donor partners to the tune of over 18% and this enabled the government to meet its budgetary deficit and deliver services to the population of Uganda.
6. It has also promoted increased foreign direct investments in African countries by the developed western powers and this has bridged/closed the investment gap in the African states. This has not only increased capital inflow in Africa but has also created employment opportunities for the nationals of the African countries leading to an improvement in their standards of living.
7. It has also filled the man power gap in the African states which has promoted the development of the African continent. The western powers have provided foreign aid in the form of foreign expatriates with various skills in different fields and this has filled the manpower gap and at the same time they have trained Africans in the operation of foreign technology.
8. It has filled the technological gap in Africa. This is through promoting technology transfer which has enabled the Africans to acquire modern machinery, skilled personnel/expatriates that have been employed in the technological and industrial sectors of Africa thereby promoting industrialization in Africa.
9. It has led to cultural change and progress in the African continent. This is because the western powers have strongly opposed/condemned backward African traditional cultural practices like killing of twins, twin initiation, FGM, polygamy, extended families among others and this made the African people and countries to abandon such backward cultural practices.
10. It has also eased communication among the African states through introducing different western languages e.g. French, English, German as official languages of communication and this not only created a sense of identity among the Africans but also promoted unity in diversity among the African people/ states.
11. Neo-colonialism has also created and promoted good and friendly international relations and cooperation with the African states. This has been promoted through organizations like the Common Wealth of Nations, Franco-phone organization /French Community and this relationship has led to the improvement of services like health, education among others in Africa that led to Africa's development.
12. Neo-colonialism has also promoted foreign trade between African states and western powers e.g. through AGOA it has opened up American markets for African products and this has increased Uganda's foreign exchange earnings from exports which was re-invested in the development of other sectors of the economy of Uganda.
13. Neo-colonialism has stimulated the exploitation of the would be idle African resources leading to increased production and increase in the economic growth of African continent. Multi-National companies from developed western powers such as Tullow, CNOOC, TOTAL, Shell etc. have massively invested in the exploitation of African resources and this led to the economic development of the African countries and creation of jobs for the African people.



## **MEASURES THAT HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN BY AFRICAN STATES TO FIGHT NEO-COLONIALISM:**

1. Establishing regional economic integrations such as EAC, COMESA, ECOWAS, SADC, PTA. African states have formed regional economic blocs such as the EAC to promote trade among the African states so as to solve the challenge of lack markets for African products that would force them to continue on depending on the western powers for market and imports of manufactured products.
2. African states have also joined the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) through which the African states have had a stronger voice to negotiate for a better and more respectable relationship with the western nations and escape the neo-colonial control of the western powers say through aid with strings attached.
3. Nationalization of foreign owned private enterprises by some African leaders like Idi Amin, Gaddafi, Nasser, Nkrumah etc. so as to end the exploitation of African people and countries by foreign companies that exploit the African resources/continent and repatriate their profits without developing the continent.
4. Adoption of import substitution strategy of industrial development to avoid relying on imports from neo-colonial powers and protect the domestic infant industries from competition with imported products from the developed nations.
5. The introduction of poverty eradication programmes by African governments to avoid depending on foreign aid from the west. African governments such as the Ugandan government have come up with schemes such as Poverty Eradication Action Plan, Entandikwa scheme, Bona Bagagawale (prosperity for all) through which they have provided soft loans to Ugandans to start income generating activities to avoid depending on western aid.
6. Formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that was replaced by the African Union (AU) with the aim uniting the African states and fight against foreign influence from the African continent
7. Reforming the Education System/Changing the education syllabi to fit the development needs. African countries are now emphasizing the teaching of science subjects, vocational, practical and entrepreneurial skills to equip the Africans with skills to create jobs and become entrepreneurs to contribute the development of the continent.
8. Encouraging the revival of the African cultural norms and values through financing African cultural festivals, Music, Dance and Drama and research about the African past and encouraging the teaching and use of african languages so as to expose and promote the love for the rich African cultural heritage.
9. Discourage borrowing of high interest loans with strings attached from the western developed countries. This has been achieved through establishing financial institutions within Africa such as the East African Development Bank and African Development Bank that provided cheap



development loans to the African states to finance various development projects in Africa so as to end the need for western donor aid.

10. Intellectual condemnation of neo-colonialism by academicians in schools, seminars, symposiums etc. to educate African people about the dangers of neo-colonialism and how to avoid the cancer. This has produced more educated Africans who have helped to eliminate the evil instead of promoting it.
11. Financing the development socio-economic infrastructures such as electricity/power Dams, roads, railways lines like SGR by african leaders so as to stimulate economic growth in the African continent, uplift the standards of living of the african people and eliminate the need to rely on donors.
12. Adoption of independent political ideologies by african leaders e.g. Ujaama policy in Tanzania, Harambe policy and Nyaoism in Kenya and the Common Man's charter in Uganda to offer solutions to African problems and escape the influence of neo-colonialism.
13. Promoting and funding research in African Medicine by organizations like AMREF and others such as Uganda Ne Dagala Lyayo, Doctor Ssali of Mariandina Clinic etc. so as to reduce Africa's dependence on western medicine.

#### **Study Questions:**

1. How has neo-colonialism manifested itself in the independent African States?
2. Explain why Neo-colonialism has been desirable in the development of any one independent african state?
3. Assess the impact of neo-colonialism on any one independent african state?
4. Explain the measures that have been adopted by african states overcome neo-colonialism?

## **THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)**

The Non Aligned Movement (NAM) was an international organization that was started in 1961 at Belgrade the capital city of Yugoslavia by independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America that didn't want to be aligned (friends) with or be against the two power blocs in the midst of the cold war conflict. The idea of the movement was initiated during the 1955 Bandung conference in Indonesia but was actualized in 1961 at the Belgrade conference in Yugoslavia.

The movement was initiated by independent leaders such as Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Ahmed Surkano of Indonesia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt among others and today the organization has over 120 members.

The NAM had a number of aims and objectives that included the following:

- Eradicating colonialism and neo-colonialism from Africa, Asia and the middle East
- Defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its members,
- Promoting the respect of human rights and dignity of its members/citizens,
- Fighting against racism,
- Reducing the interference of developed nations in the affairs of less developed countries of the world,
- Fighting against manufacture of dangerous weapons by the developed countries,
- Promotion of unity and cooperation among its members
- Raising voices of 3<sup>rd</sup> world Nations in the UN
- Avoiding economic dependence of 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations by agitating of aid without strings attached etc.

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)**

1. The movement has successfully existed for long from 1961 up to date despite the sabotage and interference it has experienced from the two power blocs and it has held several meetings through which it negotiated with the developed western nations to pardon the heavily indebted poor countries of the world of the heavy debt burden that they had from the western world which reduced the debt burden experienced by the African and Asian states.
2. The NAM also fought against and eradicated colonialism from Africa and Asia e.g. the NAM members offered financial, military, material and moral support to the African liberation movements like FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC etc. that enabled these liberation movements to fight against colonial regimes in their territories until they regained their independence.
3. The NAM also condemned racial segregation against the Asian and African nations and this led to the recognition and fair representation of the weaker nations or 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations in the UN. For instance, due to pressure from NAM, Africans like Boutros Ghali from Egypt was elected as the UN secretary general in 1992 and he was replaced by another African- Kofi Annan from Ghana from 1997 till 2006 in the same position as a sign of recognition of the black race.

4. The NAM members also offered education scholarships to various African students to go for further studies in various countries like China, Cuba, India etc. in various fields like science, medicine, economics, business etc. and this gave birth to a crop of skilled and professional Africans who participated in the development of the African continent.
5. The NAM also helped in the maintenance of world peace and security through condemning / criticizing the manufacture of dangerous nuclear weapons by the developed western nations of the world and by supporting initiatives like the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I and II) and this reduced the militarization of the world thereby promoting peace and security.
6. It also safeguarded the independence and territorial integrity of its members through condemning attacks and invasions of weaker nations by the big stronger nations e.g. it condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, USA invasion of Iraq, US bombing of Tripoli in Libya etc. thereby bringing to an end such conflicts and safeguarding the rights of the weaker nations.
7. The movement also succeeded in increasing its membership from the original 87 to 125 members and this gave it a greater voice or representation of over two thirds (2/3) in the UN membership and this enabled it to advocate for the rights and freedoms of the weaker third world nations.
8. The movement also encouraged the formation of regional economic integrations like ECOWAS, EAC, SADC and COMESA by the African states to promote trade and commercial transactions on fair terms of Trade instead of trading with former colonial masters and the developed western nations that were exploitative because they set unfair TOT for the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations leading to BOP deficits in LDCs.
9. The NAM rejected foreign aid with strings attached and mobilized its own members that were relatively richer or more developed like India, China, Indonesia, Egypt, Argentina, Yugoslavia etc. to provide humanitarian, economic and technical assistance to the less developed member states especially from Africa and this contributed to the economic development of such member states and also reduced the influence of the western aid as an instrument of neo-colonialism in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world.
10. The NAM also linked its members to Global organizations like IMF, EEC (European Economic Community) that offered development / economic aid to Africa and Asian states to finance different development projects instead of getting bi-lateral aid from individual western nations which was always given with strings attached.
11. The NAM member countries have also provided loans, aids and donations to finance infrastructural development in the poorer member countries e.g. China financed the construction of the TANZAM railway which links Tanzania to Zambia, Mandela National Stadium in Uganda etc. and all these projects have contributed to the development of such African nations.
12. The NAM fought against racism and slavery especially in the third world Nations of Africa e.g. it strongly condemned the racist Apartheid regime in S. Africa, Namibia, UDI in Rhodesia and called

for international cooperation in the fight against such regimes and as a result of the joint pressure from different international organizations, such racist governments came to an end.

13. The NAM acted as a neutral body in reducing the conflict between the East and the West by appealing to the two power blocs to adopt the policy of détente (relaxation of tension) and carrying out disarmament or demilitarization and this contributed to the collapse of the cold war politics.

### **THE FAILURES OF THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)**

1. The movement has failed to wipe out neo-colonialism from the 3<sup>rd</sup> world Nations of the world in particular Africa because up to date the developed western nations have continued to interfere in the affairs of weaker African nations through foreign aid, military agreements, foreign languages, literature etc.
2. The movement failed to ensure that its members remained completely Non-Aligned because most of NAM members ended up adopting different political ideologies e.g. some of the founder members like Nkrumah of Ghana, Nasser of Egypt later adopted socialism while other African countries like Kenya, S. Africa adopted capitalism and this exposed such nations to continued control by the different power blocs.
3. The NAM also failed to stop its members from belonging to different neo-colonial organizations e.g. the former British colonies joined the Commonwealth of Nations while former France colonies joined French Community. These organizations were used by these former colonial masters to continue influencing the affairs of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations.
4. The NAM failed to enforce the respect of human rights in the post independent African states that had dictatorial leaders such as Iddi Amin of Uganda, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Mobutu Seseseko of Zaire, Bokassa of CAR, Omar Bashir of Sudan etc. who continued abusing human rights through detention of the opposition, refusal to organize election, denial of freedoms of expression, extra-judicial killings etc.
5. The NAM also failed to liberate some 3<sup>rd</sup> world Nations from foreign control e.g. it failed to liberate western Sahara that remained under the control of Morocco even when the Spanish had ended their colonial control over the country and this deprived western Sahara its independence and sovereignty.
6. The NAM also failed to find a permanent solution to the conflicts especially in sub Saharan Africa that has experienced continuous civil wars e.g. civil war in Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, Eritrea, Chad etc. which have claimed the lives of several people and worsened refugee crisis in African continent.
7. The movement has also failed to eliminate racial discrimination against the people of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world especially the blacks in the African continent that are still employed as sex workers, slaves, domestic workers, casual laborers etc. even in the Asian states that are NAM members while several blacks have been deliberately targeted and killed by whites in the USA, Britain among others while the NAM is watching.

8. Furthermore, the NAM has failed to eliminate poverty among some of its member states especially in Africa and this has forced these poor African states to turn to their former colonial masters and other developed western nations for financial and technical support, material assistance thereby exposing such poor African nations to continued control by the donor countries.
9. The NAM also failed to put in place/set up its own stand by force / military command to resolve conflicts in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations and as a result many of 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations have been forced to seek for the intervention of UN in resolving conflicts among 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries e.g. Congo called for the UN intervention during Katanga secession, Somalia called for UN intervention in resolving the Somali conflict and this has left the NAM members to dance to the tunes of the UN.
10. The NAM has also failed to uplift the economic status of most of its members which has widened the income / economic gap between the developed western powers and the NAM member nations which have remained one of the poorest in the world and are heavily indebted to the big powers or the developed western nations.
11. The NAM failed to formulate an independence economic ideology to be pursued by its members and as a result, the NAM member countries ended up adopting different economic policies whereby some like Ghana, Egypt, Tanzania adopted the socialist ideology, some adopted capitalism while others like Uganda adopted a mixed economic system and this turned these countries away from the true principles of NAM.

### **The Challenges that were faced by the Non Aligned Movement (NAM)**

The NAM has faced various challenges and obstacles in an effort to fulfill its objectives and perform its duties that included the following:

1. The extreme/high poverty levels in the NAM member countries especially in Africa. This has compelled the African countries to continue getting technical and financial aid with strings attached from the developed western nations to fund their budgets and this has compromised the principles of Non Alignment.
2. The different colonial experiences of the NAM members has also been another big challenge. NAM members have continued to belong to neo-colonial organizations like the Common Wealth of Nations and the Francophone organization etc. that have divided the NAM members and hindered the realization of NAM objectives.
3. Ideological differences among the NAM members was a big challenge that the organization faced. Some NAM members adopted socialism, some adopted capitalism while others pursued a mixed economic system contrary to the principles of Non Alignment.
4. The inter-state conflicts among the member states was a big challenge that the organization faced. There were conflicts that arose among the member states such as Iraq and Kuwait, Ethiopia and Eritrea, India and Pakistan, Eritrea and Somalia, Chad and Libya etc. and these conflicts hindered the organization from realizing its objective of promoting unity among its members.

5. The end of the cold war conflicts/politics also rendered the NAM irrelevant. NAM was an organization that was formed mainly avoid the cold war antagonism and hence when the cold war came to an end some NAM members withdrew from the organization thus weakening it.
6. The absence of a Unified military high command/standby army to solve 3<sup>rd</sup> world military conflicts/problems left the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations with no option but turn to the UNO and other developed western nations like USA to intervene in handling such conflicts like in Congo, Somalia, CAR etc.
7. The geographical expanse/Vastness of Africa, Asia and Latin America has been a big challenge to the NAM. NAM members are scattered all over Africa, Asia, Latin America and some in Europe and they have different cultures and religions. This had made it difficult for the organization to rally its members to realize the objectives of NAM.
8. The membership of NAM members to other organizations was another challenge. Some NAM members were also members of other groups like the OAU and later AU, the Arab League, the Afro-Caribbean League etc. and most of them were more committed to these regional groupings than to the NAM which weakened the organization.
9. The internal problems faced the member states of the NAM also affected its performance. The NAM members especially from sub-Saharan Africa have faced internal problems like civil wars, coups, diseases like AIDS, Marburg, Ebola, Malaria, natural disasters like drought, landslides etc. that have forced the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations to continue begging for aid and donations from the western world to handle such problems.
10. The demise/death of the original architects/founders of NAM also affected its performance. The death of founders of NAM like Jawaharlal Nehru of India in 1964, Nasser of Egypt in 1970 and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia in 1980 deprived the organization of its committed leaders and this undermined the strength and performance of the organization.

#### **Study Questions:**

1. Assess the achievements of Non Aligned Movement (NAM) since 1961 to date.
2. To what extent has the NAM fulfilled the aims and objectives of its founders.
3. Explain the challenges that have been faced by Non Aligned movement (NAM)

## **THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC) 1967-1977**

The East African Community was a 3 (three) member regional economic integration formed by 3 partner states of Uganda under Apollo Milton Obote, Kenya under Jomo Kenyatta and Tanzania under Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere.

The community was formed in June 1967 when the 3 heads of states signed a treaty of co-operation at Arusha in Tanzania which became the headquarters/secretariat of the organization and the community survived for 10 years up to 1977 when it collapsed.

The EAC had a supreme governing body known as the Summit comprising of the 3 heads of state which was the supreme organ/final decision making body that decided on all matters concerning the community and the chairmanship of the summit rotated among the 3 heads of states.

The community also operated common services like the East African Airways and Railways located in Kenya, the East African Development Bank, East African Posts and Telecommunications, East African Examinations council, East African Trypanosmiasis Research Organization all located in Uganda, the East African harbors located in Tanzania etc.

### **The Aims and objectives of the East African community.**

The EAC had a number of aims and objectives that included the following:

1. The need to promote trade and economic cooperation among the 3 partner states
2. To promote the free mobility/movement of Labour, capital and goods and services among the member states
3. To promote balanced development among the members of the integration
4. To promote joint infrastructural development in the 3 sister states
5. To Improve political relations and co-operation among the 3 states through discussions
6. To widen the market for goods and services in the region
7. To promote specialization in production and its associated advantages
8. To promote the provision of common services to the citizens of the 3 partner states of the EAC.
9. To Create employment opportunities for nationals of the 3 states
10. To promote joint research and technological development in the region
11. To stimulate increased resource utilization in the region
12. To attract foreign capital inflows in the region in terms of foreign direct investments in the region due to the wider market etc.



## **THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY BETWEEN 1967-1977**

During the period of its operation, the EAC registered remarkable achievements as analyzed below:

1. The East African Community promoted trade and commerce among the partner states. This was because the creation of the economic cooperation provided a wider market for goods and services in the region due the big population of the three 3 states and also because the integration allowed the freedom of movement of goods & services as well as people within the 3 partner states.
2. The creation of the East African community also improved the quality of education and increased the levels of literacy in the 3 member states. This was achieved through setting up a common examinations Council -the East African Examinations council with its headquarters in Kampala that was charged with the duty of harmonizing the examinations standards in the region and the Inter-University Council of East Africa that promoted inter-university exchange programmes of students from one state to another and this improved the quality of education and literacy levels among the member states of the community.
3. The East African Community also established common services such as the East African Railways and East African Airways located in Nairobi which operated Air and Railway transport services for passengers and cargo on commercial basis and generated revenue for the community, the East African Development Bank, East African Examinations Council, East African Posts and Telecommunications located in Uganda and East African Harbors located in Tanzania and all these common services provided more employment opportunities for the nationals of the 3 partner states.
4. The EAC also established the East African Development Bank (EADB) with its headquarters in Kampala Uganda to which the member states subscribed. This bank mobilized funds to finance industrial expansion and other development projects especially in less developed Uganda and Tanzania and these development projects offered employment opportunities, increased economic growth and uplifted the economic status/the standards of living of their nationals of the 3 states.
5. The community also allowed the 3 partner states to impose/charge independent tariffs on imports from foreign and relatively more developed states and non-member states of the organization so as to protect their own manufacturing industries and increase on their attractiveness as locations for industries as well as to generate more tax revenue thus reducing on poverty levels among the nationals of partner states.
6. The East African Community also promoted the free movement of goods and services and people among the 3 states thus expanding employment opportunities for the nationals of the 3 partner states in the commercial sector as well as in the common services like the East African Railways, East African Development Bank, East African Harbors that were located in the different member states.

7. The community promoted unity, cooperation and brotherly relations among the 3 member states especially in cultural affairs, social and political affairs which went a long way in bringing unity and peace in the region not until in the 1971 coup in Uganda that overthrew Obote and brought to power Iddi Amin Dada who spoiled and soured the relations among the members of the Community.
8. The East African Community also improved on the transport and communications system among the member states through the joint construction and development of shared infrastructures like roads, railways and the East African Air ways, the East African harbors, East African Posts and Telecommunications and all these eased and cheapened the movement of goods and services, people in the region thus enhancing trade and economic cooperation in the region
9. Finally, the community promoted specialization in production among the 3 member states e.g. Uganda concentrated on production of sugar, coffee and cotton, Tanzania specialized on production of Sisal and maize while Kenya concentrated on pyrethrum. This reduced on duplication of goods and services that would have led to competition for market among the members of the integration and this encouraged trade among the 3 states
10. The EAC also registered success in the field of science and technological advancement in the East African region. the EAC member states financed and carried out joint scientific and technical research in Pests and human diseases, African medicine etc. at the East African virus research institute in Entebbe, East African Trypanosmiasis research organization in Tororo, trained Pilots and Engineers at the East African Flying school in Soroti and all these advanced science and technology in the region.
11. The creation of EAC bloc also attracted increased foreign direct investments into the East African region which led to the development of the region. The formation of the East African integration created a wider market for goods and services and created a pool of cheap and large Labourforce that attracted investors in the region and these investments widened employment opportunities and provided additional tax revenue to the 3 countries.
12. The East African Community also promoted easy currency circulation and exchange among the 3 states. This was realized through establishing the East African currency board that harmonized the currencies of the 3 states to ensure that the currencies of the 3 states have the same exchange value or currency parity e.g. 1 Uganda shilling converting or exchanging for 1 Kenya shilling or 1 Tanzanian Shilling. This further facilitated free trade and commerce among the 3 partner states by saving the business people the hassle of currency exchange.

### **FAILURES OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**

1. The community failed to ensure balanced economic development among member states i.e. Kenya was more developed than the other two member states of the community e.g. it had more commercial farms, industries and infrastructures like Mombasa port, Railways, the Airways etc. and hence it was benefitting/gaining more from the community thus causing envy among the other community members which led to the collapse of the community in 1977.

2. The East African Community also failed to introduce a common currency / one currency to facilitate trade among the 3 states. This resulted into different exchange rates that disrupted the free flow of trade and commercial transactions and led to unfair sharing of gains from trade among the 3 partner states a factor that caused grumbling among the members and laid the foundation for the demise of the community in 1977.
3. The community also failed to resolve the personal differences/rivalry among the heads of states which also fueled the collapse of the organization. After the overthrow of Obote in Uganda through the 1971 coup, the personal differences between Nyerere and Amin escalated when Nyerere refused to recognize Amin's government and Amin referred to Nyerere as a woman and due to these differences Nyerere refused to convene meetings of heads of state to plan for the community hence leading to the collapse of the community.
4. It also failed to solve the problem of financial hardships that affected the operations of the integration. It should be noted that the EAC failed to raise enough funds to run its activities due to the failure of the member states to pay their financial subscriptions in time and this left the community financially handicapped to finance the effective running of the common services and other organs like the secretariat, the East African Legislative Assembly, Court of justice etc. a factor that led to the demise of the organization.
5. Furthermore, the EAC failed to control trade diversion by the member states e.g. after the completion of the Tanzam railway, Tanzania started trading with Zambia because it was more profitable for them but this violated the objectives of the community of promoting trade (trade creation) among the members of the integration and hence it watered down the relevance of the EAC hence its collapse.
6. The integration also failed to resolve Border Conflicts among members of the integration which caused bad blood that weakened the community. For example, when Amin rose to power in Uganda in 1971 he started claiming territories of its neighbors such as parts of western Kenya up to Turkana land and the Kagera river area in Tanzania but the Assembly of heads of state failed to peacefully resolve these conflicts and this degenerated into the invasion of Tanzania by Uganda an act that gave a final blow to the community.
7. It also failed to stop corruption among employees in the common services and corporations and this led to inefficiency and mismanagement caused the collapse of the community e.g. in 1973 a Select Committee probe found over 100m dollars missing from the Railways headquarters in Nairobi and it was found to have been embezzled and banked in a private account in Nairobi. This caused mistrust and financial difficulties that led to the collapse of the community.
8. It also failed to stop duplication of industries/goods and services by member states. It failed to stop Kenya from producing sugar which Uganda was supposed to specialize in and this led to competition for market among the 3 states for the same goods and services and this resulted into losses, reduced the benefits from the integration and worsened trade diversion by members of the integration.
9. The community also failed to come up with a uniform ideology to be followed by all members of the integration e.g. Uganda adopted a Mixed Economic system tending to Socialism, Tanzania

adopted Socialism and Kenya adopted Capitalism and the differences in ideology caused disagreements among the 3 states that affected the survival of the community e.g. Tanzania called Kenya a "man eat man society" while Kenya called Tanzania a "man eat nothing" society.

10. It also failed to admit other interested members like Burundi and Rwanda into the integration which left the integration with a narrow market for goods and services forcing the member states to resort to trade diversion that laid the foundation for the collapse of the organization.
11. The EAC also failed to ensure equal distribution of gains from the integration. Indeed, it is true that most of the profitable corporations like the Airways and Railways were headquartered in Kenya and this coupled with her high level of development made her to gain more and hence the failure to evenly share gains from the integration led to its failure.
12. The EAC also failed to stop trade protectionism/restrictions by member countries watered down the relevance of the integration leading to its collapse. When Kenya imposed tariffs on Ugandan and Tanzanian maize to protect Kenyan farmers, it watered down the spirit of cooperation and free trade and hence it forced Uganda and Tanzania to withdraw from the integration.
13. The EAC also failed to promote good will and commitment to the organization by the leaders/heads of states. This explains why the different countries failed to pay their financial subscriptions, why Nyerere rejected Uganda's appointments to the secretariat forcing Amin to expel Idi Simba the manager of EADB who was a Tanzanian and this undermined the existence of the integration.

### **REASONS FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY IN 1977**

1. The economic imbalance/different levels of development among the 3 states led to the collapse of the Community. For economic integrations to succeed the member countries must be at same levels of economic development but for the EAC Kenya was more development compared to Uganda and Tanzania due to her strategic location and well developed transport network hence she had more industries and commercial firms hence she benefited more from the integration by exporting industrial products to Uganda and Tanzania that were exporting cheap primary agricultural products. This caused envy among the two countries that decided to impose tariffs on Kenyan goods thereby violating the customs union principle and this led to the collapse of the community.
2. The lack of a common currency also led to the collapse of EAC. Much as the East African currency board had initially harmonized the currencies of the 3 sister states to have the same value, by 1977 the community had not yet come up with a common currency to facilitate free trade among the partner states and this resulted into individual member states restricting the free circulation of the currencies of other states in their territories e.g. the Kenya shilling was not accepted for transactions in Uganda and Tanzania which hindered free trade transactions and violated the common markets principle and this led to the collapse of the EAC.
3. The unequal distribution of the key/common services of the community among the member states led to the unequal distribution of gains, and caused discontent that led to the collapse of the community. For example, Kenya was the home to the more profitable services like the East

African Airways and the East African railways, Uganda was the headquarter of the less profitable Examinations council, Posts and Telecommunications, Virus research Institute etc. while Tanzania headquartered only the Harbors. As a result, most of the gains went to Kenya causing envy/jealousy that forced the other 2 member states to withdraw from the community leading to its collapse.

4. Personal rivalry / differences among the heads of state i.e. Amin and Nyerere overshadowed cooperation leading to the collapse of the community. After the 1971 coup in Uganda that led to the rise of Amin Dada to power, Nyerere who was the chairman of the EAC by then refused to recognize Amin's regime because he had overthrown Obote his friend and founder of EAC hence Nyerere refused to convene meetings of heads of states for many years to discuss community matters, Tanzania also blocked Uganda's appointments to the community secretariat and this undermined the operations of the community leading to its collapse in 1977.
5. Border conflicts among member states also contributed to the collapse of the community. In 1976, Amin of Uganda claimed that parts of western Kenya up to the Turkana land belonged to Uganda bringing him into conflicts with Kenya, in 1977 he also attacked and occupied the Kagera river area in Tanzania claiming it belonged to Uganda and this worsened the relationship between the 3 countries, leading to the collapse of the community.
6. The 1971 coup in Uganda also led to the collapse of EAC. When Amin overthrew Obote a founder member of EAC in 1971, Nyerere a personal friend to Obote and the chairman of EAC refused to recognize Amin's government and hence he did not convene meetings of heads of state and hence there was no platform to discuss the problems of the EAC and to plan for its effective operation and this led to the demise of the community in 1977.
7. Ideological differences that existed among the 3 sister states played a part in the breakup of the East African Community e.g. whereas Tanzania had adopted socialism, Kenya had embraced capitalism while Uganda had a mixed economy that tended more towards socialism. This made it difficult to marry the economic and ideological interests of the 3 states which widened further the disagreements between them e.g. Tanzania referred to Kenya as a "man eat man" society and Kenya referred to Tanzania as "man eat nothing" society. Such differences saw contributed to the collapse of the community.
8. The adoption of Trade protectionism /restrictive economic policies by the member states led to the collapse of the community. Due to political misunderstandings among the leaders, each country started protecting her own domestic industries and firms from competition with products from other partner states e.g. Kenya introduced taxes on maize imports from Tanzania and Uganda to protect Kenyan farmers and in response Tanzania responded by stopping Kenyan trucks that were headed to Zambia from passing through Tanzanian territory claiming that the heavy trucks were destroying her roads. This worsened the differences between the 3 states which led to the collapse of the community.
9. The financial hardships faced by the community also led to its collapse. The operations of the community affairs were to be financed using financial subscriptions from member states and therefore the failure by the member countries to pay their financial subscriptions left the

organization financially crippled and unable to finance its day to day activities and the common services like the East African railways, airways and posts & telecommunications etc. and the inefficient operation of these common services led to the collapse of the community.

10. The duplication of industries/goods and services by the member states led to the collapse of EAC. At the beginning each country was to produce only the goods in which it had a comparative advantage and exchange with other countries for what it was not producing, however later Kenya started producing sure that was supposed to be produced by Uganda, Tanzania also set up a tyre manufacturing company that started producing tyres which Kenya was supposed to specialize in. This led to competition for markets by the partner states that forced them to adopt/resort to trade diversion trading with other non-member states of EAC and this led to collapse of the community.
11. Foreign intrigue/Sabotage from foreign neo-colonial powers also led to the collapse of EAC. Foreign neo-colonial powers did not want to see a strong economic bloc in East Africa and therefore the foreign powers like Britain and USA provided development aid to Kenya and persuaded her to withdraw from the EAC which they referred to as a club of socialists and on the other hand USSR also provided financial assistance to Tanzania and persuaded it to pull out of the EAC and such foreign sabotage led to the collapse of the community.
12. Corruption and mismanagement of community funds by the community employees led to the collapse of the community e.g. in 1973 a Select Committee was set up to probe into the mismanagement of the East African Railways. The audit report implicated Kenya of misappropriating over 100 million dollars belonging to the community that was banked in a private account in Nairobi. This angered both Uganda and Tanzania which decided to stop remitting railways funds to Nairobi and Kenya also stopped remitting the Mombasa port revenues to the Harbors corporation headquarters in Dar es salaam and this contributed to the collapse of the community.
13. The 1973-74 oil crisis/economic depression of the early 1970s also led to the collapse of the EAC. After the Arab Israel war of 1973, Arab states resorted to using oil as a weapon of war to fight Israel and America by reducing the output and supply of oil. This greatly affected the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries like the EAC member countries that depended on oil imports by European countries like Shell, Kobil and Caltex because the scarcity of oil increased their costs of production and the prices of their products consequently the EAC member countries started importing cheap products from non-member countries of the organization which rendered the community useless and hence its collapse.
14. The completion of the Tanzam railway also led to the collapse of the EAC. When this railway was completed, Tanzania considered it more profitable to use the railway to trade with Zambia and therefore she opted to withdraw from the East African community claiming that it was subsidizing the East African railways was making, she began holding up the transfer of the railways revenues to the headquarters in Nairobi and Kenya responded by blocking the transfer of the Harbors revenues to Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania consequently resulting into the collapse of the community.

15. The emergence of selfish national interests among the partner states contributed to the collapse of the community. Nationalistic squabbles arose over community appointments and this resulted into the expulsion of Kenyans who were employed in the Harbors Corporation in Tanzania forcing Kenya to also expel the Tanzanians employed in the common services in Kenya, Idi Amin also expelled Idi Simba a Tanzanian who was the manager of EADB in Uganda and such conflicts led to the breakup of the common services like East African Airways by 1976 hence the collapse of the community.
16. The adoption of trade diversion by community member states also contributed to its collapse. The member states of the East African community resorted to buying goods from non-member states of the community because of the low prices of such goods compared to those sold by the member states and this reduced the relevance of the community hence its collapse.
17. The Limited / small membership of the community also led to its collapse. The EAC refused to admit other interested states that wanted to join the integration such as Rwanda and Burundi and this narrowed the market for goods and services and led to competition among the partner states for the small market which led to the collapse of the community.
18. The weakness of the organization of OAU had a hand in the collapse of the community. The OAU was formed with the aim of maintaining peace in the continent but because of its weaknesses it failed to resolve the border conflicts among the EAC member states as well as the personal differences / clashes among the heads of states and these differences tore the members apart leading to the collapse of the EAC.
19. Finally, selfish national interests and lack of good will by the citizens / masses also led to the collapse of the community. The citizens of the 3 states had not been sensitized about the benefits of the community and hence they lacked good will towards the organization therefore the citizens/employees in the common services did not have the community at heart and therefore they mismanaged the community affairs and money, appointments to the common services were based on nationality and these irreconcilable interests led to the collapse of the community.
20. The economic war of 1972 in Uganda also led to the collapse of EAC. When Amin expelled the Asians from Uganda it worsened relations with Kenya and Tanzanian that put sanctions on Ugandan products and at the same time the economic war led to collapse of Uganda's Industrial and Agricultural sectors hence Uganda had nothing to sell and gain from the integration hence it could not continue surviving.

### **Guiding Questions:**

1. Assess the achievements of the East African Community (EAC) between 1967-1977?
2. Account for the collapse of the East African Community (EAC) in 1977?
3. Explain the challenges faced by the East African Community between 1966 & 1977?





