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**AFRICA: NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND NEW STATES: HISTORY P210/1**

**1935 TO DATE.**

Literally Nationalism means, the love one has for his country, however, in more technical terms it means, the attempt to consolidate the hard end of colonialism and end any form of colonial subjugations.

Nationalism in Africa dates as far back as when the first Europeans stepped on the African soil. Some African leaders and societies collaborated such as Mutesa 1 of Buganda, yet others resisted such as kabalega of Bunyoro and Mkwawa of the Hehe, the Asante of west Africa among others , however it should be noted that whether collaboration or resistance all these leaders and societies aimed at protecting their sovereignty and independence which is nationalism in itself.

There fore African nationalism is the feeling of belongingness to the African continent; it is also the desire to do away with colonialism and Neo-colonialism there by protecting African culture and diginity.

NOTE: Modern and militant Nationalism began when Mussolin of Italy invaded the only relic remainder/citadel that harbored the ancient African cultures and dignity that is Ethiopia in 1935 in the famous Italo-Ethiopian crisis, however, it should be noted that, before this episode Africans had tried to work with the Europeans and they were only demanding for changes but within the colonial system.

**STAGES THROUGH WHICH NATIONALISM DEVELOPED:**

**Qn; i-** **Examine the stages through which African Nationalism developed.**

**ii-‘Nationalism in Africa developed through stages.’ Discuss**

**1. (TRADITIONAL NATIONALISM)**

In this first stage the Europeans concentrated on treaty making and acquisition of concessions from African chiefs. It is therefore important to note that by 1880’s Africans started to realize that the white newcomers were not as friendly as they had hopped and therefore a number of African communities started to resist them. However this stage of nationalism was betrayed by tribal and ethic rivalry a chance that was exploited by the whites to establish them selves fully in Africa.

**2. 1900-1920 (REFORMIST NATIONALISM]**

Colonialism had been established and therefore it was a period for Africans to adapt and fit in the colonial economy of cash crop growing, construction of infrastructures like roads, railways, schools, hospitals among others which were measures to effective exploitation of Africa.

To achieve this objective Africans were destined to forced labour, heavy taxation which in turn led to African resistance a case in point is the Maji- Maji rebellion, Nandi resistance among others. However other African peoples formed civic association like in Kenya the kikuyu central association was formed to negotiate with the colonial government on issues of land, education, employment, though most of these demands were not honored, it was a clear signal that Africans were dissatisfied with the colonial order.

**3. 1920-1939 (REFORMIST NATIONALISM)**

This period was filled with demands of Africans to participate in the administration of their countries and managing of their economies, the colonialists answered by issuing white papers which did not satisfy the African interest. The Devonshire white paper in Kenya 1923 remained a mockery.

Note: In this stage of Nationalism Africans concentrated on the demand for reforms rather than a complete overhaul of the colonial order and because of such, colonialists responded by giving pierce meal concessions.

**4. 1945-1960 (APERIOD OF MILITANT NATIONALISM)**

This stage was a mile stone in the independence struggles of Africa. The nationalists that emerged especially after the wind of change brought about by world war1l had blown all over Africa and the world over were militant and advocated for positive action against colonialism, such radicals included Nkrumah of Ghana, Ben Bella of Algeria, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kinyatta of Kenya among others.

Such personalities formed parties and liberation movements in a bid to dismantle the colonial bondage. These included; the united Gold coast convention and the convention peoples party of Ghana, front for National liberation (FLN) for Algeria, Uganda national congress for Uganda, the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya 1952-55 , the Egyptian revolution 1952 to mention but a few.

Note**: during this stage 3 types of Nationalists emerged**.

**(a)The traditionalists**;

These were the traditional chiefs who had been used by the colonialists in administration and so this group wanted the whites to go by themselves so that they remain rulers for example, the Asante traditional chiefs who felt that they should get rid of the colonialists gradually but the ultimate goal was to attain independence for Asante as a nation.

**(b)The radicals**;

This group comprised of elites who got determined to dismantle the colonial bondage by which ever means. They had the slogan **“self government now’’** These included; Sekou Toure of the French Guinea, Cedar Senghor of Senegal, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kinyatta among others.

They then used demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts which strategies exposed to the world how much the Africans were discontented over the colonial evils and such attracted international sympathizers and it there fore explains why a number of countries readily came out to help Africans repulse the colonial legacy.

**(c) The militants**;

This group did not compromise with any round table talks but only military confrontations in a bid to attain independence for Africa. They concentrated on mobilization of the masses, sensitizing them and training them for guerilla warfare for example the war of independence in Algeria1954-1962, the Mau Mau movement in Kenya1952-1955, the free army officers’ movement of Egypt1952 among others. Such threatened the colonialists who then relinquished power sooner or later.

**5. THE POST INDEPENDENCE STAGE.**

This stage of nation building, Africans faced a number of problems ranging from ethnicity, coups and counter coups, corruption and above all Neo- colonialism which still exists to date. Therefore nationalists since independence have been pre-occupied with ending such problems which claim legacy from the days of colonialism.

**NB:** With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989-90, the world is now left with Giant America which influences world politics therefore nationalists have a challenge of protecting their sovereignty.

**THE EUROPEAN COLONIAL POLICIES**

Note; These are underlying factors explaining why Africans resisted the colonial settings especially after the scramble and partition of Africa following the 1884 Berlin conference chaired by chancellor Bismarck of German which stated that to claim a territory, there should be effective occupation. Therefore the following factors explain the causes of the initial collision between Africans and whites.

1. Loss of African independence, the colonialists introduced policies that reduced the formerly independent kingdoms like the Zulu, Bunyoro, and Ndebele, Buganda into mere districts, to make matters worse African leaders lost all their powers and became answerable to the white new comers. This annoyed the chiefs, kings together with their subjects who responded by coming into open conflict with the whites; such earlier resistance included Bunyoro uprising, Nyagire rebellions in western Uganda, Maji Maji,Abushir Revolts,Hehe Uprising among others.
2. Land alienation/ land grabbing was yet another cause of problems between the Africans and the white intruders; this was significant in causing problems in Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa. When Africans tried to regain their land they collided with the whites who had already introduced plantations, mines or factories.
3. Forced labour was another factor for the rise of African Nationalism. African labour was conscripted and forced to work on plantations or public works with little or no pay. In Tanganyika for example the Akidas and Jumbes caused havoc and Africans reacted by staging the famous Maji maji rebellion in 1905-1907.
4. The abuse of African chiefs by the whites led to the rise of African nationalism. African leaders like Mwanga and Kabalega were exiled yet others like lenana were massacred which bore spirit of resistance between the Africans and the whites because such was unacceptable to the Africans who were always loyal to their chiefs.
5. Unfair representations to the legislative assembly (legco), in almost the whole of Africa, Africans were represented by whites in the legco who could not articulate the problems of the African masses. Therefore in a bid to seek for better representation of their views Africans collided with the white colonialists.
6. Racial segregation further caused problems; Africans were highly discriminated especially in South Africa, also in the Portuguese colonies of Angola Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. In most cases there was no freedom of speech or movements, Africans could not mix freely with the whites on the African land, this then became a cause of resistance in the initial stages of colonialism.
7. The creation of African reserves compounded problems between the two races. Africans were put in gazetted places where they suffered from a number of problems such as diseases, starvation, poor housing among others. This was visible in Kenya where Africans had to wear a kipande for identification. When the situation worsened open confrontation became inevitable.
8. Forced growth of cash crops, such as cotton, coffee, sisal resulted into neglect of food crops hence famine in most of Africa, This policy of the white colonialists was resented by Africans for example the Nandi resistance in Kenya who started uprooting whites cash crops such as cotton . Such African reaction was Nationalism at play.
9. Over taxation and poor methods of tax collection imposed on the Africans also caused resentment. Such taxes like the hut tax, gun tax, dog tax among others were levied, this policy led to a number of Africans to be molested for they did not have a revenue base to pay these taxes the result was collision and a rise of nationalistic sentiments.
10. The colonial education provided was later to act against them; Africans started interpreting the motives of the colonialists on top of providing a common language. This was very true in French colonize and in most portugues, British and German colonies. To make matters worse Africans received inferior education, this promoted Africans to start agitating for better education that resulted into nationalistic sentiments.
11. Divide and rule policy employed by mostly the British led to the rise of nationalism this was true especially in decentralized societies for example in Uganda the British used Ganda chiefs to administer in parts of western Uganda , the North, East and North East. This was not welcomed and the conflicts that came up were nationalistic in nature like Nyangire revolts in western Uganda. In the French colonies the assimilation policy equally affected the masses which resulted into resistance such as the 1947 Malagasy uprising.
12. Extraction of African minerals and other raw materials gave rise to discontentment among the Africans, a lot of minerals like copper, Gold, Diamonds were extracted from South Africa, Congo, and even Uganda, not forgetting Gold coast but these benefited only the colonial governments. This prompted Africans especially those that had acquired colonial education to question the rationale of continued colonialism on the African continent.
13. Denial of employment to the educated Africans. Whites preferred to use illiterate Africans in administration. This there fore annoyed the elites who started organizing others to revolt against the colonial setting such that they can administer their own economies hence the upsurge of African Nationalism.
14. The dominancy of foreign religions over African traditional religions definitely precipitated the spirit of Nationalism. African beliefs were taken as primitive and in most cases the African shrines were put on fire. Such acts annoyed Africans who started resisting the colonialists hence the rise of African Nationalism.
15. The careless division of Africa into countries further caused African resentment to the colonial masters for example the Ewe tribe in West Africa was divided up. In central Africa, Bakongo Nationalism was also witnessed such tribes continued to agitate for unity and the result was the rise of African Nationalism.
16. The rise of independent African churches this came in place due to discrimination of African clergymen in Christian churches, they then formed their own churches like the Ethiopian churches, and messianic churches where they taught African values, these became a basis for the rise of African Nationalism.
17. The language factor; Imperialists emphasized the use of their languages in public offices meaning that Africans could not effectively compete for public appointments. This was more pronounced in French Colonies where the assimilation was the order of the day.

To avert the situation, open resistance started.

**FACTORS FOR THE RISE, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

**Qn; i-Discuss the factors that led to the growth of African Nationalism.**

Note: These are facilitating factors to nationalism that had risen as a result of colonial injustices such as forced labour, poor taxation system among others. The Africans were now fed up of the trusteeship policy of reformist approach and needed a complete overhaul of the colonial order. Therefore the nationalists that emerged in the disadvantaged countries of the world especially Africa and Asia such as Nkrumah, Nyerere, Ghandi, Nehru were so positive to real change therefore the factors for the growth and development are as follows;

NOTE: The first factor to consider are the European colonial policies such as forced labour, heavy taxation, forced cash crop growing among others which inked the Africans to fight for the restoration of African dignity and independence.

1. The need to preserve and regain African independence. Following the Berlin conference 1884, Africa was divided up amongst the hungry European imperialists and the African chiefs became answerable to the white new comers. This was unacceptable consequently societies like the Asante, Nandi, started fighting the white intruders. The events that followed such as the Mau Mau revolt in 1952 Kenya were a clear signal that Africans wanted to preserve their independence and sovereignty.
2. The existence of independent African countries such as Liberia and Ethiopia fostered the growth of nationalism. Their socio-economic and cultural ways remained intact such attracted other Africans who had suffered the evils of colonialism to develop a feeling of self determination and therefore started resenting colonialism.
3. Coupled with the above was the Italo- Ethiopian crisis 1935-1941. When Italy took over the last relic remainder of the African soil that harbored its ancient history and dignity. Africans reacted In Lagos, demonstrations and boycotts began, in Jamaica demonstrations also began protesting the act of Mussolini and this was the real beginning of militant nationalism emulating the **“black lions’’** of Ethiopia.
4. The missionary activities further instigated the spirit of nationalism among the Africans. They preached equality which made Africans start questioning the rationale of the continued existence of colonialism in Africa. To make matters worse some clergy and the catholic church gave finances to Africans who were fighting the evils of colonialism a case in point is Congo, and with in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.
5. The role of the press and mass media can not be underestimated in propagating nationalistic ideas to the discontented masses of Africa for example Namdi Azikiwe formed the west African pilot, Nasser formed Radio Cairo, Kwame Nkrumah formed the Accra evening news, Abafemi Awolowo’ Nigerian tribunal, Uganda’s Munno among others propagated ideas of nationalism in Africa and it explains why political parties and liberation movements got massive support such included FLN of Algeria, Tanu, Kanu, Swapo among others.
6. The 1952 Egyptian revolution, its impacts inspired nationalism, the free army officers like Nasser, Neguib and Sadat managed to get total independence and since Britain was a colonial master to many African states like Nigeria, Uganda , Kenya among others it was a practical example that with exerted pressure, the colonial masters can give up their administration. Note: After the revolution, Nasser gave moral and financial assistance to countries like Tunisia, Libya, and Algeria to shed off the colonial bondage.
7. The Suez Canal crisis further stired up African nationalism. When in 1956 Nasser nationalized the canal after defeating Britain and France plus Israel diplomatically, it gave courage to countries controlled by Britain and France to fight them as a result nationalism developed and neared the date of independence.
8. The role of political parties became vital in dislodging the colonial masters. They mobilized masses, instigated nationalistic feelings amongst the party members there by defeating the colonialists in the due course. These included UGCC and CPP of Ghana, NCNC in Nigeria, TANU in Tanganyika, and UNC in Uganda among others.
9. 1957 Ghana’s independence. Being the first black African country to get independence it set an example on how to attain self determination. Nkrumah had this to say; ‘‘…the independence of Ghana is meaningless if the rest of Africa remained under colonialism...’’ He then started supporting liberation movements throughout Africa such as Frelimo of Mozambique, intervened in the Katanga crisis, condemned apartheid South Africa among others.
10. The April and December 1958 Accra. Conferences stirred up nationalism, a number of independent African states like Egypt, Ghana, Sudan, Tunisia met and in December all African independent or not met in Accra, they discussed how to dislodge the one armed bandit colonialism. Delegate who attended such as Kinyatta, Nyerere and Lumumba came back to their countries determined to dislodge the colonial masters at what ever cost.
11. 1952 to 1955 Mau Mau uprising in Kenya also opened the ‘’eyes’’ of many Africans, the courage showed by the Kenya nationalists and the subsequent changes/reforms realized in Kenya encouraged people like Ben Bella to form FLN that spear headed the independence of Algeria in 1962. Others inspired were Augustighno Neto of Angola, Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique among others.
12. The 1954-1962 Algerian war of independence. Ben Bella with FLN managed to successfully launch guerrilla warfare and dislodged the imperialists. This inspired the other French colonies to fight for independence.
13. The 1948 Apartheid policy in South Africa further inspired nationalistic sentiments. This is true especially after the creation of the Bantustans in 1948, the suffering of Africans in these reserves attracted international sympathizers willing to help Africans against the one armed bandit colonialism. African states like Mozambique, Malawi, Angola, and Zimbabwe became frontline states in the struggle against apartheid. This was nationalism at play.
14. The inauguration of O.A.U on 25th may 1963 in Ethiopia Addis-Ababa. It became a voice of the discontented peoples of Africa. African countries agreed to help each other to dislodge the colonial masters and by 1994 their objective had been realized as almost the whole continent was finally free. It was only left with the problem of Neo-colonialism which the African union is working on to end.
15. Music dance and drama further inspired nationalistic sentiments, musicians like Lucky Dube, Chaka Chaka, Brenda Fasie among others sang songs with messages that touched Africans, opened their eyes and joined the struggle for independence this was prominent in the fight for South African liberation. **Note: All the above are internal factors thus the external factors include**;
16. The 1917 Russian revolution; after it’s success, Russia started condemning capitalism as having had a hand in the spread of colonialism. Russia started giving aid to liberators like Mondlane of Mozambique, Mugabe Robert of Zimbabwe, to oust the colonial masters. This explains why many nationalists took up the socialist ideology like Sekou Toure, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Nyerere among others.
17. The role of elites(colonial education) cannot be under estimated; these included; Nyerere, Kenyatta, Obote, Nkrumah, Namdi Azikiwe among others they demanded immediate changes so as to realize democracy in Africa as it exited in Europe. They also enlightened the masses of their rights subsequently uprisings, demonstrations started all over Africa.
18. The role of Africans in the Diaspora. These included Web Dubois, Marcus Garveys, and George Padmore among others, they spread pan-African ideas through conferences forexample the pan African movement, the 1st of its kind was held in 1900. They came up with ideas of how to dismantle colonialism. This inspired Africans like Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Mandela and when nationalism surged within their hearts, de-colonisation was sooner or later to be achieved.
19. World war11 and its impact facilitated the growth of African nationalism.

It destroyed the white mans invincibility for example they thought the white man cannot die so when they saw them die especially in Burma, then they got encouraged to fight them on return in Africa. In the war Africans also got fighting skills, were exposed to democracy among others which prompted them to seek for self determination.

1. The liberation of the Ethiopia in 1941 from Italian imperialism with the help of Britain encouraged Africans to fight for their independence. They questioned that, ‘‘if Ethiopia today why not the rest of Africa….”

Note: Britain helped Ethiopia due to the world war11 fever. It intended to displine Italy for supporting the axis powers however, it worked to favour Africans as their nationalism surged to the fore.

1. The Atlantic charter of 1941 worked to raise African Nationalism. It was signed between Franklyn Roosevelt (USA) and the British premier Churchill Winston on a battle ship in the Atlantic Ocean during the course of world war11. They agreed that all governments of the world be allowed to choose the governments of their own and be self determined. This inspired African Nationalism.

Note; Namdi Azikiwe of Nigeria took a memorandum to Britain demanding for the fulfillment of the charter, however Churchill responded by saying it was only for those colonies that were under Nazi German like Poland. However it is important to note, that despite such statements, the spirit of nationalism could not be averted.

22. The victory of the labour party in 1945 in Britain enhanced African Nationalism. Clement Atlee had this to say, **“Britain will not recover from the vagaries of the world war11 if it remained** **with colonies…..’’** Atlee then started speeding up the pace of events in the British colonize that led to the decolonization of Africa.

23. The 1944 Brazzaville conference. It was chaired by Charles De Gaulle the then president of France it was held in Congo Brazzaville. He called all senior French officials and they resolved to create changes with their colonies. This conclusion inspired Africans who demanded for more reforms and the result was independence.

1. TheManchester conference 1945. In this conference delegates from Africa such as Nkrumah, Peter Abrahams (S.A) Jomo Kenyatta, Nyerere, Kamuzu Banda (Malawi) met with other Negros from the Diaspora including Web Dubois, George Pad more. They agreed to use any means to achieve African independence. They also called upon Africans in the Diaspora to come back to Africa and lead their countries to independence. Delegates who attended came back determined to dismantle the colonial bondage.
2. The formation of UNO in 1945 to replace the toothless league of nations that had ignored the rape of Ethiopia by Italy and had also not come up with clear solution to avert world war11. U.N. had a decolonization committee and a trustee ship council both with a responsibility of granting political and social freedoms and independence to the disgruntled masses of the world. Countries that benefited most were the mandated territories such as Somalia, Tanganyika, Libya, Namibia, among others.
3. The 1946 rise of new super powers these were USA, and USSR to replace Britain and France whose economies had been crippled by world war11. These super powers demanded for complete decolonization so as to deal with independent African states. They became prominent members of the UNO trusteeship council and the de-colonialisation committee and imparted pressure onto the colonial masters the result was independence.
4. India’s independence 1947 was also very paramount in the growth of African Nationalism; India shared the same colonial masters with many African states such as Nigeria, Ghana, and South Africa among others. So on attainment of independence, Africans were convinced that sooner or later they too would receive theirs. Gandhi and later Nehru the leaders of India started giving moral and financial support to African liberation movements like the Mau Mau movement in Kenya 1952-55. India also became a strong vice in the UNO condemning colonialism that attracted international sympathy.
5. The Chinise revolution 1949 under Mao Tse Tung after defeating the capitalists, he vehemently criticized capitalism as a root cause of all human suffering including colonialism, China then started supporting liberators such as Nasser Gamal, Mondlane of Mozambique, Sekou Toure of the French Guinea hence facilitating African Nationalism.
6. The idea of NAM (non- alignment movement) that started in 1955 Bandung conference in Indonesia and the subsequent inauguration of NAM in Belgrade conference 1961. Delegates such as Surkano of Indonesia, Nehru of India, Nasser of Egypt, and Nkrumah and later Tito of Yugoslavia (in Belgrade), strongly condemned colonialism and agreed to enhance the spirit of non-alignment among the LDC’S. This influenced the spirit of nationalism for the stronger states were encouraged to support the weaker ones in this struggle.
7. The formation of the Afro-Arab-Asian Solidarity (AAS) in 1955 further influenced African nationalism this became the voice of all the disgruntled peoples of the world on the international fora. It also gave rise to radicals such as Nasser who became very influential in dismantling colonialism in Africa. Members also formed bureaus, solicited funds to liberate the 3rd world. Beneficiaries included Algeria, Morocco, and Angola.
8. The rise of Charles de Gaulle for the 2nd time in France as president 1958. He now came back determined to do away with colonialism. He made several visits to Africa looking forward to give political freedom. This explains why by 1962 Algeria had to get independence after a long guerrilla war struggle since 1954, Guinea Conankry 1958 among others.
9. The 1960 speech of Harold Macmillan at the cape (S.A). The British premier lamented that, **“….there is an irreversible wind of change blowing across Africa….’’** This was during his tour that he ended in South Africa at the Cape. There fore such statement inspired Africans to fight on till independence was achieved.
10. The presence of liberal governors in Africa especially after 1945 for example **Turn Bull** in Tanganyika, Cohen in Uganda, Richards and Burns in West Africa. Among others. These understood people’s problems and worked to improve on them. This enhanced round table talks, peaceful demonstration and the later changes prepared Africa for independence.
11. The colonial developments such as roads, railways, helped to ease movement of nationalists to spread their anti-nationalistic ideas. These include Tanzara railway, Uganda railway, Accra-Takoradi railway and a number of communication net works. Once the masses were enlightened nationalism surged.
12. The role of common wealth organization. These were former British colonies who organized themselves to criticize exploitative nature the colonialists and enhance economic development. They for example condemned apartheid in South Africa, and by 1961 they forced it quit the organization. This humiliated S. Africa by the 1990’s it was very clear the natives in S. Africa were to get majority rule. This aroused nationalism not only to South Africa but also spread to Namibia.
13. Japanese economic prosperity was yet another factor that influenced the growth of African nationalism. By 1860 Japan had industrialized, the per capita income was above the poverty line yet without being colonized. By the 20th century Japan was a power to be reckoned with, therefore Africans started reasoning that prosperity and civilization are not synonymous with European colonialism hence a reason they to take up arms to determine their own destiny.

In conclusion, colonialism has remained the mother of African misery, so the feeling for Africans to do away with both colonialism and Neo-Colonialism called for concerted effort against the one armed bandit colonialism which is in itself African Nationalism.

**NB: The factors must be presented in a chronological order**

**THE ITALO ETHIOPIAN CRISIS 1935 – 41:**

**Qn: i -Account for the 1935 Italo-Ethiopian crisis.**

**ii-To what extent was the Italo-Ethiopian crisis a result of the weakness of the League of Nations?**

**iii- Examine the causes and effects of the 1935-41 Italo-Ethiopian crisis.**

**Iv Account for the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1935.**

This war erupted when fascist Mussolini then President of Italy attempted to create an Italian empire with in Africa by linking Somalia, Eritrea, Libya and then Ethiopia which he attacked in 1935.Two major factors however, are prominent in this war that is to say the revival of Italian imperialism and the weakness of the League of Nations (L.O.N) which had taken a hand in solving international conflicts after world war1 yet it could not stop Italian invasion in Ethiopia a member state of the League.

***Emperor Haile se llassie***

The causes of the war were as follows;

1. Italy in 1896, had attempted to invade Ethiopia that was under Emperor Menelik II, Italy was decisively defeated in the famous battle of Adowa 1896 due to the strong unity, modern weapons and good Leadership offered by Emperor Menelik II. This defeat of Italy by Ethiopia a ‘backward’ African country was received with great humiliation and in the face of the International community, Italy was presented as a nation without martial valor yet this mattered so much at the time of colonial acquisition. This therefore kept on lingering in the minds of Italians which fostered Italian imperialism in Ethiopia.

2. Italy’s poor performance in worldwar1, in a bid to restore Italian military reputation, Italy entered World War I in 1914 where she put up a very poor performance at the battle field and when Germany colonies were being mandated Italy did not get a share and in the treaty of Versailles 1919, Italy was not regarded as a major power in Europe. It was therefore against this background that when Mussolini came to power in 1922 he was determined to stretch Italian influence in Africa thus Mussolini got the pretext to invade Ethiopia since it was its area of interest. Therefore it can be argued that imperialism was a more driving factor, for Italy displayed an imperial character similar to all other colonial powers.

3. The rise of fascism in Italy, fascism was a political thinking that developed in Italy during Mussolini’s war which believed in intense Nationalism or exaggerated patriotism and aggressive militarism. They believed in permanent struggle and chaos. It expressed the principal of survival for the fittest in politics, this legitimized the expansion of stronger nations at the expense of weaker ones, if Italy therefore attacked Ethiopia, it was only fulfilling this imperialistic doctrine.

4. The treaty of Versailles in 1919 further made the invasion inevitable; the members who signed the treaty regarded Italy as having acquired only barren lands in Africa like Somalia, Libya and Eritrea if therefore Italy attacked Ethiopia, it was only fulfilling the imperialistic obligation of attaining territories to counter balance the political and military influence of the other European States, hence a justification for Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

5. Italy further wanted to fulfill its dream of creating a united Italian African empire by linking Ethiopia with Somalia, Libya and Eritrea. To argue that Italy wanted the rich soils and cool climate of Ethiopia is not convincing after all it has been proved that Ethiopia is largely an arid and mountainous country.

6. The desire to prove the military strength of Italy, in a bid to show the military strength of Italy, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia its natural enemy. He had reorganized and equipped the Italian army of this task. By 1935 Italy had 42 million inhabitants, huge financial, technical and industrial resources therefore Italy wanted to test its strength on her natural enemy Ethiopia. Mussolini therefore invaded Ethiopia so as to impress upon the world of Italy’s new fighting spirit to seek glory and fame.

7. The doctrine of **racial Darwinism** that had developed in Europe also drove Mussolini to invade Ethiopia. It stated that **“European had evolved the most and African the least”.** If Mussolini therefore accused Emperor Haille Sellassie of defending the system of slavery and tyranny and could not see the fascism excesses in Italy, it is just because he was applying the doctrine of racial Darwinism so as to civilize Africans in Ethiopia in which he had prior interests.

8. The support Mussolini got from his fellow Italians from home enhanced his ambition to invade Ethiopia. Further Mussolini expected to rally support from his fellow dictator Adolf Hitler. Together with his belief that Italy had a natural right to invade and occupy Ethiopia, the invasion became inevitable.

9. Mussolini’s character; he was strong, emotional, very ambitious and always wanted to lead and dominate other places. By 1920, Mussolini was widely admired by many Europeans who believe that fascism had given Italy a modern and stable government yet the Italian government was corrupt, inefficient and completely optimistic. With all these in place Mussolini invaded Ethiopia.

10. The long standing independence of Ethiopia remained an eye sore to the Europeans especially after the scramble and partition of Africa following the 1884 Berlin conference. If Italy invaded Ethiopia, it only aimed at ending its independence. This made the crisis unavoidable.

11. The selfish interests of the major powers that would have halted the Italian invasion, that is to say USA was pursuing an isolationist policy yet Germany under Hitler had walked out of the league, Britain and France the major powers of the League of Nations (LON) feared halting Italian adventures for their own safety at home (Europe) since Mussolini was a friend to Hitler. This left Italy with a free hand to invade Ethiopia.

13. Another evidence of the weakness of the League of Nations that encouraged the invasion was its failure to halt Japan’s invasion of Manchuria a province of China to its satisfaction, this made Mussolini to develop a feeling that the L.O.N could not prevent his imperialistic ambition after all it had watched Japan invade Manchuria with out taking action.

14. The arms embargo, Italy by 1934 was amassing troops in the nearby Somalia and Eritrea, stock pilling supplies, waiting to word off the invasion but Britain and France placed an embargo to the sale of arms to these two political belligerents. This favored Italy which was capable of supplying its own arms making Ethiopia a soft ground for the Italian invasion.

15. The wal-wal incident of 1934 was an immediate factor to the invasion. Wal-wal wells are about 60 miles inside Ethiopia from the boarder of somalia, the Ethiopians attacked Italian occupation forces at wal-wal but they were defeated. Haille-sellasie suggested international arbitration but Italy refused and opted for an apology and heavy war indemnity which Ethiopia naturally refused to pay. Mussolini used this refusal to invade Ethiopia.

16. The need to control the oil resources and other minerals like steel, asbestos, gold among others in Ethiopia and the Ogden region by Italy precipitated the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 so as to exploit the mineral wealth.

17. Italy wanted to access ports of Massawa and Assab in Eritrea because they played a leading role in the profitable trade between Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East yet they were controlled by Ethiopia. Therefore Italy had to first invade Ethiopia to gain access to those ports thereby making the invasion inevitable.

18. Mussolini further wanted to divert Italian attention from his failures home by taking over Ethiopia. It is noted that his regime was characterized by corruption and embezzlement of public funds plus denial of democracy in Italy. He therefore wanted to build his status and fame by invading Ethiopia.

19. The renewal of Italian imperialism, the past glory of Italy engulfed Europe, Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. Therefore in awake to revive the past Roman Empire Mussolini invaded Ethiopia which was seen as free in the perspective of colonialism.

20. It is also alleged that Haille sellasie intended to expel Italians out of Eritrea. This fear prompted Fascist Mussolini to invade Ethiopia so as to protect the Italian Nationals and interests in Eritrea.

21. For economic considerations, Italy also invaded Ethiopia especially after the 1929 – 34 world economic depression, the Ethiopian highlands were fertile and therefore the Italians hoped to establish plantations that would supply their agro- based industries with raw materials. Theis made the invasion inevitable.

22. Italy entered the colonial field late and therefore had very few colonies compared to Britain and France that had taken a lion’s share therefore to counteract fellow European powers in the colonial field Italy consequently invaded Ethiopia that looked free.

NB: The Hoare – Laval plan 1935 was an inspiration, finding solutions to the Italo- Ethiopian crisis. Hoare and Laval were British and French foreign ministers, they recommended that Ethiopia should be partitioned the Northern part to be taken by Italy and the rest to remain under Haille Sellaise. This was a solution not a cause of the crisis.

**THE IMPACT OF THE ITALO - ETHIOPIAN CRISIS TO AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

**(Response of the Black world)**

**Qn: i- Examine the response of the black world on the aftermath Italo-Ethiopian crisis.**

**ii-Assess the impacts of the Italo- Ethiopian crisis on the growth and development of African Nationalism.**

**Note:**

The incident shocked Africans and those of the African descent on both sides of the Atlantic, the existence of Ethiopia was considered as a symbol of African respect, independence and the dignity seen proudly to harbor the historical roots and ancient cultures. This incident brought mixed feelings and great Nationalistic sentiments as follows:-

1. There was the formation of the Abyssinian Association in Nigeria; it consisted of many notable Nigerians with an aim of supporting Ethiopian cause. In the same Nigeria the Ethiopian defense fund was formed, Money was collected and many volunteered to liberate Ethiopia against Italian conquest.
2. Boycotts also started after the Lagos meeting in Nigeria, Italian firms in Nigeria were boycotted; the subsequent meetings that followed, the Newspaper publications, had nationalistic sentiments of expelling imperialism on the African soil. It can therefore be argued that, it was not until the Italo- Ethiopian crisis that Nationalism surged hence an era of modern Nationalism.
3. In Sierra Leone politician Wallace Johnson and Journalist Namdi Azikiwe wrote a stormy and dynamic article entitled**, “...has Africa a God condemning imperialism…?”** it questioned the rationale of spreading Christianity by poison gas, because of such a question, the two were charged with seduction by the British colonial authorities of Sierra Leone but only served to open Nationalistic eye blows. This was after the Italo Ethiopian war where Africans realized that imperialism was determined to stay.
4. The crisis aroused the West African elites; they also lost faith in a so called **‘‘British fair play**.’’ It should be noted that up to the Italo- Ethiopian crisis, West African nationalism had tried to work with the trusteeship concept of reformist approach. They now turned militant anti-white Pan-Africanism to bring all Africans together against the one armed bandit colonialism.
5. The invasion produced Negro protests outside Africa, in USA, West Indies and London. In Jamaica for example it produced Rastafarians who had earlier on emerged as a result of coronation of Haille Sellaise in 1932 as the first Rastafarian. They were characterized by long locks of hair styles copied from Masai and their chillum pipes. At first they looked bizarre to whites and they thought they were just naively loyal to the throne of Sheba. To display their feeling, Leonard Howell the first Rastafarian leader went to Italy and sold pictures of Haille Sellaise and identified himself with Nyabingi cultural Nationalistic revolt against the British in western Uganda. The Italians responded by imprisoning him for two years but this served to strengthen the Rastafarian movement in its condemnation of colonialism.
6. The crisis enhanced Marcus Garvey’s Pan-Africanism, he put his own interpretation on one of the books of the Bible that is Revelation 19:11-16 and he preached that Ethiopia is one of the great African race that was to rise on its hand kerfs in response to imperialism. He said **“A princess shall come out of Ethiopia and Egypt and stretch forth her hands...”**

This prophecy helped to strengthen the Rastafarians and gave determination to Ethiopia and the rest of the black world to fight the imperialists. This prophecy was bought by teachers, Engineers and the working class and this was after the Italo- Ethiopian encounter.

1. In London George Pad more from Trinidad, Ras Makonen demonstrated support of Haille sellaise by giving him a rousing welcome when he fled to Britain. It was a symbol of moral charity of Africans in Diaspora. It is against this that Pad more and others intensified Pan-Africanism which resulted into Nationalism. For such, Africans like Nkrumah came back with Nationalistic feelings to stop colonialism.
2. The invasion also affected Nkrumah especially when he saw the crusade on a newspaper start, “**Mussolini invades Ethiopia”** he linked the Italian invasion of Ethiopia to London declaring war on him; he said “**At the moment, it is almost as if the whole London has declared war on me”**. This shows how the Italo- Ethiopian crisis aroused nationalistic sentiments.
3. Similar to Nkrumah’s reaction, Jomo Kenyatta on his part wrote for a labor month in 1945 an article entitled, **“Hands off Abyssinia**.**”** It was condemning Italian imperialism on what was the last only Relic remainder of the African soil. Thus the crisis steered up the nationalism of Africans and their sympathizers.
4. There was also the formation of African friends of Abyssinia by Nkrumah and Kenyatta. The two grew bidders, as a gesture to support Ethiopia. Kenyatta spoke at length at Trafalgar Square in London to condemn the Hoare-Laval plan on a rally organized to unite all Africans against imperialism. This was nationalism at work.
5. In 1937 there was formation of the international African service bureau with an aim of defending African struggle for freedom after the Italo- Ethiopian war this in effect enhanced the growth of African nationalism.
6. Another group that was politically affected by the invasion was the West African students Union (WASU) based in London, they questioned the rationale of Africans being perpetually under colonial domination, and some of them provided later leadership in their states. This gave a background to the formation of pan-African movements in 1940’s and onwards.
7. The crisis showed the white man’s conspiracy, Italy conquered Ethiopia as the Europeans looked on showed the Africans that now the struggle was between Africans and Europeans, so they turned to armed struggles to achieve independence. A case in point is the FLN in Algeria under Ben Bella 1954 to 1962.
8. The liberation of Ethiopia by British led forces but largely an African force in 1941 was an inspiration to Africans. They questioned, “**If Ethiopia today why not the rest of Africa tomorrow**”. It therefore called for agent decolonization.
9. The Italo Ethiopia war laid a strong foundation for the Manchester congress held in Manchester town in 1945. The aim was to make a concrete end to the colonial rule. The conference emphasized the ‘Go back to Africa’ ideology and Africans delegates like Nkrumah, Kenyatta and Peter Abrahams dispersed to their countries with a clear goal of ending the colonial bondage.
10. There was also formation of the **“Black lions**” movement in Ethiopia which changed African way of struggle to militant Nationalism in a bid to attain independence. This was a clear start of guerilla war fare. In 1952 the Mau Mau fighters opened fire towards the British imperialists and so was the case in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.
11. The Italo Ethiopian crisis revealed the weakness of the League of Nations that it could nolonger solve the world problems. This therefore laid ground for the formation of United Nations Organization (UNO) 1945 which body became a platform through which colonial oppression and exploitation was condemned thereby helping African nationalists to spear head independence struggles.
12. The Italo Ethiopia crisis was the fore runner of world warII 1939 – 1945. Since Mussolini’s action encouraged his fellow dictator Hitler of Germany to invade Poland. Consequently Africans were recruited in the war, Learnt how to use guns, realized they were fighting for democracy and therefore came back to fight for the same Africa.
13. The Italo Ethiopian crisis catalyzed the development of Pan-Africanism; it shaped Nkrumah’s idea of African unity such that in 1958, he formed the Ghana- Guinea union later joined by Mali, which laid ground to the formation of the loose O.A.U in 1963.
14. The Italo Ethiopian crisis provided a lesson of dealing with the oppressors because on taking over Addis Ababa the Italians introduced the worst form of oppression and forced labor which made the Ethiopians spend sleepless nights preparing to make offensives on the Italian aggressor which was achieved in 1941. This encouraged other Africans to fight for their independence.

**REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF ETHIOPIA BY 1936**

**Qn. Account for the defeat of Ethiopia by Italy by 1936?**

NB: A number of factors were advanced to explain why Ethiopia was defeated these include;

1. Disunity in Ethiopia. At this unfortunate moment the provincial governors did not co-operate with the Emperor they even desired to take over throne. The Italians facilitated this disunity by encouraging the Wello- Galla people to fight the Amharic. The Galla chiefs were bribed not to mobilize people against the Italians further the military comander Gansa was also bribed to head his forces to dangerous areas, all this disunity worked in favor of Italians.
2. The armsembargoplaced on Italy and Ethiopia by the LON (League of Nations) only affected Ethiopia. This was a white man’s conspiracy to weaken Ethiopia for Italy could provide its own arms.
3. Ethiopia lacked adequate weapons and if any they were faulty, they lacked bullets, their weapons (rifles) were unserviced since the days of Menelik II. Ethiopia had only 11 slow unarmed planes, 3 of which could not leave the ground and one of which had been given to the Red Cross. The air force had only 371 booms and 13 outdated aircraft guns while most of hand rifles could not fire. This gave Italy an upper hand to defeat Ethiopia.
4. Italy under Mussolini had organized their army with all types of arminitions like modern war planes, artillerally, poisonous gas bombs and other explosives. This was unmatched when compared to the Ethiopian army.
5. Ethiopia had very few troops and if any had outdated tactics of war or had forgotten them since Menelik’s death in 1913. This in effect only worked to favor Italians.
6. Lack of assistance from the peasants because soldiers only concentrated in urban areas. They instead gave support to Italians precipitating the Ethiopian defeat.
7. The weakness of the League of Nations, it lacked a strong command force since great powers like USSR, Germany, USA had not joined or had left the League. This denied the League of any strong possible influence it could use to stop the war. This gave an open vent for Italy to crush Ethiopia.
8. Italy was not attacking a colonial power that the League of Nations would be forced to act, Ethiopia was seen as free in the context of colonialism and other powers like Britain and France just watched events to take their own course. They even recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia by 1936.
9. The 1929 -34 world economic depression made Ethiopia vulnerable, countries were made severely poor and therefore could not offer any assistance allowing Italy conquer Ethiopia to its satisfaction.
10. Italy got assistance from Somalia, Eritrea; they offered bases and even fought along side the Italian army. This reinforcement gave Italy morale hence over powering Ethiopia in 1936.
11. Haille Sellassie flew to Britain in 1936 for his dear life and left a political vaccum therefore left Ethiopians without a leader to mobilize the people. This made the natives lose morale to the advantage of Italy.

**WHY WAS ITALY OVER POWERED IN 1941?**

1. The response of Blacks in Africa and Diaspora, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone in conjunction with Pad more of West Indies condemned the invasion. They launched a fund to which friends of Ethiopia could further the liberation of Ethiopia.
2. Loss of support from peasants, the Italians did not take any step to improve the life of the peasants, their brutal acts against the Ethiopian patriots only served to mobilize peasants against them and with right leadership Italians were uprooted.
3. The formation of the Black Lions movement in 1936 that were largely graduates with modern and democratic concepts of organization and Leadership willing to fight and resist Italian imperialism. Under Ras Imru they became stronger and destructive, although Imru was captured; he had destabilized the Italian administration. By 1941 Italy was weak to still hold a grip on Ethiopia.
4. In 1939 World War II, Italy joined the axis powers and got pre-occupied with fighting in Europe. Worse still, it fought against the allied powers to which Britain belonged, Britain then chose to assist Ethiopia in 1941 oust Italy.
5. The return of Emperor Haille Sellasie in 1941 gave Ethiopians morale. This increased patriotism of Ethiopians and Africa in general. They then fought tooth and nail to defeat the Italians.
6. The support offered by other African states like Egypt, they sent military contingencies to support Ethiopia. With this morale and military support Italians were ousted in 1941.
7. The brutality of the Italian administration which attracted international sympathy, Ethiopians were over taxed, forced to work on plantations and public utilities. To make matters worse even the thousands of the Ethiopian troops who surrendered were publicly executed and buried in mass graves. Such torture and general oppression became credible in the ears of the international community. That is why Britain supported Ethiopian cause in 1941.
8. The **Grazian massacre of 1937** left Italians with little support, the Italian field Martial Grazian announced that he will distribute gifts to the poor at the palace, some resistors in crowds throw grenades, injuring him, the Italian troops retaliated by firing indiscriminative at the crowd. Terror ensued for three days leaving about ten thousand to thirty thousand people dead. This made Ethiopians determined to shade more blood and liberate themselves, supported by the British, Italians were chased out of Ethiopia.
9. The patriotic Ethiopian church played a major role in defeating Italians. In 1938 the Italians publicly executed Bishop Petros in Addis Ababa for refusing to announce the patriots. In the monastery of Debra Libomas over 350 monks were killed when Italians discovered an armory in their premises. Such brutality was condemned and had to be discarded by all means. This attracted international sympathy in 1941 and the Italians lost.
10. The different forms of resistance weakened the Italians. Some people refused to adopt Christianity; others used music and poetry to show the dignity of Africans and accepting their identity as the blacks. In 1937, a ceremony was held in Rome to commemorate the first anniversary of the invasion. On this occasion a youth from Ethiopia called Zerai Deress represent some Ethiopian captured troops. During the ceremony he noticed a captured gold statue of the Lion of Judah from Ethiopia, he was shocked and drew his sword killed five fascists before he was shot dead. With nationalism and external support, the Italians were to roll back to metropolitan Italy.

**WHY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FAILED TO AVERT THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR OF 1935?**

1. The L.O.N had witnessed Japan invade Manchuria (in China) in 1931 to its satisfaction. So Italy thought the League of Nations could not stop her when she invaded Ethiopia. Ultimately the LON failed to stop Italy invading Ethiopia in 1935.
2. The Hoare Laval pact in which the two foreign ministers of Britain and France respectively encouraged Italy to take over Ethiopia they resolved that the Northern part of Ethiopia be taken by Italy and the South for Haille Sellassie. This was a complete sale out of Ethiopia and since Britain and France were the major powers in the League Italy inevitably took over Ethiopia.
3. The LON put up weak arms embargos on the two belligerent countries. The embargo only worked to weaken Ethiopia. Even most countries still traded with Italy when LON was watching.
4. The major powers which would have assisted Ethiopia were not allowed to join the League and if they did they were expelled. Germany joined in 1926 and withdrew in 1934; USSR joined in 1934 and withdrew in1939 at a time when she would have been of help to Ethiopia. USA could not join because of her isolationist policy. The League therefore missed ideas of the power full countries before and after the crisis.
5. By the time of the crisis, the League was in a deep economic abyss (depression) 1929 to 1934, thus could not have any assistance from the member states. The European states which dominated the League just played an observers role and swore not to intervene.
6. The reluctance and negligence of the major powers to act; Britain and France did nothing because Ethiopia was regarded insignificant. They thought the invasion would take few days and knew that the outside world could not condemn the act. They were dismarred when the crisis turned into a war and later received public outcry and condemnation throughout the world.
7. The League feared to antagonize Mussolini so as to keep him as an ally against the real danger German which was under Adolf Hitler. They feared an alliance between Italy and Germany both at home and in Africa. In this way no European member of the League would dare to assist Ethiopia.
8. Disunity among the member states of the League especially before and after the out break of World War II. They could not reach decisions on crucial occasions so when the attack occurred there was no need to sermon them since nobody would appear and take it serious or implement procedures. This made the League very weak to act.
9. The League lacked a collective command military force of its own to confront Mussolini when he attacked Ethiopia. No member was willing to dispatch her troops to assist Ethiopia hence the league just watched Mussolini rape Ethiopia.
10. The other members of the League were also expanding and attacking other states. But in all these cases the League was watching powers like Britain, France in the political game so it could not condemn the attack of Italy on Ethiopia thus reducing any possibility of the LON to avert the war.
11. The failure of the world disarmament conference 1932- 33 could have made the League impotent over the issue. Germany demanded equality with France in armament but France wanted her given eight years, Germany withdrew from the conference and the League could not enforce the membership of any country thus making them pursue their own policies giving Italy the impetus to attack and occupy Ethiopia.

**ETHIOPIA UNDER EMPEROR HAILLE – SELLAISE (TAFARI – DEJUZ MATCH) 1930 – 1974**

**Background**

Menelik II died in 1913, the right people to replace him that is to say, Ras Mangasha son of Emperor John IV and Ras Makonnen ruler of Harrar province had died way back in 1906. Therefore Menelik was succeeded by Liglyasie who was deposed in 1916. This led Menelik’s daughter Zouditu to be made Emperess and Dejuz Match son of Ras Makonnen became a legend until he assumed full power in 1930.

Haille Sellasie was born in Harrar on 23rd July 1892, a great grand son of King Sahela Shoa, in 1911 he was made Governor of the province of Sidame and then Harrar in 1916. In 1928, there was an attempt to depose him as the legend, later he secured the title Negus (King) after defeating Gugsa the governor of Begender and killed him, fortunately or unfortunately the Empress died a few years later.

After clearing all these obstacles **Dejuz Match** was crowned Emperor at St. George cathedral in Addis Ababa and took over the name **Haille Sellaissie** which means the “**Mighty Trinity**”.

**Qn. Assess the achievements of Haille Sellassie in the period 1930-1974.**

Emperor Haille sellasie largely achieved in his carrier as follows;

1. Social infrastructures were put up; Haille Sellassie constructed roads, schools and hospitals. These hospitals carried out vaccination although were dominated by the foreign staff, these therefore improved people’s standards of living only that his modernization drive was hijacked by the whites who marginalized the Africans.
2. In the field of education, many schools were set up like the Rastafarian school; he also constructed many secondary schools like Haille Sellassie I and Order Wingate secondary schools. By 1957, Ethiopia had built over 600 primary schools and 24 secondary schools; he set up commercial, technical, agricultural and teacher training institutions. He set up a university college of Addis Ababa in 1961. However the only weakness of it is that the foreign teachers and a foreign syllabus created a class of Elites who appreciated the West and by 1970 unemployment of the elite existed however credit is given for his endeavors.
3. In the civil service Haille Sellassie chose skilled foreigners in knowing that it could take long before the country could produce its own for example his legal adviser was Swiss, foreign affairs adviser a British and financial adviser an American. The greatest weakness of this was that the independence and sovereignty of Ethiopia was at a threat since foreigners controlled the key sectors of his government. In 1959 he went to Moscow and got a honorary degree in law in the University of Moscow this made him to have socialist orientations.
4. Haille Sellassie created unity and solidarity of Ethiopia by providing them a constitution of British model, he set up chambers like, senate and the chamber of deputies. Members of the senate were appointed by the Emperor, masses and other notables while that of the deputies were chosen by the members of the nobility and nobles. The major weakness of this is that a lot of powers were given to the Emperor who would appoint, dismiss or transfer ministers and everyone in Ethiopia was answerable to him, this was dictatorship at play.
5. Christianity was declared a state religion thus the emperor assumed the title of **“The defender of the holy Orthodox theme”** based on the doctrines of St.Mark of Alexandria. However Haille Sellassie disliked Islam for he was a devoted church disciple who borrowed the Christian aspects as a way of modernizing Ethiopia. The weakness of this is that there was the merger of the religion and state which usually brought conflict between the two.
6. Freedom of speech and press was provided though total freedom was not granted. Haille Sellassie remained the unchallenged feudal Lord as political parties were not allowed to operate. However it was a measure of modernization since most Monarchs could not grant such.
7. Modernization of the army, he opened up a military school at Halote, he sent young men to train as military and police officers in Europe, he also hired officers from France, Spain and Belgium to train his army, he convinced the historians to assert that if Ethiopia was not betrayed in the 1930s the Italians would have been repulsed in 1935 given the modernity of his army. However Haille Sellasie is only discredited since promotions in the army were not on merit for the Amharic took better positions in the army. That is why in 1974 the Dergue overpowered him in an almost a bloodless coup.
8. Haille Sellasie opened war against slavery. This was still rampant in some areas of Ethiopia but he decreed that anyone caught processing slave trade could be sentenced to death. In this way he had modern reforms of trade in mind as slavery had turned unprofitable and inhumane.
9. On public health he put up hospitals and dispensaries, local herbs modernized, medical personnel sent outside for training. To make it effective, he visited hospitals regularly for on spot assessment. However many people could not easily access these services due to poverty especially those in village settings.
10. In 1923, Haille Sellassie registered Ethiopia in the League of Nations to check on European colonial ambitions of France, Italy and Britain, in the league he introduced the idea of collective security to assist members when attacked. Much as this was betrayed in 1935, he can not be denied the status of a modernizer. In 1945, he won membership to U.N.O which showed a man who knew modernization of international politics; however his abdication is 1936 living a political vacuum that was filled by Italians branded him a coward.
11. Haille Sellassie made and established good relations with other countries and his own people. This is why a coup against him in 1960 failed yet he was in Brazil. In 1941 Britain gave him support to defeat the Italians, his major undoing was his failure to avert the 1974 coup that finaly over threw him.
12. Haille Sellassie developed radical Pan Africanism. Ethiopia assisted other African states to end colonialism such as Algeria. He was also a member of radical Casablanca that gave aback ground for the formation of OAU in 1963.
13. He reconciled the Monrovian and Casablanca group,mm chaired the meeting in Addis Ababa and on 25th may 1963 and OAU was formed, a body that united Africans together against Colonialism and neo-colonialism on the whole continent Africa. This protected Ethiopia from any further foreign aggression.
14. Haille Sellassie’s modernization programme was however to face some problems for example, the long standing aim of transforming the political organization of Ethiopia failed, although he developed democratically elected parliament and modern political structure with ministers of health, foreign affairs among others, he adamantly insisted on the monarchy and nothing else, which was coupled with worst form of land tenure system which denied the majority of peasants’ ownership of land. This portrayed him as a conservative, a great conflict with his modernization drive.
15. The continuous autocracy where he practiced tribalism and nepotism, the Amharic tribe being the highly favored misappropriated the public funds and assisted by the toothless parliament eventually led to his downfall. This counteracted the efforts of a man who wanted modernization.
16. Economic mismanagement where he banked his money in foreign banks and creating employment for the outsiders instead of modernizing Ethiopia. Like in the Swiss Bank, he had millions of dollars as Gold equivalent and jewellery which had been squandered by Sellassie from the government revenue. This was one of the reasons for the attempted coup of 1960 and later over throw in 1974. In this way, the modernization drive could not be achieved.
17. There was severe economic crisis in Ethiopia which the Emporor failed to avert in reflection to the international economic trends, as a result of stagnant economy, historians have argued that the economic crisis was so severe that the emperor could not combat the sky rocketing inflation there by creating unemployment and this thwarted the programmes of modernization.
18. Ethiopia was dogged by a number of famines; the worst was that of the 1972 to 1974. In Tigris, Shoa and Gonder which left an estimated number of around 200,000 peasants dead as the government only turned a blind eye to it. In this state of hunger modernization became a myth.
19. He also witnessed Eritrean secessionist struggle and continued with war in ogaden province of somalia which diverted most of the resources which had been meant for modernization. Conciding with this, there were numerous students’ strikes and demonstrations something that robbed the popularity of the Emperor thus hindering his modernizing policies.

**THE 1974 COUP IN ETHIOPIA**

**(12th September 1974)**

**Qn**: **i-Account for the occurrance of the 1974 coup in Ethiopia.**

**ii- ‘The down fall of Emperor Haille sellasie in 1974 was inevitable.’ Discuss.**

**iii- ‘Emperor Heilla sellasie was responsible for his own down fall in 1974’. Discuss**

**iv- Examine the causes and consequences of the 1974 coup in Ethiopia**

The coup was organized by the army, modern workers, taxi drivers’ university students and peasants and on 12th September 1974, Emperor Haille Sellassie was removed from power, imprisoned later killed and buried secretly in a pit latrine in 1975. He was replaced by the Dergue government which was a military committee of about 120 senior military officers led by Haille Mariam Mengistu. In 1977 mengistu declared him self Emperor and ruled upto 1991 when he was overthrown in a creeping coup masterminded by Melesi Zenawi.

**Causes of the 1974 coup in Ethiopia;**

1. The consistence of feudalism. By 1974, it was out of fashion and a sign of backwardness. The monarchy’s land tenure system was unfair, land belonged to the privileged Amharic, the church and Aristocrats this prepared ground for the coup masterminded by the Ethiopian army.

2. Open tribalism practiced by Haille Sellassie where the Amharic tribe to which he belonged was highly favored. They had large pieces of land which they were not using (absent landlords), occupied most key posts which annoyed other tribes like the Galla, Somalis of the Ogaden province and the Tigre speaking people of the Eritrean province. He also promoted the Amharic culture, all this worked to cause opposition and finally costing him his thrown in 1974.

3. Religious grievances; the Emperor declared Christianity as the official religion and Christians were even sent to rule over the Moslem dominated areas like Ogaden and Eritrea, this caused tension as their practices like wine drinking and pork eating were inconsistent with the Moslem faith yet the Christians were also rude, arrogant and oppressive to the Moslem tenants during tax collection. The pay back time was in the famous 1974 coup.

4. The influence of the elites in Ethiopia. The students of Ethiopia whom the Emperor sponsored witnessed democracy in the Diasporas and on return they demanded its actualization in Ethiopia. They condemned a toothless parliament and demanded radical changes. It is alleged that even the 1960 coup was planned by the Amharic elites.

5. Emperor’s harsh reaction to the students’ demonstration led to the coup. In 1960 and early 1970s, the students demonstrated against the deteriorating standards of living and instead of listening and addressing the critical issue, he sent his police hence killing, arresting and injuring some of them which cost him popularity a chance the coup plotters used to attract and recruit the masses against the Emperor.

6. The stagnant economy characterized by the sky rocketing inflation, unemployment and poverty yet those with jobs got little or no payment. On being sentenced to death Mengistu Neway one of the coup plotters of 1960 had this to say “**Ethiopia has been standing still while our African brothers are moving forward...It was necessary to do something to improve the standards of living, not only for soldiers but of the whole population of Ethiopia that was my aim”.** This was a clear signal making the 1974 coup unavoidable.

7. The desire to end rampant corruption, the Amharic officials worked for selfish instead of public interests. For example the Emperor banked his money in the Swiss bank. He had many kilograms of Gold in Swiss Bank than even some European rulers by the time of the revolution. This was a complete sale out of Ethiopia.

8. The 1972 – 74 famine which claimed about 200,000 lives of peasants living in Wollo, Tigre, Shoa and Gonda province. He took a deaf ear and even dealt mercilessly with any Ethiopian who talked about the famine. This made the coup inevitable.

9. The army promotions were not on merit yet their conditions were wanting and the soldiers criticized the Emperor for failure to equip the army such grievances led to the 1960 abortive and 1974 successful coup.

1. The ambitious characters of men like Mariam Mengistu, Aman Andom and Taffari Bante colliding with the unwillingness of Haille Sellassie to leave power precipitated the coup in 1974. They could not settle for less than to take the tools of power, they mobilized, senstised and gave leadership to the masses and a coup could not be avoided.
2. Cold war politics waved foreign influence in Ethiopia, with America’s influence in Ethiopia; Russia instigated the younger officers in the army to stage a socialist coup against the emperor. Therefore foreign influence in Ethiopia made the coup inevitable.
3. The influence of other coups in Africa for example 1952 in Egypt, 1965 in Congo, 1971 in Uganda, 1966 coup in Ghana, 1969 in Libya, 1965 in Algeria, all accompanied by the successful military regimes, too inspired one in Ethiopia by the army against their leader.
4. The unfairness of the two constitutions that is 1931 and1955 which left a lot of power in the hands of the king, to make matters worse, the constitution did not open space for political parties which made freedom of speech and press as addressed in the constitution practically a myth. This compounded the matter into an armed uprising.
5. Desire to end the Eritrean war of secession which had taken over a decade. The people of Ethiopia wanted political negotiation as for example were tired of war but Haille Sellassie continued to fight. The peasant soldiers who were tired of the war then organized the coup under the leadership of the Dergue.
6. The need to end foreign influence in Ethiopia. Most top advisers were from Britain, France, USSR, Switzerland and America. America even had an airbase at Kagnen which annoyed Ethiopians who wanted independence and employment especially the elites, when the Emperor looked adamant the coup could not be avoided.
7. Mishandling of the Ogaden question, the people of Ogaden in the south along the boarder with Somalia wanted to secede and join their brothers, instead of negotiating the Emperor opened fire against them. Hence spent time and money fighting instead of concentrating on social, economic developments that annoyed the masses who joined the struggle.

**SIGNIFICANCY OF THE 1974 COUP IN ETHIOPIA**

The change in the guard of honor by the Ethiopian army made the monarchy came to an end on 12th September 1974 when the Emperor was toppled and imprisoned; he died a year later in August 1975 in prison and was buried quietly in a pit latrine. He was then replaced by Dergue (a committee) but later changed its name to PMAC (Provisional Mil Advisory Council under Andom Aman) which later came under Major Mengistu Mariam who named himself president with a parliament and a republican constitution. He brought hope in the minds of Ethiopians.

**N.B Haille Sellassie’s remains were given a state burial in the year 2000.**

1. Great land reforms were carried out under the land reform decreed issued in March 1975 that is to say all arable land was nationalized, forbade further selling or renting of land. No one was to own more than 10 acres of land and land was redistributed where about 7million people benefited. This was a great achievement of the Dergue.
2. Adoption of new housing policy in urban areas, each family had to own one house in urban centers, rent to the poor was lowered and those who lost land in village and towns were not compensated. Here Mengistuism became the order of the day.
3. Power was now vested in the hands of the people for the first time in the history of Ethiopia. Peasants associations were sponsored and had a responsibility of implementing the land reforms and settling disputes.
4. In urban centers for example after the coup of 1974, urban committees were set up to handle housing and other modern affairs; this was a new discovery in the Ethiopian politics. It gave anew face of handling the problems of the day.
5. Education was improved by Dergue and by 1980 Ethiopia boosted over a large elite class such that by 1981 UNESCO gave Ethiopia a special award in recognition of her literacy efforts.
6. Other social sectors like health were also handled and medicine was available at a subsidized cost and at times no cost. A number of healthy centers were set up and the Emperor personally supervised the healthy facilities. This improved the life style of Ethiopians
7. Major means of production were nationalized like industries, Banks, Insurance, supermarkets, transport, mining and tourism. The private sector though remained, the government kept a kin eye on the conditions of the workers. This made the 1974 coup a revolution.
8. The Dergue called for national unity and denounced ethnic tendencies of the Amharic tribe. This gave confidence to the other disgruntled tribes of Ethiopia such as Tigre, Galla that the aspirations of the revolution had been achieved.
9. Religious tolerance was upheld that is to say the Dergue allowed freedom of worship and worked closely with the Moslems. It also succeeded in separating the church from the state. This explains why the Eritrean struggle was halted for some time.
10. Peace and security were realised and ensured throughout Ethiopia. The army and police were strengthened equipped and trained. This showed Mengistu as a man who understood the internal politics of Ethiopia.
11. Agriculture was encouraged and state firms were set up as demonstration firms this improved on the quality and quantity of out put. The government gave loans to farmers, bargained for better prices of agricultural produce which boosted agriculture.
12. Trade union activities were allowed for example in September 1984 the Ethiopian workers party was fully recognized, the trade unions then bargained for the improvement in workers conditions, this was a step towards political maturity of the Ethiopians.
13. The Dergue tried to alleviate famine by encouraging peasants to grow enough food crops such as wheat, rice and maize. The surplus was stored for example in1978 famine hit again and in 1984 – 85 the government resettled around 600,000 people to south, central and Eastern region all from the north, though some people died but at least government showed care.
14. Attempts were made to boast the tourism industry now tourists flocked Ethiopia with out fear as security improved, hotels put in place among others.
15. The problems of the refugees flocking neighboring countries and the internally displaced people were looked into. This improved the people’s standards and also improved international relations.
16. The government succeeded in demanding for loans in developed countries such as China and USSR. Credit goes to the military council because Ethiopian loan repayment has been one of the best in Africa. The Dergue effectively used these loans to develop Ethiopia.

**However the Dergue faced a number of problems and challenges these include:**

1. There was decline in food production as a result of land reforms; land was fragmented into small holdings which were very small for a meaningful crop production. The government tried to send development funds to farmers but these ended up in the pockets of association and state farm managers hence the famine of late 70s and 80s which claimed lives about 1,000,000 people. By 1991 Mengistu had to go.
2. Workers conditions remained poor through the 1980s with skyrocketing unemployment, inflation, low wages among others were the order of the day. Efforts by workers to bargain for better working conditions were frustrated by the Dergue. The government banned trade unions, workers demonstrations and strikes. Hence the hey days of the revolution were soon replaced with a tough action against workers.
3. Unfair arrests, detentions without trial became the order of the day. Anybody who was suspected of being anti-government was arrested imprisoned and would be killed under unclear circumstances. Many trade union activists disappeared without trace to date.
4. The Guerilla war activities especially those who wanted old order especially the ex-landlords whose land had been confiscated and those unhappy of militaly rule such formed the EPRP party (Ethiopia’s People Revolutionary party) and the Ethiopian Democratic union. These became abase of serious opposition.
5. The reign of terror ensued due to the suspicions within the Dergue that led to the assassinations within the Dergue itself out of 120 members (original number) about 60 had been killed by 1976. Terror was also unleashed to the opponents. Among the persecuted people was Haille Sellassie who died in prison and buried in a pit latrine. This was not expected of Mengistu a man who had promised so much to the masses.
6. The old sectarian tendencies reappeared it was now the showan Amharic who were favored again by Mengistu. This brought divisions, hatred, suspicion and suffering again in Ethiopia. This explains why in 1991 a coup against Mengistus government could not be avoided.
7. War against the people of Ogaden continued as the Dergue failed to make peace with them. The Somalis were only defeated in 1978. Hence wasting resources and life like Haille Sellassie had done in the 1960s and early 1970s.Remember this is the same reason why the 1974 coup had occurred.
8. Further war with the Eritrean rebels continued despite international arbitration hence causing great loss of lives. This tarnished the image of Mengistu and the Dergue.
9. The Dergue contributed to the refugee problems in Africa. Many educated former land lords and Clergy fled to the near by countries such as Sudan, Kenya and Uganda for their dear lives. This strained relations with the neighbors.

**EMPEROR HAILLE MARIAM MENGISTU**

Mengistu was one of the ambitious young army officers in guard of Emperor Haille se llassie however, he and colleagues started organizing others to do away with this long serving monarch so as to achieve selfish ends. On 12th sept 1974 they dethroned the Emperor, he was replaced by a committee of army officers called the Dergue with Mengistu as the chairman of the committee but later Mengistu in 1975 proclaimed himself the undisputed leader and commander in chief of the Ethiopian defense force and in 1977 he declared him self

Emperor.

***Emperor Haille Mariam Mengistu***

The following facts explain the strength and weaknesses of this great leader of Ethiopia during his time.

1. Mengistu provided a republican constitution, in1975, the first of its kind in the history of Ethiopia and gave autonomy to the 3 arms of the state that is to say Judiciary, legislature and executive.
2. He also separated the church from the state which his predecessors had failed to do. This ensured freedom of worship that most Ethiopians clammered for. The Muslims in Eritrea and the ogaden forexample were given some degree of freedom to worship.
3. Mengistu unlike his predecessors shared with the people their problems for example in 1978 the government supplied food to the famine struck north which is a credit. Though in the 1980’s he could not cope with food crisis he can not be denied credit.
4. Mengistu secured development funds from Western states though this later infiltrated neo- Colonialism we have to stick to the prime objectives Mengistu had that is to say “develop Ethiopia! The funds were used to build road networks and other public works.
5. He called back the refugees in a bid to re-unite and build Ethiopian nationalism, over 2Million people returned from Sudan, Somalia, Kenya and some from Uganda. These however, later turned against him in 1991.
6. In 1986 Mengistu resettled about 600,000 people from the north and central parts of the Country to more fertile areas in south and East. This solved the problem of landlessness and famine.
7. Mengistu enhanced the industry sector and a number of them were put in place by 1976 the ministry of industry controlled the manufacturing industries in Ethiopia. Ethiopia now produced basic commodities such as soap, salt and textiles.
8. He worked to improve the tourism industry this increased the revenue base for Ethiopia by putting up modern hotels and preserving antiquities.
9. He put up a housing policy and no one was supposed to own more than one house in urban centers, he then embarked on providing shelter for the poor.
10. There was cultural revival, he emphasized equality and even recognized Islam, and other languages like Tigre, Amharic; English to mention but a few could easily be broadcasted.
11. He gave partial autonomy to the Eritrea which explains why the Eritrea Liberation Front relaxed its fight for some time after 1974 upto around 1977. This was in a struggle to create peace and stability in Ethiopia.
12. The Dergue proclaimed Ethiopia Tikdem which was a move to scientific socialism; Mengistu went on to nationalize all sectors for the benefit of the majority Ethiopians. This reduced the gap between the rich and the poor.
13. Mengistu encouraged co-existence of the private and government sectors in large scale ventures like mining, tourism, construction to mention but a few. This was intended to equip Ethiopians with managerial skills and this encouraged local and foreign investment.
14. Mengist built a strong standing army that kept him in power till the 1991. He trained and equipped them for the service, he also improved their social welfare in terms of payment, feeding, clothing and housing.
15. Mengistu enhanced democracy to the grass root levels, he empowered the local committees to even intervene in family wrangles. This promoted unity in Ethiopia, peace and stability.

**FACTORS THAT LED TO THE DOWN FALL OF MARIAM MENGISTU**

1. Mengistu arrested, killed his opponents and those suspected of treason for example he killed Emperor Hilessellassie and buried him secretly in a pit latrine, he also killed Alnafu Bante his rival and a number of other people on firing squad. This aroused resentment and a number of people supported the struggle to overthrow him. NB. In Adis ababa stands a museum displaying Mengistu’s inhuman attrosties.
2. The ambitious character of men like Melesi Zenawi, who organized fellow Ethiopians under one umbrella with the sole aim of governing Ethiopia. He was eloquent, and with super organizational abilities. He challenged Mengistus government and called for his overthrow. All these combined Mengistu was over run.
3. The failure of the Dergue led by Mengistu to end the Eritrean Question made the army loose loyalty and turned to support Zenawi’s cause. The army was tired of fighting useless wars. This explains why Zenawi quickened the road to independence of Eritrea.
4. The continued famine and starvation in Ethiopia. It is estimated that about one million people died of starvation during Mengistu’s regime 1974 to 1991. The revenue collected was spent on military adventures in Somalia, Eritrea making the masses dissatisfied hence making his down fall was inevitable.
5. The Ogaden question was yet to cause problems to Mengistu. For long these people in Ogaden wanted to re-unite with their fellow Somalis which was denied by Haille se llassie and later Mengistu, they continued fighting and even supported guerrilla rebels against Mengistu.
6. The support offered by Sudan to the Amharas who had been dethroned by Dergue led by Mengistu made the counter coup inevitable for example General Jaffar Nimeiri supported the Ethiopia Democratic Union (EDU) there by slowly weakening Mengistu’s government.
7. Failure of Mengistu to turn Ethiopia into a civilian-democratic state forced a number of people like students, teachers to go on rampage demanding for the changes promised by the Dergue in 1974. Slowly but sure these strikes and demonstration grew into a formidable force against Mengistu’s government.
8. The grievances of the army were yet to cause problems to Mengistu. No much efforts were made to improve their standards consequently they supported any cause and Mengistu was over thrown.
9. The formation of different political parties in Ethiopia that were anti- Mengistu’s regime for example; The Ethiopian peoples revolutionary party (Eprp) later the all Ethiopian socialist movement popularly known as MELSON. These sensitized the masses of their rights and it explains why by the 1991 the coup was massively supported by all people from all works of life.
10. Unemployment in Ethiopia became rampant. A number of people lacked jobs and those who had were poorly paid. These planned to oust Mengistu in a view that sooner or later their conditions will improve.
11. Mengistu’s nationalization programme soon backfired for example a lot of funds were reserved for large scale capital intensive firms. This in effect benefited a few Ethiopians creating a large income gap that brought mixed feelings in the hearts of many Ethiopians, to end this Mengistu had to go.
12. The success of other revolutions else were in Africa against dictators convinced Ethiopian Nationalists that Mengistu will soon go for example 1966 coup against Nkrumah, 1965 coup against Ben Bella in Algeria, 1969 coup in Libya against king Idris, the Ethiopian revolution 1974 left a lot to be desired. It explains why the masses rose against Mengistu’s regime.
13. The weakness of OAU and UNO, these international organizations formed to keep peace and stability gave a free hand to Zenawi to oust Mengistu, they stopped at condemnation hence creating fertile ground for the revolution.
14. The abolition of a monarchy and declaring Ethiopia a public in March 1975 created a class of enemies to the new government. The monarchy which even survived the scramble and partition could not be watched being raped by Mengistu’s selfishness; this forced a number of royals to support the guerrillas against Mengistu.

All in all Mengistu had turned a dictator and most importantly failed to end the Ogden and Eritrean question that took a lot of the country’s resources. These and many others fostered a rebellion.

**WORLD WAR II 1939 – 1945:**

**THE IMPACT OF WORLD WARII ON THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM.**

In 1939 Germany attacked Poland in order to expand her territories. This sparked off World War II which spread all over the whole world including Africa.

It was an international war fought between the axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) on one side and the allied powers (Britain, France, USA and USSR) on the other side. Africans were recruited by their colonial masters as drivers, cooks and gunmen. It should be noted that this war inspired political consciousness of Africans and it became a true turning point in the history of Africa for it contributed to the rise and growth of African nationalism in various ways as follows:-

1. The recruitment of African soldiers and the return of Ex- servicemen, destroyed the white man’s superiority as the ex-service men got a chance to see the white man at home and realized that a part from color difference he was a human being just like the African and had human problems like poverty, death among others. They also found out that some of them (whites) were even in worse conditions than Africans. This convinced the Africans that the white man was not a semi-god and the divine respect given to the whites ended. On return they passed on the message to other Africans. Consequently the Africans were prepared to force the white man to grant them independence without fear.

(ii)World war II exposed the military weakness of the Whiteman, at first Africans thought that a Whiteman could not be defeated and feared to make any military challenges to them however, during the war African soldiers witnessed the defeat of European armies by non Europeans for example Japan defeated Britain in Burma, South Eastern Asia and this was witnessed by African soldiers like Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and Waruhui Itote (General China) further Ethiopia in 1941 also defeated Italy. Africans saw how whites feared gun fire and bush war. This convinced them that whites would also be defeated in the jungles of Africa hence contributing to the growth of African nationalism.

(iii)Africans got exposed to the entire world as they were sent to fight in North Africa, Asia and Europe. They met very many people with new ideas for example they served with Asian nationalists who where in the same struggle against colonial rule, they shared their experiences, skills, tactics this strengthened their nationalism. African soldiers while in Europe were exposed to the world of democratic ideas and governors which made them think more deeply about colonial oppression at home and on coming back they started agitating for independence.

(iv)During the war African soldiers came into contact with dirty slums in Europe, unemployed whites, illiterates, criminals and prostitutes in Europe. They shared cigarettes and prostitutes with whites; they also witnessed disunity among Europeans. This experience encouraged them to come back and fight the white man hence contributing to the development of African nationalism.

(v)During the war Africans obtained military skills, they were exposed to modern weapons, they learned how to fire and repair these weapons, they drove military vehicles, threw grenades and bombs. Therefore on return they were to put this technical know how and tactics into practice by fighting the white man hence forth leading to the liberation of Africa.

(vi)The Second World War exposed Africans to the press and mass media. Africans came to learn English and French, read Newspapers and listened to radio news, they came to learn that Britain and France and other allies were fighting against German and Italian imperialism in Europe and on return to Africa they demanded for an end to colonialism.

(vii)The colonial masters made so many promises to the Africans who participated in the war for example the ex-soldiers had been promised reward, democratic constitution, employment in the civil service, promotions in the army and therefore they expected to benefit much after helping the colonial masters however apart from the medals they received they came back empty handed and were faced with challenges of unemployment, loss of land like in Kenya, Algeria and Zimbabwe therefore the frustrated ex-soldiers joined other African nationalists in fighting the colonial masters on the African continent.

(viii)World War II led to militant nationalism in Africa, when the ex-soldiers reflected about their comrades and friends who died while rescuing Britain and France from German Nazism and Italian fascism they became ready to sacrifice their lives for the mother Africa. To them there could be no freedom in Africa without self sacrifice and determination, old methods of demanding for independence through negotiations became senseless to them hence they formed militant movements to fight for independence for example in Kenya they formed the forty group which later became the Mau Mau and in Algeria they formed FLN to fight for independence.

1. The liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 during world war simulated nationalistic feelings. In order to reduce Italian strength Britain helped Ethiopians to fight the Italians in Africa and therefore Italy could not fight two battle at ago, the Italians were defeated and once again Ethiopia became independent, the Africans who fought in war11 got political lessons that African liberty had to be fought for. At the end of world war the ex-soldiers and ex-servicemen joined the liberation movements against colonialists as the Ethiopians had done.
2. The war led to the signing of the Atlantic Charter in 1941. It was signed between President Franklin Roosevelt of USA and Prime Minister Churchill of Britain on Battleship in Atlantic Ocean being witnessed by Sterlin of Russia. This Charter became a liberation manifesto for it advocated for the right of self government to all colonized people of the world. Though after the war Churchill argued that it only worked for those colonies that were under Nazi Germany, Namdi Azikiwe took a memorandum demanding for the actualisation of this Charter; therefore it can be argued that this was nationalism at play.
3. During the war ex-servicemen had witnessed development in Europe and Asian countries and were annoyed with a slow pace of economic progress and poor living standards in Africa, they learnt that some of these developments were made using slave labor in Africa therefore when they returned and witnessed the poverty and under developments, they wondered why Europeans were not developing Africa and therefore helped to force them away so as to stop them from exploiting Africa. This explains the numerous strikes, demonstrations in Africa after World War II.
4. World war led to the economic boom in Africa, during and after the Second World War the demand for food and cash crops increased since the Far East which had acted as an alternative source for raw materials had been cut off by Japan. Therefore European industrialists had to turn to African raw materials as an alternative source since Japan had cut off the Far East colonies. As the demand for raw materials increased prices rose and Africans obtained good money for example Ground nuts from Senegal, Palm oil from Nigeria, cocoa from Ghana etc. With the money obtained Africans were now in position to support liberation movements hence independence.
5. The war led to urbanization in Africa. During the war small scale industries were set up by colonial masters to supply food, clothes and uniforms to the soldiers for example cotton ginning, fish canning started in West Africa and a number of Africans flocked to towns for jobs but not all could receive employment, even elites and ex-soldiers preferred industrialized zones, so life became hard in these areas due to unemployment, inflation and discrimination. This situation united all these urban workers, ex-soldiers and the unemployed against the Whiteman.
6. World War II led to the victory of the labor party in Britain under clement Atlee in 1945. He argued that, **“Britain will not escape the Vagaries of war if it remained with colonies in** **Africa”.** This condemnation of British colonialism in Africa and Asia was a turning point in the minds of Africans who were oppressed and exploited. Clement Atlee criticized Churchill for trying to destroy the 1941 Atlantic Charter, therefore on coming to power Atlee speeded up the pace of events that enhanced the decolonization of Africa.
7. World War II exposed the weaknesses of the League of Nations that had been formed in 1919 to solve world problems, this led to the formation of United Nations Organization in 1945, from the start the UN condemned colonialism and advocated for the political rights of all the colonized people of Africa and Asia. It now became a platform for the discontented masses and their sympathizers hence forth instilling a sense of nationalism.
8. World War II led to the emergency of new super powers that is USA and USSR which replaced the war torn and exhausted Britain and France. These new super powers had anti-colonial traditions and exerted diplomatic pressure listened to the problems of African nationalists and supported their struggle for freedom thus contributing to the growth and development of African nationalism.
9. World War II increased white population in Africa and this accelerated the grabbing of African land as the white settlers increased in order to escape the poor economic situation in Europe. Such areas affected include Kenya highlands and Zimbabwe. Consequently forced labor increased on the plantations and racial discrimination increased. This led to the formation of violent nationalist movements in Africa like the Mau Mau in Kenya, MPLA in Angola since Africans were sent to poor conditions in the reserves.
10. The Brazzaville conference of 1944 was held during the course of the Second World War organized by Charles De-Gaulle the then president of France in a bid to prepare the French colonies for independence so as to check against the growing forces of Nationalism in Africa. For France had recognized that colonies were an economic burden especially after World War II had led them to an economic abyss.
11. World War II led to the calling of the 1945 Pan African conference held in Manchester. Ever since the Italian attack on Ethiopia Pan Africanism had grown strong amongst Africans in the Diaspora. However it was World War II which opened unlimited opportunities for the Pan Africans. They therefore met in Manchester and resolved to end colonialism using all available means whether peaceful or violent. Africans who attended like Nkrumah from Ghana, Peter Abrahams from S.A, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leon and these came back very determined to challenge the colonial legacy.
12. World War II increased students’ activists in the Diaspora, for Britain the West African students Union criticized Churchill misinterpretation of the Atlantic Charter of 1941, in USA African students association in America and Canada was formed to condemn discrimination and oppression of the black man. They formed a monthly magazine which stipulated nationalistic ideas; Nkrumah was a product of the black students’ activities in USA

**THE INFLUENCE OF EX-SOLDIERS (EX-SERVICE MEN) ON THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

Much more than in the First World War, during the Second World War African soldiers came into direct contact with the whites which influence their nationalism; this is partly because the whole of North African from Morocco to Egypt and Senegal to Somalia was a war theatre. Largely however it was due to the use of African soldiers in Europeans armies notably in Eastern Asia that led to the transformation of ideas and attitudes on such Africans towards colonial existence. This can be seen in the following ways:-

1. African soldiers traveled widely gained a lot of experience, ideas and the wider perspective of international issues, they begun to reason out issues critically as they saw them occur, they saw whites working with their own hands, they met a lot of uneducated whites like private soldiers and prostitutes they even saw white beggars and people dwelling in absolute poverty. Such conditions were later to influence ex-servicemen to challenge the assumed superiority of the white man as they had only seen educated, civilized and rich whites before the war.
2. During the war African soldiers met with white men who were opposed to colonialism and who were very different from the whites in colonial Africa. Some whites in European capitals criticized colonialism and this encouraged the ex-service men to come back and wage rebellions against the colonial masters.
3. Some blacks who were recruited as drivers, soldiers to fight on the battle field got exposed to modern weapons; they were therefore to use these techniques to fight the colonialists on return home.
4. African soldiers further realized that they were even better suited fighting in forested conditions than the whites for example those who fought in Burma like Waruhui Itote(General china) saw that the Japanese soldiers were at least equal to the Europeans therefore on return home they challenged the assumed supremacy of the White man.
5. African soldiers saw whites fighting one another in the Maghreb, there was an intense civil war between French men themselves. This white disunity in the eyes of the African soldiers became a powerful factor in helping the black soldiers to look at the colonial master race more critically. Once these weaknesses were realized ex-servicemen waged wars of nationalism against the colonialists.
6. Africans interacted with other people from Asia who were in the same struggle against colonialism, they shared ideas of how to fight the colonial masters for example the Indians impressed upon the Africans Ghandism philosophy or positive neutrality (peaceful means in fighting for their independence). They now used the skills and tactics they had got in the war to challenge the imperialists on return.
7. During World War II, Africans were fighting for freedom in Europe and when they returned home they demanded for the same in Africa. The allied forces were fighting Germany imperialism in Poland which is on the European continent so Africans reasoned that they also needed democracy, freedom and independence which they started fighting for on return.
8. During the war ex-service men had been promised too much however on return home they found themselves in worse conditions than when they were in the war, they were neglected by the colonial masters who had employed them. This provided a basis of their organization since even the local people had suffered the same conditions. They then provided leadership to oppressed masses to champion the struggle for independence. This was the case for Mau Mau in Kenya and Front for National Liberation (FLN) in Algeria.

**THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (UNO) AND ITS IMPACT ON T AFRICAN NATIONALISM.**

In 1945 the UN was formed immediately after World War II replacing the highly discredited League of Nations that had ignored the rape of Ethiopia by Italy, and watched world war 11 without coming up with lasting solutions. The UN had a charter which was partly inspired by the Atlantic charter of 1941 which was concluded by the American president Franklin Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The UN was inaugurated at San Francisco (in USA) conference which basically continued with the observations of the principles of the Atlantic charter. The UN was therefore the revival on the defunct League of Nations in a more serious manner. Its roles can be analyzed as follows:-

1. Among its objectives was the eradication of imperialism article 10 declared that people should enjoy equal rights and be allowed to be self determined which was in line with the principles of the Atlantic charter which had called for the respect of the right of all people to choose their own form of government. This therefore laid ground in a move to impart pressure to the colonial masters to decolonize as long as they were members of the UN in effect the growth nationalism was innevitable
2. The UN upheld the principle of human rights; it denounced racism, segregation and discrimination among the people based on color, religion, race and other differences. It therefore granted the recognition of all peoples of the world as far as their sovereignty, integrity and independence was concerned. It is against this background that Africans were influenced to fight for their independence.
3. In 1955 there was the adoption of the idea of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) at Bandung conference in Indonesia and the Afro-Asian countries adopted the character of the UN in their struggle to consolidate their independence and liberate other. Its inspiration was based on the provision of the UN which among others called for an end to colonialism. The UN then gave a platform to the Afro- Asian solidarity to condemn colonialism.
4. The UN set up a trusteeship council which took responsibility to prepare the mandated territories for independence. People in those territories (Italian and Germany colonise) directly appealed to the trusteeship council to quicken the pace of events leading to their independence. Such included Italian colonies of Eritrea, Somalia and Libya and Germany colonies like, Tanganyika, Togo, Cameroon and South West Africa. Togo and Cameroon got their independence in 1960 and this was because of the positive attitudes of the trusteeship council that other African states intensified their demand for independence.
5. The UN acted as a powerful forum for African nationalists through its organ the General Assembly where Africans were allowed to voice their grievances for example Julius Nyerere deliberated on African independence when he was invited to address the General Assembly in Washington, Nkrumah and Kenyatta where also given similar opportunities and these African Nationalists used this chance to condemn colonialism in Africa – others who addressed the UN meeting included Sam Nujoma of Namibia, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe Nelson of South Africa. These received sympathetic audience and were given moral, financial and military support in their struggle for liberty.
6. The UN also had a decolonization committee in which countries that had not got independence could put across their voices and since many African countries were still under colonial rule, this committee turned out to be the only path of hope. The UN sent its people to find out the claims of the Africans and to find out if they were mature for independence, For example in 1954, a commission was sent to Tanganyika to find out if Nyerere’s claims to be granted independence were convincing. The Trusteeship council then pressurized Britain to make proper steps to grant independence and Tanganyika was granted independence in 1961.
7. The UN invited many liberation movements and offered moral and financial assistance even leaders of political parties were accorded the same opportunities for example CPP of Nkrumah was given platform and assistance in their independence struggle.
8. Similarly within the UN General Assembly people from independent countries shared voices with those still under colonial rule for example Mahatma Ghandi and Nehru of India, Mao TseTsung of China impressed upon African states their fighting spirit to end European imperialism and influence. This gave the Africans determination to stage independence struggles.
9. The African states formed a group of 77 which united them with the purpose of condemning colonialism and colonial aggression. After its formation it was recognized by UNO. Accordingly with pressure from this group, UN applied sanction against the rebellious state of southern Rhodesia between 1965 and 1980. In spite of its short comings the UN policy of sanctions contributed to the decolonization of Rhodesia the present day Zimbabwe.
10. Similar measures were applied against the apartheid regime of South Africa. In 1970, Ten African States secured the expulsion of South Africa from the UN as a weapon against apartheid. It was partly through such a pressure that the evil policy of apartheid later collapsed in 1994. The UN therefore played a supportive role in the liberation efforts taken by the OAU to burnish colonialism from Africa.
11. The UN has intervened in the African crises. The UN intervened in Congo crisis to restore order and to prevent the disintegration of the DRC. Dag Hammarsk Jold sent a neutral force and in September 1961, the force suppressed the rebellious army of Katanga. Medical and economic assistance were given and UN paid clearly in terms of money and its secretary General Dag Hammarsk Jold who died in a plane crash on his mission to Congo.
12. The UN played a big role in pressurising the colonial master powers to prepare African countries for quick self Governance this was evident when it pressurized Italians to grant independence to her colonies. Italy had to clean her notorious record by initiating a crush programme to train Administrators as well as introducing representative institutions. Accordingly Somalia was granted independence in 1960.
13. Though the UNO encountered stiff resistance from South Africa, she opposed her continued domination of Namibia and constant pressure was applied by the UN until Namibia was granted independence in 1990.
14. In addition UN agencies such as the economic commission for Africa, UNDP, the UN has tried to fight poverty, diseases and ignorance from Africa. Other agencies which have played a significant role in Africa include the World Health Organisation (WHO), FAO, and UNESCO among others. In the recent past the UN has contributed in trying to end wars in Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Libya and Rwanda. It has helped to rescue the life of refugees in Africa through the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission of Refugees).
15. Through the UN countries like USA and USSR critised the continued existence of colonialism in Africa, these countries went on to provide military, financial and moral assistance that effected the decolonization of Africa. These were not colonial powers so they wanted to deal with independent countries, this move was helped by UNO uncompromising attitude.

**THE IMPACT OF ASIAN COUNTRIES ON AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

After the Second World War, many Asian states got their independence for india and Pakistan 1947, Burma and Indonesia in 1948, china in 1949 experienced the communist revolution and many others followed in 1950s. The methods they used to get self rule and shedoff foreign influence were copied by Africans in their struggle. The independence of Asian countries influenced African nationalism as follows:-

1. Asian countries like Japan influenced African nationalism for example in 1905 it repulsed Russian influence and during World War II it defeated Britain and France in South Eastern Asia. Similarly the Dutch were driven a way by the Japanese in Indonesia and the Americans had been defeated in Philippians. Such courage by Japan encouraged African nationalists in their struggle for independence since they realized that these colonial powers could easily be defeated.
2. Between 1946-1954 France was defeated in a war with Vietnamese nationalists and in 1954 they attained their independence, accordingly African nationalists had to learn some lessons in this war. In the first place many Africans fought in this war like Ben Bella of Algeria on the side of France. Jean Bedel Bokasa also gained military experience in this war. They used the experience gained in revolutions against the French in Africa.
3. The idea of waging guerilla war was learnt from Asian fighters like at Burma Indonesia during the Second World War and during the 1946-1954 Vietnams war of independence. Africans later put this in practice in the jungles of Africa through Liberation struggles like MPLA rebels in Angola, FLN in Algeria and PAIGC in Guinea Bissau.
4. India was also significant in raising African nationalism. It had been under British Colonialism since 1847-1947. They had experienced the colonial injustices and colonial exploitation of their resources. Such problems generated resistance and with the help of Mahatma Ghandi they got their independence in 1947, therefore the similarity of conditions led Indian nationalists to impress upon their African counter parts in the struggle for independence. India gave scholarships and even military assistance to those fighting for independence like the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya in 1952.
5. The series of Japanese victories especially in south eastern Asia revealed that Europeans were not invisible therefore in the war sitiuation, Japanese heroism inspired African nationalists they then drew strength to resist colonial rule on the basis of Japanese experience.
6. Mahatma Ghandi of India preached passive resistance as a method of preventing colonialism through non-violent means such as demonstrations, boycotts, and non violent strikes. Therefore some African countries emulated this example such as Ghana, Tanzania, Zambia and they were in positions to attain independence.
7. China was also another Asian country that influenced African nationalism. In 1949 the Chinese communist party defeated Kuomintang and its chairman Mao Tse Tung became a leader of china and his leadership was more interested in Africa because he wanted to frustrate the penetration of USA in Africa. China devoted more broadcasting time to African listeners in trying to raise their nationalism; she even recognized the provisional government in Algeria against the French. This naturally attracted the attention of African leaders like Seku Toure of Guinea Conakry, Kwame Nkrumah Ghana thus China became their patron in the struggle for independence.
8. Asian countries organized the Bandung Conference in 1955 and agreed to form the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) as a go between organization against Eastern and Western conflicts. This conference was inspiring to African observers from Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Algeria and South Africa. The conference declared its full support to the principles of self determination for the peoples’ and nations in Africa and other parts still under colonial rule. Accordingly African nationalists came back with a concept of positive neutrality as a strategy to fight colonialism.
9. The adoption of the Christian ideology was emulated from Asian states for example Ghandi said “**Christianity is also in line with equality of all people and so colonialism that is super imposed is not line with the Christianity ideology**”. This was adopted by Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to decampaign colonialism as it was done in India. This also saw the emergency of various independent African churches.
10. The independent Asian countries that is India and pakistan in 1947, Indonesia 1948, became members of the UNO; they now used this chance to condemn colonial existence in Africa. India pressurized the trusteeship council to quicken the independence of the mandated states. Asian countries now became a voice of the Africans, this attracted international sympathy and Africans were in position to get moral, financial and military state in a bid to attain independence.
11. Asian countries also became the architects of the Afro-Arab-Asian solidarity where member countries resolved that rich countries like India, Egypt, China were to extend financial and military support to poor ones in Africa so as to attain independence. This gigantic organization acted as a strong voice against colonialism. Such gave determination to the already discontented masses in Africa against the colonial aggressors.
12. Asian countries like India gave scholarships to African students who acquired Western education, on their return, such students like Obote led the independence struggles in their countries.
13. The idea of political parties was copied from Asian countries for example Musaazi in 1952 formed the Uganda National Congress similar to the Indian National Congress. Besides Asian countries taught Africans political dynamism which could enable people see the good fruits of independence. This was expressed through freedom of expression, speech and press and when Africans demanded for those ideals nationalism surged to the fore.
14. Asian countries led by India opposed the super control of Britain as the leader of the common wealth countries as a way of resisting neo-colonialism. This made African nationalists not to allow the supreme control of their countries by the former colonial masters. Such countries included; Ghana, Nigeria andKenya.

**THE INFLUENCE OF INDIA’s INDEPENDENCE IN THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA**

The struggle for India’s independence that was attainedin 1947 can be attributed to two people that is Mahatma Ghandi and Nehru who were India’s prime Ministers, it should be noted that India’s was under the same colonial master Britain with most African states which gave them the Impetus to also challenge the colonial rule. The influence of India can be analyzed as follows:-

1. India in the struggle for independence used non violence strategy or positive neutrality and attained its independence in 1947. Using this strategy countries like Tanganyika, Ghana, Zambia and even Uganda were impressed thereby began to demand for constitutional changes in their respective countries that resulted into decolonisation.
2. In the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia, India was significant in amending the Non Alignment policy since it had already got independence and within the UN general Assembly the Non Aligned countries spoke with one voice detesting colonial exploitation and expressing the need for self determination. Therefore the role of India can not be underestimated for most African states chose to be non-aligned, a strategy that detested colonial existence. Such countries included Egypt, Libya, Ghana, Sudan among others.
3. India gave moral and financial help to African states that were in the struggle for independence. A case in point is the Mau Mau fighters in 1952 to 1955. It even convinced other rich countries like China, Egypt to help the poor countries that were in struggles for independence. Such countries that were helped include Algeria, Mozambique and Angola however this is attributed to India’s determination to do away with colonial evil.
4. India provided scholarships to African students to go abroad for further studies and after attaining this education they came back more determined to do away with colonial rule. India further gave Nationalistic literature to Africans in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zimbabwe which enlightened the masses of their rights and thus started demanding for self rule.
5. After attaining independence in 1947, India became a member of the UN General Assembly. It used it as a platform for condemnation over the colonial injustices. It also imparted pressure on the UN trusteeship council to grant independence to the mandated states. India now became a voice of the African discontented masses and was in position to attract international sympathy the result of which was foreign help from big powers like USA and USSR which help was used to dismantle the colonial existence.
6. The idea of forming political parties in Africa was emulated from India for example the Uganda National Congress in 1952 was almost similar to Indian National Congress. Other countries followed suit and formed Political parties like Kenya African Union (KAU), Kenya African National Union (KANU), and TANU among others. These political parties were significant in imparting pressure onto the colonialists who later granted changes for example in 1954 the first Africans were elected to the legco in Kenya and by 1958 the numbers had doubled to 14. Therefore the role of India was significant in the attainment of independence.
7. The 1947 Indian independence alone showed the Africans that sooner or later they too will attain their independence given the fact that Britain which India repulsed with the help of Mahatma Ghandi was a colonial master to most African states. They then got the courage to resist British colonialism in Africa getting the example from India.
8. India resisted Britain as a supreme controller of the common wealth countries in a bid to avoid neo-colonialism. India enlightened the African masses that had been under British colonialism with the problems that would result with the continued control of the colonial masters. Although Britain remained in control of the Common wealth, India’s role can not be under estimated for Africans in the early post independence period showed a sense of self determination and the need to do away with colonialism forever.
9. During World war II Africans had interacted with the Indians especially at Burma, they shared views over the evils of colonialism and looked for ways of dismantling colonial rule after the war. The Africans who participated in World War came back with ideas of dismantling the colonial existence such included Bildad Kaggie, General China, Ben Bella among others.
10. The formation of the Afro-Arab-Asian solidarity can also be attributed to India’s effort. This new movement compounded the discontented masses of the world to detest oppression and other colonial injustices and when communist China was not represented in the UN General Assembly India became clearly the leader in the Afro-Asian solidarity, it then extended pressure to the colonizing powers to grant independence. It is then that African nationalists like Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, and Sekou Toure went to full blast against colonialism.
11. Nehru after replacing Ghandi in 1948 became opposite and advocated for the use of force when peaceful means failed for example in 1962 he sent Indian tanks and artillery into the Gao province and forcefully removed the Portuguese from the Indian Sub-continent once and for all although this act was condemned by the Western World, Africa on the other hand strongly supported it. This heavily influenced Guerilla Movements against the colonialists in Africa like in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and by mid 1970s these Portuguese colonies attained their independence.

**THE 1944 BRAZZAVILLE CONFERENCE.**

It was called by the French Leader Charles De Gaulle in Congo Brazzaville in 1944 when he called French officials from French African colonies such as Senegal, Mali, French Guinea, Morroco, Tunisia among others to thank them for their support and Loyalty to France. Leaders who attended, came out of the conference determined to enforce reforms in the colonies which influenced the growth of African nationalism. NB:No African from Africa attended however, only one black man attended from the French Guyana. Therefore this was a purely a white mans conference.

The following are the contributions of the conference to wards the growth of African nationalism;

1. The conference allowed African representation to the French National Assembly, the Africans who were elected became voices of the voiceless, pressurising the French to decolonize.
2. After the conference the French introduced reforms such as the land reforms in the colonies, such reforms gave Africans hope, and then Africans demanded for more reforms and independence.
3. Through the conference Africans were allowed to form political parties like RDA in 1946 at Bamako, PDG in French Guinea, BDS in Senegal which mobilized masses to fight for the independence of their respective countries. This was a big step towards the decolonization process.
4. The conference extended western civilization to Africans as they were allowed to acquire education in the colonise and France itself. African elites came back and led their countries to independence.
5. The conference incouraged infrastructure development using funds for over seas development (FIDES) that were set up. The roads constructed for example aided the movement of Africans in the mobilization campaigns towards the struggle for independence.
6. Further more the conference allowed Africans to elect representatives to territorial parliaments. Therefore Africans leant to campaign something they adapted to decampaign colonialism.
7. The conference abolished forced labour hence Africans got time to concentrate on anti-French colonial activities which resulted into independence.
8. The conference laid ground for the issuing of Loi Cadre (enabling laws) of 1956 which gave French colonies internal self governance. Such prepared the colonise for independence.
9. It is also argued that the conference influenced De Gaulle to organize the 1958 referendum that marked the beginning of granting independence to French colonies. Sekou Toure vote “NO” in the 1958 referendum in the French Guinea. Consequently Guinea conankry achieved its independence and other French colonise followed like Algeria, Senegal among others.
10. After the conference political parties formed in the French colonies were persecuted this increased Africans resistance to French colonization.This is because Africans demanded for the fulfillment of the Brazzaville conference resolutions.
11. The Brazzaville conference gave limited Franchise to the Africans of only one million out of 16 million Africans creating demand for complete Franchise of Africans. Such became a basis for the demand for independence.
12. The conference enabled Africans to get well wishers and sympathizers in the French Parliament who then gave moral support to Africans in their decolonization drive. The international community became aware of the injustice in Africa hence fully supported the cause for independence.

**THE ROLE OF SUPER POWER / COLD WAR POLITICS TO THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

Western Europe had dominated the world in the first four decades of the 20th century until 1941 when USA and USSR entered the 2nd world war, after the war USA and USSR dominated the whole world replacing Britain and France plus Germany and Italy which had been active colonial masters. The new super powers had ideologies and wanted to deal with independent world states such led to cold war which was very important in the struggle for African liberation.

1. USA and USSR were ideologically different that is USSR was the leader of the socialist bloc while the USA was the leader of the communist bloc in this ideological competition one power could not be allowed to run Africa therefore the super powers ended up advocating for independence of African states.
2. USA poured in aid to LDC’s as a way of counteracting the soviet influence.In this way the colonized African states obtained the resources material, financial, military which they effectively used to challenged colonial rule.
3. USA had been under British rule until 1776 when it got its independence, it had witnessed how bad colonialism was and opted to do a way with it in Africa as well. The supper powers then forced countries like Britain and France to grant independence to their colonies on humanitarian grounds.
4. The super powers also wanted markets to be opened in order to have liberal world market, originally the colonial masters created monopoly markets where the colonized people had to trade with only colonial masters but now that Britain and France had merged very weak out of World WarII the new super powers exerted their influence on them to decolonize.
5. More so Britain and France had been shuttered after the world economic depression in 1929 – 1930 to make matters worse World War II had sunk them into an economic abyss. They were therefore to look on to USA for economic support, USA then came up with a great Marshal Aid plan and theTru man’s doctrine to aid European countries economically, several loans were given out and sometimes physical technological machinery. However, conditions were attached for example; European countries before the aid could be released had to grant independence to African countries, African Nationalists then exploited this situation to petition in the UN and secure assistance of the super powers to do away with the colonial masters in Africa.
6. Both super powers were anti-colonialism and they used the UN to condemn the colonial aggression, USA had no colonies in Africa though it practiced neo-colonialism in Liberia and had influence in the virgin high lands of Panama Canal zones, Philippines, Hawaii and Japan. However these did not amount to serious colonialism, USSR for similar reasons wanted colonial powers to quit Africa and hence subjected them to serious criticism in the UN General Assembly.
7. America offered scholarships to African students who in the end became Nationalists like Nyerere, Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Kenyatta and this way USA was seen as fostering Nationalist Leaders and struggles in Africa.
8. USA and USSR were also used as bases by African students to organize international conferences which were meant to criticize Africans and make them conscious of the evils of colonialism. Such made the Africans more militant in their struggles for independence.
9. United States like the USSR used her influence at the UNO to condemn colonialism and due to this mandated territories like Tanganyika, Togo, Cameroon, Libya came under the Trusteeship council of the UN and due to pressure from USSR they were in position to get independence.
10. More so USA used her influence to secure her membership in the Trusteeship council in order to champion the struggles for the colonized territories, both supper powers used their influence in the UN to encourage African Nationalists and other sympathizers of the oppressed Africans to wage independence struggles.
11. By 1945 USA was persuing her isolationist policy and USSR under sterlin was encouraging the policy of socialism however after 1945 sterlin with red army started expanding through out Europe and for this reason USA abandoned her isolationist policy for it feared the soveit union would take over the 3rd world countries thus it decided to counteract the soviet influence. This ideological influence of the supper powers championed the independence of Africa such that they could deal directly with independence countries.
12. USSR had a lot of links with Pan Africanism, it criticized Western capitalism that reflected colonialism. This ideology was later to become dominant in French speaking African intellectuals in the 1930s and 40s. This therefore became a philosophy of Liberation.
13. Soviet Union spread socialist literature which was wholly anti-colonialism, they wrote books and passed over the message to the people who could go there for studies and on coming back they had ant-colonial ideas. Therefore the role of the socialist literature cannot be under estimated in raising nationalistic eye blows.
14. In 1941 when Britain and France met Roosevelt of USA to sign the Atlantic charter, USA used its newly acquired supper power to status and impressed upon these colonial masters to insert a provision that after Second World War African countries and other occupied territories be given self determination. Though after 1945, Britain said it only worked for colonies that were under nazi Germany, Namdi Azikiwe took a memorandum to demand for the fulfillment of the charter, this was nationalism at play.
15. Both supper powers supported Liberation movements in Africa for example Soviet Union supported Nasser to push out British influence in Egypt, others supported were Lumumba, Ben Bella of Algeria and USA also gave support to UNITA of Angola and Mobuta’s regime. These did not only give moral but financial and military assistance which were used to dislodge the colonialists.
16. Before these two supper powers had replaced Britain and France they also had areas of influence for example Russia had occupied Japan in 1905 while USA had occupied Philippines but later Japan reacted against Russia while America was defeated in the Philippines. These bitter lessons influenced the two supper powers to abandon colonies basing on their own experience. However it was largely because of ideological rivalry that the two supper powers opted for independence in the occupied territories to avoid blood shed.
17. The Soviet Union further used her socialist policy to influence African countries in the field of technology. She encouraged socialism in the African countries so as to solve their economic problems, the Soviet Union gave examples where countries had moved away from economic backwardness, industrialization and replacing mass illiteracy with mass literacy. Such as North Korea other African countries like Libya followed the suit.
18. America also exerted her influence in the development of African Nastionalism because in 1943 President Roosevelt visited Morocco and held talks with sultan Sidi Muhammad V in Casablanca. This visit had a profound impact on the growth of African Nationalism in that his words became a key as he was calling on the colonial masters to grant independence and his physical presence on the African soil showed America seriousness on the issue this encouraged the Nationalism.
19. In 1940s the Americans had influenced Africa in international and diplomatic levels for example American Armies had fought in the war against the Germans in the Maghareb for example Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia this was a manifestation of support of the Africans in their quest for independence.

In conclusion America and USSR were able to exert their influence on the colonial masters to grant independence because of their supper power influence.

**THE NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT (NAM)**

It was borne to free the ex-colonized world from the cold war politics that had started as far back as as when world war11 came to an end and saw the emergence of new super powers that is USSR and USA with different ideologies which they exported to the third world countries. In 1955 the LDCs met at Bandung in Indonesia, in a conference that was chaired by president Surkano of Indonesia and prominent figures like Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt, and Nehru and of India met other African observers like Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenyatta of Kenya, and Ben Bella of Algeria. It sprung up as a policy to counteract the emergency of the two ideological blocs that is the West which led capitalism and the East which led socialism. Therefore the doctrine of Non Alignment followed Nehru’s initiative of positive neutrality that is to say, the members were neither to lean onto the East or to the West.

In 1958 members met in Cairo to discuss the inauguration of NAM therefore, NAM members met in 1961 in Belgrade – Yugoslavia and NAM was formed prominent members were Tito of Yugoslavia, Nehru of India, Surkano of Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana among others.

The immerging states wanted to be neutral in the cold war hot spot.

Non Alignment was then defined as the right of the small military, economically weak nations to determine their policies independently and the right of all people to live on earth as equal human beings. **Madibo Kaita the first Malian President in 1960-1968 defined this as the approach to policy making but not as a guide to policy making.** It is an assertion of the right of a nation to freedom and justice in the decisions given in the International affairs and making of choice without international power influence.

**AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NAM**

1. To opose colonialism racism and imperialism. Colonialism was seen as an evil and all countries pledged to support independence struggles throughout the world.
2. To establish sovereignty and independence and also demanded equal respect as accorded to the super powers. They wanted to realize this objective through democratic means as per the UN Charter of one man one vote.
3. To maintain economic independence and pledged to co-operate and organize joint projects among member countries and in this way the relatively richer states which were members were urged to assist the poor ones for example, Egypt, India, were to assist other poor countries like Somalia, Eritrea so as to avoid the economic control of either the East or the West.
4. To safeguard member countries from imperialism, neo-colonialism and Apartheid that had replaced colonialism. They hoped to achieve this objective through the mutual co-operation and steering of the Non-aligned cause which was encouraged by the Cuban President Fidel castle who urged the member countries to be hostile to western imperialism.
5. To be friendly which all nations in the world especially those that were ready to respect their independence, special emphasis was put on the unity of the member states if they were to achieve this aim.
6. To preserve world peace, security and justice. They never wanted to get involved in the cold war politics, and to achieve this they had to join global organization like the UNO and also form regional groupings like OAU, PTA, ECOWAS, EAC (East African Community) among others.
7. To establish a new way of organizing the inter economic system by improving on terms of trade, Balance of payment (BOP), reducing on inflation and giving the third world countries more control over their own colonies.
8. To safeguard economic dependence since they knew that their economic development required capital assistance from the West. To avoid this leaning they hoped to achieve regional co-operatives and had to be careful not to receive tied aid, that is aid with conditionalities which would lead to exploitation and domination by the developed world.

**MEMBERSHIP AND PRINCIPLES OF NAM**

1. NAM was open to those countries which hoped to make their own decisions in the world affairs without help from the East or the West.(The principle of independent decision making)
2. There had to be no ideological influence and membership was open to all as long as the member states took its own policies according to its own judgment and the merit of ease.(The principle of non-alignment)
3. A Non-aligned country would not belong to the either block and would not allow the existence of the military base of a super power on its land including its waters. (The principle of independence and sovereignty).
4. Member countries had to support liberation movements to oppose imperialism, develop political parties and movements based on peaceful existence but ofcourse opposed to colonialism in the whole world.
5. There was to be friendly co-operation between countries and there was need to participate in conflicts, wars which aimed at stopping colonialism thus the non-alignment movement did not mean lack of concern. (The principle of unity).
6. There must be opposition to racism and member countries had to condemn it in this way they pledge to support nationalistic movements through out the world.
7. Member countries had to be ready to establish sovereignty and equal equal respect as accorded to the super powers at UNO.(Principle of human rights)
8. There was need to become independent thus to be a member country co-operation had to be pledged in which relatively strong countries would be ready to assist the poor states. (Principle of co-operation).

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NAM**

1. NAM has achieved decolonization of African continent for example Mozambique, Angola in 1975, Namibia in 1990, Zimbabwe 1980, S.A in 1994, and Eritrea in 1993. These got their independence partly due to NAM’s military financial and moral support.
2. NAM reduced the influence of super powers in African affairs for example Ghana received aid from both USA and USSR during the construction of the Upper Volta river project. Nyerere also received aid from both USSR and USA, FRELIMO of Mozambique also attained the same support.

**N.B** African states misinterpreted the idea of NAM for they thought being non-aligned meant getting aid from both the socialists and the capitalists. However this aid helped them in their independence struggles.

1. NAM greatly influenced the respect and observance of human rights in Africa and Asia as per 1948 UN charter that upheld the declaration of the human rights. NAM condemned the harsh treatment, oppression and racial discrimination especially against Apartheid in South Africa, the UDI regime in Zimbabwe and within the Portuguese colonies. If South Africa got majority rule in 1994, it is partly attributed to pressure from the NAM.
2. NAM has achieved political stability and continental peace in Africa and Asia for example it condemned the arms race of the super powers, it condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Despite the presence of civil wars in Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Togo, NAM has made a big attempt to address the problem of internal and external conflicts.
3. NAM has increased solidarity among African countries, rich African states were supposed to help the poor ones, in this way the Asian countries like India, China and Japan have always come up to help African states in crisis. This unity alone is an achievement of NAM for example when Egypt, India, China helped the FRELIMO and MPLA fighters in their search for independence.
4. The well to do Asian states of NAM for example China, Pakistan and other members like Egypt extended scholarships to many African students and these usually came back more determined to do away with the colonial masters and later neo- colonialism.
5. The continued existence of the NAM is an achievement of its own, it increased membership from 25-100 between 1964 and 1986, it has reigned throughout the 60s 90s and the present date.
6. NAM became members of the UN and this provided a forum of debate, they attacked the outside world with their policies on the LDCs, NAM countries became a voice of condemnation to the discontented masses of the world, they were in position to get international sympathy for example the 1956 Suez Canal crisis in Egypt, Britain, France and Israel were highly condemned by NAM and with international support Egypt was in position to defeat them on paper.
7. Through NAM member countries were linked to other economic organizations like European Economic Community (now EU), Common Market for Europe with other African regional economic organizations like ECOWAS, PTA among others which would negotiate for developmental assistance from rich organization.

**FAILURES AND PROBLEMS OF THE NAM**

1. All member countries of the movement are weak economically, militarily, politically, socially, scientifically and technologically. Related to these are the social problems like the rapid population growth accompanied with unmatched levels of poverty, ignorance and disease. Therefore the situation speaks for self thus African countries can not be non-aligned.
2. NAM countries experience political instabilities. The super powers always come to destabilize the secure governments, this creates dependence on foreign assistance thus limiting any political, economic and social independence for example USA destabilized the MPLA government in Angola by sponsoring the UNITA rebels and Angola was forced to seek assistance from USSR, thus loosing the principle of neutrality.
3. Ideological differences, NAM countries became identified with either the East or the West and some even adopted socialism like Tanganyika, North Korea, China and Cuba. While some African countries staggered between both some would try socialism and when threatened by America would try capitalism. Such ideological confusion undermined the very foundations of NAM.
4. Member countries are also at times in wars or worded battles a case in point was Moi of Kenya and Museveni of uganda in 1987, Amin and Nyerere 1977 which led to the collapse of the East African Community. There have been accusations of Uganda helping RPF rebels to invade Rwanda yet there was a conflict between Libya and China, such undermined the spirit of co-operation and in situations of chaos, development is a myth and Western powers have continued to dominate the African states.
5. Some members of NAM have accused the movement of failure to act during periods of crisis and this symbolizes disunity, NAM has been limited to a platform of condemnation when it comes to international problems for example in 1970 there was a split between members because Cuba was arguing that NAM meant alignment with the socialist countries especially USSR.
6. Member countries have realized their inferiority complex in all fields and have always expressed how they need western assistance towards their development taking into consideration that the western world controls the political and economic world. This has rendered the NAM docile in problems related to the western world. In situations where they intervene in the social, economic and political arenas for example most African countries were so positive to AGOA a case in point is Uganda.
7. The movement conferences have always been reduced to platform of merely knowing each other and informing the international community of the injustices being done to the third world and in most cases they come out of the conferences just as they went without meaningful resolution and action plan.
8. When NAM was formed member countries hoped to take no side but now world politics has changed considerably that is the eastern block disintegrated, it is only the giant west which has come to act as the only mid-wife in international affairs with its brain child NATO. Therefore we see no reasons as to why NAM should continue to exist after all it is over shadowed by America’s unipolar control.
9. Many of the founder members have died such as Nehru,Tito,Surkano, Nkrumah, Nasser, Ben Bella and the new generation does not seem to be serious about it. The old timers were very much committed to the movement and that is why it performed very well in 1960s. However at the beginning of the 1970s there was marked decline as the new generation of leaders shifted from the position of neutrality as they either aligned to the east or to the West.
10. Member countries have always been in conflicts with each other and these have been caused by external forces due to weak nature of political system of member countries especially in Africa. For example presently Uganda and Rwanda are not at peace. In 1957 Moi and Museveni were not at peace therefore the conflict of the member states has limited the operations of NAM.
11. Military bases have been established in member countries for example USA has bases in Kenya, Egypt, Uganda and yet one of the principles of the movement was to condemn and resist any foreign military base and with these bases, USA has been able to deter co-operation among member states for example co-operation between Uganda and Libya had been limited by USA because Libya had for long pursued socialism.
12. The forces of liberation in member states of NAM have ceased to be mass movements or parties because there is always a leadership crisis arising from ethnicity and the red devil of tribalism. These internal divisions have weakened the central governments leading to civil wars and leaders of such governments have tended to concentrate on suppressing wars rather than giving a legence to non-alignment.
13. Almost all member countries of NAM are poor economically and therefore they can not be non-aligned, the new international economic order which was formed to help the economies of members states has not had a positive impact and the western world is pouring in more NGOs like Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) the effect of which is that Non-Aligned Movement members have been left to accept being dependants on the West.
14. With USA as the only global super power remaining the third world have to bend low especially with IMF and World Bank in place, it supports political parties in power, guerilla movements, elections and USA observers are always there, socially Africans maintain contact through English, French and German, the kind of dress, drama and literature make NAM members think they are inferior and therefore have to lean onto the West.
15. In conclusion the objectives of the NAM have never been fully realized the movement has failed to register international superiority and support and prominent African nationalist like Nyerere opted to transfer the movement into another minor organization like the South dialogue where they want to co-operate regionally and this defeats the central objective of international co-operation and concerted efforts on all problems affecting the members.

**THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952**

This revolution started in July 1952 spear headed by the Egyptian army under the leadership of the Free Army Officers (F.A.O) who had come together in the late 1940s under the **“Free Army Officers Movement”** to discuss means of achieving radical reforms in Egypt and on 22nd and 23rd July  1952 the revolution had started. The genius behind the revolution was a 34 old year colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. His colleagues were General Neguib and

***Gamal Abdel Nasser***

Anwar Sadat. The free officers in their July expedition wanted to expel the British, eliminate corruption, and accelerate social reforms and economic development within Egypt that had not been attained in the 1922 Pseudo independence of Egypt.

**CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION**

1. The unpopularity of King Farouk, he succeeded his father Faud in 1936 and was from the lineage of the reformists’ ruler of Egypt Muhammad Ali (1805-1949). Farouk was a terrible dictator who regarded autocracy as the right form of government for Egypt. He even interfered directly in the political and senate appointments. By 1940s due to growing nationalism such type of leadership was out of fashion and this forced the free army officers to stage a successful coup in July 1952.
2. The oppression of the Muslim brotherhood led by Hassan Al-Banna, many of them were arrested and their activities restricted yet the King was a Muslim, he was even suspected for having had a hand in the mysterious murder of the Islamic leader Hassan Al-Banna in1949 who was the founder of the Muslim brotherhood that had sought to purify Islam. Farouk feared their numerical strength and ordered the confiscation of their property so as to weaken them therefore Farouk’s intolerance to alternative views remained unchanged until the revolution was staged.
3. Farouk led a highly corrupt regime and did nothing fight corruption in Egypt. The Wafd family possessed a lot of wealth derived from corruption and privileges which was at the expense of the majority Egyptians and therefore to curb this sky rocketing corruption the coup in Egypt became inevitable.
4. The extravagancy of the King. This was shown by the lavish and open spending of the Egyptian army to satisfy his own interests, that of his wife and relatives. Historian alleged that Farouk had a very beautiful wife whom he took everywhere she demanded. It was this personal weakness of the King that in the eyes of the Egyptian nationalists he had lowered the international image of Egypt especially when its economy collapsed. Therefore the revolution in 1952 could not be avoided.
5. Farouk also failed to sustain the economic and social reforms, agriculture was in the state of decay and the industrial pace in the country was quite inadequate yet there was wasteful spending. This created resentment and became a clear cause for his downfall.
6. Farouk’s failure to end British dominancy of the Egyptian economy also led to his downfall, he never showed any serious nationalism in him and instead of being a truly national leader he was merely stooge (puppet) of the British, ever since 1936 when he came to power Egypt continued to be dependent on the western powers, something that was not acceptable to the nationalists of Egypt who reacted by staging a coup against him.
7. In addition Farouk had a dangerous weakness of being nepotic where he promoted only his relatives and members of the Wafd family to positions of prominence for example at the beginning of 1952 he refused to accept the nomination of Neguib one of the leaders of the Free Army Officers as minister of war though the prime minister had decided this instead the King appointed his own relatives to take up the position. Such degree of nepotism forced the Free Army Officers to overthrow the King.
8. The grievances of the army; the Egyptian army was living in poor conditions, they were ill equipped, demoralized, their salaries and wages were not satisfactory, these grievances aroused the out break of riots and violence in the popular anti-governments sentiments which started in October 1951 and by July 1952 the situation had gone out of hand and the King was forced to abdicate.
9. The Suez Canal Question, in a bid to have full control over the canal and the profits got from the Suez Canal, the Free Army Officers staged the July 1952 Revolution. For long the canal had been dominated by the British and the French and it was guarded with a force of not less than Ten thousand soldiers, out of the total revenue collected Egypt only got 10% which became a symbol for foreign exploitation and neo-colonialism. Farouk did nothing to end this foreign domination such that by 1952 it became a cause of his downfall.
10. During the Second World War Britain directly influenced events in Egypt in the first place, it used it as a military base and the British also pressed the King to suspend ministers suspected to be pro-Germany that is Nahas pasha and the British favorite from the Wafd Family mustaf Pasha was installed as a new Prime Minister. This interference by the British in the Egyptian affairs exposed Farouk as a puppet and a weakling and also made the Wafd party more discredited and aroused anti imperial sentiments in Egypt hence making the July 1952 Revolution inevitable.
11. There was also a thorny issue of land, reforms made by the first regimes had become irrelevant due to the increased population of the Fellahins (peasants). In 1952, 87% of the arable (cultivatable) land of Egypt was controlled by a small percentage of the total population that is 6% and were mainly members of the Aristocracy, 13% of the land was left to the peasants who constituted 94% of the total population. This led to increased suffering of the masses as the Fellahins were left with no choice but to sell their labor to the Wafd Family. Therefore when the Free Army Officers staged a revolution they got massive support and the King was overthrown.
12. Class struggles between the Fellahins, the Wafd Family and the foreigners. In Egypt there was an increasing gap between the poor and the rich thus class conflict, growing social inequality and injustices attracted the sympathy of Egyptian patriots such as the Free Army Officers who resorted to use of violence so as to correct this economic imbalance.
13. The need to purify Islam also prompted the coup in Egypt, western influenced Christianity had infiltrated the original Moslem Arab states yet there was a reformist group formed in 1928 by Hassan Al-Banna that had wanted to reconcile Islam with the western world, thus conflicted with King Farouk who reacted by confiscating their property, Ahmed Hussein founded another group with similar feelings. King Farouk as a Moslem was expected to utilize this opportunity to cause reforms failure of which resulted into a coup.
14. Farouk’s weakness was yet to be shown in the way he handled public health, Egypt became a laughing stock on the international community for its people were the most diseased in the world at the time. They suffered from preventable diseases like trachoma and Bilharzia, the average life expectancy was about 35 years yet Farouk showed no interest in improving the social welfare of the people, morale went down hence to reverse this situation a revolution was inevitable.
15. The disastrous Palestinian war of 1948-49 created discontent within the Egyptian army. In May 1948 the British withdrew from Palestine and immediately the Jews proclaimed the new state of Israel which the Palestinian and Arab League naturally opposed, the war begun, Egypt which had provided the greatest number of soldiers suffered an unexpectedly humiliating defeat for the King had sent the army with outdated weapons yet with little food leading to many Egyptians to perish. The defeat prompted the Free Army Officers to turn their arms and anger to the King’s government. One Colonel Abdul Azziz before he was killed reminded his colleagues that **“Real war was in Egypt”** this is partly because he felt betrayed by King Farouk.
16. The ambitious character of Nasser, Neguib and Sadat, they were not part of Wafd family and their chances of rising to positions of prominence were almost not there given the consistence of the monarchy. Therefore they looked at the coup against Farouk as their only alternative thus making the 1952 revolution inevitable.
17. The formation of Free Army Officers movement with liberal ideas attracted the support of the discontented Egyptian masses, the Fellahins in the army after acquiring this support revolts begun against the king’s government the result of which was the 1952 coup.
18. The Egyptian nationalists were also against the king for his failure to bring Egypt at the fore front of the Arab and the African politics. Farouk had kept Egypt in the shadows of international politics yet with its economic and numerical strength the Free Army Officers thought that Egypt would be in position to influence the African and Arab politics especially with the Israel Palestine question.

**NASSER AND THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION**

**His Background**.

Gamal Abdul Nasser was born on 15th January 1918 in Alexandria, his father was a post master but of a peasant parentage, as such Nasser’s background combined experience of the Fellahin life and working class. Unlike many Egyptians, Nasser got access to secondary School education which instilled in him a strong sense of nationalism.

In 1937 he joined the military academy and in 1943, he attained the rank of captain, he even participated in the Palestinian war 1948-49 in which he was wounded.

Nasser developed a strong hatred for foreigners, in particular, he detested British influence and his nationalism was rekindled in 1942 when the British army surrounded the King’s house and forced him to appoint Mustafa Pasha to replace Nahas as prime minister. Mustafa was known to be a soft target for British interests in Egypt.

In 1943 Nasser founded a secret organization in the army with the aim of over throwing Farouk’s government (The Free Army Officers Movement), he also nursed intense hatred against the feudal system and in 1952 Nasser masterminded a coup against Farouk.

King Farouk was succeeded by his son called **Faud II** who stayed in power up to 1953. However real power was in the hands of the revolutionary command council led by Major Neguib. Nasser was at first in shadow as deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Internal Affairs. However Faud was removed from office in 1953 and a republic was proclaimed. Thus terminating the monarchical experiments.

It was then that Neguib took full powers as the President of the republic of Egypt up to November 1954 when Nasser moved from the shadows to replace Neguib due to personal disagreements between the two leaders. Neguib was a conservative who believed in returning to civilian life and government and on the contrally Nasser was a radical revolutionary who did not trust popular democracy and influence of political parties.

In October 1954, Nasser survived an assassination attempt and accused Neguib of conspiracy and was able to secure his dismissal in November 1954 and there after Nasser became the undisputed Master and leader of the revolutionary council.

**IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION ON AFRICA**

When the revolution was staged successfully in 1952 it attracted the admiration of millions of Africans who still suffered brutalism, forced labor, landlessness and gross injustice under colonial rule, the revolution therefore became so inspiring that it triggered open and direct confrontation between the colonized and the colonialists therefore Egypt became a symbol of struggle for national independence.

1. After acquiring independence for Egypt Nasser helped countries in the Maghreb that is Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. In 1954 when Algeria launched an attack against the French, Nasser gave massive support to FLN under Ben Bella, gave them bases, money and ammunitions and allowed them to use radio Cairo leading to the successful Algeria war of independence.
2. Further similar support was given to Tunisia in a bid to attain her independence which she realized in 1956. Later Nasser expressed solidarity with independent Tunisia under Habib Bougiba during the clash with the French1961 forcing the French to withdraw in 1965 and because of the Egyptian example the Tunisian pressed the French colonialists to give up their colonial and neo-colonial attempts over Tunisia.
3. The influence of the Egyptian revolution also spread to Morocco and Libya in the latter colonel Ghadafi launched the revolution in 1969 against the ruling party basing on the Egyptian frame work. Like in Egypt, it was the Free Unionists Officers that overthrew a conservative regime of King Idris in Libya. The reforms initiated by Nasser were also radically spear headed by Ghadafi in the economic, social and political fields.
4. Sudan also experienced the wind of change from Egypt, before she became independent Sudan clamored for a merger with Egypt or else to be totally liberated. Therefore the British met their defeat in Sudan leading to the attainment for independence 1956 after which it joined the Arab League to express its Arab ness with Egypt.
5. Under Egypt, Nasser became a centre of African nationalism and a propaganda base for its anti-colonial crusade for the 1950s. The use of Radio Cairo as the **“free voice of Africa”** decampaigned colonialism, exploitation and racial segregation. The broadcast of Radio Cairo increased in 1957 given in Arabic, English, French, Italian, Swahili and Amharic thus sensitizing the masses and increasing colonial sentiments throughout Africa. Case in point is the Mau Mau fighters in Kenya who were encouraged to rebel against the British.
6. In similar Vain Egypt became a spiritual home for the fugitive nationalists, some came from Kenya, Mozambique, Uganda, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa among others and became the undoubted base for guerilla movement like UNITA and MPLA of Angola, SWAPO of Namibia, FRELIMO in Mozambique, they were given moral and material assistance from Egypt through the 1950s, in West Africa the revolution encouraged radical action in demanding for self rule with minimum delay.
7. The revolution made Egypt to emerge as a radical force and joined the Casablanca group of countries like Morocco, Ghana, Guinea and Mali; this was a group opposed to conservative bloc that is the Monrovia group however on 25th May 1963 struck a promise with Nasser at the fore front to form OAU to handle African problems.
8. After the revolution the bureau for the liberation of Africa was set up in Egypt they included the Cameroonian bureau formed in 1958, the Ugandan bureau of Late Joshua Kato and the Somali bureau. These organizations enhanced African nationalism and consequently an African Association was started in 1955 based in Cairo. It organized meetings and conferences and issued publications. These all worked to dismantle the colonial legacy in Africa.
9. Nasser’s policy of non-alignment or positive neutrality placed him on the same footing with Nehru of India or Tito of Yugoslavia especially in the 1955 Bandung and 1961 Belgrade conferences he became a strong advocate of the movement thus he contributed to the attempt by the third world countries to disassociate themselves from cold war politics by so doing he reinforced their independence and nationalism.
10. The formation of the Afro-Arab-Asian solidarity was influenced by Egypt; they first met in December 1957 in Cairo. Other conferences were held between 1960 and June 1961 which included the Afro Asian women conference aimed at cementing friendly ties of Africa and Asia. Egypt also housed the third all Africa people’s conference. It can thus simply be argued that without the Egyptian revolution Egypt would not have attained the central position in the development of African nationalism.
11. African students were given entry to Egyptian institutions of learning especially is secondary, military Academy and universities, by 1960 there were over 4000 African students in Egypt. The institutions that took the largest numbers include Al-Azhar, Alexandria and Cairo International and going back to their various countries they went more determined to do away with colonial and neo-colonial institutions.
12. Further Egyptian teachers, engineers, technicians were sent to other parts of Africa as a symbol of African solidarity, they assisted sister states like Mali, Nigeria, Sudan and Somalia to solve some of their social economic problems which in turn enhanced development hence helped to consolidate the hard earned independence of those states.
13. In the field of education further libraries were opened in Cairo and an African section was established, Egypt encouraged research into the African past, learning of the other African languages was encouraged like the Swahili and Amharic. This was in a bid to rediscover African identity.
14. Diplomatic and political victory of Egypt during the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 impressed African nationalists. The defeat of British and French nationalists revealed that international opinion and pressure would easily eradicate colonialism because Egypt was defeated militarily on a battle front but due to international pressure especially from the UN, the French and British forces were withdrawn from the Suez canal making it a diplomatic defeat by the Egyptians and this encouraged other Africans to continue with their struggle for independence.
15. The social and economic strides made by Egypt impressed other African states, Nasser was in position to secure foreign aid from the Eastern block that is USSR, China and Czechoslovakia which helped it in the construction of the Aswan high dam that became the engine of Egyptian economy, a symbol of self assertion and sovereignty that was copied by many African countries such that by 1966 nationalism was a success in many parts of Africa partly due to the influence of Egyptian revolution.

16. **However the revolution had negative effects**. First instance the radical Pan Africanism sponsored by Nasser failed to achieve positive results, the Casablanca group to which he belonged failed to realize its wild dreams when Nasser disagreed with Nkrumah over the question of a unitary government for the whole of Africa. The result was the formation of OAU under a loose government which allowed Nasser to drag away the Arab Africa into the Arab league.

17. Egypt disagreed with Tunisia due to ideological differences. Tunisia under president habib Boughiba detested Egyptian dominant positions in the Arab league and unlike Egypt, Tunisia was pro-west thus the conflict between the two sister states watered down the spirits of Pan Africanism.

18. Morocco on other side accused Egypt of double standards while it criticized the west on the other hand it got assistance from the East thus the principal of non alignment preached by Nasser especially after the 1955 Bandung conference and 1961 Belgrade conference failed to hold grip with in the African states. This therefore blocked the spirit of African solidarity.

19. By 1958 Nasser foreign policy brought with it a series of defeats and frustrations specifically when the Arab republic a union formed between Syria and Egypt collapsed in 1961 due to change in government, Nasser failed to secure lasting unity and solidarity among the Arabs and this diverted his attention from the solidarity with the black Africa.

In conclusion Much as the Egyptian revolution registered weaknesses they should not be allowed to overshadow its immerse contribution to the expansion of African Nationalism.

**NASSER’S REFORMS / DOMESTIC POLICY OF NASSER.**

**EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION ON EGYPT.**

At home the 1952 revolution brought about fundamental changes when the revolutionary leaders tried to do what the Egyptian monarch had failed to do.

1. Politically the coup uprooted the old monarchy and all its aristocratic privileges. Such that by 1953, Egypt became a republic, the Khedival System was washed away and power passed onto the commoners, titles like Bey, Pasha were all thrown in the dustbin of the Egyptian history now everyone could easily access power.
2. Egypt became the leader of the Arab world, after the revolution other Arab states begun consulting Egypt in their social economic and political problems and because of this the Egyptians were convinced that the revolution had brought significant positive changes that could not haven been achieved without the revolution.
3. The revolution led to nationalisation of the Suez Canal which reduced the exploitation of Egypt by France and Britain, previously by the 1937 agreement Egypt received only 10% of the canal revenues but with nationalization in 1956 all the profits got were effectively used in the economic development of Egypt.
4. Further developments were registered especially with improvement in Agriculture and industry where the revolution encouraged mixed economy aimed at reducing unemployment and improving the standard of living. It is noted that the per capita income of the Egyptian by 1950s highly increased as compared to the past regime.
5. In September 1952, Agrarian law was passed which fixed land rents at lower levels and broke up the large estates, land owners were restricted to a maximum of 200 Feddans and by 1961 most of the land in the private hands was confiscated and nationalized to benefit the majority landless peasants.
6. Nasser went ahead to give loans to peasants, he also gave them agricultural inputs like fertilizers, pesticides and tools. Peasants were grouped in co-operative movements thus having a common voice in marketing and buying of their produce. This increased the yields such that the surplus was exported for the benefit of Egypt and the Egyptians.
7. Land reclamation was also started around the oases and the lower lying lands on the West of the Nile; more farm land was brought under cultivation by means of deviation using the waters of the Nile pumped by the Aswan High Dam. This is an achievement that should be credited on to the revolutionaries.
8. In addition to cotton, sugarcane and rice, more profitable crops such as fruits and vegetables were introduced to boast the agricultural sector which improved the social economic conditions of the peasants; such diversifications increased the market levels of the Egyptian products which drew out the peasants from the worst abyss of poverty.
9. The Aswan High Dam was constructed with Russian assistance and apart from providing water for irrigation; the dam generated Hydro Electricity Power that cauterized industrial expansion in Egypt. By 1970 H.E.P generated the economic life line of the country. Industrialization was boasted and in 1958 an iron and steel complex was opened to produce bicycles, railway cycles, electrical and electronic appliances. This reduced Egyptian dependence on foreign manufacturers.
10. On the side of public health the revolutionaries put in place major social changes by building many centers providing free medical care and a number of doctors were increased, efforts to fight mal-nutrition among school children were made, clean water provided which increased the life expectancy of Egyptians. This was achieved with increased revenue collections that would support various sectors of Egypt especially primary health.
11. Educational reforms were also registered through the revolution, U.P.E was introduced between the children of 6 and 11 years, a hundreds of primary schools were constructed and nationalized. This was in recognition of the fact that literacy is a key to social development; notable achievements were made in teacher training and technical education. A new university for science was opened in Cairo and soon became a great centre of learning.
12. Special attention was given to Egyptian women as they were allowed to join higher institutions of learning; the revolutionaries went further to tackle the problem of gender conflicts that is the repugnant cultural relationship between men and women. The coup makers condemned women exploitation, sexual arrogance and harassment; on top of that women were given equal opportunities in employment. A case in point is 1964 when the government appointed the first woman Minister.
13. There was change in curriculum to fit the Egyptian needs. Irrelevant materials especially in subjects of humanities were scrapped and the new curriculum code named **“Egyptianisation** **of the education system”** was put in place which emphasized practical subjects which deliberately reduced foreign content. This worked to develop Egypt.
14. The government also tried to solve the problem of poverty and income inequality by passing a law which limited income of individuals to the maximum of 5000 pounds per year. This reduced the income gap between the rich and the poor. The government started law cost housing for workers whose income was smaller than 300 pounds per year. This improved the standards of living of the people in Egypt.
15. Through the revolution Egypt gained prominence in the Moslem and NAM politics, it is argued that Egyptian participation in the NAM helped to put Nasser as one of the famous world leaders after the Bandung conference of 1955 and Belgrade conference 1961 therefore the coup of 1952 made Egypt gain much political influence in the Arab and African politics as most countries got bent to Egypt either for diplomatic or military assistance.

**WEAKNESSES OF THE REVOLUTION ON EGYPT**

1. Nasser’s regime was authoritarian. It kept away political enemies in detention camps and their efforts to dominate the government were inadequate for example the Moslem brotherhood remained a thorn in the politics of Egypt and most of their members ended up being arrested when they demonstrated or rioted.
2. In addition political parties were banned immediately in 1952 making Egypt a one party state under the Arab socialist party. A mistake that they had fought against. This meant that there would be no opposition and the grievances of other parties were not to be considered. Therefore oppression still continued even after the revolution. The new government reminded the Egyptians of the monarchial days.
3. The union formed between Syria and Egypt in 1958 failed to bear any fruits for the United Arab Republic came to an end in 1961 and this is blamed on Nasser for he failed to secure lasting unity and solidarity among the Arabs.
4. Besides the 1967 war with Israel was even more disastrous for Egypt was only defeated in 6 days. She lost Sinai to Israel hence Egypt suffered a major set back this was not expected of the revolutionaries who had re-organized the army. This led Egypt to loose control of the Arab world including North Africa.
5. Nasser’s consequent search for arms and the means to pay for them pushed Egypt’s defense spending astronomically high and beyond the normal percentage of the National income which forced Nasser into external borrowing. This was an ironical situation for a man who stood sharply against senseless economic ventures. Therefore this national debt made Nasser to divert all the aid and revenue that would develop Egypt into servicing the debt.
6. The war in Yemen made matters worse for Egypt especially after 1961; the continued clash in Israel denied Egypt of American assistance which was providing it with free food since America was a strong supporter for Israel’s cause. This led to suffering of the native Egyptians who were depending on American food especially when famine struck in the 1960s. It is then worth criticizing the revolution as weak for it failed to sustain adequately what the revolutionary leaders had stood for.
7. As if that was not enough there were still economic evils of unemployment, corruption and inflation which led to poor standards of living. By 1970 despite the colorful economic reforms, Egypt was still unable to produce enough food and very little exports were made. This rendered the Egyptian economy unsustainable despite the reforms of the revolution.
8. Nasser disagreed with Nkrumah over the vital question of establishing a unitary government for the whole of Africa. Each accusing the other of wanting to rule the whole of Africa. Therefore this conflict of ideas resulted into the formation of a loose OAU and the opportunity of forming a stronger organization was lost. Therefore the later failures of OAU can partly be attributed to Nasser.
9. Earlier on Nasser engineered the formation of the Arab League which too hampered the principle of African solidarity. The Arab North was bound to be loyal to the Arab League and less enthusiastic to OAU while Negro South would have OAU as its sole affair. Therefore the existence of these two conflicting blocs hampered the creation of unity in Africa.
10. Tunisia under President habib Bougiba disagreed with Egypt due to ideological differences. While Tunisia got aid from the West and therefore capitalist oriented Egypt had socialist stances. Their differences became clear when Tunisia detested Egypt’s dominant position in the Arab League therefore the conflict between two sister states watered down Pan Africanism and this is blamed on Nasser whose cause for the revolution was to unite and create solidarity among the Arab states and Africa at large.
11. The radical Pan Africanism sponsored by Nasser sometimes failed to yield positive results and the radical means of attaining independence sometimes failed and led to human suffering a case in point is Namibia and South Africa’s bid to attain self rule, where diplomatic means were the best alternatives for such states, this was evident when Zimbabwe also got independence through diplomatic means in 1980 and south Africa 1994 got majority rule through diplomacy showing that radical Pan Africanism could not wholly achieve the independence of African states.
12. Nasser betrayed the principle of non-alignment especially in 1956 when he failed to secure loans from USA and Britain to extend the Aswan High Dam; he turned out of anger to the Soviet Union for assistance. He consequently became more inclined onto the East hence forth dragging Egypt into serious cold war politics. A situation that was not expected of a man that had actually participated in the 1955 Bandung conference and 1961 Belgrade conference.

**Sample Questions**.

1. Examine the achievements of the Egyptian Revolution in 1952.
2. Discuss the achievements and failures of Nasser in 1954 – 1970.
3. To what extent was King Farouk responsible for his own down fall in 1952?

**THE FOREIGN POLICY OF NASSER**

1. As part of his foreign policy Nasser launched the Suez Canal war of 1956, this was a direct result on Nasser’s effort to reduce economic dependency of Egypt on the West. Therefore Nasser was responding to aggressive imperialism on the part of Britain, France and Israel while for Egypt it was a war of liberation as a trick to isolate Egypt from the West.
2. In 1955 Nasser bought vast quantity of arms from Czechoslovakia and Russia. This was in a bid to strengthen his security in what was famously known as the communist arms deal, this brought Egypt into severe cold war politics especially with USA. It is also worth noting that this drained the state treasury and development in Egypt was retarded.
3. In a nother development Nasser opposed the 1955 Bagdad pact. This was an agreement which was anti soviet in which Britain mobilized some countries into a military alliance which comprised Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, to Nasser the Arabs participation in the pact was a betrayal of the Arab Nations and Nasser worked hard to break this pact an opportunity that came in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956.
4. Nasser after failing to secure aid from USA and Britain to construct the Aswan High Dam turned to the East such as China, Czechoslovakia and Russia which definitely provided the assistance and this increased cold war politics within the region.
5. In 1958 February Egypt and Syria formed a political Union called the United Arab Republic this was aimed at setting grounds through which Arab Unity would be achieved and consolidated.
6. In the field of Non-Alignment Nasser was fundamental in the Bandung conference1955, 1958 in Cairo and in the inauguration of the non-alignment movement in Belgrade Yugoslavia 1961. He strongly opposed Western colonialism and neo-colonialism. He went further to spread the doctrine of non-alignment to other African states. In this Nasser pursued a foreign policy that was able to keep Western imperialism at bay.
7. Nasser on the side of Pan-Africanism, joined the radical Casablanca group that was aimed at achieving African independence by which ever means. He urged other rich African states like Tunisia and Morocco to help Africans in the struggle for independence and this explains why Egypt became a base for most African nationalists who were in the struggle for independence.
8. In the inauguration of OAU 23rd May 1963 Nasser and Nkrumah were the major players in Addis Ababa. This organization compounded Africans under one umbrella so as to resist colonial and neo-colonial influences, OAU acted as a mouth pierce to all the oppressed people in Africa and imparted pressure onto the colonialists to grant independence.
9. In a bid to resist foreign domination of the Arab states, Nasser welded the Arab states into the Arab League as a shell to resist Western influence. This raised Nasser as a great Pan-Arabist which brought Egypt into the fore front for fighting for the Arab cause.
10. Nasser waged war against Israel in the 1960s in a bid to protect the Gaza strip, he also had influence in the Sinai however it ended up disastrous where Egypt lost the Golan Heights, Jordan and Sinai.
11. On his foreign policy further, Nasser supported the Algerian cause especially the 1954-62 Algerian war of independence. This brought him into collusion with the French who never wanted to leave. This explains why the French joined Israel in the Suez Canal crisis. He even supported Ben Bella’s government and his successor Hauri Boumedienne in 1965.
12. Nasser also supported Tunisia’s bid to get independence in 1956 though they were at cross roads ideologically, President Bourgiba was only convinced when Nasser provided full Egyptian support to Tunisia when it attacked the French naval force at Bizarre in 1957. This demonstrated to Tunisia that Egypt was committed to wipe up all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the Arab territories.

**THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS 1956**

The Suez Canal is an artificial water way connected to the Red sea and the Mediterranean Sea. It was constructed in 1869 such that by 1875 the French and the British had significant shares for example the British government under Prime Minister Benjamin had bought shares worth 400,000 pounds giving Britain about 43% of the Suez Canal company stock.

By 1956 a question now arose over the ownership of the Canal between Britain and France, Israel and Egypt yet Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser wanted effective control over all Egyptian resources. Real war started in October 1956 when Israel attacked Egypt in the Sinai and Gaza strip. He then got full backing from Britain and France and when Nasser attacked foreign forces in Suez Canal military show down had started. The following were the causes of the crisis.

1. After the success of the Egyptian revolution in 1952 Nasser wanted to delink Egypt from Western Europe interference and therefore the failure of the foreigners (Israel, Britain and French) to leave the canal created a chance for Nasser to begin his operation of doing away with any foreign domination that is why he started with freezing all foreign properties in Egypt something that was unacceptable the result of which was the Canal crisis.
2. The nationalistic influence of Egypt in the Pan African and Pan Arabism politics called for the crisis, she was a strong opponent of colonialism and imperialism both in Africa and in the Middle East. By so doing she stepped on the toes of Britain and France. Egypt offered material assistance to liberation movements like the Mau Mau, FLN of Algeria and became a propaganda base through radio Cairo; this alarmed the imperialists and compelled them to resort to violence which came in the Suez Canal crisis.
3. The Suez Canal crisis was partly due to the question of Sudan which was one of the main aims of the 1952 coup in Egypt, Egypt wished to restore the Union with Sudan because of the vital importance of the Nile. Since 1898 no Egyptian was ever appointed as the governor general of Sudan and this was hindered by the presence of British rule over Sudan. The Suez Canal conflict was then used as the immediate cause to settle the old wrangles.
4. The strategic location of the Suez Canal, it had strategic concerns to many states that made the war inevitable. Nasser considered the Suez Canal as a political source of government revenue that would enhance domestic economic reforms, besides the Suez Canal linked Egypt well with Arab states in the Middle East, Britain and France had considerable interests for the canal provided a short route to the oil producing countries and India. Therefore when Nasser tried to break this economic progress the war in the Suez Canal became inevitable in 1956.
5. In 1955 Nasser denounced the Baghdad pact and condemned Arab states such as Iraq and Iran plus Turkey and Pakistan that had signed the Agreement. He was then referred to as a **menace** by the Western powers and they also called him **“The new Hitler and a backing** **dictator”.** It is this blockade of the Western interests in the Middle East that strained the relationship between them and Nasser leading to the Suez Canal crisis in 1956.
6. Cold war politics, Nasser was increasingly becoming procommunist for example in 1954 on coming to power, he immediately recognized the communist government in China led by Mao Tse Tung and he denounced the capitalist government in Taiwan which was an ally of the West. In 1955 he went further to buy large quantities of arms from Russia and Czechoslovakia to reinforce the security of Egypt. However this was looked at as a strategy of spreading communism through Egypt, the Western powers then opted to stop this through the Suez Canal crisis.
7. The refusal by Britain and France to respect the Anglo-Egyptian treaty in 1936 which stated that they would only stay within the canal for only twenty years. By 1956 they had not shown any sign of leaving the canal and on coming to power Nasser wanted to fulfill this by whichever means. He began with freezing all foreign properties and later military show down with the foreigners.
8. The Anglo-France Israel conspiracy that is to say these powers agreed on the time table of the attack that is Israel should attack first for it had reasons because Egypt was supporting the Jedagens and Golan rebels that were causing unrest to Israel. Then Britain and France would come in as helpers. This compounded strength to Israel which had natural hatred to the Arabs and by 1956 the crisis could not be avoided.
9. In addition Egypt had broken the state of Israeli by depriving her free access to the Gulf of Aqaba in the Red sea; the area was of strategic importance since it had offered an outlet and communication link between Israel and the outside world through the port of Eilat. This angered Israel and opted to conspire with Britain and France to take over the Suez Canal, the result of which was the Suez Canal crisis.
10. Right from the start France was sympathetic to the Jews as people who had suffered so much, France admired how the Jews had created the state of Israel through war with the Arabs in 1948. Therefore the cause of Israel became a causeof the French in the Middle East. It supplied it with fighter air crafts and by 1955 Egypt experienced anexceptionally harsh attack of Israel in the Gaza strip. This annoyed Nasser and military confrontation in the Suez Canal became inevitable.
11. Another cause of the crisis was the refusal by the West to extend financial assistance in the construction of the Aswan High Dam project, USA was supposed to provide about 10 million dollars and when by July 1956 this offer was turned down, Nasser turned to the Soviet Union to secure loans for the Aswan High Dam project. This angered the Western world and military confrontation in the Suez Canal could not be avoided.
12. In 1956 Nasser took a mood to nationalize the Suez Canal and this could not be allowed by the Western powers for Britain and France had a share of 90% of all the revenue collected. On the other side Nasser wanted to use this revenue to develop Egypt. This therefore became the immediate cause of the crisis within the Suez Canal.
13. The need to implement the 10th article of Constantinople pact of 1818 where Egypt was given the custodianship of the canal which Britain failed to acknowledge and when Nasser came to power he wanted to protect whatever belonged to Egypt. Therefore the unwillingness of Britain to leave the canal called for a crisis.
14. Nasser’s desire to maintain economic supremacy, he intended to transform Egypt into an industrial Arab state in the region from the backward agricultural economy. This was opposed by the capitalist states like Britain and France who wished to have Egypt as their market for European industrial products. Moreover Nasser also feared that France and Britain would gain an upper hand in the Egyptian oil fields and exploit them in the same way they were exploiting the Suez Canal. Thus to fulfill his economic programmes Nasser had to engage in war with Britain and France hence forth the Suez Canal crisis.
15. Much as Egypt was apparently defeated at the battle field it won the war of nationalizing the Suez canal as the UN forces intervened and forced the British, French and Israelites forces to retreat, they had gone as far as Alexandria. This helped Nasser’s government who then settled and continued with his revolution.

**EFFECTS OF THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS**

1. Many Egyptians lost their lives including over 300 soldiers, vast quantities of equipment destroyed and property damaged.
2. The crisis was a diplomatic, political and moral victory for Egypt, the peace terms compelled Britain to flee out of Egypt hence the full control of the canal went into the hands of the Egyptians.
3. Total independence was realized such that by January 1957 she was free at last from the excessive influence of the western European powers, she thus achieved total political, social and economic independence.
4. The diplomatic victory elevated Nasser’s stature both in Egypt and in the Arab world. He became the leading defender of the Arab interests against imperialism. Egypt then became a centre of Arab nationalism and Nasser became a hero to be worshipped. Nasserism became the order of the day which involved Nationalism and Islamic principles.
5. When Egypt emerged victorious, Cairo was seen by Africans as a centre for African nationalism agitation. It attracted political parties like UNC of Uganda and allowed the establishment of headquarters by Liberation movements like MPLA of Angola and FLN of Algeria. The canal war accelerated the struggle for the liberation of Africa for it gave the decolonization effort a new face and Africans were convinced that if Egypt could defeat Britain and France the major colonial powers so other African states could do the same.
6. From 1956 on wards Nasser intensified his support for African states that had not got their independence. He joined the Casablanca group which was very radical in demanding for African independence. He extended moral, financial and military support to all Africans in the struggle for independence. It can therefore be argued that his decolonization effort for the whole African continent was given momentum after he defeated the British and French plus the Israelites in the Suez Canal.
7. Egypt now became a strong voice on the international forum in the condemnation against imperialism and Nasser was always given a platform in the UN General Assembly and was able to expose the evils of colonialism thereby attracting international sympathy, the result of which was that most African states were in position to get independence in the 1960s and 1970s.
8. The canal crisis acted as the last blow to the French colonialism because since the year 1957 the French started to grant independence to their colonies forexample, in French West Africa in 1958 the French organized referendum in its colonies in which they opted to do away with colonial rule. It is then that countries like Guinea Conakry under Seku Toure and Ivory Coast attained their independence.
9. The canal crisis provided the background of sowing seeds of resentment in the whole of Africa. Most Africans then copied the example of Egypt for the desire to determine their fate against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Therefore it can be argued that the canal crisis quickened the pace of event in demanding for independence.
10. The Africans now questioned the ability of Britain and France to protect them after the canal crisis. Many third world countries turned away to USA and USSR or even Egypt for protection and this explains why most African countries adopted socialism immediately after independence. A case in point is Tanzania under Nyerere, Algeria under Ben Bella among others and this oiled up cold war politics in Africa.
11. The crisis resulted into change in leadership both in Britain and France because public opinion had opposed military intervention in the Suez Canal. As a result Anthony Eden in Britain failed and in 1958 in France Charles Degaule came to power the second time with determination to end French colonialism. This then quickened the independence for African states.
12. After the crisis Egypt was driven into an ambitious union with Syria in 1958 which was an attempt by Nasser to create a United Arab Republic that would consolidate Arab unity and solidarity.
13. Similarly Egypt was drawn closer to Russia and the Eastern bloc. She got more financial and technical assistance that enabled her undertake domestic projects especially the construction of the Aswan High Dam. After securing this aid economic development was enhanced given the vital importance of the dam in industrial development of Egypt.
14. As a negative consequence Egypt lost some territories in the Sinai to Israel which allowed Israel to gain access to the Gulf of Aqaba in the Red sea. This had never been the wish of Nasser and Egypt who sought to protect whatever belonged to the Arab world.
15. To facilitate peace in the region as a result of UN intervention, Egypt was forced to abandon her terrorist activities against Israel. This was a great disappointment to the Palestinians because PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) which had been formed under Yasa Alfat in 1963 to counteract Israel that was backed by the Western world had had great support from Egypt. This definitely strengthened the Israel’s stay between the Arab states.
16. The crisis strengthened the Arab world for instance the Arab League which was formed in 1955 by Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen had their headquarters in Cairo until 1978 when they transferred to Tunisia.
17. It was after this crisis that Nasser confidently supported other nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Kenyatta, and Lumumba among others. Prominent beneficially of this was the FLN from Algeria. Egypt then became a voice of all discontented people of the world on international fora especially the UN General Assembly.
18. Iraq because of being Pro-British came under increasing attack from other Arab states after the crisis. The prime minister of Iraq Nuriel-Saidi was eventually murdered in 1958 giving a way to the Iraq Union with other Arab powers which was aimed at getting rid of Israel from the Arab map. However this led to many wars with Israel including the 6days war of 1967 and the Yom-Kuppar war of 1973. It can thus be argued that relations that were later to follow between the Arabs and the Jews owed much to the Suez Canal crisis.
19. Having got the confidence of war victory, Egypt blocked the canal and the Arabs turned off oil taps that were heading to Western Europe. As a result the whole world was severely heat by the oil crisis famous of which was the 1973 oil crisis which was meant to bring Western Europe to her knees and completely relax her imperial attitude against the Arab world. The Suez Canal crisis therefore is credited for having brought diplomatic relations between Europe and the Arab world.
20. The crisis hampered the relations between USA and Britain, Britain went to war with all hopes that Giant USA will come to her rescue in case aloof and more so President Eisenhower was not ready to face a Soviet Union that was supporting Nasser for it could make him loose another term of office by supporting violent unpopular actions. Britain was further angered by the American action of voting against her in the UN.
21. On 6th November 1956, the war came to an end after 60 days of bitter fighting they called for a cease fire and the canal was handed over to the UN emergence forces of about 40,000 men under the control of the UN Boss Dag Hammersk Jold. The plan was very much supported by Eisenhower who was not ready to face disaster with USSR that had just invented a hydrogen bomb spatnak I. so the invaders had lost and Nasser had gained highly.

**Note:** The 1952 Egyptian coup was the first coup in the history of Africa in post independent Africa and the Egyptian revolution was the first major changes seen by the Europeans in what they had termed the **“Dark Continent’’** yet the Suez canal crisis was the first major diplomatic victory over the Europeans.

It can therefore be argued that the rise of the free army officers was a blessing to Egypt and Africa at large because the Egyptian coup had far reaching effects.

**QUESTIONS**

1. The Suez Canal crisis was inevitable. Discuss
2. Examine the causes and consequences of the 1956 Suez Canal crisis
3. Examine the life and career of Gamal Abdel Nasser from 1952-1970.

**PROBLEMS OF DISUNITY, SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND UPRISINGS.**

**THE 1964 ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION**

It was master minded by Ugandan field Marshal John Okello from Lango who had gone to the island as a painter and a casual laborer. The revolution lasted for only 9 hours in the night of 11th and 12th January 1964 under a heavy down pour. It was conducted during the month of Ramadan on the Iddi Festival when all Arabs were expected to be jubilating.

***Field Marshal John Okello***

**Note:**

The Island was a British protectorate from 1890 to 10th December 1963 when it gained independence under Sultan Jamshid (an Arab) who then became the head of state.However it is important to note that the revolution was against the Arab minority who constituted about 50,000 people that had dominated the majority Africans who constituted about 200,000 people.

**CAUSES OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION**

**QN. Account for outbreak of the Zanzibar revolution of 1964.**

1. The colonial legacy contributed to the Zanzibar revolution. The British had used the minority Arabs to dominate Africans through their policy of divide and rule. These Arabs had tortured and mal-administered the Africans. On granting independence in the hands of the Arabs in 1963, Africans could not allow it which situation was exploited by Okello to stage a successful revolution.
2. The economic crisis of 1960, the cloves which were a major cash crop in Zanzibar and Pemba drastically lost market and the prices lowered considerably, the Africans in turn blamed the Asians of Indo-Pakistan origin and the Arab produce buyers. This caused alarming situation as the cost of living increased. Under such conditions the only alternative was to stage a revolution such that the Africans control their own economies.
3. The sky rocketing unemployment that hit the island as a result of the government layingoff many policemen and other Africans from positions of responsibility, these discontented masses were easily recruited into John Okello’s secret army leading to the 1964 revolution.
4. The influence of the Zanzibar nationalistic party and the Zanzibar people’s party coalition government (ZNP/PP). It was politically and military inefficient, promotions were not on merit and the discontented Africans sought to avert this through a revolution, there was a lot of corruption and embezzlement of government funds which compounded people together against the government.
5. The weakness of the army which was manned by the Arabs who were even poorly armed, the problems of the army was exploited by John Okello to overthrow the coalition government. We can not forget the fact that the Zanzibar revolution lasted for only nine hours an overt manifestation of the military weakness of the coalition government.
6. The influence of socialism, an ideology that normally crops up under circumstances of appalling economic conditions. In this case Babu of the Ummah party organized trade unions to oppose the poor pay of the workers and the brutal methods of work by Arab supervisors. Therefore Okello only exploited the already discontented class of citizens to stage a revolution in 1964.
7. The ambitious character of John Okello, he had settled on the island at the age of 21years in 1952, he had worked as a painter, stone cutter and a casual laborer. Before becoming a minor branch official of the Afro-shiraz party (ASP) in vitongozi village in Pemba Island. By 1961 he had developed a conviction of participating in the revolutionary army. He started organizing the disgruntled people later on the laid off policemen who all joined hands to over throw the government of Jamshid.
8. The revolution was also caused by Psychological fears, intimidation and suspicion on the island, it was alledged that more ruthless and autocratic laws were going to be passed on them such as circumcision. The government had also denied them the opportunity to travel outside Zanzibar. The Africans also feared that the government was planning to send them away from the island so they reacted fast before the Arabs, resulting into a revolution.
9. Compulsory wearing of the sultan’s budge (with the title his highness) by all Africans on the island. This policy was interpreted as direct enslavement in their own country. This angered Africans at a time when there was a wind of change blowing throughout Africa. To avoid this a revolution was inevitable
10. Unfair distribution of land on the island; in Zanzibar land was a monopoly of the Arabs who established plantations, Africans and the Afro-shirazs’ (mixed blood of Africans and Arabs) lived on land as squatters and had to pay rent. This was unbearable where agriculture was a major economic activity. This could only be avoided through a revolution.
11. The revolution was also caused by poor handover of power by the British to the Arabs, in 1955 the Zanzibar nationalistic party was formed constituting mostly Arabs and demanded for self government. On the other hand in 1957 the Afro-Shiraz party was formed by Abeid Karume and it called for immediate self government. However despite this conflict, the British went on to grant independence pre-maturely to the Arabs, Karume resorted to opposition and by 1964 the revolution was ripe. The situation that was exploited by John Okello.
12. On the other hand the economic activities of Zanzibar specifically trade were dominated by the Arabs. They determined market price and Africans were discriminated and did not own any share apart from acting as producers. This coupled with other grievances speeded the pace of events that resulted into a revolution.
13. The high taxation policy, Africans were taxed by the government on top of paying land rents to the landlords, as if that was not enough the Arab tax collectors were harsh, tortured, flogged or imprisoned defaulters mercilessly. Such unfairness in the tax policy prepared fertile grounds for resistance.
14. The educational imbalances in Zanzibar, by 1964 Zanzibar had been turned into a class society with the Arabs comprising of the aristocracy, it was only the wealthy Arabs who took their children to schools hence dominating the civil service for the poor Africans could not afford the school fees. Such political quagmire made the Africans to resist hence the revolution.
15. Historical differences between the Arabs and Africans, ever since Seyyid Saidi’s transfer of his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1814 , the Afro-Arab relations have never been friendly for it increased the horrors inflicted by slave trade as the clove plantations necessitated slave labor and when in 1963 the British granted independence to the Arabs, Africans were scared and were not sure whether Arabs would not bring back slave trade in Zanzibar and Pemba, this only served to prepare ground for the revolution.
16. Religious friction, the early Portuguese conquest had spread Christianity among the Africans, this was a sharp contrast to the Arabs who admired the Islamic faith. To make matters worse sultan Jamshid had ordered the Islamisation of the majority Christians and introduction of the Sharia law. This could not be accepted and it is not surprising that the Christians led the revolution of 1964.
17. The emergency of different political parties of different ideologies. By 1957 three parties had emerged ZNP and ZPP and ASP with different ideologies. Later the Ummah party also emerged as a break away from the ZNP/PP coalition party. The subsequent elections on 1961-63 showed that Africans could not win as the wealthy Arabs controlled the politics of the state; therefore they turned to violent means to attaining genuine independence.
18. Racial segregation, the island was multi-racial with the British, Arabs, the Afro-shiraz and Africans. Unfortunately the Africans were regarded lowest in class, the social services were not properly distributed this lingered in the minds of Africans who decided to rise against the foreigners who did not regard themselves them as useful citizens in their own country.

Questions:

1. To what extent was the religious conflict responsible for the Zanzibar revolution in 1964?
2. “The colonial legacy was primarily responsible to the outbreak of the 1964 Zanzibar revolution”. Discuss.
3. To what extent was Sultan Jamshid responsible for his own downfall?

**IMPACT/EFFECTS OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION**

1. The revolution led to the over throw of the ZNP/PP coalition government which was the obvious result of the Zanzibar revolution, after the abduction of the Sultan on 12th January 1964 the revolutionary council was established from the Ummah and Afro-Shiraz parties to govern Zanzibar. These included Sheikh Abeid Karume as chairman and field marshal John Okello.
2. Led to loss of life and property destroyed about 13,635 people perished within one night and 21,464 arrested and detained in both Zanzibar and Pemba, there was a lot of looting of the Arab and Asian shops, clove plantations were equally attacked and slashed to ground level.
3. The revolution led to the exiling of the Arabs from the Island who escaped the wrath of African revolutionaries. The sultan and his family were the first to escape on 12th January 1964 without even informing his ministers, he went to Dar-el-salaam and later fled to Britain.
4. There was union of Zanzibar with Tanganyika in 1964 as a strategy partly to implement Dr. Nkrumah’s idea of the United States of Africa. Tanzania then became the largest East Africa state. The Union was put to reality and Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere became the first president of the Union, Sheik Karume of Zanzibar became the first vice president and Rashid Kawawa became the second vice President. Dar-el-salaam became the seat of the union Parliament that was formed.
5. The nationalisation policy was upheld after the revolution, a new government took over ownership of the large crop plantations, giant business enterprises, the aim of which was to weaken the Arabs’ control of economy and stimulate employment opportunities for Africans.
6. The revolution prompted other coups in Africa, in Uganda 1971, Algeria 1965,Libya 1969 and in Sudan the army mutinied against the established government in a bid to demand for the improved welfare of the citizens.
7. It created unity and solidarity among the people of Zanzibar and Tanganyika, trade was easily carried out in the two states and the period of peace and posperity was realized. This improved peoples’ stardards of living.
8. There was Africanisation of the civil service in Zanzibar, the revolutionary council dismissed and replaced Arabs with Africans and this helped to make Africans control their affairs in Zanzibar.
9. There was social improvement for example the council established a housing scheme for the poor and the aged, the poor and the aged were also given subsistence income this greatly helped to improve the standard of living of the masses.
10. Infrastructural development were enhanced, roads were constructed, schools built and healthy centers. On top of that industrial development was given the first priority.
11. Social stratification (division) was no more as a result of the revolution as all people enjoyed the social services equally. Therefore the revolution was the last blow to Arab racism and segregation.
12. Promotions were on merit in the different government establishments and this was true because there was improvement in the educational system and administration. This led to better service provision.
13. The revolution gave a clear example to other Africans still under foreign domination to shade off the colonial masters. A case in point are the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique 1975, Angola 1975 and Guinea Bissau 1974.
14. The revolution resulted into the persecution of the field marshal John Okello, he became a member of the revolutionary council as a reward of his Vanguard role in the revolution. However he was later discriminated and declared persona nongrata (an out law) in the three countries for fear that Okello would lead similar revolutions against the established governments.
15. Okello fled to Tanzania but given strict time to leave the country after a brief detention by Nyerere, he later went to Kenya but was imprisoned by Kenyatta and later ordered him to vacate the country with immediate effect. When he came to Uganda Obote ordered him to leave the country or else to be imprisoned. Obsessed with frustration field marshal John Okello lived a life of secrete suffering till he died during Amin’s regime. He is however remembered today for his courageous role of bringing political equality in Zanzibar.

**FACTORS THAT LED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION IN 1964.**

Qn. Account for the success of the Zanzibar revolution of 1964.

1. Vigilance of the field martial John Okello despite the fact that Okello was a liberator in a foreign land but his courage, revolutionary zeal and charisma highly contributed to the success of the revolution. He was a good organizer and this helped him in the dismantling of the Arab government.
2. Lack of a strong spying network in Zanzibar, Okello planned the revolution with the highest level of secrecy but even then Sultan Jamshid’s intelligence network was very inefficient for they could have detected the entire mission of Okello before it was actualized. The Arab inefficiency can be seen with the surprise attacks on the Sultan’s palace.
3. Coincidence with the Ramadan festival in the night of 11th to 12th January 1964, no doubt Okello was a schemer for he was fully aware that government and military officials would be fully occupied with prayers and jubilations on the day of the Ramadan festival. It is exactly then that Okello staged the revolution, this explains why Zowan and Malindi police armory were over run with ease just as Mutoni police station was over run.
4. The support got from the masses. Okello, got the support from the discontented peasants, the unemployed, painters because he addressed the problems they were facing, with the numerical strength attained, the Arab government was easily over taken.
5. The use of violence by the Africans the Afro Shiraz party supporters went on rampage destroying the Arab and Asian shops, their houses and cutting down the plantations. This caused panic and many were forced to flee to exile hence the success of the revolution.
6. The weakness of the Arab government, they were not only corrupt but harsh and arrogant to their African subjects. Africans were discriminated in schools, military and civil service. All these problems compounded together Africans who gave their support to the revolution making it successful.
7. The abduction of Sultan Jamshid to exile, he left a power vacuum in Zanzibar and this was only to be filled by the revolutionary council led by Abeid Karume hence forth it was clear that the revolutionaries had succeeded.
8. The formation of the revolutionary council, after the success of Okello’s attack on sultan’s palace, he realized that he was an African nationalist fighting for liberation in a foreign land. For this reason Okello formed the revolutionary council with Sheikh Abeid Karume as the chairman in order to gain support of the majority Africans behind the revolution. This gave a lot of support and the revolutionaries gained strength.
9. The split of the ZNP/PP and the formation of the Ummah party in 1963 by Ahmed Babu greatly weakened the coalition government; they even spread socialist propaganda leading the masses to turn against the Sultan in 1964.
10. The military weakness of the Sultan’s government, they were ill equipped and did not have modern tactics of war, it is therefore not surprising that Okello’s revolutionary men easily over run the Sultan’s government in just nine hours.
11. The use of surprise attacks. Okello made surprise attack on Zowani police armory later to Mutoni and Malindi stations. He equally invaded by surprise the sultan’s palace therefore it can be argued that the surprise attacks planned by Okello partly contributed to the success of the 1964 revolution.
12. Okello’s determination to fulfill his dream and religious cult ; that one day when he was sleeping God instructed him to go to the river and pick a black stone which symbolized that God was with him and promising him success wherever he went and whatever he did. This was an aspiration on which the revolution succeeded.
13. Okello’s characters and ambition, he was physically able to mobilize Africans, instill courage amongst the Africans, he was seen as a Trans- national figure that had the ability to plan and organize others. He persuaded Africans to take up stones, arrows, pangas, and hoes to confront Arabs who had guns.
14. The numerical advantage of the Africans, Okello used his Afro-identity to rally support such that almost all Africans in Zanzibar were determined to support their African counter parts against the Arabs.
15. The moral support from the East African countries. Even after the revolution, some arms were still sent to Zanzibar to reinforce its security. It is believed that Okello got soldiers from Tanzania a fact he denied.
16. Lack of support to Arabs from the British. They were left isolated and no reinforcement was given to them. This led the revolutionaries to easily over take the Arabs.
17. The heavy rains during the nights of 11th and 12th Jan 1964 caused confusion but worked to help Africans challenge the unprepared Arab army.

**THE RWANDAN REVOLUTION IN 1959**

Rwanda and Burundi were before world war one Germany colonies. After the war in 1919 the two colonies were mandated to Belgium by the League of Nations.

Historically Rwanda has suffered ethnic tensions, from the 15th century the Tutsi had dominated the Hutus politically yet the Bahutu were the majority comprising of 85% of the total population while the Tutsi’s 14% and the Twa’s 1%.

Different theories have been given to show how the present day Rwanda was created.

1. **The Virginia bound notes theory;**

It says that Rwanda was first inhabited by the Twa, a pigmy group who lived as fruit gatherers, during the early centuries the Hutus came and started cultivating finally the Tutsi pastoralists came to this area from the North possibly from Ankole and started dominating the Hutus and the Twa. This theory therefore explains that the Tutsi despite their small number are responsible for building Rwanda into a modern state.

1. **Kibaraho theory;**

It stated that, there existed a chief called Gihanga who had three sons namely Gahutu, Gatwa and Gatutsi, one day the chief decided to send Gahutu, Gatutsi and Gatwa, Gatutsi got the information while Gahutu and Gatwa got drunk and forgot the task. Gahutu and Gatwa were cursed plus their descendants while Gatutsi and his descendants got blessings to dominate others.

Therefore historians believe this is the root cause of ethnic tension in Rwanda.

The political domination by the Tutsi started in the 15tth century. The Tutsi were the rulers of the Monarchy and on the aftermath of colonialism the Germans and later Belgians used them through the policy of divide and rule as colonial agents. However more convincing arguments ought to be given to explain the causes of the 1959 Rwandan revolution

**ORIGINS OF THE RWANDAN REVOLUTION**

1. One of the primary causes of the revolution was the death of Umwami Rudahigwa Mutara III who was murdered in July 1959 but did not have a son to succeed him; the Hutu’s now expected that as a way of resolving ethnic tension and wonder a Hutu would be enthroned. However their hopes were buried underground when Mutara’s half brother Kigeri was installed as a king of Rwanda. This therefore fuelled the occurrence of the revolution in 1959.
2. The continuous domination of the Tutsi minority over the Hutu majority. Ever since 1800 the Tutsi monarch (Umwami) and his chiefs (Batwale) governed by divine rights. Therefore the need to end Tutsi domination aroused sentiments and forced the Hutus to raise arms against the Tutsi that ended into the revolution.
3. Mal-administration of the Tutsi over the Hutus fuelled ethnic tension. The Tutsi chiefs tortured and harassed the Hutus, the Belgians failed to maintain law and order which forced the Hutus on rampage in a bid to assert their authority since the colonial masters had failed to create peace and stop the genocide against the Hutu. They then took up arms to change the situation.
4. The emergence of Hutu elites. A few Hutus by 1958 had benefited from the Belgian policy of divide and rule to gain some education. Such included Gregory Kaibanda who formed the Hutu socialist party and Habyalimana who formed the association of social promotion. They begun questioning the Tutsi domination over them and when the Tutsi Aristocrats gave a deaf ear the Hutu elites did not hesitate to champion a revolution by 1959.
5. Heavy taxation provided fertile grounds for the revolution. During tax collection the Tutsi were exempted from paying taxes yet they comprised the rich class with a lot of cattle, the methods of collection were brutal to the Hutus which left them frustrated hence they decided to use violence so as to get rid of the Tutsi exploitation.
6. The Hutu genocide in 1959 by the Tutsi, after the murder of Umwami Mutara111, the Hutu’s intensified their demand for social equality in Rwanda. As a result, Kigeri the successor began a scheme of indiscriminately killing the Hutus, this increased resentment among the Hutus hence revolting in 1959 as a way of reducing and avoiding such mass killings.
7. The unfair distribution of land, the Tutsis who were the minority were the feudal Landlords, they even wanted to protect their grass to feed their animals. This affected agriculture so much and since the Hutus were agriculturalists they were thrown in a situation so starvation on top of paying tribute to the monarch and land rent to the landlords. It was to such reasons that the Hutus spearheaded a revolution to struggle for fair land distribution.
8. Forced labor on public works and Belgian plantations, through the policy of indirect rule, the Belgians gave powers to the Tutsis in administration; the Tutsi also believed that they were born to rule their Hutu counter parts and there fore harshly treated them by forcing them to work on Belgian farms and public works. Such dictatorship annoyed the Hutus to rise against the Tutsis an episode that occurred in 1959.
9. The role of the Catholic Church indirectly inspired the 1959 revolution in Rwanda. The Arch bishop Perraudin of the Catholic Church had denounced racial segregation; he then called for justice forum which aroused spirit of rebellion among the Hutus leading to the crisis of 1959.
10. The efforts of World War II. There was a wind of change blowing throughout Africa and Rwanda in particular. This inspired the Hutu elites to demand for changes. They raised grievances to the UN General Secretary who gave them impetus (go ahead) to continue in their demand for freedom and justice. Therefore failure of granting such freedom and Justice compounded the Hutus together to fight for the same cause.
11. The influence of Ghana which had achieved independence under kwame Nkrumah in 1957, this greatly inspired African nationalists else where to struggle for their independence not only from colonial rule but also against all forms of oppression. In Rwanda particularly nationalists like Kaibanda and Habyarimana mobilized fellow Hutus to fight against the Tutsis in particular and later the Belgians which would drive them to total independence. This therefore called for a revolution in 1959.
12. The wide spread famine in Rwanda, in 1954 the Belgians put up land policies that left many Hutus landless and when famine struck the Hutus were the greatest victims and the government did not care. Therefore in situations of hunger the last option was a revolution by the Hutus in 1959.
13. The immediate cause was the Gitarama incidence, after the rise of Kigeri the Tutsi embarked on the plan to water down the uprisings of the Hutus through killings and intimidation, the November 1959 attack of the Hutu at Gitarama and murdering many provoked wide spread Hutu peasant uprising, bloodshed and looting of Tutsi homes. The crisis had begun.
14. The kalinga drum incident (Binege drum) made the revolution inevitable. The Tutsi used to kill hutu men, cut off their tastacles and tie them on the kalinga drum. Whenever they wanted to anoy the hutus they would take out the kalinga drum and drum it. The hutus would then remember their fallen comrades in pain, this made the hutu join hands to oust the Tutsi out of power and this resulted into a revolution.
15. The Hutus were inspired by the long heritage of traditional resistance against colonial rule that is Nyabingi protests in the early colonial times therefore these long memories were lingering in the minds of the Hutus that they were still very strong specifically in the North of the country. It is therefore not surprising that the genesis of the uprising was from the North of the country.
16. The revolution was caused by the Hutu manifesto of 1957, it asserted that the problem in Rwanda was a monopoly of one race the Tutsi and therefore changes should be made, the Tutsi rejected this diplomatic Hutu approach which aimed at creating a free society. Therefore this compelled the Hutus to think that success can not be achieved through diplomacy hence staging a violent revolution.
17. Forced cash crop growing for export and sweet potatoes for food. This was enforced by the Tutsis on behalf of the Belgians. Such economic policies couldnot be accepted at a time when the Hutus wanted social economic independence. The option left was to take up arms.

**CONSQUENCES OF THE RWANDAN REVOLUTION 1959**

* 1. The revolution led to the downfall of the Tutsi monarchy. After the death of Umwami Mutara III in July 1959, Umwami Kigeri was declared the successor. However with the Hutu uprising Kigeri fled to exile and the provisional government was organized by the Belgians led by the Hutu that is Habyarimana as the President and Kaibanda as Prime minister. In 1962 presidential elections the Hutus were victorious with Kaibanda as the first president of the Republic of Rwanda.
  2. The revolution led to a refugee crisis. It was a period of anarchy and chaos as many Tutsis were executed. As a result many Tutsis fled to neighboring countries like Uganda, Burundi, Zaire, Kenya and others fled to Europe. Therefore becoming refugees leading to suffering of many hutus from problems such as starvation and poor health.
  3. The revolution led to the 1961 referendum, Rwandese were to choose on either monarchism or Republicanism; the result showed the love for a Republic and consequently the republican constitution was put in place which was approved by the UN in 1961.
  4. The revolution increased population in the neighboring states. It is no doubt that what was a Rwandan domestic matter of 1959 later turned a burden to the neighbors. As a result through the UNHCR refugee camps were set up for the Tutsi like Nakivale in western Uganda.
  5. The revolution largely contributed to the rise and fall of many governments in the neighboring countries for example the Tutsi joined NRA of Uganda and over threw Obote II government in 1985 which was replaced by General Okello Lutwa’s government which was short lived and in 1986 on 26th January Museveni’s NRA government rose to a position of prominence. Like wise the Rwandese Militia supported Kabira to topple the government of Joseph Mubutu of Congo.
  6. Dictatorial rule emerged in Rwanda, in order to consolidate himself Kaibanda ordered massive arrests of the opposition, massive killings and banned political party activities. Rwanda then became a one party state under M.R.N.D (Movement for the Restoration of National Development).
  7. The revolution gave rise to several rebel groups based in the neighboring countries against the real organized Rwandan government, the Tutsis used the neighboring countries as bases for example RPF (Rwanda Patriotic Front) based in Uganda, Enterahamwe and Banyamulenge based In Congo, the Enyenzi based in Burundi all these worked to destabilize the Hutu government.
  8. The revolution heightened ethnic tension between the Tutsis and the Hutus when Kaibanda came to power he discriminated the Tutsis murdered them and imprisoned them. Again when Juvenile Habyarimana came to power in 1973 he did the same; as a result the Tutsis under General Fred Rwijema fought and over threw the Hutu government in 1994. This led to the famous Rwandan genocide where about a million people perished.
  9. The Hutu government reconstructed the Rwandan army, many Tutsi army leaders were arrested and others replaced by the Hutus. However this was aimed at consolidating the Hutus in government however promotions were on merit but in the Hutu circles.
  10. The revolution weakened neo-colonialism in Rwanda, after independence the Hutu dismissed the Belgians and the French from the politics of Rwanda and real independence was achieved.
  11. The revolution sparked off the reign of instability ever since 1959 Rwanda had been under going a series of attacks for example Enyenzi attacked Rwanda from Burundi in 1963, another attack was in 1973 where Kaibanda died and many other attacks were carried out even after 1994 against Kagame’s government.
  12. The revolution led to the rise of Juvenile Habyarimana as president of Rwanda, when Gregory Kaibanda became president on independence and the army commander at the rank of General, whatever transpired negative was blamed on Kaibanda for example the killing the too many Hutu civilians, Habyarimana took advantage of such disorders to over throw Kaibanda in a military coup, killed him and assumed presidency in 1973. However he also crashed in a Plane in 1994.
  13. The revolution gave birth to guerilla activities in Uganda and Burundi. Following the Hutu victory, the Tutsi nationalists who could not believe their fall formed a guerilla movement known as the Cockroach movement based in Burundi. By 1963 the Movement had started launching attacks onto the Hutu government in an attempt to carry out a coup.
  14. On the positive note since the Tutsi were cattle keepers, they moved with large herds to Uganda they flooded Ntugamo, Kisoro, Mbarara, Kumi, Bushenyi, soroti, Gulu and added wealth to those parts of Uganda.
  15. The mass exodus of refugees in Uganda led to severe relations between the Ugandan government and Rwanda. The climax of this is that it is alleged Uganda was directly involved in the death of Habyarimana and the invasion by over time refugees was based in Uganda.

**THE KATANGA CRISIS 1960-1964**

Geographically Congo is located in the central of the African continent. Historically it was colonized by the Belgians following the Berlin Conference of 1884 called by Bismarck; African nationalism remained a dream in Congo from 1885 to around 1945.

On 30th June 1960 Congo got independence but later after 11days according to Ali Mazrui a secessionist struggle emerged where Katanga wanted a separate status. It was masterminded by Moishe Tshombe against the government of Joseph Kasavubu President and Lumumba Patrice the Prime Minister.

**FACTORS FOR THE ATTEMPTED SECCESSION OF KATANGA AFTER INDEPENDENCE.**

* 1. The nature of colonial administration characterized by divide and rule, the Belgians had designed Tshombe to promote their interests separately. Yet they had made most of the Congolese politically virgins. This secret support encouraged the Moishe Tshombe to secede from main land Congo.
  2. The failure of the central government to increase the number of parliamentarians representing Katanga. Katanga had only four parliamentarians yet with about 2/3 of elites in Congo to avert this, the secession became inevitable.
  3. The economic giantness of Katanga in terms of goods, minerals and soils it had and it has minerals like Zinc, gold, copper, Uranium to mention but afew besides Katanga produced 60% of Congo’s GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Therefore this stimulated economic nationalism of Tshombe who wanted all the resources to be used in the development of Katanga.
  4. The rapid urbanization and industrialization in Katanga inspired continued immigration of people to Katanga to get employed. This however in turn increased the rate of unemployment and reduced the standards of living and the per capita income of the people in Katanga. In such a situation resentment was inevitable which was exploited in by Tshombe to secede.
  5. The weakness of the central government of Congo, the president Kasavubu and Lumumba the Prime minister always had a conflict of decision which forced Kasavubu to axe him from his post, Lumumba also used the constitutional powers to remove Kasavubu from presidency. This confusion was exploited by Tshombe to declare an independent state of Katanga.
  6. The personal ambitions of Tshombe to lead prompted secession. This begun in 1955 in the Brussels conference when he advocated for a federal government which could act as a stepping stone in achieving his objectives. He once stated that **“Never** **will Congo rest unless I become a leader in Congo”** This was a clear manifestation that he was determined to use any means to achieve his objectives hence the Katanga’s attempt to secede.
  7. The weakness and the reluctance of the UNO which was invited on 12th July 1960 to check on the continued influx of Belgians in Congo under the guise of protecting their nationals in Congo, the UN responded by bringing out a charter that stated that **“ None interference in the internal affairs of member states”.** This gave a free hand for Tshombe to secede as he was assured of Belgian support; the UN also took little effort in trying to crash the Katanga secession.
  8. The large concentration of white settlers in Katanga from Belgium. These provided incentives to farmers through the Katangese Union making Tshombe convinced that he had the potential of defeating mainland Congo. Thus this inspired him to break away.
  9. The existence of Vast Belgium investments within Katanga, after independence they feared that with Lumumba’s communism their investments would be nationalized. They then gave massive support to Tshombe in a bid to create an independent Katanga. They established bases at Kamina and Kituna and the Belgian troops were placed in the corridors of Katanga acting as human shield. This gave impetus to Tshombe to secede.
  10. The army grievances of the central government, the Congolese army resented to the oppression and exploitation and worse the inadequate salaries and wages due to Lumumba’s policy of Africanisation, they were also poorly fed. Therefore Congo lacked a loyal army which convinced Tshombe to declare secession.
  11. The absence of the spirit of Pan Africanism, this was a colonial legacy where the Belgian colonial masters did not expose the Congolese to the Agenda of Pan Africanism but instead encouraged ethnic nationalism hence giving rise to micro- nationalists like Tshombe.
  12. The rumor that Abako Bakongo had declared an independent state of the Bakongo within Zaire and also that the province of Kasai and Kivu had seceded. This convinced Tshombe that if Abako Bakongo had achieved self government then Katanga was not an exceptional. This was a Belgian rumor aimed at destabilizing Congo.
  13. The size of Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo, it is a very big country and Tshombe thought that Kasavubu and Lumumba would not be bothered by the secession, he also thought that by the time they would want to crash the Katangese secessionists it would already be too late. However by 1964 the secessionists had been crashed.
  14. The influence of the independence of India which was twin independence with Pakistan in 1947, India managed to secede from the Moslem dominated Pakistan and this had a positive impact on some Africans such as Tshombe to declare secession.
  15. The recruitment of foreign mercenaries from the republic of South Africa who trained Tshombes army secretly while getting two million pounds per day. This strengthened the military might of Tshombe to declare the independent state of Katanga.
  16. The support from the masses such as peasants, the unemployed, and the industrialists who supported his move to secede and with the numerical strength attained Tshombe staged the war of secession.
  17. The political indecision of African states towards the Katanga crisis for example Ghana and Egypt recognized Lumumba’s military government while Nigeria, Sudan and Tunisia supported Tshombe’s demand for federalism. This state of confusion convinced Tshombe that the government will not get enough external support hence giving him courage to secede.
  18. Ideological differences among the Congolese leaders who could not compromise to national policies especially political and economic policies for example Patrice Lumumba was a socialist, Moishe Tshombe was purely capitalist yet Kasavubu was a liberal, this divergence in ideology prepared fertile grounds for the secession to crop up after independence.

**FACTORS FOR THE FAILURE OF KATANGA TO SECEDE FROM CONGO.**

1. The unpopularity of Tshombe, Katanga was mainly Eurocentric with the white settlers benefiting at the expense of the indigenous blacks, when Tshombe failed to address this and continued to show interest and alliance with the whites caused discontent and the Katangese pulled out their support making the secession fail.
2. The intervention of the UN after it abandoned its charter that stated that “Non interference in the internal affairs of the member states”, the UN sent troops, put up trade sanctions and placed an arms embargo on Katanga. This greatly affected the Katangese and by 14th January 1963, the secessionists’ rebels had surrendered.
3. The charismatic and genius nature of the UN secretary General Dr. Dag Hammersk Jold who condemned Tshombe and convinced him to water down his demands of secession, Tshombe was convinced and had to say “If the UNO does not recognize me its pointless to carry on with the struggle”. Thus by 1963 it was clear that the secession was not to materialise.
4. The military might of the Congolese army in conjunction with the UN troops curbed the secessionist tendencies of Katanga. Tshombe’s army could not match this combination and therefore by 1963 had to give in and surrender.
5. The interception of fourteen planes from Belgium and France to Katanga was a blow to Tshombe’s dreams of reigning as a leader of independent Katanga. Therefore without such external support the secession had to fail.
6. The external support to the Congolese government from USSR in form of moral, financial and military assistance, twelve planes had been given to the government troop’s enabling them to prolong the war against Katanga. This eased the work of the Congolese Army and government in dismantling the secessionists.
7. Withdraw of Belgium troops from Katanga following the UN intervention greatly weakened the Katangese secessionists for they now lacked the human shield of the Belgians.
8. The 1963 Afro - Asian conference convened to solve the Katanga crisis was another blow to the attempted secession, after the conference resolutions were put up and African forces from Ghana, Tunisia were sent to crash the secessionists. To make matters worse the conference did not recognize Katanga as a sovereign state. This definitely acted to stop any further aggression from Katanga.
9. The emergence of OAU in 1963 with its charter that rotated around African unity, heads of state in Addis Ababa were greatly opposed to Micro nationalism of Tshombe as regards the secession. They swore never to allow seeing Zaire torn apart. This dug a political grave to the independence of Katanga.
10. The response of the Catholic priests and Bishops in the Vatican, they expressed sympathy to the people of Congo as it was turning into a Butcher Yard, the church condemned the act of Tshombe promising him hell fire if he did not stop. This reduced the popularity of Tshombe and definitely secession had to end.
11. The escape of Tshombe to USA was a last blow to the secessionist tendency; this demoralized the soldiers and only surrendered to the UN troops. This was a very clear act that the secession had ended.
12. The assassination of Lumumba together with some other three ministers in 1961 by Tshombe. This lost him popularity internationally and internally. Tshombe received international condemnation and lacked both internal and external support. Therefore with this, the secessionist tendencies had to fail.
13. The 1965 coup that led to the rise of Mobutu Sseseko, on coming to power and in a bid to restore law and order in Congo he changed the name Katanga to Shaba Province which was sub divided into eight other provinces. This reduced nationalism in Katanga and therefore reducing any chances of Katanga to secede. Since then Katangese sub nationalism has been in the limbo.
14. The role of the Non alignment movement can not be under estimated; it condemned ideological wars in the third world. In effect the West and East were attacked in Katanga thus weakening Tshombes secessionist tendecies in Zaire.

**THE ERITREAN CRISIS 1961- 1993**

Geographically Eritrea is found in the horn of Africa boarded by Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia.

Historically it was part of the great Abyssinian/Ethiopian Kingdom up to the 17th century when Ethiopia withdrew from Eritrea and on 2nd March 1896 it became part of Italy up to 1945 when it became a trusteeship territory mandated to Britain, in 1952 Britain handed over Eritrea to Ethiopia. In 1960 the UN held a referendum in which Eritreans were to choose whether to be independent or remain under Ethiopian rule. Haille Sellassie rigged and raped Eritrean independence for the results showed Eritrean desire to remain under Ethiopia, in 1961Eritreans formed the Eritrea liberation front (ELF) and the Eritrea popular liberation front(EPLF) to fight for their independence. The war of independence started.

**CAUSES OF THE ERITREAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1961 – 1993**

1. Divergent historical background, the Eritreans refused to accept Ethiopia as her 2nd colonial master reasoning that her transfer to Ethiopia 1952 was by mistake. On the other hand Ethiopia contended that Eritrea was part of her provinces in the ancient Ethiopian empire therefore failure to come to a compromise over a common historical background, Eritrea opted to fight for her independence.

2. The growth of Eritrean nationalism due to the blowing wind of change across the continent of Africa was another cause of the struggle for independence, by 1961 ELF was formed influenced by the UN charter which advocated for self determination. Therefore when Ethiopia refused to give up, Eritrea nationalism surged to the fore hence beginning of the war of independence.

1. The rigging of the 1960 referendum by Emperor Haille Ssellassie where the UN showed the double standards as it watched Ethiopia rape Eritrea and failed to discipline countries supporting Ethiopian colonialism in Eritrea. This caused discontent among the Eritrean nationalists and the only option left was an armed struggle.
2. The discovery of Asbestos in Eritrea in1963 which were a highly paying mineral at the time. Eritrea did not wish to see Ethiopia modernizing while exploiting Eritrean resources. This forced the Eritreans to struggle for their own independence so as to protect their wealth.
3. Cold war politics while USA supported Ethiopia between 1961 and 1974, USSR opted to support Eritrea. However there was later change in support after the 1974 coup where by USA supported Eritrea secessionists while USSR supported Ethiopian government under Mengistu. This made the secessionist crisis inevitable because each party expected support from the external countries.
4. The economic blessings of Eritrea, it had good infrastructural facilities good communication network, schools, hospitals and above all blessed with the Port Asaba and Massawa around the Red Sea, on the contrary Ethiopia was backward in terms of socio-economic facilities perhaps due to the absence of a colonial power in the country thus for effective exploitation and use of these facilities by Eritrea, definitely led to the war of independence since Ethiopians were dominating all spheres of the Eritrean territory.
5. The language ulcer, while the Ethiopians spoke Amharic, the Eritreans spoke Tigre and Attar. To make matters worse the Emperor Haille Sellassie had declared Amharic as a national language to be used in schools, offices and public places. This alarmed the Eritreans leading to revolutionary armed struggle fought for over thirty years in a bid to recognize the Eritrean native languages.
6. The presence of the Israelites in Ethiopia advising the government of Ethiopia, training the army of Haille Sellassie and giving aid to Ethiopia was another cause for the war of independence. To make matters worse Israel was given access to the Ports of Assab and Massawa, so this Zionist expansion in the horn of Africa insulted the Moslem state of Eritrea and the Arab world because Israel is a natural enemy to the Moslem world. This therefore resulted into conflict and a war of independence was fought.
7. The 1972 – 1974 famine where an estimated 200,000 Eritreans were left dead caused great bitterness among the Eritreans. To make matters worse the government of Haille Sellassie failed to express humanitarian sympathy and food to the Eritreans. Therefore they were grieved and compelled to fight the war of independence so as to find solutions for the problems incase of any catastrophe.
8. The failure of Mariam Mengistu’s government to include the Eritrea Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) formed in 1968, the ELF and the Tigris People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) in the coalition government after the 1974 coup. He instead by 1977 adopted a military approach towards the Eritreans thereby violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Eritreans. Therefore peace for Eritreans could only be achieved by war.
9. Political and constitutional development of Eritrea during the Italian and British colonialism. They had witnessed western democracy of political parties, enjoyed some degree of freedom of Speech and Press so when in 1952 Eritrea was given back to Ethiopia and the Emperor denied the Eritreans their liberty it was a sign of backwardness and despotism that could not be allowed especially after the wind of change that was blowing all over the world after world war11.
10. Open tribalism of the Emperor where the Amharic tribe was highly privileged, the Amharas were the ones to take up important positions in government meaning that promotions were not on merit. Other Ethiopians also benefited yet the Eritreans were discriminated and they lived a life of poverty and disgrace that could only be averted by war.
11. The negative attitude of OAU towards the Eritrean people, OAU had interpreted this war of independence as a secessionist tendency and therefore did not recognize the Eritreans struggle, Emperor Haille sellassie had succeeded to convince other Africans that Eritrea was part and parcel of Ethiopia. This convinced the Eritrean nationalists that table talks would not yield positive fruits thus decided to take up arms.
12. The role of UNO can not be under estimated in causing the Eritrean war of independence. The UN pressurized Ethiopia to grant Eritrea her independence and this encouraged the ELF rebels to wage a revolutionary war against Ethiopia and attain Ethiopian independence. However the UN is blamed for failure to act and effect the independence of Eritrea for it always stopped at condemnation.
13. The military confidence of Ethiopia after world war II and Italo-Ethiopia crisis, Haille Sellassie had recognized the need for military strength, he accordingly sent a number of Ethiopian army officers to foreign military academies like Britain, he went further to equip his army thus Emperor Haille Sellassie was confident to confront the Eritrean rebels and keep Eritrea under Ethiopian governance. This explains why it took over thirty years for the Eritreans to achieve their independence.

**FACTORS THAT DELAYED THE ERITREAN INDEPENDENCE.**

1. Divisions among the Eritrean nationalists on ideological grounds. While ELF was under the banner of Islam on the contrary the EPLF advocated for a socialist state. This led to the direct fighting and divisions among the Eritreans themselves hence paving way for the prolonged war by Eritreans.
2. The initial military weakness. During the first ten years or so the ELF was militarily weak largely relying on a few riffles grabbed from Ethiopia up country police. It was only after securing military assistance from Arab states like Libya, Sudan in 1970s that ELF created a formidable force to fight the Ethiopian troops hence this delayed the attainment of Eritrean independence.
3. The cold war politics, the super powers transferred their cold war politics in the two territories of Ethiopian and Eritrea. Initially USSR supported Eritrea while USA supported Ethiopia. However by the 1970s when Mariam Mengistu came to power with socialist stances, USSR changed to support Ethiopia. Definitely USA also changed its support to Eritrea, this state of confusion worked to delay the Eritrean struggle for independence.
4. Disunity among the Eritrean rebels. The struggle for Eritrean secession was bogged by factionalism. The minority Christians in Eritrea continued to sympathize with the Ethiopian Christians to crush the ELF that was Muslim oriented further between 1972-74 both ELF and EPLF conflicted. Therefore internal antagonism in the Eritrean rebel circles greatly delayed the struggle for independence.
5. Inadequate external support from either OAU or UNO. UNO showed its Lukewarm approach in 1952 when it transferred back Eritrea to Ethiopia. On the other hand Ethiopia being the custodian of OAU headquarters and Haille Sellassie being the founder Chairman managed to convince other African states not to support the Eritrean cause.
6. Another cause of the delay was the Israel presence in the horn of Africa these supported the Ethiopians morally, financially and military. This diverted the minds of the Arab states from supporting Eritrea and focused their eyes on Israel in Ethiopia. In another occasion Israel started terrorizing the Arab states meaning that the Arab states sometimes denied assistance to Eritrea because they wanted to defend themselves against their natural enemy Israel.
7. The coming to power of Mariam Mengistu ruined any chance of Eritrea attaining independence. The Eritreans had supported him and relaxed the fighting thinking that he would give them political independence but by 1977 it was clear that he was not willing to give political concessions to the Eritreans. This then delayed the struggle for Eritrean independence.
8. Another cause of the delay was the 1972-74 famine and drought which claimed an estimated 200,000 Eritrea population; this demoralized the guerillas as they turned to look for survival giving a break to the fight for independence.
9. The absence of a good geographical set up which could quicken the struggle, the country is a desert and therefore did not have enough jungles for a guerilla approach. Therefore with the military strength of the Ethiopian the guerillas were easily repulsed.
10. The economic blessings of Eritrea, it was blessed with ports of Assab and Massawa, good infrastructural development, valuable minerals such as Asbestos. This strengthened Ethiopian grip and adopted militaristic and radical measures so as not to loose the valuable economic resources; this therefore prolonged the war of Eritrean independence.
11. Mengistu’s concessions, after a successful bloodless coup in 1974 in Ethiopia, the Dergue granted certain political concessions to Eritrea that gave them a false sense of hope making the ELF to relax the fighting. The Dergue for instance established equality of all nationalities and cultures in the republic, Islam was also recognized and all languages were recognized. This was a delaying tactic for Mengistu to strengthen his army and embark on his programmes of reconstructing the two territories under his control.
12. Haille Sellassie himself was an obstacle for he successfully convinced other Africans not to help Eritrea and in 1960 referendum, he rigged the elections denying any chances for Eritrea to attain early independence.

**FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE SUCCESS OF THE ERITREAN STRUGGLE ON 28TH MAY 1993**



1. 1. The formation of liberation movements such as ELF, EPLF, TPLF which put up a guerilla war fare from 1961, on many occasions they engaged in sporadic attacks on the government installations and this slowly but surely weakened Ethiopia such that by 1993 it was very clear that Eritrea was to get its independence.

***Melesi Zenawi***

1. 2.The election of an African as the UN General Secretary in 1992 that is Boutros Boutros Ghali helped Eritrea to achieve her independence. He revised the 1960 referendum, realized the mistakes in it and then turned to pressurize Ethiopia to relinquish power to Eritreans.
2. The famine and drought that hit Eritrea most between 1972- 74 worked to increase Eritrean hatred towards the Ethiopian government. They then got determined to fight Ethiopia and the Eritrean secession could not be avoided.
3. Cold war politics, because of the two competing blocs in the world, Eritrea and Ethiopia were in position to get help from either the capitalist bloc or the socialist bloc for example by 1974 while communist Cuba and USSR supported Mengistu and the revolutionalies, the Capitalist especially USA supported Eritrea. By 1980 USSR changed its support now in favor of Eritrea. It can therefore be argued that with external moral, military and financial support for Eritrea independence had to be attained.
4. The massive support offered to the Eritrean nationalists. Over three million Eritreans rallied behind the secessionist struggle. The civilians went further to provide the rebels with food and also acted as informers about the enemy positions. This therefore hastened the Eritrean struggle for independence.
5. The colonial development and economic strength of Eritrea, it had good relations with the outside world and also good infrastructures like roads, railways that helped the movement and communication of the nationalists, its good trading relations with the outside world provided Eritrea with finances and support to the war of independence.
6. Eritreans location close to the sea; Eritrea was strategically located with the coastal ports of Assab and Massawa yet Ethiopia was land locked. Through these ports Eritrea easily got access to foreign supplies from such states like Iraq, Syria and Egypt among others. To make matters worse for Ethiopia from 1978 ELF was able to break Massawa - Asmara road which denied Ethiopia of any foreign supplies. Therefore with all these combined the road to independence for Eritrea looked open.
7. The dynamic competent and charismatic leadership of Isaias Afwerki who advocated for unity among the Eritreans and the Ethnic identification mostly after the down fall of Mengsitu in 1991, he gave the Eritreans the desired leadership. He attended both the UN and OAU meetings to explain the desired Eritrean independence hence by 1993 his courage and determination easily attained Eritrean independence.
8. The role of women can not be under estimated in explaining the success of the Eritrean war of independence. They enrolled as spies who easily got to know the nature of Ethiopian military operations. This helped the Eritrean fighters such that by the early 1990s it was clear that Eritrea was to get its independence.
9. The success of liberation struggles else where in Africa greatly encouraged Eritreans to fight on for example the success of the Mozambiquean war of independence that was successful in 1975, the independence of Namibia in 1990 convinced the Eritreans that they could attain independence which they equally achieved in 1993.
10. The fall of Mengistu 1991, the Eritrean struggle was blessed by the fall of Haille Mariam Mengistu in 1991 and the rise of Melesi Zenawi fuelled the pace of events leading to the independence of Eritrea for example he organized a referendum in 1993 where the Eritreans’ naturally voted for independence, therefore working hand in hand with UN and OAU, Zenawi finally granted Eritrea her independence in 1993 under Isiais Afwerki.
11. The collapse of the Eastern bloc1989 due to the coming into power of Mikhail Gorbachev. He even withdrew support from Ethiopia and even dismantled Russian forces in Ethiopia. This convinced USA to support Eritrea without fear. This therefore eased the independence struggle of Eritrea.
12. The ELF dual military strategy, after 1975 the ELM (Eritrea Liberation Movement) combined war with political, social and economic reforms in the liberated areas for example UPE was introduced in the liberated zones, health centers constructed. This therefore greatly encouraged people in the liberated areas to fully support the struggle for Eritrean independence with hope for more benefits thereafter. This also enhanced the success of the struggle for independence.
13. Ethiopia had multiple enemies. In the North for instance the Eritreans were fighting a war of liberation, in the North West, the Oroma and Galla people were also fighting the Ethiopian government, similarly in 1977 Ethiopia fought the Ogaden war with Somalia. Such led to the exhaustion of the Ethiopian army which chance was exploited by the ELF to intensify its war that resulted into independence.
14. The support OAU and UNO gave to the Eritrean liberation movement was a blessing especially after the 1970s. These international organizations imparted pressure to Mengistu’s government to grant independence. The fruits of such pressure were realized in 1993.
15. The support Eritrea got from Arab states like Iraq, Libya; Sudan helped to make their struggle a reality. They extended military and financial help to their sister state which help was used effectively to dismantle the Ethiopian forces within Eritrea.
16. The use of guerilla warfare by the Eritrean forces against Ethiopia. The ELF intensified the war using the heat and run tactics such that by 1976, Ethiopian forces had been cleared out of Eritrean country side leaving them only based in the urban centers. By the 1980s almost 2/3 of the Eritrean territory was in the hands of the rebels. By 1990 it was clear that Eritrea was to attain its independence.

**THE 1976 WAR IN SAHARA WESTERN**

***Qn; i-Account for the 1976 war in Polisario.***

Western Sahara is found in West Africa, it is some times referred to as the SADR republic, Spanish Sahara or Polisario. Polisario stands for popular liberation of Hamr and Rio-de orio.

In 1884 Spain colonized this stretch of land between Morroco and Mauritania; by 1974 it was very clear Spain was to relinquish power which it did in 1975. This abrupt withdraw of Spain left a political vacuum which Morocco and Mauritania clamored to fill.

Therefore when Morocco and Mauritania claimed this area definitely war erupted for the people of Spanish Sahara expected to determine their own destiny after the Spanish forces withdrew from the region.

NB: 1974-1975 Western Sahara fought a war of independence against spain and was granted independence in 1975 however, shortly after another war erupted in 1976 against morocco and Mauritania when they claimed western saharas’ area of influence.

The causes of the 2 wars could be similar but not indentical.

**CAUSES OF THE WAR IN 1976.**

1. The unwillingness of Morocco and Mauritania to remove their troops from the coastral towns of Saquiet and Riodeora aroused nationalistic sentiments among the people of Western Sahara and military confrontation became unavoidable.
2. The sudden with draw of Spain from the Sadr Republic without a clear plan for the future politics of the region. This left Western Sahara in the hands of two ‘hungry’states that is Mauritania and Morocco something that could not be accepted by the nationals in the Sadr republic making a military showdown inevitable.
3. The formation of Polisario in 1973 as a liberation force made the war inevitable. It organized, trained and led the masses against Spanish imperialism later Morocco and Mauritania in 1976.
4. The support given to Polisario from neighboring states like Algeria, Libya made the war unavoidable.These provided moral, financial and military help to polisario and this gave confidence to the people of Western Sahara to carry on the war of liberation.
5. The exploitation of Western Sahara’s mineral resource by Morocco specifically Phosphates and Asbestos annoyed the people of Western Sahara to carry on the war of independence.
6. The ambitiousness of King Hassan, he hopped to gain glory and prestige by making the Moroccans and Mauritanians Vacate Western Sahara, he then declared war on the two countries and when his humble requests fell on deaf ears military showdown became unavoidable.
7. The war in western Sahara was further influenced by other separatist wars in the continent for example the Eritrean war of secession 1961, Biafran crisis 1967-70, Namibian war of independence among others. Such encouraged nationalists in Western Sahara to fight so as to determine their own affairs.
8. Cold war politics, whereas USA supported Morocco, USSR on the other hand supported polisario’s cause this gave either parties confidence of success in the war to achieve their selfish ends. With this, military confrontation became a must.
9. The military weakness of Morocco and Mauritania; these two had not yet developed confiscated weapons to threaten the nationalists in Western Sahara. Thus this made 1976 appropriate for war.
10. The need for independence that was genuine. The with draw of Spain 1975 convinced the people of Western Sahara that it was time for self governance therefore when Morocco and Mauritania asserted their rule over the people of Western Sahara, resistance, chaos and war became the solution.
11. The verdict of the international court of justice 1975 oiled up the pace of events that led to the 1976 war in Western Sahara. It re-affirmed the right of the people of Western Sahara to be independent and determine their own affairs. This became the pillar in the struggle to force Moroccans and Mauritanians leave the soil of Western Sahara.
12. The support Morocco got from Arab countries such as Syria, Saudi Arabia made them assert their continued aspirations to rule over Western Sahara. This resulted into collision of want and war became unavoidable.
13. The double stand of O.A.U, it was supposed to create peace amongst its members but just watched Morocco and Mauritania rape Western Sahara to their satisfaction. This left the people of Western Sahara with just one option, military showdown.
14. UNO’S stand to solve the problem’s between polisario, Morocco and Mauritania. It issued document entitled **‘the representative of the people of Western Sahara.’’** They acknowledged that the demands of the people in Western Sahara were legitimate. This resolution gave more zeal, courage and determination to the people of Western Sahara to carry on their war against Morocco and Mauritania so as to achieve self determination.
15. The need by polisario to re-unite the people of Western Sahara. It is noted that after with draw of the Spanish, Western Sahara and its people were divided up one part being taken by Morocco and the other by Mauritania. The war of independence could not be avoided.
16. The green match of 1975 paved way for war, about 350,000 Moroccans moved in the Spanish Sahara to reassert their rule over this area which annoyed the Sadr people. In this state of affair war became inevitable.
17. The Moroccan control of the markets in Sadr republic plus the fishing grounds with in the Atlantic Ocean annoyed the masses and the option of war was sought.

**EFFECTS OF THE 1976 WAR IN WESTERN SAHARA**

1. The war led to the loss of thousands of Moroccan soldiers and a lot of property was destroyed which led to the public out cry.
2. The war ended the Moroccan exploitation of polisario’s phosphates and other minerals for it was forced to with draw from the conveyer belt and from the port of El-Aloan.
3. The war led to a hostage crisis, when the polisario rebels captured fishermen of Spanish and Portuguese origin as they were exploring the waters of Western Sahara. They were then taken to camps in Algeria.
4. The war intensified cold war politics in Africa for example the eastern bloc supported the cause of Western Sahara forcing the western bloc specifically USA to support morocco and Mauritania.
5. The crisis divided Africa on two fronts that is countries like Algeria, French guinea supported polisario while others like Libya supported morocco yet others remained indifferent this hindered unity in Africa.
6. The war made African countries vulnerable to neo-colonialism. As the war intensified morocco, Mauritania and even Western Sahara found them selves seek for foreign aid that strengthened foreign influence in Africa.
7. The war showed the weakness of OAU, it watched morocco and Mauritania rape Western Sahara and did not come up strongly to oppose this. It only stopped at condemnation yet it was a body formed to keep peace and stability in Africa.
8. By 1988 about 71 states of the world recognized the independence of Western Sahara.
9. Polisario paralyzed the communication network of the Mauritania by carrying out regular raids on its railway lines and the roads that were carrying iron ore from Zoverate to Novakoh. This too hindered the economic development of Mauritania.
10. 14 % of Moroccan budget was vested to support war with Polisario; this naturally retarded the economic prosperity of morocco such that by the end of 1976 most sectors like industry had faced a set back.
11. The political development in western Sahara after 1976 crisis encourage Eritrea to carry on its separatist struggle and by 1990 it was very clear that sooner or later independence would be achieved.
12. The political crisis showed the weakness of UNO, after the with draw of spain it was expected that UNO would give protection to Western sahara but nay it just looked on. This was a complete sale out of Western Sahara.
13. The war increased neo-colonialism on the African continent as Western Sahara was forced to go on external borrowing especially from eastern powers so as to rebuild its economy.

**LIBYA AND THE 1969 REVOLUTION**

Libya was colonized by Italy in 1911 and after World War II it became a mandate territory of the UNO and later given to Britain and France to administer it.

Libya had 3 significant provinces that is Tripolitania predominantly occupied by the sanusiyya Sufi’s and then Fezzan occupied by nomadic Bedium and Cyreniaca

In 1951, Libya was granted independence in the hands of King Idris Al-sanusi.

***Muammar Ghadafi***

In the same year a constitution was provided, but all this was Pseudo.Idris continued to promote western interests which annoyed nationalists initially of national congress party led by Bashwin-al-sadani of Tripolitania.

Later, army grievances became the last straw that ousted Idris on the 1st September 1969 and a republic was declared.

The genius behind this revolution was a 29 year old colonel Muammar Al-Gadafi who organized other army officers to inform the **“free unionist officers’ movement”** and carried out a coup

**Causes of the Libyan coup/revn in 1969**

1. The need for genuine independence. The 1951 independence was pseudo (paper independence) for the king remained a stooge/puppet fostering Western interests in Libya. Both the British and Americans had military bases in Libya forexample at wheelus air field and Eladem respectively. This annoyed nationalists who sought the use of a barrel as the only way to cause changes in Libya.
2. The growth of socialism in Libya paved way for a coup to over throw Idris who was capitalist oriented. The army wished to end regionalism i.e. (Tripolitania, Cyreniaca and Fezzan), unite all the people and promote equality, socially or economically. The king looked adamant hence the coup became inevitable.
3. The slow pace of economic development in Libya yet other Arab states like Egypt, Syria, and Saudi-Arabia were developing at a faster rate annoyed the nationalist of Libya yet Idris was not taking any step to address the problem of backwardness in Libya. To change the situation the revolution was the option left.
4. Mal-administration of king Idris, He vested almost all the power in his hands for example there was no freedom of speech or press, and he banned political party activities like in 1952 he banned the operation of the national congress party; he could appoint and dismiss his ministers any time. So this state of affair made the revolution unavoidable.
5. Ethnic rivalry in Libya called for a coup in 1969; Idris who would have worked to unite all the people of Libya favored the Shalhi family at the expense of other people. This forced the free unionist officers to carry out a coup.
6. Corruption in Libya, it experienced the worst form of corruption where by money got from the oil resource fell into the hands of a small clique of shalhis who embezzled it. This created a bigger income gap between the haves and the have not and to bridge the gap the option of a coup was sought.
7. The discovery of oil in Libya 1959 and the sudden exploitation of this mineral resource by USA and Britain while repatriating profits to their countries. This was a clear manifestation of neo- colonialism that could not be accepted especially after the wind of change brought by World WarII blowing all over Africa. In a bid to control these profits to benefit the Libyans, a coup was staged.
8. The need to purify Islam and introduce Sharia in Libya called for a revolution. The number of nominal Muslims had increased yet Idris kept a deaf ear. Therefore Gadafi together with others like major Jalloud rose up in arms against the administration of king Idris in 1969.
9. The ambitious character of Gadafi, It is argued that as early as Gadafi was 19 years he developed the need to lead and govern Libya so he joined Sebha secondary, after he joined a military academy with the intension getting skills that would help him later to reign, He befriended a number of army officers including major Jalloud and by 1969 it was very clear power had to be passed on to a commoner (Gaddafi)
10. The increased spread of Christianity as a result of increased number of Americans and British in Libya annoyed the free unionists’ officers and since Idris did not act to stop this, the revolution was staged.
11. The grievances of the Army; Firstly promotions were not on merit, it was only the shalhis that were promoted for example colonel Abdul aziz shalhi was the Army commander, to make matters worse the Libyan Army was ill equipped, poorly fed and clothed. The six days war with Israel where Libya put up a very poor performance made the situation ripe for a revolution that took place in 1969.
12. The 1952 Egyptian revolution encouraged the Libyans to stage theirs, Gadafi was a true disciple of Nasser, and he was trained by Nasser who gave him ideas of how to deal with a monarchy. Gadafi got a lot of moral, financial and military support from Nasser; this gave him courage and confidence to also stage his revolution in 1969.
13. The presence and success of other coups else where in Africa, forexample the1965 coup in Algeria,1966 in Ghana, 1965 coup in cong among orhers, the success of these army coups encouraged the Libyan Army to also stage a coup so as achieve the desired end.
14. The desire to end a monarchy and make Libya a republic prompted the free unionist officers stage a coup in 1969, without this coup there were less chances for a commoner to rise to power in Libya. Thus to increase political space for all, a coup of 1969 could not be averted.
15. The formation of the free unionist officers’ movement made the revolution inevitable. It played a pivotal role in spearheading the desired revolution at the time.

**OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF KING IDRIS.**

1. In 1959 Idris developed the oil resources of Libya and this improved its national treasury and stabilized the national budget.
2. Idris ruled as a constitutional monarch, he provided a constitution to the people of Libya and despite the fact that it left him with a lot of powers; Idris should be credited for endeavoring to provide it.
3. In the field of education he put up many primary, secondary schools like Sebha secondary and even put up a military academy for the young officers. This created a large elite class.
4. In 1951 after acquiring (pseudo) independence he registered Libya in the UNO, this showed a man who understood international politics.
5. In 1963 he was one of the delegates who met in Adisababa to inaugurate O.A.U that was supposed to settle African disputes.

**EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION.**

1. There was a cultural revolution in Libya; Ghadafi started by prohibiting all the imported ways of life like smoking, prostitution, drinking Alcohol among others, this was in abid to model the Libyan society to the original Islamic principles.
2. Arabic was re-installed as the official language in Libyan schools and offices. This was revitalized and enabled a number of people to access the civil and employment sectors.
3. A new political ideology was put in place that is the 3rd universal theory or Islamic law **‘’Sharia”** This was to counteract the influence of socialism and capitalism in Libya.
4. There was formation of the revolutionary command council; it was headed by Muammar Ghadafi who wished to re-assert Libya’s independence against any sort of external influence. He began by resisting the spread of capitalism in Libya and also declared Jihad to any anti-Islamic state especially Israel.
5. Nationalization of foreign enterprises. Ghadafi declared all Italian, American or British businesses, bases and others enterprises, property of the republic of Libya. He even took over the American air base of wheelus to show how committed he was on this agenda.
6. In 1970 Ghadafi ordered all foreign troops to vacate Libya forexample Americans to leave Wheelus and the British to leave Adem. This put Libya on map as a truly independent state to be reckoned with.
7. Ghadafi changed the names of all schools, restaurants, and passport writings among others in Arabic. This strengthened the Arabic identity of Libya hence nationalism in the whole country was revitalised.
8. Industrialization took foot following the 5 years development plan 1976-1980 which aimed at putting up light and heavy industries. Tripoli, misurata became very important cities producing a lot of products, plastics, packed food, aluminum among others
9. Coupled with the above oil refinery increased and this increased the country’s GDP for example by 1970 Libya produced about 3.7 million barrels a day. It then became the 5th producer of oil in OPEC. This boasted the country.
10. The education sector was improved; a number of schools, colleges and universities were constructed. More interesting to note is that this education was to be free to every citizen from primary to university. This bridged a gap between the illiterates and elites for example primary education was compulsory yet secondary and universities optional.
11. After realizing that Libya will take so long provide itself with efficient manpower, Ghadafi imported foreign expatriates specially from Islamic states like, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and even allowed manual laborers from sister African states. This helped so much in enhancing economic development in Libya.
12. Infrastructural development was given keen interest as a number of roads, railway lines, and ports were put in place to facilitate easy movement of goods and services and ease penetration of the rural areas.
13. In the field of health a number of hospitals, dispensaries were put up to fight preventable diseases like Tuberculosis, whooping cough, by 1980 a number of bed ridden patients had reduced. Note; the services rendered in the hospitals were free of charge.
14. As a result of the revolution Libya became proud of a manageable population. The government took up steps to control the population such that every Libyan could access free education, a house, clean water and at least electricity and a basic pay monthly.
15. Ghadafi worked to reduce the income gap by providing employment for all and catering for the unemployed. Libya boosted of a fast growing economy and it was estimated that the average per capita income was 7000 dollars. Note; Libya had active trade unions which reduced exploitation of labour.
16. The Libyan government since 1969 under took a development plan to improve the standards of living for its citizens. It constructed residential houses and simply asked its people to move in. This made the 1969 coup a revolution.
17. The revolution enhanced Gadafi’s status in Libya, Africa and the world over. He impressed upon other leaders his charisma, and uncompromising attitude in solving the problems of the day to the extent that Ghadafism became a cult throughout Africa. Note; **Gadafi may indisputably remain the greatest leader of Libya ever.**
18. Ghadafi put up a 5year development plan 1976-1980. This emphasized afforestation, reduction of soil erosion and the famous **“Green** **revolution”** where the desert of Jafara was reclaimed plus other parts of the country. The government also extended funds to the farmers through co-operative societies.
19. Women emancipation was another step further in the course of the revolution. This was a new thing in the politics of Arabs. They freely participate in the civil service to the extent that they are the dominant participants’ .in the military they too played a significant role, even the presidential guard was manned by women during Ghadafis’ reign.
20. The revolution eliminated sectarianism, regionalism, and all sorts of discrimination. The revolutionary command council united the divergent provinces of Libya that is Fezzan, cyreniaca and Tripolitania. Such enhaced equal development in Libya.
21. In Libya since 1969, there was division of power to the grass root. This degree of democracy reduced civil wars, coups and counter coups in Libya. Note; Libya had about 964 popular committees to the grass root and on top there were the people’s committees guided by the general secretariat (R.cc.) This kind of democracy was termed as Jamahiriya (state of the masses.)

**However the revolution had loopholes, these include;**

1. Ghadafi refused to open political space for others, since 1969 he was president to 2011 this means that the emerging leaders of Libya were either molested or arrested. Hence creating tension, suspicion and mistrust throughout Libya.
2. He has associated with dictators like Amin of Uganda giving them moral, financial and military support to keep them reigning. This was a great disappointment to most of the pan-Africans. Ghadafi’s inner dictatorship was clearly manifested when in 2001 while in Uganda when he said **“…revolutionary leaders do not leave power just like that…”**
3. It was alleged that Ghadafi trained terrorist groups and killer squads for example his critics say he tried to assassinate president Reagan of U.S.A and that he sent assassins who killed president Anwar Sadat of Egypt.
4. Ghadafi always supported civil strife’s in Africa like he supported the Muslims in Chad to destabilize the democratic state of Francios T from around 1965 and throughout the 1970s, in Sudan he has always supported the northern Arab government against the Negros in the South.
5. His greed for power hampered pan-Africanism, in O.A.U and Au summits a proposal for African unity was always dropped on suspicion that Ghadafi wanted to rule Africa in the way he ruled Libya.
6. Ghadafi was much concerned with Arab politics than pan-Africanism. This created a very sharp difference between the Arab North and the Negro south. The Arab nations then became more concerned with the activities of the Arab league than the activities of OAU/AU

**ACCOUNT FOR THE FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE 1969 LIBYAN COUP/ REVOLUTION;-**

1. The moral, financial and military assistance extended to the free-Unionist officers of Libya from Egypt made it very easy for Ghadafi to overrun the government of King Idris.
2. The charismatic character of Ghadafi; he was eloquent, strong and determined on top of being ambitious, these combined the revolution had to succeed.
3. The revolutionalists were no doubt schemers; they timed 1st and 2nd September 1969 when Idris was on a state visit to Turkey at the same time on 2.nd sept. 1969 a number of young officers were prepared to go abroad for more military training. All these events made the revolutionalists easily over run the government of Idris.
4. The weakness of the army; - it was ill equipped, poorly trained and small in number. At the same time the army had just suffered in the six days war against Isreal, such class of disorganization and exhaustion was exploited by the free unionist officers to carry out a successful revolution.
5. The mass support accorded to the revolutionalists made them easily succeed; they were welcomed as saviors of the crumbling state. This situation left Idris with no option but to vacate, the political vacuum left was filled by the revolutionalies.
6. The good planning strategy, Ghadafi took a time plan of about 10yrs; he befriended a number of militants like major Jalloud who helped him carry out a successful revolution in 1969.
7. The unpopularity of king Idris, he was a stooge (puppet) to the West, so uncompromising on sensitive issues which bore a spirit of nationalism and by 1969 the revolutionalist had got a cause for a coup and with the mass support the coup was a success.
8. The displine exhibited by the revolutionalists, they denounced alcohol, gambling, fornication and adultery. Most of their time was spent in prayers. This brought them closer to the people, understood their problems and promised them positive changes. This explains why the FUOM were massively supported.
9. The high degree of secrecy made the revolution succeed in 1969 for example during leisure they played indoor games, and used much of the nights for planning strategy. It is not suprising that the government was caught unaware and hence easily overrun.
10. The capture of Radio Benghazi was a step further leading to the success of the revolution. It helped in the spread of revolutionary propaganda that gave hope to the masses.
11. The creation of a signal system, this innovation made it easy to command, co-ordinate activities of the coup plotters without being noticed.
12. The free unionist officers used women as spies; these easily fed them with the right information making their plans succeed. Women also prepared food and acted as nurses, such boosted the activities of revolutionalies.

Note; It’s not suprising that after taking over power Ghadafi relied more on women dominating almost all sectors of his government.

**UNEMPLOYMENT**.

Qn: **i- Examine the causes and consequences of unemployment in post independent Africa.**

**ii- what are the possible solutions to the problem of unemployment?**

This is where the labour force is willing to work at the on going wage rate yet jobs are not there. This has remained a stumbling block to development in post independent Africa despite the efforts put in by the prevailing governments.

**CAUSES**.

1. Poor land tenure system where large chunks of land are owned by a few and at times unproductive people.
2. Poor education system that creates job seekers than job creators, syllabi in most African states is more theoretical than practical.
3. Existence of a large substance sector that discourages capital formation and utilisation.
4. Mass illiteracy where people have no skills and so cannot be employed.
5. The in flow of foreign expatriates who do not give chance to Africans to get jobs like in Kenya, Uganda, and S.Africa.
6. High population growth rate which is not matched with job creation like in Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda.
7. Rural-urban migration where a number of people especially the youth flock towns like Lagos, Nairobi, Cairo, Tripoli in big numbers the end result is unemployment.
8. Uneven distribution of industries and the slow pace of industrialization in Africa as well as resource allocation have increased unemployment for example in Chad the South is much better than the rest of the country, in Sudan the Arab north was more blessed compared to the Negro South.
9. Political instabilities in countries like Somalia, Sudan, and Ivory Coast civil wars have hiked the levels of unemployment.
10. Poor transport and communication which does not allow easy mobility of labour and some areas are inaccessible. This is evident in most states South of Sahara like DRC.
11. The adoption of capital intensive techniques in Africa such as computers, tractors have replaced quite a large number of people who remain unemployed.
12. Poor government policy, where they fail to plan for the labour like subsidizing labour intensive firms, setting up industries to mention but a few.
13. Corruption, embezzlement and nepotism have been instrumental in causing unemployment for example Rwanda the leading ethnic tribe makes it hard for the others to get jobs, The Tutsis presently in Rwanda hamper chances of Hutu and Twas to get employed.
14. Problems of health where some people cannot do any work for example the physically handicapped; Ethiopia has a number of these.
15. Continous poverty cycle with low levels of percapita income, continuous income inequality limits investment and therefore leading to high levels of unemployment.
16. Age has also been and has remained a problem forexample people above 65 years tend not to be employed and those below 18 years.
17. Lack of incentive to work forexample some people tend to leave work because of boredom, lack of encouragement and poor pay. This is the case with most countries south of the Sahara like DRC, Malawi, Ethiopia, even Uganda.
18. Natural hazards especially in agriculture such as droughts,landslides,floods, pests and diseases, lead to low productivity and hence low pay. This makes unemployment inevitable.
19. Interference of foreign institutions such as IMF and World Bank for example with their policies of retrenchment and privatization. This has left many Africans unemployed in countries like Uganda, Nigeria, Namibia, among others.
20. The colonial legacy which brought about a cash crop economy which only favours the west for Africans produce raw materials which are bought cheaply and the income generated does not enhance multiple economic developments to allow employment of Africans.
21. Under utilization of resources such as land, water sources, forests among others buy the people and government.
22. The spirit of leisure and luxury in Africa, instead of people investing in productive ventures they for example buy expensive cars, luxurious weddings and so they have remained with no way out for employment ventures.

**POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT**;

1. Government should ensure family planning by sensitizing the masses; this will reduce on the population growth rate hence reduction of competition on jobs.
2. Change in the education system and curriculum to suit African conditions like Uganda is now emphasizing practical science subjects.
3. Encouragement of people to go to schools, colleges and other institutions of learning to acquire skills to fit in the job market.
4. Controlling rural- urban migration by putting up industries, social services, factories and other processing plants in the rural areas.
5. Building a strong standing army to guard against political instabilities.
6. Improving economic infrastructures such as roads, railways for easy mobility of labour.
7. Emphasizing merit in appointments, promotions rather than tribe or birth.
8. Encouraging labour intensive productive techniques and even subsidizing such firms by the government.
9. Most economies should change to monetary instead of being subsistence.
10. Strict laws and rules should be put up to handle corrupt and inefficient officials.
11. The economies should be diversified; Africans should stop depending on Agriculture.
12. Regional groupings should be encouraged to ease mobility of labour all over Africa; economic integration too will increase production hence employment.
13. Transformation of the land tenure system to favor all the people.
14. Improvement of workers conditions like giving them good pay, allowances for extra work load.

**NEO-COLONIALISM.**

Qn; i- To what extent is foreign aid a manifestation of Neocolonialism?

ii- With reference to any one country in Africa examine the effects of neo-colonialism in post independent Africa.

Neo-colonialism is a new form of colonialism where colonial masters came back with new forms of colonizing Africans. In other terms, it means the survival of the colonial system despite the formal recognition of political independence of African countries. The Neo colonial powers such as USA, France, Britain, China exert their influence on weaker nations of the world especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America to the extent that such nations cannot make independent decisions.

**Neo-colonialism manifests itself through the following ways;**

1. The extension of multi- national companies in Africa. These are international companies such as coca-cola, shell, Sheraton, stanbic bank, Madvani companies among others. These continue administering the company life of Africa with the profits realized repatriated back through banks like bank of Baroda and standard chartered Bank among others. To worsen the situation they even evade taxes charged.
2. The ushering in of religious sects which come in the guise of “**Balokole**”. They include Pentecostal churches, Baptist churches, Jehovah’s Witness. These sometimes are sent as spies, they also take the income from worshippers disguised as gifts to God. It should be noted that they come in times of crises like civil wars.
3. The coming of non-government organizations which come in times of crisis to dump their inferior goods in Africa. These expired goods are intended to cripple the people not to wake up to work for themselves like world vision, AMREF, save the children’s funds, Red Cross among others. This is a clear manifestation of neo-colonialism.
4. The establishment of currency zones intended to determine the economic performance of African countries thus currency rates like US. Dollars, pounds, Japanese yen, are international currencies. One wonders why Egyptian and South African currencies which are very strong cannot be used in Africa to determine currency rates.
5. The nature of Aid extended to Africa which delay to come yet possessing high interest rates so as to make African countries to continue with debt servicing, the above aid goes on with ties forexample EU aid, a country to qualify to acquire it, it must respect highly human rights.
6. The extent of espionage systems to Africa, who come to spy on the new developments in Africa to check on the new leaders who may not agree with orders of imperialist powers for example central intelligence agencies (CIA) is believed to have dislodged Nkrumah in 1966, others include Mossad of Israel and KGB of Russia.
7. The official languages in Africa are still colonial languages intended to develop cultures of imperialist powers which lead to division of Africans for example former British colonies use English while French colonies use French. This is neo-colonialism at play since Africans grow valuing Europeans instead of fellow Africans and the African values.
8. The up surging expatriates syndrome, where colonial masters who are mult-nationals, bring in expatriates to supervise African projects where aid is given. To worsen the situation they repatriate their aid through exaggerated allowances and wages. Most of them are inexperienced and retired personnel so as to make Africans poorer and poorer.
9. The nature of literature and films which are extended to Africans, the literature like Novels concerning wars and sex abuse are sent with lack of development. The films also concerning wars, sex abuse, yet in their countries some of these are banned. It is also known that good films come from Holly wood and this has become a business between Africans and Holly wood at the expense of Africans!
10. The nature of music, dance and dramma where African songs are degraded mostly those which lack white music equipments. This is to influence them to boycott their local singers like Paulo Kafero, Fred Ssebata in preference of Boyz to men, Vanessa, Williams and Madonna. These even teach white dance and African have retreated from their traditional dance and have ignored African musicians.
11. The sabotage of regional groupings which are thought to be stepping stones of promoting unity in Africa and economic emancipation. Super powers have sabotaged them so that Africans remain dancing on the tunes of world powers for example the E. African community was sabotage by United States and Britain.
12. The way market prices are controlled by imperial powers. The imperial powers rely on raw- materials produced by the independent African states but determine the prices of commodities bought and sold. A case in point is coffee, vanilla and other commodities like minerals their prices are determined by the imperialists’ capitalist powers like Britain and US. The African countries do not own the status to determine prices of their own commodities.
13. The development plans are controlled by forces of imperialists. Today the World Bank is the watch dog for the interests of USA led imperialism, providing a bridge for US penetration to the LDCs hence neo-colonialism.
14. Further more, neo-colonialists economically control African countries through signing bi-lateral economic co-operation agreements forexample, in 1986, USA and Britain entered several agreements with Uganda. The EEC now EU and Rome conventions have also been instrumental in advancing neo-colonialism.
15. At times the imperial powers offer military assistance to opposing factions of African governments in form of arms, training for example in the Libyan crisis 2011 USA openly supported the rebels more so they create military bases to promote their selfish interests for instance the USA has many bases in Kenya, Uganda ,Nigeria .
16. Neo-colonialism also manifests itself through education system; syllabi were drawn to suit the colonial master with little devoted areas of research. Much of the syllabi is based on examination level, it’s major effect lies in the lack of effective research and job creation this has worsened the rate of unemployment.
17. The introduction of Agricultural engineering where new pesticides are advocated to be used, it should be noted that these were not used before. The supper powers intended to see that good soils of Africa can exhaust which also some times effect out put when wrongly used. Forexample the use of “Dood Bitooke” in Masaka affected banana plantations even machines which are used like tractors always distort African soil profile. In another instance when we assess the genetically modified food crops like maize pushes the farmers to always go back and buy seeds when the planting season sets in.

**EFFECTS OF NEOCOLONIALISM**:

**Negative effects of neocolonialism**;

1. Imperial powers have interfered in the monetary system through frequent devaluation. Example in 1987 the Uganda shilling was devalued in the famous “knocking off three zeroes.” Like wise the Tanzania currency was also devalued using the dollar, in this way African countries are made weaker and render their economic activities to be controlled by the west.
2. The loss of sovereignty by African countries where decisions are made by imperial powers forexample western countries donate aid with ties where the projects are dictated and supervised by the imperial powers and these projects may not be useful to the recipient countries like the valley dam saga in Uganda.
3. The continued instabilities in Africa where frequent military coups have occurred, accompanied by assassinations of leaders for example Sadat of Egypt, Lumumba of Congo and Ghadafi of Libya. It is alleged that most of these are sponsored by the west.
4. The sabotage of African unity where unity of Africa has remained a political dream and regional groupings like EAC have been sabotaged. In 1980 USA used Kenya to boycott the Tripoli OAU summit. All this is Neo colonialism at play.
5. Increasing cultural degeneration where European countries continue to make sure that Africa cultures remain under developed in favour of foreign ones which have led to White men in black skins like Charles Njojo, Michael Jackson.
6. The low profile development of technology in Africa where inappropriate machines are brought to Africa, the Africans lack the knowledge to operate them, such that foreign expatriates are brought leading to loss of initiatives and repatriation of profits.
7. Neo-colonialism has led to increased exploitation of African resources by imperial power. These intervene in groups but at the end of the day a big percentage sale of minerals is repatriated back into the imperial nations.
8. Further neo-colonialism has resulted into the existence of puppet leaders. These tend to promote the imperial interests rather than the interests of fellow Africans. This is true with most leaders in the 3rd world.
9. Neo-colonialism has led to the ideological differences with in Africa. The African countries have either leaned to the former eastern block of socialism or the present Western bloc of capitalism. The imperial powers are mostly on the capitalism side and these tend to extend there influence to Africa with an aim of even suffocating the remaining pockets of socialism. This has severed the resources of African countries.
10. Neo-colonialism has resulted into the increased unemployment in Africa as seen through the existing education system that prepares job seekers than job makers.
11. **However the perpetuation of neo-colonialism in Africa has also had positive impact on the development much as this cannot overshadow the negative impact. This is in the following ways;** 1t has led to development of democracy in Africa and the culture of tyranny is slowly being reduced. This is true for example through foreign aid advanced; Africans leaders have been given conditionality of respecting the human rights before such aid could be given.
12. Neo-colonialism has led to the development of African economies forexample the multi- national co-operations contribute a lot like Shell, MTN, and Coca-cola in Uganda. These also employ some of the Africans.
13. Neo-colonialism has facilitated national growth. This is because the African countries lack capital and in most cases they have received capital from the imperial powers to boost industrial development though it is advanced with conditions.
14. Neo-colonialism has facilitated the development of technology in Africa. African countries do not have the technology but through neo-colonialism their minerals wealth has been exploited and a lot of foreign exchange is earned which is used in different economic activities.
15. Perhaps the improvement of medical facilities in Africa has been partly because of neo-colonialism or neo-colonial influence. Britain has always granted drugs to Uganda. This has improved the health facilities and standards.
16. Further still the neo-colonial influence which is manifested in the existence of information bodies like CNN and BBC has created awareness among the Africans much as the main aim of such bodies is to collect information especially as regards the penetration of their interests. They have also helped to keep the Africans up to date in terms of international issues.

**THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN:**

Sudan was a country inhabited by 2 strongly divergent races that is the Arabs in the Northern part of the country and the Negro’s in the Southern part. Britain together with Egypt agreed to rule and govern Sudan jointly, on paper this was so but on ground Sudan was a British colony until 1956 when it relinquished power.

Prior independence (that is 1955) the Arabs had been used to govern the blacks and the rest of Sudan and on independence the British made a political blunder of handing over independence to the Arabs, this made

***John Garanga***

the blacks uncomfortable to think of fighting to achieve their rights and also a separate independence (secession).

The 1st civil strife took place in the 1955 army Mutiny (a small army uprising) but it was suppressed, this was a clear signal of a real start of the civil war in Sudan Note; 1962-1972 was a period of serious fighting between the northern government and the southern government followed by a period of peace of about 10 years however, in 1983 war erupted again till 9th july 2005 when they agreed to form a government of national unity with Omar Bashir as president and John Garang as first Vice president. The death of Garang the Southern leader on 30th July 2005 just after 3 weeks in office in an airplane clash from Uganda further increased insecurity in Sudan. Despite the continued insecurity, it is surfice to mention that south Sudan finally got independence on 9th July 2011 in the hands of Salva Kiir.

**CAUSES OF CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN SINCE 1955 - 2005**.

1. 1. The British policy of indirect rule facilitated the civil war, the British had used the northern Arabs to govern the southerners and the whole of Sudan and the Arabs were so brutal to the Negros. On granting independence to the Arabs, suspicion and mistrust arose hence a civil war could not be avoided.

***President Omar El-Bashir***

1. The existence of two divergent races in Sudan prepared fertile grounds for the war. The Arabs and Africans differed in cultures, physical appearance and to make matters worse there was the Arab discrimination of Africans on an African soil. By the 1940’s it was very clear that civil strife was inevitable in Sudan.
2. Difference in numbers further created tension in Sudan. The Africans were the minority that is about 11 million. The Africans were convinced that if they don not fight they could easily be evacuated at the same time the numerical strength of the Arabs convinced them that they could not be defeated by the blacks in case of war. It is therefore not suprising that by 1955 stances of war were noticed.
3. The domination of Arabs in all spheres of life in Sudan called for war; they took all fat posts in politics, controlled commerce and accessed good education at the expense of the southern Africans. This annoyed them so much that war could not be avoided as Arabs were also adamant to a code Africans any reasonable rights.
4. The historical division of Sudan into two regions that is the south (for Africans) and the North (for Arabs) made the civil conflicts in the later stages inevitable. By the 1940’s the British tried to unite the 2 regions though it did not yield positive results for example in 1947 a conference was held in Juba but the views of the few Africans who attended were never considered to make matters worse few Africans were nominated to the legco that is to say only 13 out of 89. Such created discontent among the Africans and war became inevitable.
5. The 19th century slave trade, where the Arabs enslaved the southern Africans. This inhumane act remained lingering in the minds of Africans in the south who sought revenge through war especially the Dinkas, Azande and Silluk.
6. The civil war was also caused by the cultural arrogance of Northern Arabs; they believed that they were so superior in comparison with the blacks in the South who in most cases they referred to as slaves or 2nd class citizens. Such situation angered the Africans in the south and war could not be averted.
7. The poor hand over of power in 1956 called for war in Sudan. The Africans expected to be considered this time after a long period of serfdom and suffering and when independence was granted in the hands of the Arabs a fertile ground for war had been created.
8. Introduction of Sharia in Sudan by General Ibrahim Abboud between 1958 and 1964 facilitated war. The Christians were forced to fast the month of Ramadhan, pray five times a day and the civil courts were to judge according to the Quran. This was unacceptable and war was inevitable.
9. After independence the government of General Abboud embarked on Arabisation of all sectors in Sudan. The official language declared was Arabic meaning that the education sector in the south was affected even the civil service. The Christians in the south were also to drop their names and adopt the Muslim names, to make matters worse the Christian missionaries were forced to leave Sudan with immediate effect such created tension and war could not be avoided.
10. The role of Christian missionaries in the south called for collision with the Muslim Arabs in the north. They always taught their people to hate the Muslims. There fore with such propaganda a civil war cropped up.
11. Coupled with the above were the differences in the levels of development. To be more precise the north was more developed in terms of infrastructures like roads, schools, hospitals, politically and socially. They used the revenues from the south to develop the north. This situation after the wind of change blown by world war 11 across the world and Africa in general made the civil strife unavoidable.
12. The need by the southerners to achieve a separate status and determine their own destiny definitely called for war, mutinies started in the province, the upper Nile and all through the south by 1955 yet the northern government could not surrender the south. This led to war.
13. The pre-independence arrangements only favored the North, where the British colonial government allowed the formation of parties yet restricted them in the south. For example the Ummah party and the national unionist party were formed to stir the independence program. This annoyed the southerners and Colonel Joseph Lagu started organizing them, real struggle started.
14. Unemployment was further a factor to lead to conflict. It is lamented that on relinquishing power by the British about 800 posts were left vacant and to the dismay of the blacks only 6 posts were given to them this created a situation of “struggle to live” which was exploited by ambitious men like Lagu to recruit a number of Africans in guerrilla war fare.
15. The ambitious character of men like Colonel Joseph Lagu and John Garanga. These yawned to lead Sudan at any cost for example in 1963 Colonel Lagu organized all the rebel groups to form Nyanya (snake poison) group to destabilize the northern government to achieve his selfish ends.
16. The role of the army cannot be under estimated in explaining the out break of civil war in Sudan. It is stated that General Ibrahim Abboud made promotion of a southern soldiers hard however good the were. He even limited their recruitment in the army, out of estimated 2000 cadets recruited in 1959 to 1964 only 4 were from the south, this created suspicion and discontent among the southerners and war could not be averted.
17. The uncompromising attitude the Nyanya rebels facilitated further the civil war. After the overthrow of Ibrahim Abboud in 1964, Sir El- Khatim Khalifa called for a cease fire in 1965 and called a conference to discuss peace. The peace talks were abused as the Nyanya rebels wanted complete overhaul and a separate independence something they knew could not be granted at once. This scenario called for a civil strife.
18. The high degree of corruption, embezzlement exercised by the Arabs aroused nationalism. This was manifested in luxurious Muslim festivals, this combined with racism forced the southerners to take up arms and a civil war became inevitable.
19. The support from external powers facilitated the long struggle between the southerners and the northerners in Sudan. Whereas the northern Arabs were supported by Arab countries like Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia on contrally countries like Israel, Britain and Uganda supported the Nyanya rebels’ militarily, socially, economically and morally. This definitely made a civil strife inevitable.
20. The rise of a new prime minister replacing El- Khatim that is to say Mohammad Mahgoub who came up with a military approach in solving the issues a rising in Sudan made war unavoidable, for example the 1956 saga where a quarrel between a northern soldier and a southern hospital worker resulted into massacres. In the town of Juba alone over 100 people were killed, houses burnt and women rapped. Note: At a wedding reception at Wau about 76 people were killed. All this were clear manifestation of war.

NB: Mahgoub was at first foreign minister 1956 to 1958, 1964 to1965 and elected premier 1965. He was militaristic therefore war with the southerners could not be avoided.

1. The indifference showed by OAU and UNO plus the NAM, these condemned but took no serious steps to end the civil war. They thought it was an internal affair and there fore no need to intervene. This was exploited by the southern rebels to continue with war.
2. The continued famine, droughts in southern Sudan yet the northern government kept a deaf ear with out coming to their rescue convinced them that they are to fight on until they determine their own destiny. It is argued that if the northern government felt sympathetic to or came to help in times of natural hazards war would have stopped.
3. The rise of president Jaafar Muhammad Nimeiry 1969 to 1985 who was looked at as a figure to bring peace in Sudan later turned against the southerners and when in the 1970’s he declared war on the Nyanya’s they too used it as a chance to continue with the struggle.
4. The death of John Garang on 30th July 2005 just after 3 weeks in office left a non- reconciliation gap, he was a diplomat who struggled to see a peaceful Sudan. His death robbed Sudan of a courageus figure, the civil war continued till 2011.
5. The unwillingness of the Arab governments to accommodate Christian views made the civil strife inevitable. To achieve positive change in their favour they got arms to fight.

Note: From 1972 to 1983 a period of peace prevailed, there were no serious fights however this could not be kept for long as war erupted again in 1983 to 2005 even after independence of southern Sudan on 9th July 2011 conflicts continued between the 2 states.

**THE CONTINUED SUDAN CIVIL WAR 1983- 2005**.

26. The rise of John Garanga; after the death of Joseph Lagu, Garanga became the new leader of SPLA, he too was very ambitious to lead the negroes he carried on the war to achieve selfish ends until he died in 2005 on 30th july, in a plane crash, negotiations went on to reach peace agreement to end the civil war and on 9th july 2011 the south got their independence.

27. The support offered to SPLA by the NRM government of Uganda hindered any possibility of peace in the region.

28. In 1989 Omar el-Bashil came to power through a coup, however, this man was more militaristic than his predecessors, and he immediately declared war on the southerners this meant that he ruled out any possibility of peace hence war continued.

29. Southern Sudan remained in an appalling economic abbsy (problems) characterised by a skyrocketing inflation, unemployment and poor standards of living. Improving their conditions of work had never been the concern of the northern Government. To change the situation a civil war could not be avoided.

30. The continued discrimination of the southerners, in all circles be it political, social or Economic, this cultural arrogance made the civil stiff continue. Promotions remained in favour of the northern people, yet the distribution of resources was unfair on top of that the revenues collected from the south developed the north at the expense of the south. All this compounded problems justifying the continuation of the civil war in Sudan.

1. The support of the terrorist groups to cause havoc in southern Sudan by the northern government especially the Janjaweed.This convinced the southern that it was only the use of the barrel that would change the situation hence making the war continue.
2. The continued sharp differences in the region, the northerners continued calling the southerners infidels, and carrying on their disrespect to wards the believers of Jesus Christ. Therefore war was sought to change the the situation.
3. President Niemery’s pan Arabism; He took a step to introduce sharia in the whole of Sudan, this was unacceptable in southern dominated “Christian state”. The response was an armed uprising.
4. Natural calamities, like drought and famine remained a cause for the war because the northern government never came up to even share the pain with the suffering southern people. This convinced the southerners that they were supposed to be a different state so fought to achieve self determination and independence.

**NOTE: some causes were recurring yet others are specific to the period in question.**

**EFFECTS OF THE SUDAN CIVIL WAR 1955 TO 2005.**

1. Over 2 million people or so perished in cold blood since 1955 to 2005 and a lot of property destroyed including roads, homesteads, plantations, destroying the family ties and stability.
2. A number of rebel groups were formed in the South to fight for the Southern hegemony/ independence, these included the Nyanya and SPLA.
3. It brought to the lime light important personalities in the politics of southern Sudan like Joseph Lagu and John Garanga and Salva Kiir. These were very instrumental in determining the politics of this large state.
4. Sudan harboured terrorist groups as USA would want us to agree for example when Carols Dijacko was found in Sudan; the country attracted interest of intelligence operatives like CIA.
5. The war fostered cold war politics in the region. On many occasions USA, USSR, Israel and other Arab states came in to help either northern or southern Sudan.
6. Southern Sudan experienced substantial decline in the social standards of living, people lacked the basic needs like medicine, food resulting into misery. All this brought by the war ulcer.
7. The war hiked the refugee crisis in Africa. Countries like Uganda, Eritrea Congo harboured a number of Sudanese refugees which increased their budget and expenditure.
8. The war soured relations between Sudan and the neighbours for example for long Sudanese have been blaming the Ugandan government for supporting SPLA and in turn Sudan turned to support Kony rebels. This Saga created disunity.
9. The war led to coups in Sudan like 1969, then 1989, when Omar Bashir blamed President Ahmed al-Mirghani for failing to solve the Southern question. Bashir also faced stiff opposition from people who think he too failed to end the war.
10. Since 1955 to 2011 a number of humanitarian groups flocked Sudan to help the suffering masses for example the world food programme, African council of churches among others.
11. The war increased the number of political prisoners who suffered a lot of hostility and torture, Niemery for example reached an extent of killing, cutting off some of their body parts hence calling for international outcry to end the civil war.
12. The war further divided Africa on two fronts. While some supported Arab north like Egypt, Tunisia others like Uganda support the SPLA hence African unity a myth.
13. It also showed the weakness of OAU and UNO. These international bodies were supposed to enhance international peace but for long they remained toothless with little effort put to end the Sudan civil strife.
14. The Sudan civil war encouraged other civil wars in Africa. The bravery exposed by the southern nationals to the extent of achieving independence on 9th.july 2011 encouraged others like Chad, Somalian rebels to continue with the struggle.

**AFRICAN CULTURE:**

(a)What problems are independent African states facing in preserving their cultures? What are the possible solutions?

Culture is the entire practice in life social, religious, economic and political values. Over the time Africa experienced a change in these values due to a number of problems which include;-

1. Foreign religions such as Christianity, Islam are overriding the traditional ones. This is further manifested in the deliberate teaching of Western religions in schools instead of traditional ones hence eroding African culture.
2. There is little written work for African culture and behavior. Those existing are not so much read because of the neo-colonial stances that **“All African…are primitive... and all** **Europeans are civilization...”**
3. The use of foreign languages in schools and the civil service has undermined African culture such languages like French, English are prominently used on the continent other than the indigenous ones.
4. The irrelevant education systems the African governments are clinging on do not address our local conditions like some elites do not know their true identity and do not appreciate local conditions and cultures.
5. The influence of Western literature and films which only tarnish African image and raise the status of whites’ forexample the bible portrays Jesus as white and Satan as black.
6. Failure to have a national language policy, save a few states like Kenya and T.Z which have adopted Swahili, the majority African states still have the colonial language as their national languages. This in place African culture is undermined.
7. Neo-colonialism is further blamed for under rating African culture forexample the dumping of second hand goods that are cheap and free goods in Africa especially by NGO’S has “killed” African craftsmanship hence retarding African culture.
8. Almost all independent countries have weak departments’ in charge with the responsibility of promoting African culture except Swaziland.
9. The influence of Western music, drama, soccer which have over ridden African style. Africans now enjoy musicians like Eminem, Justine Birber, and support football clubs like Liverpool, Chelsea, and neglect African style of entertainment.
10. Moral degeneration has hampered African culture. These days there is almost no distinction between the elders and the young yet the former mattered so much in keeping and protecting African values.
11. Poverty leading to presence of weak economies, this economic inferiority is making the Africans admire the west copying almost everything from dressing to politics.
12. The existence of political instabilities sponsored by the west has made Africa fail to have a stable national culture such as the civil war in Sudan since 1955, Somalia, Chad among other.
13. The colonial legacy of divide and rule leading to ethnicity, regionalism making the preservation of African culture very difficult for example, the sharp divisions in Rwanda that resulted into the 1994 genocide.
14. Lack of socialization into our African political, economic or social culture from child hood. Education (formal) has made it worse for the children; most of their time is spent in schools which emphasize the western style of life.

**POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO REVIVE AND PROTECT AFRICAN CULTURE**

1. Revival of African literature by restructuring our education system on the importance of African culture.
2. The governments to strengthen the departments charged with culture.
3. Nationalization of schools with one policy emphasizing African culture and ensuring that whatever is taught in one school is taught in others hence having a one school culture.
4. Government to strengthen moral institutions so as to check moral degeneration such as police to check indecency.
5. Promotion of our songs, drama, stories, legends which have meaning in our daily life.
6. Revival of our traditional customs like marriage, worship, circumcision among other.
7. The governments should have a national language policy and discard the colonial languages.
8. Ensuring economic liberation to avoid dependency that has been a pillar in distortion of African culture
9. Banning the importation of corruptive literature from the west such as erotic(blue) movies or magazines.
10. Governments should promote science and technology so as the citizens not to admire the west.
11. Preservation of antiquities like museums, theaters.
12. Revise the legal system in such away that African values are catered for in the legal system.

**CORRUPTION:**

**Qn.DISCUSSS THE CAUSES OF CORRUPTION IN POST INDEPENDENT AFRICA.**

Corruption is a conduct by the public done in violation of the existing rules and procedure for realization of personal interests. It can be in form of bribery, kick backs, sale of air, embezzlement, nepotism and black mail or hoarding. These and many others are caused by the following.

1. Extensions of low payments to workers prompt them to accept bribes and any other form of corruption.
2. The continued rigidity in employment where bureaucracy becomes a stumbling block makes corruption in Africa unavoidable.
3. Weak administration where by the people who are supposed to implement corruption measures are not exemporary hence the viscous cycle of corruption in Africa.
4. Poor accountability in Africa where people in public offices do not usually account their expenditure increases ground for corruption.
5. Inadquate nationalism where potential African leader’s do not love their countries and do not critically assess the effects of corruption on their nations.
6. Existence of job insecurity where by people are always expecting to be sacked thus a mass a lot of wealthy as early as possible.
7. The increasing poor economic climate which creates jobs for few people, these resort to exploiting others through hoarding, bribes and embezzlement.
8. Existence of extended family syndrome where the very few people employed are faced with dependants so to counter the needs they use corruption as a tool.
9. Existence of total lack of commitment to religion leading to unfaithfulness in places of work thus making corruption inevitable.
10. The increasing chronic shortage of goods due to poor economic performance leads to hoarding, smuggling and black marketing.
11. Inadquate exposure of corrupt officials. Governments are less concerned with exposing evils of corruption and it’s consequences to the people. This creates room for the rampant corruption in Africa.
12. The need to get rich quick makes people lose commitment to their service.

**Possible solutions to the problem of corruption.**

1. Putting up strict measures and punishments upon those caught in act, such as long years in jail, expulsion from the public service among 0thers. This will threaten the corrupt officials.
2. Public sensitization on the effects of corruption, this may help to reduce on the act.
3. Constant auditing of firms and updating. This definitely scare off the would be corrupt people.
4. Exposure of corrupt people in the press, for the public to know. This kind of embarrassment will scare off a number of people from doing the act.
5. Advertising jobs on market and putting up a panel to select the best candidates in a straight forward manner. This will do a way corruption.
6. Increasing the salary and wages of the public workers because it is noted that with ‘pea nut’ payments people will look for survival by being corrupt.
7. Reducing the number of people in offices this will end bureaucracy and there fore the evil of corruption.
8. Ensure continuous flow of goods and services by building many industries, training enough man power among others.
9. Governments should undertake the policy of privatization since corruption is more pronounced in parastatals than private ventures.
10. Commissions of inquiry should be put in place to investigate into corruption cases for example the sebutinde commission in Uganda tried to reduce corruption in Uganda.
11. Government officials should be forced to declare their property and find out means how they attained them. This will give a crue on the possible corrupt officials and hence deal with them.
12. Independence of judiciary to take decisions with out being biased or coarsed by government or any one
13. Strengthen police and other security departments to handle the cases on corruption with out fear or favour.
14. Enhancement of political stability because instability in the state is exploited by selfish people to be corrupt like in Somalia, Sudan, chad.

**THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**

. **Qn: i. ‘The collapse of the EAC was inevitable in 1977.’Discuss**

**ii. To what extent did the EAC live up to the expectation for which it was founded?**

**iii. Examine the challenges faced by the revived EAC since 1996.**

The idea forming an organization to unite the 3 East African states dates as far back as the British declaration of the East African federation comprising of Uganda, Kenya and the mandate territory of Tanganyika however, this idea was suffocated.

After independence the 3 leaders in 1963 agreed to form a more acceptable joint unit to enhance economic development.

A commission of inquiry was put up headed by Kjeld Phillip (professor), a United Nations official from Denmark.

In June 1966 a treaty was signed and in December 1967 in Arusha, the E.A.C came into effect.

Note: It was a mutual agreement between Obote of Uganda, Nyerere of Tanzania and Kenyatta of Kenya.

**AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**.

1. To protect the home industries by imposing high tariffs on imports of manufactured products from developed nations.
2. To unite the 3 East African states under one acceptable body.
3. To attain equal distribution of industries among the 3 East African states 5 to T.Z, 2 to Uganda and 1 to Kenya.
4. To allow easy mobility of goods and services in all the 3 East African states.
5. To have a common currency to harmonize services like air, harbour and railway lines.
6. To ensure balanced development by regulating industrial and commercial relations.
7. To avoid neo-colonialism by establishing self sustaining economy of East Africa.
8. To act as one strong voice on the international fora and to do away with being caught up in cold war politics.

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EASTAFRICAN COMMUNITY 1967 TO 1977.**

1. Education enhancements, a number of universities were put in place like DAR-ES-SALAM university of Tanzania, Nairobi university of Kenya and Makerere University of Uganda. This reduced the illiteracy rate on top of providing skilled man power.
2. The formation of the East African community became a basis for the formation of other economic integration organizations on the continent for example ECOWAS, P.T.A, SADC.
3. There was the formation of the East African development bank which extended loans hence enhancing economic development. The bank also gave jobs to the people of East Africa hence reducing unemployment.
4. The organization provided employment to the people at the secretariat, and other joint ventures like East African posts and telecommunication.
5. It led to the development of towns into big cities like Arusha the centre of the community, Kampala and Nairobi.
6. Industrialization was given priority as a number of industries sprang up like Nytil, and other small scale industries. This is a credit that cannot be underestimated.
7. There were equal distribution of resources and services for example, posts and telecommunication head quarters in Kampala, new harbors cooperation in Dar-es-salam.
8. There was easy mobility of labour hence reducing unemployment for example the unemployed in Tanzania would find jobs in Kenya which was more industrialized.
9. Reduced dependency on foreign states for countries helped each other in times of crisis like famine, which called for international sabotage especially USA forexample it failed the barter system by providing cheaper and some times high quality goods.
10. For some time unity and co-operation transpired in East Africa hence a period of peace and stability till Amin conflicted with Nyerere after the 1971 coup.
11. Reduced exploitation for common tariffs were levied. This much helped to develope Uganda which is land locked.
12. There was improvement of communication network especially with the establishment of the E. African posts and telecommunication, improving and extending the E. African railways and roads.
13. The E.A.C linked East Africa to other international economic organizations like European economic community (EEC) now European Union, UNO, it’s bargaining power on the prices made an immerse impact on economic development of East Africa.
14. There was improvement in the standards of living because of the easy movement of goods and services forexample what Kenyan did not have could easily be got from Uganda or Tanzania and vice versa.
15. After the establishment of the EAC, other ventures like E. African experimental school for East African herbs and medicine at Nabumali – Mbale were given a thought; others like East African Air School at Soroti, A polytechnic for personnel in Nairobi were put. This was development that was indisputably a credit for EAC.
16. Specialization was enhanced for example production of pyrethrum was supposed to be for Kenya, sugar production for Uganda and sisal for Tanzania. This improved not only the quality but also the quantity.
17. There was a formation of a closer political union to arbitrate the wrangles that would rise up among the 3 East African. This reduced chances of conflict.
18. It raised African nationalism of Africans belonging to the African continent and pan Africanism. This saw the revival of the African cultures and values in East Africa.

**Account for the collapse of the East African community in 1977.**

**Note**; This great organization had started facing a number of challenges and problems as early as the1971, by 1975 it was too weak however it was buried in the dust bin of history in 1977 until it was re awakened in the 1990s. The factors for the collapse can be explained as follows;

1. The 1971 coup in Uganda that brought Amin to prominence worked to end the set objectives of E.A.C. It all began with Amin calling Nyerere a woman, a coward. Thus they could not meet and discuss peace
2. Sabotage from the super powers forexample USA supplied Tanzania with maize which Uganda was supposed to offer in exchange of generators. With this in place E.A.C could not run smoothly and so collapsed in 1977.
3. Differences in the education system. Where as Kenya and Uganda remained closely with the neo colonial syllabus, Tanzania was emphasizing subjects favoring Tanzania that were more practical. This broke the joint University strategy hence breaking the E.A.C objectives and by 1975 it was clear that sooner or later the community couldnot survive.
4. Lack of support from the masses. Since most people were illiterates they could not internalize the positive impact of the community, this was furthered by the micro-nationalism of some tribes like Buganda in Uganda making its collapse inevitable.
5. The Sudden acquisition of independence with out good preparation or pan-Africanism for example Uganda got independence with a federal constitution, Kenya with Majimbo constitution yet Tanzania with Tanu dominated. This arrangement did not favor the unity of the 3 East African states under one Umbrella.
6. Differences in ideology forexample Kenya was capitalistic state, Uganda mixed ideology of partial capitalism and socialism yet Tanzania African socialism. Such differences could not hide for long explaining why E.AC was to be a legend by 1977.
7. The ambitious character of field martial Idd Amin, he started by declaring the area from Turkana to Kisumu as part of Uganda later areas around Kagera (T.Z). Thus the 2 leaders decided to isolate Amin making E.AC’S survival a myth.
8. The differences in the levels of development were yet to cause problems, Kenya had advanced faster and its goods could not favorably complete with the rest so Tannzania and Uganda felt cheated hence secretly withdrawing from the E.A.C.
9. Protectiveness, resulting into closure of boarders. This was as a result of selfishness for example Tanzania blamed Kenya of destroying their roads due to the many heavy vehicles. Such intrigue could not push the community any further forexample when Tanzania closed its boarders, Kenya retaliated by also closing its own.
10. In 1974 Kenya was blamed of diverting 100 million dollars from East African railways to selfish projects. This angered Uganda and Tanzania hence failing the community.
11. Neo colonialism was another factor to hamper the progress of EAC; people considered East African made goods inferior and preferred European made. Thus it led to loss of market and hence limited funds and by 1977 the EAC could not reign further.
12. The 1973 oil crisis when the Arab states turned off oil taps as a political weapon to cripple Israel and its allies. In effect the LDCS were the most affected for the cost of production increased in East Africa forcing the E. African states to turn to Europe for cheaper goods. This was a boomerang to the continuity of E.A.C.
13. The concentration of many bodies in Kenya like the East African industrial research centre in Kenya, East African literature Bureau in Nairobi. When Kenya refused to share the revenue collected other countries pulled out and by 1977 it was no more.
14. Failure to have a common currency made trade across boarders difficult by 1977 the income gap was widening and thus against the objective of equal distribution of wealth in E. Africa.
15. A flash of rumours and allegations for example in 1975 it is alleged that Nyerere while at a public lecture labeled Kenyatta **“a prostitute and a man eater.”** Who exploits his fellow country men! With that the value of EAC could not hold further.
16. The expulsion of Ugandan workers in 1977 by Nyerere forced Amin to do the same therefore with such in place the EAC could not continue.
17. Inefficiency and lack of commitment to EAC led to the collapse of the East African income tax department in 1974, break up of some services like 1975 break up of the Harbors co-operation. Such scenarios could not keep E.A.C any longer.

Note: In 1977 EAC was no more it was put in a historical archive untill1996 when Museveni, Mkapa and Moi re-affirmed the revival of the E. African community.

On 14th. March. 1996 the first executive secretary general was nominated that is Francis. K. Mathaura from Kenya his deputies being Dr. Sam Nahamya of Uganda and Michael Kazuara of Tanzania.

Other delegates were Salim Ahmed Salim, Nyerere, Hassan Mwinyi and pastor Bizimungu of Rwanda.

Rwanda and Burundi were incorporated and Southern Sudan is in talks to be incorporated in the organization.

However E.A.C is facing a number of challenges that sometimes one may think its not existing

**Challenges faced by E.A.C after its revival to date.**

* Lack of a common language policy.
* Differences in the levels of development where Kenya is more developed.
* Political instability in Uganda diverting the attention of Uganda from E.AC.
* Change in leadership for example Kikwete of T.Z Mwai Kibaki of Kenya lack the zeal of their predecessors.
* Lack of a dignified spirit of pan-Africanism among the people.
* Not enough sensitization of the masses has been done thus the new generation does not exactly know the set objectives of EAC.
* Neo-colonialism where states prefer dealing with European states or America and now Japan and China on scene.
* Sabotage from the Super powers to the regional groupings like America has always threatened with sactions.
* Weakness of OAU/ AU and UNO.
* Lack of enough resources to make it set off.
* Lack of a common currency forexample the Kenyan shilling weighs more.
* Full incorporation of Burundi, Rwanda and Southern Sudan who were not among the original founders.
* Personal differences among leaders for example, Museveni and Kagame resulting into closure of boarders.

**PAN AFRICANISM**

The word **PAN** means **one**. Pan Africanism is there fore the attachment of all blacks towards the African continent as one people.

The origin of pan Africanism is North America, the Western Indies where blacks had suffered so much, it was started by intellectuals like Web Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Henry Sylvester, George Pad more, Ras makonnen from Trinidad among others. The first Pan African Congress was held in 1900 July in London, it was followed by that of 1919 in Paris, then again 1919 in London.

In 1927, it was supposed to take place in Tunisia but the venue was changed to New York due to lack of good will from Britain and France.

The most inspiring one was the 1945 Manchester congress in which many notable African nationalists attended including Peter Abrahams of S.Africa, Nkrumah, Kenyatta attended. These came back determined to dismantle the colonial bondage.

**AIMS/OBJECTIVES OF THE PAN AFRICANISM MOVEMENT (PAM)**

1. To unite all black people in Africa and in the Diaspora
2. To restore the dignity of the black man in the world over.
3. To come up with a single voice against colonialism.
4. To reduce the dependency level and finding ways of developing Africa.
5. To revive and strengthen African culture.
6. To check neo-colonialism especially after attaining independence for Africa.
7. To train African leaders and equip them with strong feelings and legality to the entire continent of Africa.
8. To enforce African road to self sustenance and independence.

**THE 1945 MANCHESTER CONFERENCE**

The conference was convened from 15th to 19th October 1945 and it was attended by 200 delegates. Its occurrence and discussions were influenced by the 1935 Italo-Ethiopian crisis, the 1941defeat of

Italy by Ethiopia, 1941 Atlantic charter, the

***Delegates of the 1945 Manchester Conference***

emergency of African Elites and World War II, the main objective was to oppose colonialism and any form of imperialism or racism.

**THE SIGNIFICANCY OF THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE TO THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

1. During the conference Elites were challenged to come back and form political parties and liberation movements in abid to attain quick independence of their respective states. Such elites included Kwame Nkrumah who came back and led the United Gold Coast Convection (UGCC) before forming his own Convection People’s Party (CPP) that led to Ghana to independence in 1957. Others included Frelimo under Eduardo Mondlane, KANU under Kenyatta, TANU under Nyerere, and FLN under Ben Bella among others.
2. The conference compounded together blacks from Africa and those in the Diaspora shared views on how to end the suffering of the black man in the world. Those who attended from Africa included Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, Abafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, Namdi Azikwe of Nigeria, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi. Those who came from abroad included Dr. Peter Milliard, George Pad more and Web Dubois their ideas were very important in the struggle for independence.
3. During the conference it was agreed that where peaceful means fail, militant nationalism should be adopted and this gave rise to militant means in attaining African independence for example, the mau mau rebellion in Kenya.
4. During the conference the educated were called upon and sensitized with the need to identify them selves with their uneducated brothers and sisters so on return they were able to mobilize and sensitize people from all walks of life ranging from the peasants to the professionals. Therefore this helped so much as many people stopped serving the interests of the colonial masters. It should therefore be argued that the Manchester Pan African conference was fundamental to the independence struggles in Africa.
5. Coupled with the above the richer African states like Egypt and individuals in the Diaspora were encouraged to give financial and moral support to Africans struggling for independence. Therefore since poverty was the major obstacle and a major reason for prolonged colonialism the Manchester Pan African conference therefore provided a solution that fuelled up the independence of African states.
6. The delegates emphasized the principle of self sacrifice where people were to give in time, ability, financial and life so as to emancipate Africa. It is therefore against this background that African states were to achieve their independence by which ever means.
7. The Manchester Pan African conference bridged the gap and differences among nationalists. It united Nationalists of the old generation like Kenyatta with young generation, Nationalists of the Casablanca group were also united with those of the Monrovian group and nationalists of the French colonies like Leopard Senghor sat on the same table with nationalists from British colonies like Namdi Azikiwe. This compounded efforts put pressure on to the colonialists such that by the 1960s the fruits of the congress had been realized.
8. The Manchester Pan African conference laid a firm foundation to the future union of Africa which gave birth to the formation of OAU in 1963.
9. The conference led to the introduction of Pan Africanism on the entire continent of Africa for example Nkrumah made several travels within and outside Ghana especially after 1947 to spread Pan African ideas. He went to countries like Mozambique, DRC he also went to Ethiopia, Algeria among others.
10. During the conference, it was agreed that Pan African Movement had to get a base within Africa. For they had realized the hopelessness of fighting colonialism using foreign bases, Ghana was especially important especially with the presence of a strong man kwame Nkrumah, from 1947 the Pan African Movement gained firm ground and strongly criticized the colonialists, that is why in the later years due to such pressure Africa had to get independence.
11. During the conference African elites in the Diaspora were called upon to return to Africa to champion the struggle against colonialism. This saw the return of kwame Nkrumah 1947, Azikiwe in 1960 and these helped to provide leadership for independent African states.

NB: Manchester conference was a turning point in the development and growth of Pan Africanism and African nationalism as Africans were now demanding for a complete end of African suffering rather than just mere changes within the colonial system.

**THE 1958 ACCRA CONGRESSES**

Kwame Nkrumah called the independent African states after attaining Ghana’s independence in 1957 (He called the conference in April 1958). They included Liberia, Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt and Libya. This was later followed by the **“All African people’s Congress”** of December 1958 that was attended by all interested African states whether independent or not.

**N.B**. Those two conferences took place in Accra under the chairmanship of Nkrumah and were very significant in the growth and development of African nationalism as follows:-

1. The Pan African movement became more militant and practical. The participants during the Accra congress demanded for a quick and speedy end to colonialism in the whole continent of Africa.
2. For the first time in History, the Pan African congress was held on the African soil and therefore Accra became a centre and base from where revolutionary ideas spread to the rest of Africa and since Ghana had attained independence as early as 1957 it was then easy for other African states to copy the example. It is not surprising that the period that followed many African states gained their independence including Uganda.
3. From 1958 onwards Pan Africanism became a movement basically for Africans within the African continent. Its aims and objectives became unity of Africans on the African soil rather than championing the interests of those abroad. This enlightened the African masses of the need for self determination rather than being naive loyal to the imperialists.
4. During the congress the idea of Non Alignment was given strong emphasis and those who attended on return home at least called for Non Alignment in theory. Therefore all this was leading Africans to vehemently struggle for independence and self determination.
5. Pan Africanism as a result of the Accra conference bridged the gap between the Arab North and the Negro South for example out of the eight countries that attended the April congress, five of them were from the North. Further still countries like Egypt after the conference assured support to all African countries in need of help. Beneficiaries of this help included Mozambique, Kenya and Algeria among others.
6. The conference revived the Pan African movements that had been left in a Limbo since 1945 Manchester conference. Therefore it is argued that without Nkrumah’s efforts, the Pan African movement would have either been forgotten or thrown in the dustbin of history.
7. This congress gave chance to African leaders to meet each other and shared different ideas for examples at Accra, the common problems affecting the continent were discussed such as poverty, disunity and possible solutions were put up. After this conference Africans started visiting each other and sharing ideas. A case in point is Nkrumah who tried to visit as many African states before he was overthrown in 1966.
8. During the conference African states agreed that they were to exchange cultural, scientific, technological, educational facilities so as to stop reliance on European economies. They also agreed to improve on communication lines for easy movement of African and Pan African leaders. Therefore it is argued that without such a congress such brilliant ideas could have been lost.
9. Participants in the conference addressed themselves to the questions of the future relation between Africa and world over for they wanted to keep peace especially because it was during the time of intensive cold war politics; they therefore adopted the policy of non-alignment since the world politics demanded so.
10. In the conference, Nkrumah made it clear that the independence of Ghana was meaningless when the rest of Africa were still under the colonial bondage, it is then that he promised to assist countries under colonial rule and solicited support from the world over in a bid to do away with the one armed bandit colonialism.
11. The congress aroused nationalistic feelings on the whole continent of Africa. Very many people started realizing the evil of colonialism something that they were not exposed to by the whites through their systems of assimilation (French colonies) plus divide and rule in British colonies.
12. After the conference many political parties were formed as they had been assured of support, they played a mobilization role on the populace. Such parties like UPC in Uganda, Kenyatta’s KANU, and Nyerere’s TANU among others were formed.
13. The idea of African unity was given serious attention by uniting the Monrovia and Casablanca blocs the result of which was the formation of OAU in 1963.
14. In addition the conference condemned Apartheid in South Africa and extreme colonial oppression in Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The delegates therefore called upon everyone to be vigilant so as to end such colonial injustice in Africa. Therefore if Africans in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies got massive support from within Africa and the Diaspora it can then be argued that the Accra conference played a greater role.
15. Within the conference Democracy was given keen interest especially with their principle of one man one vote. This became a background onto which democracy has been built on to the African continent. However this could only be achieved when the whole of Africa was independent.
16. 15th April became a very important day in the lives of Africans and it has been regarded as **“African freedom day**”. This is in commemoration of the first Anniversary of the April 1958 Accra conference and its important role in compounding Africans together always in fighting for the same cause. The Accra conference then became a landmark in the struggle for African independence.
17. The Accra conference laid foundation for many other conferences for example Africa has had a number of conferences taking place in Lagos, Monrovia, Casablanca, Tunisia and Addis Ababa and in all these conferences the question of African unity, dignity were seriously addressed and on many occasions members agreed to respect each other to solve interstate disputes peacefully and help refugees. It can therefore be argued that without Nkrumah’s zeal such great ideas could have been lost.

**OBSTACLES TO PAN AFRICANISM SINCE 1945**

1. Pan Africanism is hampered by the internal problems African states are facing. This has made African states to be more concerned about their internal affairs rather than those of a wider continent. For example when OAU placed trade embargos on Apartheid South Africa, Malawi and Zambia continued to deal with it. They claimed that their economies would collapse without such economic deals with South Africa.
2. The failure to form the United States of Africa as it had been proposed by Kwame Nkrumah and his comrades reduced any chances of strong Pan Africanism to be realized, they had foresighted that with a common African government, army, Africa would be considered as one bloc, very strong to change world politics. However this was turned down and a loose OAU was formed which has not bought the loyalty of all Africans. Therefore in such a situation Pan Africanism has been left at a bay.
3. The first generation of African leaders have been overthrown as a result of military intervention in the politics of Africa and the new breed of African leaders are full of dictatorship, corruption, selfishness and seem not to be interested in anything concerned with Pan Africanism.
4. Lack of common continental language has hampered Pan Africanism, each with its own language, on the national scene different states use different national languages, whereas others use Arabic especially in the North Africa, others use Swahili, English, and French. Therefore in such a dilemma Pan African ideas can not easily spread.
5. Individual differences among African leaders have also hindered Pan Africanism on the continent for example Amin conflicted with Nyerere throughout the 1970s, There were personal differences between Mobutu and Dos Santos of Angola. Museveni had personal conflicts with Kabila and Omar Bashir of Sudan. Therefore such misunderstandings have limited any chances in the realization of Pan African goals.
6. The continent has also experienced secessionist tendencies which have limited unity. A case in point is the Katanga secession1960 to 1963, the Biafran secession of the Ibos in Nigeria 1967 to 1970, the Eritrean secession 1961 to 1993. These endangered unity and the spirit of Pan Africanism can not be realized.
7. Africa has experienced a number of political assassinations of core Pan Africanists. These include the assassination of Lumumba of Congo 1961, Anwal Sadat of Egypt, Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique 1969, Sylvanias Olympia of Togo 1963, Amilcar Cabra of Guinea Bissau 1973 among others. This has demoralized the growing spirit of Pan Africanism.
8. African countries are at war with each other and some are experiencing civil wars for example in 1979 Uganda and Tanzania were at war, the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia and Ugandan forces confronted in Congo with the Rwandese and, other countries like Angola, Sudan, Nigeria have experienced civil wars.
9. Sharp divisions on the African continent in 1950s to 1960s hampered serious Pan Africanism; the continent was divided into two groups that is radical Casablanca group and the Monrovian group of moderates. Although the two merged to form OAU and now African union, regional groupings like COMESA, ECOWAS, and EAC have promoted regional feelings rather than continental.
10. The colonial heritage; as a result of the 1884 Berlin Conference where Africa was partitioned into smaller states where each state became more concerned about its own problems rather than the continental issues. This therefore is very fundamental in explaining the weakness of the spirit of Pan Africanism on the continent.
11. Cold war politics, as some countries adopted socialism like Tanzania others took up the capitalist ideology like Kenya while others were caught up in mixed capitalism and socialism like Uganda. Therefore such countries could not come up with compounded effort as they looked at each other as enemies.
12. The Pan African movement begun as a movement of elites and therefore received little sympathy from the peasants, it is surprising that up to date the illiterates do not properly understand the purpose of Pan Africanism yet they are the majority.
13. Neo colonialism is yet another obstacle for the spirit of non alignment has never been realized fully especially with the sky rocketing poverty. Thus African countries have continued relying on foreign aid and this has made African independence pseudo. Therefore without self reliance Pan African ideas have remained a myth.
14. The size of the continent, Africa is the second largest continent occupied with a number of tribes, races, and cultural diversity. The North looks sharply different from the south and this therefore has worked to hinder the progress of the Pan African movement.
15. The education system, most African states follow foreign syllabi which does not emphasize Pan Africanism.
16. Lack of efficient communication network to enhance the movement of the Pan Africanism, the trans-African railway failed to take off.

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAN AFRICANISM**

1. The ideas of the Pan African movement were used by nationalists in Africa to attain self determination. Africans formed political parties like UPC, in Uganda NCNC in Nigeria and Liberation movements like FLN, MPLA in their struggle for independence something the Pan African movement had emphasized.
2. The PAM achieved its objectives of decolonizing Africa by the 1990 almost all African countries had been granted independence including Namibia 1990.
3. The movement succeded in fostering unity between Africans in African and the Negros in Diaspora.
4. The PAM has managed to uplift the dignity and social pride of the black people all over the world.
5. Marcus Garvey formed the **“Back to African Movement”** which made blacks in America, Asia, Jamaica to become aware of their African origin from then on they started giving practical help to the Negro Black movements in Africa and America for example they supported the WASU (West African Students Union).
6. The PAM helped to sensitize the Black people about their rights and helped them to present their human rights abuses before the UN. A number of Pan Africanists for example Nyerere, Nkrumah, Kamzu Banda and Kenyatta started sensitizing fellow Africans about their rights including the rights for self government.
7. PAM helped in reducing the rate of racial segregation in South Africa. The Pan African congress in South Africa widely publicized the white man’s atrocities against the blacks and subsequently won international sympathy.
8. PAM played a great role in training high quality leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Emperor Haille Sellasie of Ethiopia. These were trained to have deep feelings and concern for the African continent. They became the earliest Apostles of Pan Africanism in Africa After the 1958 Accra conference.
9. The PAM has consistently called the Non Alignment of African countries as a means of disassociating Africa from the ideological dogmas of the super powers. Non-Alignment won Africans a great level of international respect.
10. Pan Africanists influenced the contents of the 1941 Atlantic charter. This charter was signed at a time when American Pan Africanists were seriously demanding for the independence and respect of the black man. No wonder the charter addressed itself to the question of political rights for all the colonized.
11. PAM ideas resulted into the formation of the OAU in 1963. The PAM ironed out the differences among Africans and this great organisation was formed.
12. PAM has forged the solidarity between African, Arab and Asian countries.
13. The PAM has continued to voice its dissatisfaction over Neo colonialism in Africa and Asia.
14. PAM ideas were used by nationalists to form political parties and liberation movements especially after the 1945 Manchester conference for example TANU, KANU, FLN by Ben Bella among others.

**Note;** The idea of African Unity was coined by the formation of the pan African movement as early as 1900. Therefore Africans ought to revise the doctorines of PAM if African solidarity must be upheld.

**GENERAL WEAKNESSES OF PAM**

**(Problems of PAM)**

1. PAM has failed to create a united states of Africa as was proposed during the 1945 Manchester conference.
2. PAM has failed to raise the standards of living in Africa. Today Africa is one of the poorest continent in the world.
3. PAM failed to end the human rights abuses in Africa resulting in a number of civil wars, assassinations in Angola , Somalia, chad among others
4. Despite its call for unity, divisions continued for example between the Casablanca and Monrovian groups, the capitalists and socialists, Franco phone countries against Anglo-Phone countries to mention but a few.
5. PAM has failed to end Neo-colonialism in Africa. African countries continue relying on colonial powers for aid.
6. Failure to train a new generation of Afrrican leaders with patriotic feelings, most leaders today are selfish and corrupt yet the old generation is becoming extinct.
7. PAM has failed to end ethnic rivalry and this has led to ethnic clashes for example the Tutsi -Hutu genocide of 1959-1963 and 1990-1994 genocide.
8. Disagreement between Pan African leaders for example Nkrumah disagreed with Gamal Abdel Nasser over the issue of forming of the United States of Africa.
9. PAM has failed to strengthen the ties between Africans in Africa and those in the Diaspora, today the Pan African Movement is almost a movement for only Africans in Africa.

**REASONS FOR THE GROWTH OF PAM 1945 – 1963.**

1. Racial awareness
2. Common colonial problems
3. The role of western education
4. The Italo - Ethiopian crisis.
5. The emergency of the USSR
6. The need to raise the black man’s dignity
7. The need to revive African culture
8. The role of the 1941 Atlantic charter
9. The impact of World war II
10. The Manchester conference 1945
11. The ideas of UNO
12. Role of the Press
13. Emergence of African Elites like Nkrumah, Peter Abrahams.
14. Aparthied in South Africa and the creation of Bantustans 1948.
15. The 1952Egyptian revolution
16. 1952 Mau Mau rebellion
17. The formation of OAU in 1963
18. The role of the indigenous Pan African base in Ghana.
19. The system of congresses in solving African problems.
20. Funding or support from the rich black Negros in the Diaspora

**THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (O.A.U)**

The compromise between the radical Casablanca group and the moderate Monrovian group resulted into the formation of a loose organization in the name of OAU. It was formed on 25th May 1963 in Addis Ababa on the advice and chairmanship of Emperor Haille Sellasie

***African Heads May 1963 OAU***

Thirty two African states signed the charter however, Morocco and Togo signed later because Morocco could not sit on the same table with Mauritania of which she had misunderstandings. The Togolese representative was prevented from signing the OAU charter because on 13th January 1963 Togolese government had toppled the legitimate government of Slyvanus Olympio whom they assassinated.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE OAU**

1. To promote unity and solidarity of all African states
2. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the independence of all African states.
3. To eradicate all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism on the African continent.
4. To co-ordinate and intensify the political, diplomatic, economic and social

Co-operation between African states so as to avail all Africans better standards of living

1. To promote international co-operation in respect to the requirements of the UN charter.
2. To promote the respect of human rights all over the continent in respect of the UN universal declaration of human rights.
3. To spear head economic development all over the continent in a check against Neo-colonialism.

**PRINCIPLES/MEMBERSHIP OF THE OAU**

To achieve the above aims, member states emphasized the following principles in article three of the OAU charter

1. Non interference in the internal affairs of other states. This required one state to respect the sovereignty of the others for example they were not to support rebels in neighboring countries.
2. Non-alignment was to be observed. OAU member states were to keep away from super power ideologies.
3. Total dedication to the liberation of all African territories that were still under colonialism.
4. Member states agreed to condemn political assassinations.
5. The principle of equality of all the independent states irrespective of size or economic status.

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF OAU**

1. OAU fought against colonialism, through its liberation committee, OAU succeeded in mobilizing funds, arms and support for the countries that were still under colonial rule. This saw the liberation of several countries like Angola, South Africa and Namibia. After its successful completion of the decolonization task, the liberation committee of OAU was dissolved in 1994.
2. OAU’s survival for along period is a clear manifestation of its success. Formed in May 1963, OAU survived up to 2002 when it was transformed into African Union (its membership continued to grow from 32-52 countries).
3. OAU upheld the idea of African unity through the annual conferences where it managed to bring the different heads of states together, they did not only discuss the important matters affecting the continent but also came to know and understand each other better, this contributed towards African unity.
4. OAU settled inter state conflicts between Uganda and Kenya 1987, Somalia and Ethiopia in 1970, Morocco and Mauritania over the western Sahara republic 1976, Somalia and Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania 1978 – 79, Uganda and Congo, Uganda and Sudan, OAU always came in to mediate peace and prevent large scale and prolonged wars.
5. OAU helped in dismantling Apartheid by 1994; it used diplomatic talks, mobilized moral, financial and military support in order to weaken the Apartheid regime. It convinced the super powers to impose sanctions against Apartheid South Africa and encouraged the formation of frontline states that is Mozambique, Angola, and Zambia against South Africa.
6. OAU promoted economic development in Africa that is in 1963 set up the African Development Bank in Abidjan in Cote-de-viore Ivory Coast, it obtained funds from multi national co-operations and rich Arab states for development. In 1993 at Abidjan OAU proposed the formation of an African economic community.
7. OAU supported regional economic integrations after realizing that the idea of continental economic integration will take long to mature, such groupings like ECOWAS for West Africa, PTA and COMESA for East, central and South Africa, the SADC were formed and through these, unity and social economic advancement were spearheaded.
8. OAU made efforts to end civil wars; in 1972 it negotiated a peace settlement over the Sudanese civil war, this helped to put the civil war to an end for a period of ten years. Even after the war resumed in 1983, it still made efforts to reconcile the SPLA guerilla movement with Khartoum government. It also intervened in the civil wars in Burundi, Mozambique, Nigeria and Angola.
9. OAU made efforts to cater for refugees, during the 1965 OAU summit in Accra African heads of states addressed themselves to the problem of refugees in Africa in their topic **“The refuge problem in Africa”.** They resolved to give asylum to the refugees, minimize civil conflicts that produced these civil wars and also prevent refugees from engaging in abusive activities.
10. OAU revived African culture throug games and sports, African festivals , African Languages like Swahili, Lingala and Hausa, promotion of African literature bureau which saw the writing of a number of novels and plays like “Things fall Apart by Chinua Achebe”, “Lion and the Jewel by Wole Soyinka”.
11. OAU promoted international understanding, Africa on the international fora now spoke with one voice, it was also the influence of OAU on international scene that Africa managed to produce UN secretary Generals like Boutros Boutros Ghali and Kofi Annani.
12. OAU promoted scientific research and through this OAU helped to stop pests, East coast fever and also went ahead to sensitize people about AIDS, also set up the African Medical Research Fund (AMRF) in order to improve research in diseases. All these efforts helped to improve the welfare of the people.
13. OAU called for NAM in relation to international politics, it advised African countries to remain neutral during the period of cold war politics and this helped to reduce crashes.
14. OAU condemned secessionions for example it took an uncompromising positions against, Biafran secession, Katanga secessions this helped to bring togetherness within those states and some how nationalism was realized.
15. OAU promoted democratic governance in Africa and took a firm ground to condemn coups and political assassinations in addition the principle of one man one vote was upheld, Africa realized different elections for example in Kenya Moi gave in to Kibaki through elections. All these were achievements that could not be under estimated.
16. OAU defended human rights by setting up a human rights charter on 21st October 1986 signed by 30 out of 52 African states and from then they started fighting human rights abuses and encouraged Africans states to set up human rights commissions with in their countries. This has helped to reduce on human suffering on the African continent.
17. OAU constantly spoke against neo-colonialism and Africans were encouraged to build self sustaining economies and avoid accepting decisions from the West. This some how enhanced African independence.
18. OAU was some how successful in settling disputes among member states for example it solved boarder disputes between Morocco and Algeria, Ethiopia and Somalia, Dahomy and Niger, Uganda and Tanzania and this helped to reduce on disunity.
19. OAU from time to time tried to seek aid from Petro Dollar countries in North Africa and Middle East to help the poor African states especially from the South so as to solve their home problems especially in periods of crisis for example Angola, Mozambique, Malawi benefited from this aid.

**FAILURES AND PROBLEMS OF OAU**

1. Failure to air out political differences of African states, during the Nigerian civil war of 1967-70, Tanzania, Zambia, Ivory Coast plus Gabon remained in total isolation with Nigeria because they supported the Biafran secession. This was blamed on OAU because it had not made enough sensitization in the need for African unity.
2. OAU failed to create a standing army that would solve African problems. It only relied on soliciting support from African countries in times of crisis and therefore it failed to iron out dictators like Jean Bodel Bokasa of Central Africa, failed to end Amin’s rule in a short period, people like Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Ghadafi of Libya did not uphold on to the democratic principles of elections and this created confusion in African politics.
3. OAU failed to end Neo-colonialism throughout its existence, African countries were depending on the former colonial masters and to make matters worse the 1982 OAU summit that was to take place in Libya flopped because of the influence of USA and it was shifted to Addis Ababa. Therefore it is urged that OAU failed to achieve the desire for total independence.
4. The OAU failed to attain the desired unity of Africa. African countries throughout its existence were more concerned about their home problems rather than the continental issues. This created divisions against the future unity envisaged by its founders.
5. OAU failed to end inter state conflicts for example between 1977 and 1978 Ethiopia was at war with Somalia around 1979 Tanzania and Uganda were also at war, this disunity hampered economic development.
6. OAU failed to amend the OAU charter which emphasized the principle of non interference in the affairs of other states, the dictators always used this clause to prolong their stay in power and abuse human rights a case in point is Apartheid South Africa which constantly called OAU members to respect the non interference clause, other leaders like Ghadafi always told other leaders to mind their own business.
7. OAU failed to establish an economic integration of the continent, African states remained very poor and surprisingly 90% of the total trade in Africa was done outside the continent thus regional groupings like COMESA, Preferential Trade Area (PTA), SADCC failed to realize their objectives.
8. The continuation of civil wars was another undoing of OAU. By the time OAU was dissolved in 2002 a number of wars were going on in different parts of Africa for example in Uganda Kony was fighting on, in Sudan SPLA was fighting on and in Somalia civil war was going on, civil conflicts existed for example in 1992 Babangida of Nigeria declared the elections as narrow and void yet in the same country Chief Abiola was detained by Sun Abacha. This shows the extent to which OAU failed to create lasting peace.
9. OAU failed to safeguard the sovereignty and respect of the members states for example in 1968 USA troops bombed Libyan cities of Benghazi and Tripoli, in Congo the Belgian troops occupied without the blessing of the OAU, various military take over were partly influenced by foreign countries and Africa did not rested yet OAU did not do enough guarding.
10. OAU failed to enforce non-alignment as member states became aligned either to the east or the West for example where as Kenya adopted capitalism, Tanzania adopted socialism which limited continental unity.
11. OAU failed to discipline member states which did not pay their membership for example Chad and Rwanda for long refused to pay this fee. According to the 1995 statistics out of 53 countries only 17 fully paid and it was estimated that about 583 million dollars were in debts.
12. OAU was also faced with personal conflicts, misunderstandings by Heads of states in Africa for example Nyerere boycotted the OAU summit in Uganda in 1975 because of personal conflicts with Amin, Nasser and Nkrumah disagreed on the form of unity to adopt in Africa. All these were blamed on OAU for failure to create peace and unity.
13. OAU failed to prevent assassinations of African leaders and Africa lost dynamic and political leaders like Lumumba, Sylvanus Olympio of Togo, Anwal Sadat of Egypt, Melicio Ndadaye of Burundi, Juvenile Habyarimana of Rwanda, and the people who were believed would ensure unity in Africa.
14. OAU failed to iron out differences between black Africans and the Arab North Africans. This was significant in the 1977 OAU summit in Somalia. The Arabs wanted a Somali to be elected as secretary General of OAU as opposed to a black from Zambia. This almost fragmented Africa into the Arab North and Black South. However this was solved by the election of a Cameroonian.
15. OAU failed to protect human rights. Most African states were headed by dictators like Amin, Mobutu Seseko, Sun Abacha who even banned political parties, censored the press but OAU simply condemned and could not remove such dictators.
16. Failure to improve the social welfare of Africans. Africans remained very poor, suffered from curable diseases like Bilharzia, there was poor feeding and mal-nutrition yet OAU did little or nothing to improve on this.
17. Failure to stop ethnic nationalism in Africa. OAU completely failed to stop the 1967 to 1979 Nigerian civil war, failed to unite Southern and Northern Sudan and thus the crisis continued. It failed to cement relations between the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda thus it is argued that the Cardinal objective of peace and stability was not fully achieved.
18. OAU failed to improve on the transport network in Africa which hampered economic progress for example the plan to construct the Trans-African high way from Mombasa to Lagos and from Johannesburg to Tripoli never materialized and this endangered African unity.
19. OAU failed to eradicate the white settlers in Kenyan highlands, Ethiopian highlands, South Africa and Zimbabwe.
20. OAU remained a back bencher in the UNO forum and the problems of Africa were not clearly stipulated that is why African countries did not get enough sympathy and support from foreign states especially during civil wars.

**PROBLEMS ENCONTERED BY OAU TILL 2002**

1. Inability by member states to meet their annual subscription and the problem of defaulters.
2. Lack of military high command.
3. Ideological differences among African members of states.
4. Countries supported rebel activities in each other’s country.
5. Most countries remained very poor and liable to neo-colonialism.
6. OAU was faced with a problem of language barrier.
7. OAU was faced with a problem of prolonged European domination in Africa which drained most of its resources especially South Africa, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.
8. The colonial legacy was another problem where Africans remained loyal to their former colonial masters; there were sharp differences between the Anglo-phone and Franco-phone.
9. The problem of coup detas.
10. Divisions influenced by cold war politics.
11. Economic rivalry between African countries.
12. Greed for political power.
13. Boarder conflicts for example Amin wanted to extend the Ugandan boarder.
14. Corruption and embezzlement.
15. Poor infrastructure like roads.
16. Assassinations of African leaders who had it at heart.

**GHANA**

**(THE GOLD COAST)**

Ghana obtained her independence on 5th May 1957 from the British. The country was formerly called Gold coast and its independence is particularly a credit to Nkwame Nkrumah, he became the most vibrant leader of Ghana, united the people together and was able to attain Ghana’s independence. It thus became the first black African country to attain independence.

**FACTORS FOR THE EARLY INDEPENDENCE OF GHANA.**

1. Ethnic Unity almost 50% of the entire population were Akan speakers even the non Akan like the Ewe, Ga and Twi had adopted the Akan culture and language. This therefore became very easy for the nationalists to mobiles them.
2. The long time hatred of colonial rule by the people of Ghana, the Asante for instance had fought and defeated the whites twice during the imposition of colonial rule in the 19th century. Though they were defeated later, nationalism remained at heart for example in the 1930s the youth formed nationalistic parties that agitated for Ghana’s independence. Such pressure forced the British to change in their policies such that by around 1950 it was very clear that Ghana was to get its independence.
3. Ghana had a manageable population; by 1950 they had about 5 million citizens. They were very easy to organize and resist colonialism.
4. The large number of elites Ghana had enabled it pass on nationalistic ideas in a very corner of the country. Such people included JB Danquar, Adjei and William Ofori among others, they played a fundamental part.
5. Ghana had some how a stable economy getting a lot of revenue from cocoa and minerals like Gold, such revenue helped the nationalists to carry on their ideas.
6. The efficient transport network, Ghana was blessed with colonial infrastructures like roads, railways which allowed easy movement of nationalists in the struggle for independence for example the Accra Takoradi highway, ports of Tema and with such the independence struggle was eased.
7. The role of World War II can not be underestimated. Ghana for example became a base where raw materials were extracted and this meant that very many people were to move to towns to engage in trade where they faced so many problems, a chance that was exploited by very many nationalists to pressurize the British to grant independence. There are other effects of world d war II like invisibility of Whiteman destroyed, exposure of Africans to mass media, all these helped Ghana to attain independence as early as 1957.
8. Whites Monopolized trade, offered low prices to cocoa farmers and miners which helped to raise resentment the result of which was the demand for independence.
9. The outbreak of the swollen shoot disease. The British ordered the farmers to cut down the affected trees of cocoa without compensation. This annoyed very many people who joined political parties to do away with the colonialist which was achieved in 1957.
10. The role of the 1941 Atlantic Charter can not be under estimated in explaining Ghana’s early independence. The charter clearly stipulated sovereign rights to all colonized people which was emulated by the nationalists of UGGC and CPP to demand for their rights to liberate their own country.
11. In addition the inadequate constitutional changes for example the 1946 Burns constitution expanded African representation to the legco. However the British went on to appoint old chiefs who were even puppets and left the executive under the domination of the whites. This was unacceptable to nationalists like JB Danquar and Nkrumah. This facilitated nationalistic feelings such that by the 1950s the whole populace of Ghana wanted independence.
12. Despite the Loopholes with Burns constitution, Burns as a governor should be credited for having fueled the pace of events in the independence of Ghana. Historians assert that Burns was understanding, sympathetic, cooperative and accommodative to nationalistic views. This gave a breathing space for nationalism to develop in Ghana.
13. Later in the 1946 and in 1948 there were riots in Gold coast led by ex-service men joined by farmers and the elites unfortunately leading to the arrest of Danquar and Nkrumah. However this was a political development and these riots worried the British who hurriedly granted independence to Ghana before other colonies could copy the example.
14. The formation of UGCC in 1947 and CPP in 1949 played a greater role in the sensitization and mobilization of masses for independence. They criticized the colonial setting and by 1957 the pressure was too much for the British that independence was granted.
15. The charismatic leadership of Nkrumah. He was tall, handsome, young and eloquent with exceptional organizational abilities. He was friendly to school leavers, ex-service men, elites, when he came back in 1947 he gave a new life to the politics of Ghana, and ten years later he led it to independence.
16. The role of Sir Arden Clarke as governor of Ghana in 1949 was a blessing. He worked closely with Nkwame Nkrumah, he made reforms and consequently Ghana attained her independence in 1957.
17. The role of the press can not be under estimated in explaining the early independence of Ghana. Newspapers like the Accra evening News, the cape coast Daily mail which led to political awakening and consequently pressurized the British hence independence for Ghana.
18. The influence of the labor party, when clement Atlee rose to power in 1945 in Britain, he advocated for the decolonization of the entire British Empire. Atlee instructed Burns to grant constitutional changes in favor of Africans. Therefore it can be urged that the role of labor party neared the date for Ghana’s independence.
19. The role of UNO was also very paramount, in 1956 for example UNO organized a referendum among the Ewe tribes living in Western Togo who wanted to join their Ewe tribe mates in Gold coast, the results led to the unity of the Ewe tribe under Gold coast which increased the rate of nationalism in the country.
20. The role of the Manchester conference in 1945 which Nkrumah attended and adopted positive action which he used to lead Gold coast to independence.
21. Harsh reaction of the British in the 1948 riots, instead of discusing they reacted by shooting at the Africans rioting and then imprisoning Nkrumah and Danquar. This increased resentment and need for quick end to colonialism in Ghana.
22. Like other African countries, the independence of India and pakistan in 1947, China in 1948 increased nationalism in Ghana. These countries were under the same colonial master Britain like Ghana which convinced the Ghanaian nationalists that with extra pressure the British would grant them their independence.
23. The independence of Egypt in 1952 under the free officers’ movement convinced the Ghanaians that independence can not be achieved on a silver plate. This caused more riots and pressure which the British could not contain by 1957

NB. Britain granted independence to Ghana on 5th May 1957 in the hands of Kwame Nkrumah and the British Union Jack was lowered.

**THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE ATTAINMENT OF GHANA’S INDEPENDENCE**

Two major political parties emerged that is UGCC formed in 1947 by JB Danquar who later passed on the leadership to Nkwame Nkrumah. Later Nkrumah split off from UGCC and formed his party the Convection People’s Party (CPP) in 1949.

**ROLE OF THE UGCC (united Gold coast convention) 1947**

1. It was a mass political party and it recruited people from all walk of life for example Teachers, farmers, Lawyers and ex-servicemen. This non-secretaian approach won UGCC a number of supporters.
2. UGCC condemned the cutting down of cocoa plantations that had been attacked by the swollen shoot disease. It interpreted this as a deliberate move to make Gold Coast poor.
3. Later UGCC called for compensation of these farmers whose cocoa had been cut and when the British failed to comply it created resentment of the masses towards their government and this was nationalism at play.
4. UGCC came up to criticize the exploitation of farmers by English businessmen where farmers realized they were getting little out of their produce. This attracted a number of people to join the party which created strong resistance to British colonialism in Ghana.
5. Ghana condemned the wide spread unemployment in Ghana. More than 50% of the total population had no tangible jobs and those ones in cities faced so many problems includung inflation, poor housing, poor feeding yet the British kept a deaf ear. This attracted so many people in the party hence strong resistance against colonialism.
6. In 1947 UGCC got a new life when Nkrumah returned and was made the secretary General and having witnessed Western democracy and attending the 5th Pan African congress, UGCC became stronger in the demand for independence.
7. UGCC pointed out the weaknesses of the 1946 Burns constitution which had favored the illiterate chiefs and left the elites out of the legco then demanded for a representation in the assembly and also demanded for the representative constitution. This was a move towards self governance.
8. UGCC made a tremendous move and attracted the Asante people into a party, the Asante had Ethnic nationalism sponsored by the British in a move to uphold on their divide and rule policy. Therefore to bring them into this nationalistic party was a big step towards national unity and independence.
9. In 1948 the UGCC backed up the ex-servicemen when they organized peaceful demonstrations in Accra, they had been promised too much during the world war. However the British reacted by shooting at them. This chance was used by UGCC to come up openly and criticize the British as murderers. Although this earned Nkrumah and Danquar an arrest, it only served to widen nationalistic eye blows.
10. The UGCC pointed out the weaknesses of the 1949 Coussey report which had been given responsibility to study the causes of the 1948 riots, Sir Henry Coussey recommended the expansion of African representation to the legco and the colonial cabinet. However to UGCC this was not yet enough for it advocated for total independence of Ghana.
11. In 1949 still despite the break away by Nkrumah from the party, UGCC continued to trace for Gold coast’s independence. It did not lose morale and this is a credit for the party.
12. UGCC is credited for having participated in the pre-independence elections for example in 1951, 1954 and 1956 parliamentary and LEGCo. elections. UGCC is there fore credited for struggling to Africanize Ghana’s politics.
13. UGCC sensitized the masses about colonial oppression, it also reminded the people of Ghana about their past glories like the Anglo-Asante wars of the 19th century where the Asante had defeated the British twice. These aroused the nationalistic feelings and the demand for independence.

**ROLES OF CONVETION PEOPLE’S PARTY (CPP)**

It was formed in 1949 by prominent politicians like Nkwame Nkrumah, K.A Codenil Kodema, YK Djin and Kojo Butsio as a break away group from UGCC. It was radical and even became more popular than UGCC. It created strong resistance to colonialism and by the 1950s the pressure was too much for the British to contain. On 5th May 1957 the Union jack was lowered and the Ghanaian Flag was raised meaning that Ghana had attained independence under the leadership of CPP and Nkrumah as premier.

1. The CPP recruited a number of disgruntled but militant youths mainly from Accra and Kumasi. It recruited farmers, ex-servicemen. Traders, teachers hence it became a massive political party strong enough to impart pressure to the colonialists.
2. CPP leaders started the Accra evening news which worked to sensitize the masses about the colonial evils. It then united the people as a voice against British colonialism therefore this created a large number of opposition that the British could not contain by 1957.
3. CPP coined the revolutionary slogans like **“Forward ever backward never”,** **“the** **struggle continues”,** **“Self Government now”,** all these worked to arouse revolutionary sentiments among the people of Ghana.
4. The CPP identified itself with people’s problems and grievances. It highly condemned the British act of cutting down plantations without compensation and also condemned the payment of low prices to cocoa farmers. This then brought too much hatred for the British government in Ghana and by the 1950s the pressure was too high prompting the British to grant independence in 1957.
5. CPP pointed out the loop holes or weaknesses of the coussey report. For the British were promoting old illiterate chiefs as a way of prolonging their colonial rule and continued to resist British colonialism in Ghana.
6. CPP leaders adopted Ghandism or positive action as a method for fighting for independence. They realized that independence could not be achieved on a silver plate; they then turned on strikes, demonstrations in a search for Ghana’s independence. However this led to the arrest of CPP leaders and burning the Accra evening Newspaper. However this worked to promote nationalism.
7. CPP is also credited for having mobilized a lot of support from the masses which made CPP win the 1951 elections even when Nkrumah was in jail, this was a great surprise to the British and a lesson that if independence is not granted sooner they would realize stiff resistance from the masses.
8. CPP controlled its members from fighting rival parties like Muslim Association Party (MAP), Northern People’s Party (NPP) and National Liberation Movement (NLM). Therefore when unity was created Ghana achieved its independence.
9. CPP is credited for having won the 1956 pre-independence elections by defeating the alliance of all opposition parties. This showed the British that Gold coast was mature for independence that was granted in May 1957 under CPP leadership.
10. CPP on independence changed the name Gold coast that was showing the exploitative nature of the whites over the country’s resources and got a more African name Ghana. This was to consolidate the independence achieved.
11. In 1957 CPP received the tools of independence from the British colonialists, mobilized the Ghanaian masses and set strategies for development of Ghana

**ROLES OF GHANA / NKWAME NKRUMAH IN THE DECOLONISATION PROCESS OF AFRICA**

1. The independence of Ghana in May 1957 from British colonialism inspired other Africa countries that were still under British colonialism to demand for independence. It brought a wind of change such that in 1961 Sierra Leone and Tanganyika got their independence. Uganda in 1962, Kenya and Zanzibar in 1963, Gambia in 1965.
2. Ghana declared the 20th century as a century for Africa and the 1960s as a decade of decolonization. This became inspiring to all Africans to quickly achieve the independence of their countries. That is why very many African countries hurriedly got their independence beginning with 1960.
3. Nkrumah declared that the independence of Ghana alone would be meaningless if the rest of Africa remained under colonial bondage. He then provided moral, financial and military assistance to all nationalists striving for independence.
4. African countries learnt that independence could not be obtained on a silver plate. Africans had known of the peaceful demonstrators in Ghana in 1948, 1949 therefore such endured suffering shaped the hearts of the Africans to search for independence by which ever means.
5. Ghana became a base for Pan Africanism; in 1958 April Nkrumah called for the Pan African congress on the African soil in Accra, in December the same year he called another group for nationalists. Participants, delegates within these conferences like Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Tom Mboya of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Roberto Holden of Angola came out determined to do away with the colonialists and they are credited for having spear headed the independence struggles for their countries.
6. Ghana strengthened the press, allowed the use of radio Accra and the evening Newspapers to spread anti-colonial propaganda. This helped so much in the struggle for independence in the rest of Africa.
7. The idea of political parties and liberation movements was emulated partly from Ghana. The role of CPP and UGCC can not be under estimated and other countries like Kenya formed KANU and Convention Party by Tom Mboya attained Kenya’s self rule, in Mozambique FRELIMO was formed, and in South Africa ANC became stronger. Therefore credit should be given to Ghana in the struggle for African independence.
8. Ghana extended financial support to nationalists in Mozambique, Malawi, Congo, and Angola and to emphasize this for example Ghana extended a loan of 4,500,000pounds to Guinea Bissau Conakry in the fight against French colonialism.
9. African states adopted Ghandism or positive action as a method of fighting for African independence for it had proved successful in Ghana that is why strikes, boycotts, protests and demonstrations became rampant in Uganda, Nigeria, Zambia, Mozambique among others as these countries were demanding for independence.
10. Ghana and Nkrumah advocated for African unity, in 1958 for example Ghana initiated the Ghana Guinea union and described it as a nucleus of the United States of Africa. It was later joined by Mali and the three presidents that is Nkrumah, Seku Toure and Madibo Keita started discussing the prospects of African unity and extended support to liberation movements to else where in Africa.
11. In addition Ghana provided a training base for guerilla movements in Africa. The guerillas got military and academic training in Ghana and were even given Ghanaian passports and identity cards. This enhanced the struggle for independence. Beneficiaries of this included FRELIMO of Mozambique, SWAPO of Namibia, and MPLA of Angola.
12. Ghana and Nkrumah became arbitrators of the continent. They reconciled nationalists who had developed conflicts for example Nkrumah solved the conflict between Lumumba and Kasavubu in Congo, solved the differences of the ZANU and ZAPU in Zimbabwe. This created unity on the continent.
13. Ghana and Nkrumah within the UN forum exposed colonial evils and attracted sympathy from the international community for example Nkrumah in 1960 condemned the nuclear bomb test in Algeria. He described the situation there as pathetic, he also criticized the continued Portuguese colonialism and all this helped in the quick decolonization of Africa.
14. Ghana and Nkrumah condemned secessionist tendencies in Africa for example he dispatched Ghanaian troops in the 1960 -1963 to Congo to curb the Katanga secession. This was aimed at creating national unity for Congo.
15. Nkrumah worked hard to solve differences between Casablanca and Monrovia group for he could not live to see Africa torn apart, the differences were dissolved and the effect was the formation of OAU in 1963.
16. Ghana’s non Alignment ideology was quickly adopted, after 1955 Bandung conference, Nkrumah became a disciple and worked hard to spread non alignment ideas in relation to super power politics. This helped African states to concentrate rather than engage in cold war politics.
17. Nkrumah is also credited for fighting to protect the African environment. He condemned the 1959 nuclear bomb test at reggane in Algeria when he addressed at a special security conference in Accra. He stated that such tests were dangerous to African health and independence, when he complained in 1960 UN conference, the UN security organization followed it. However this was showing how much Nkrumah had Africa at heart.

**KWAME NKRUMAH AND HIS STRUGGLE FOR GHANA’S**

**INDEPENDENCE**

Nkrumah was an Nzima by tribe born to a Gold smither in around 1909. He was educated in catholic schools and qualified as a teacher, he attended Achimota College, the Accra T.T.C and later universities in America and UK where he qualified as a lawyer.

1. While in America he joined the politics of Africa in the Diaspora and was elected as

***Kwame Nkrumar***

leader of the African students’ organization in America and Canada. This was a mile stone in his later leadership for Ghana. He also convinced other Africans that the real struggle was in Africa. This explains why UGCC called him back to lead it in 1947.

1. Nkrumah took keen interest in the writings of Carl Max, Lenin, Mazzini and Marcus Garvey. These were to later shape him into a strong nationalist that helped Ghana to achieve its independence. Nkrumah observed the democratic European society in England and this helped him seek for such changes to prevail in Ghana first and then Africa.
2. Nkrumah was touched by the 1935- 41 Italian aggression over Ethiopia and he went further to organize support from Ethiopian sympathizers abroad and in 1941 Italy was defeated. This was a land mark in his carrier as a nationalist for he realized that the colonialists had no good feelings for Africans thus swore to do away with colonialists in Ghana and later Africa.
3. In 1947 he accepted to lead UGCC and using his experience and personal charisma as a young handsome, intelligent and eloquent politician, he revolutionalised UGCC and expanded its operation. He organized demonstrations and riots which threatened the British and neared the date of independence.
4. Nkrumah organized people from all walks of life; he attracted Doctors, teachers, journalists, and peasants into the party, he even successed in convincing influential Asante into a party. With this massive support, he was in position to impart pressure that was desired at the time and by 1957 Ghana got its independence.
5. As an admirer of Ghandism, Nkrumah called for radical approach in the search for Ghana’s independence. However this brought collision with some UGCC bosses who thought constitutionalism would enhance Ghana’s independence.
6. Having engineered the 1948 riots in Accra and Kumasi, Nkrumah was imprisoned by the British government in Ghana. However this only served to increase his popularity and fame and on his release in 1951 he was given a thundering welcome which amused the British who later realized that he has a strong personality to entrust with Ghana’s independence.
7. Nkrumah was also a founder of the Accra evening Newspaper which sensitized the masses of Gold coast of their rights and condemned colonial evils. This created a bigger opposition for the British to contain.
8. In 1949 he broke off from UGCC to form his party CPP. It was a party of military youths from the verandahs of Accra and Kumasi. He sensitized them about the urgent need for independence so as to solve their immediate problems.
9. Nkrumah worked closely with trade unionists which helped him get wider membership especially when he condemned the cutting down of the cocoa trees affected by the swollen shoot disease.
10. While in St. James fort prison in 1951 Nkrumah was elected as a representative of Accra constituency in legislative Assembly, this indicated the people’s love for him as a fighter against colonialism, unemployment, inflation among others.
11. On his release from prison in 1951, the colonial government gave him a great task of heading the colonial government in the pre-independent Gold coast; he was given a title **“Leader of Government business”** and was asked to appoint his own ministers which he did with impartiality. (He chose them from various regions of Gold coast)

**REFORMS MADE BY KWAME NKRUMAH IN GHANA 1954 -1966**

1. He improved the transport and communication networks by setting up a number of roads, railways and bridges like Kumasi, Accra, and Takoradi high way. This enabled farmers to transport easily their crops to the market.
2. Nkrumah expanded ports and harbors for example Takoradi and Tema harbors were expanded.
3. Nkrumah extended piped water and electricity to most towns and villages of Ghana.
4. In the field of education, Nkrumah expanded very many secondary and tertiary institutions for example constructed the cape coast university, he went on to send many students abroad for further education, he even provided free primary education for all and in 1961 it was made compulsory.
5. In the field of health, he set up so many healthy centers, equipped them with drugs and with a small population, Ghana was bound to develop. He for example he set up a modern Kumasi hospital plus so many districts and regional hospitals.
6. To the farmers he combated the swollen shoot disease by compensating the farmers in turn for cutting down cocoa trees affected.
7. Nkrumah’s government set up a cocoa purchasing company in 1952 to market the farmers produce, fair prices were paid and the income gap reduced.
8. In the field of Agriculture scientific methods of farming were introduced such as mechanization of agriculture, use of fertilizers and pesticides, irrigation among others. A result of which was high yields and Ghanaian produce attained value on the world market. In addition he diversified agriculture by introducing palm oil and rubber growing which helped the farmers in case one product lost market.
9. He emphasized the need to respect the African culture and personality; he supported local artists and writers to compose songs and plays against colonialism.
10. He Africanized the civil service by replacing European expatriates with African elites he even created elective urban and district councils which catered for local needs.
11. Nkrumah is also credited for having emphasized Ghanaian and African unity for he said the basic principle behind African unity is the black skin. This led to discrimination of the whites and consolidating Ghanaian independence.
12. Nkrumah used the constitution to govern Ghana for example in 1954, he instituted a constitution with 104 legislative seats and the members were elected on the democratic principle of one man one vote.
13. He defeated sectarian and regional tendencies, he reconciled with opposition parties like MAP and NLM, NPP and after winning them in 1956 elections he called them for unity.
14. Nkrumah achieved full independence for Gold coast with him as the first prime minister in 1957 and later president.
15. Nkrumah exercised a reasonable degree of democracy he allowed freedom of speech and press for example Accra radio was used freely.

**NKRUMAH’S DOWNFALL / CAUSES OF THE 1966 COUP IN GHANA**

The coup was master minded by a man called Kotaka of Kumasi infantry brigade. Nkrumah was overthrown when he had gone to Vietnam to attend a public meeting. After the coup a national liberation council was instituted led by General Ankrah, this committee led Ghana until power was passed on to Dr. Busia in 1969 when his party (progressive party) won the elections.

1. Change of character. The once humble flexible Nkrumah commonly known as Osagyefo (the redeemer) turned into a selfish and arrogant leader such that by 1960 he only trusted himself and stopped accepting constructive ideas. This worked to make him unpopular and in 1966 he was overthrown.
2. Open dictatorship. He harassed his critics for example when the United party was formed in 1957, the following year 1958 Nkrumah introduced the preventive detention act such that 1960-65 about 1361 people had be detained without trial. These included JB Danquar who even died in prison.
3. Nkrumah raped the Ghanaian constitution. He issued the republican constitution of 1960 which gave him excessive powers. He appointed, dismissed the civil servants any time for example in August 1962 after an attempted assassination he ordered the arrest of Tawia Adamafoe, Kofi Crabble and Ako Adjei though Nkrumah insisted that Adamafoe was guilty he quoted no evidence and in reaction he dismissed the chief justice and other judges. He even went on to sentence ministers to death. This had gone too far.
4. Nkrumah reduced the freedom of journalists by censoring the press for example the daily graphic was under strict censorship apart from the government papers like the Accra evening news and the Ghanaian times. This was not expected of liberator and the result was a coup.
5. The strong espionage system. Nkrumah sent spies all over the country, he even set up a presidential guard run by Russians and a special intelligence unit led by Ambrose Yankeey and a number of potential and actual enemies of Nkrumah were harassed.
6. Rigging the elections. This was open in 1964 January referendum which was to decide whether Ghana was to become a one party state or remain multi party, it was also to decide whether the president had powers to dismiss high court judges. Nkrumah rigged and got 2,773,920 in favor of his views and only 2452 against him, what he did in 1965 was even more ashaming. In the morning of the day of voting parliamentarians, Nkrumah announced the elected MPs on radio to the extent that some MPs did not know the location of their constituencies.
7. The 1965 assassination attempt on Nkrumah’s life left so many things behind to admire. Nkrumah reacted by dismissing and detaining a number of policemen suspected of the plot. This therefore separated the police from Nkrumah such that the police commissioner Harley and his deputy Deku joined the real plot against Nkrumah in 1966.
8. The grievances of the army. The majority were lowly paid, poorly fed and clothed and promotions were not on merit. By 1966 a good number wanted Nkrumah ousted.
9. Exhaustion of Nkrumah’s army. They fought useless wars for instance between 1961 and 1965 Nkrumah sent the Ghanaian army to Congo to crush the secessionist tendencies. General Afrifa wondered why Nkrumah was intervening in the affairs of another country at a great cost of Ghanaian lives and finances. This explains why Nkrumah was over thrown in 1966.
10. Nkrumah’s over ambitiousness. He started so many things at the same time for example the ten miles Accra to Tema motor highway, the Volta river project, and very many schools, State farms and twenty seven state factories. This was very good but too much for a poor country like Ghana. Soon there was no money to complete the projects and he turned to borrowing. By the time of his departure Ghana had a large debt burden something that was exploited by his opponents to overthrow him.
11. Rampant corruption. Most of the people he appointed turned to enjoy luxurious life, built expensive mansions, expensive cars, Nkrumah himself opened up accounts in foreign banks and spent excessively on his girl friends and birthdays. This drained the state treasury.
12. The economic hardships and bankruptcy of the Ghanaian government. This resulted into Inflation, unemployment and poverty especially when the cocoa prices fell. This was easily noticed by December 1965. The discontented masses then organized a coup in February 1966.
13. The failure of socialism also caused him problems. He set up an institution at Inneba to teach socialist ideology and politicized soldiers. In 1961 he toured socialist states and persecuted politicians who did not succumb to socialist ideology. This cost him popularity.
14. Foreign intrigue. He put restrictions to European capitalists and this specifically annoyed USA and the Western block which then funded the army to organize a coup against Nkrumah.
15. Failure of constitutional means to remove Nkrumah. He had turned himself irreplaceable (a redeemer). He had therefore to be removed by the gun.
16. The influence of the other coups in Africa for example the 1952 coup in Egypt, 1963 in Togo, 1965 in Congo had a demonstration effect on the side of soldiers in Ghana.
17. Nkrumah weakened the parliament of Ghana bribed them so as to prevent opposition, he bribed them and those who refused were harassed for example Dr. Bussia had fled to exile and by 1960 the number of opposition had increased. Such resulted into the 1966 coup.

**CONSEQUENCES OF NKRUMAH’S DOWN FALL**

1. Very many people lost their lives especially soldiers important of which were major General Charles Balewa.
2. About 600 prisoners were released.
3. Rule of law was regained as a number of corrupt officials were brought to book.
4. CPP was dissolved and the National Liberation council set up under General Ankrah. It was also comprised of the army and police officers.
5. There was massive rejoicing into the country for a dictator had been removed.
6. Competent opposition chiefs whom Nkrumah had replaced with CPP yes men were called back.
7. For reconciliation purposes a number of CPP civil servants with qualifications were retained in the civil service.
8. The national Liberation council provided freedom of speech, press and worship.
9. Economic reforms were made and staffed with graduates from Cambridge, Harvard and the London who had degree in economics and statistics.
10. A two year development plan was put in place to develop agriculture, fisheries and power supply. This was to replace Nkrumah’s seven years of development plan.
11. Redundant laborers were retrenched with fair packages.
12. New managers on the state cooperation were appointed as a means of combating corruption and inefficiency.
13. The National Liberation Council solicited support from capitalist countries for example America gave food relief in form of powered milk to the Ghanaians.
14. The NLC made preparations to return the country to civilian rule; it drew up a new constitution and organized the 1969 parliamentary elections which were won by the progressive party of Dr. Bussia.

**THE 1972 COUP OF GHANA**

Dr. Bussia government became unpopular and was over thrown by Acheompong in January 1966.

**CAUSES**

1. Excessive corruption. Dr. Bussia’s ministers became too corrupt and begun competiting with one another in buying expensive cars, setting up expensive houses, businesses and estates.
2. Tribalism. Dr. Bussia began promoting his Asante tribe mates in the civil service, army and discriminated against smaller tribes for example the Ewe.
3. Poor administration. Dr. Bussia was a poor administrator who could not take quick decisions. He was more theoretical than practical.
4. His dialogue with South Africa cost him popularity both at home and abroad. At a time when all Africa states hated the South African Apartheid regime, he was not decided whether to cut off relations with South Africa or not.
5. Expulsion of African nationalists. Dr. Bussia ordered the expulsion of the citizens of other Africa countries living and working in Ghana. This undermined his reputation and regime.
6. Economic crisis. This was due to the fall in cocoa prices on the world market in 1971. He was advised to devalue the cedi by 20-25% but he imposed a 44% devaluation of the cedi. This led to an immediate rise in the prices of imported goods and made life hard for Ghanaians.
7. Grievances of cocoa farmers. Previously the cocoa marketing board used to supply finances to its agents to buy cocoa at the beginning of each harvesting season. During Bussia’s rule the system was changed such that agents of the Board could only pay farmers after selling the cocoa. This produced resentment.
8. The disappointment of the army. In 1971, Dr. Bussia’s government decided to cut down the budget of the army by 10%. He argued that he was finding solutions to country’s economic problems. Officers’ vehicle allowances were abolished; the movement and training of the army were reduced. This annoyed the armed forces.
9. Dictatorship. Dr. Bussia had stopped representing the liberal views that had supported him to power. He like Nkrumah became power drunk and became a dictator for example he arbitrarily dismissed the editor of a government owned Newspaper, cut the army budge and imprisoned some of his critics.
10. Confrontation with the trade unions. Dr. Bussia tried to influence the trade union Congress (TUC) to give leadership posts to his PP supporters. When the TUC rejected the orders, confrontation ensued. He proposed a law to disband or ban the TUC but this only led to strikes and imprisonments.
11. Oppression of opponents. His dictatorship made people to start talking about the return of Nkrumah. Any journalist reporting about this was arrested; businessmen selling Nkrumah’s photos were arrested and beaten etc. All the above prompted the puritanical army officer colonel Ignatius Acheampong to stage a bloodless coup on 13th January 1972. He established a national redemptive council and made several reforms.

NB. **There have been several other coups in Ghana for example the 1978 coup, 1979 coup, 1981 coup**.

**EFFECTS OF THE 1972 COUP**

1. Acheampong came into leadership thus re introducing the army in the politics of Ghana which the National Liberation council had tried to reverse by putting up the 1969 general elections.
2. The 1972 coup laid ground for the occurance of other coups in Ghana. This is true as Acheampong was also over thrown in 1978 by general Akuffor, other coups followed like 1979, 1981.
3. There was economic decline as little efforts were made by Acheampong to put up reforms explaining why he was overthrown in 1978, the industries collapsed, there was un employment, inflation and Acheampong failed to control the situation.
4. Acheampong formed the national redemption council as the major governing body in Ghana however he later conflicted with its members.
5. The government officials became corrupt and embezzled government resources for selfish ends.
6. In 1977 General Acheampong brought forward the concept of union government which would make Ghana a one party state. This was opposed by the masses.
7. There were strikes and demonstrations agaist government in 1977 and 1978 leading to arrests of many people.
8. Many people became refugees against their will especially those who opposed Acheampong.
9. There was erosion of Acheampongs powers which led to his arrest in july 1978 by Lt. General Fredrick Akuffo whose government was also deposed on 4th june 1979 by Lt. Jerry Rawlings.
10. The coup re introduced the army in politics of Ghana which the National Liberation council had tried to reverse by putting up the 1969 general elections.

**NIGERIA**

Nigeria was a British colony till 1960 when she attained her independence with Namdi Azikiwe as the governor general and Balewa as the prime minister. In 1963 Nigeria became a republic with Azikiwe as the president yet Chief Awolowo remained in opposition with his action Group. In January 1966 major Ironsi an Ibo over threw the constitutional government and established his government, in July 1966 the same year Gowon a Hausa Fulani overthrew Ironsi and killed him, in 1967 the Ibos in the Eastern region declared the Biafran secession explaining a series of instabilities in Nigeria.

**POLITICAL INSTABILITIES IN NIGERIA**

**QN. Discuss the causes of political instabilities in Nigeria.**

1. Tribal differences, in Nigeria there existed three tribal groups that is Yoruba’s in the West, Ibos in the east and Hausa Fulani in the North. They all sought superiority over others. Such differences in Background hatched instability.
2. The colonial legacy, where the British failed to integrate the North, West and Eastern regions. They instead introduced divide and rule policy which widened tribal differences and fears that resulted into future instability.
3. The 1946 Richards constitution and the 1951 McPherson constitution that were provide when Nigerian nationalists demanded for political reforms. Instead of promoting national unity they emphasized regional development hence future disunity could not be avoided.
4. Educational imbalance, the British favored the Ibos and the Yorubas leaving the Northerners largely uneducated. These educated Nigerians were taken to the North as administrators. They became arrogant leaving anger and tension throughout Nigeria. This explains why in 1966 a number of Ibos were killed by the Hausa fulanis’.
5. The role of religion; the Northerners were predominantly Muslims while the rest of the populace were Christians. With such differences military confrontations could not be avoided. This partly explains the 1967 Biafran war of secession where the Ibo Christians did not want control from the Muslims.
6. Regional imbalance; whereas the Ibo and Yorubas areas had fertile soils and well developed by the colonialists the North was semi-arid and lacked colonial developments like roads and plantations. This was to naturally bring regional feelings.
7. The ambitious characters of some personalities like,Ironsi Ojukwe, Gowon all these were power hungry and could not look at themselves remain junior officers and in abid to attain their ambitions they manipulated the army and masses into instabilities.
8. The formation of different political parties for example NCNC (National Council of Nigerian Citizens) formed in 1944 by Azikiwe, was principary for Ibos, NPC (Northern People’s Congress) for the Hausa Fulani. These parties had different ideologies and therefore could not unite to enhance Nigerian unity.
9. The 1963-64 population Census left a lot to be desired, resources were to be distributed according to population concentration yet the elections were rigid. This lead to regional feelings and instability
10. The dictatorship, after independence on 1st October 1960, Britain granted independence to Nigeria and Sir Abu baker Balewa became the prime minister with executive powers and Namdi Azikiwe the governor general president. Balewa started persecuting his opponents, censoring the press, leading to the 1966 coup against him.
11. Power struggle; at independence Awolowo remained in opposition and was not given any position. This was the leader of the Yorubas. When he dismissed his deputy Akintola in May 1962 the central government intervened. This made Awolowo biter and increased his anti-government campaign explaining political instability in Nigeria.
12. The arrest of chief Awolowo in 1963 led to civil strife. He had remained a threat moving throughout Nigeria trying to coin the minority small tribes. He was arrested and sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. This was totally opposed by the masses and partly explained the 1966 coup against Balewa.
13. Competition for jobs significant of which was the vice chancellor saga where Njoki was replaced by Boibaku at Lagos university. This was unacceptable to the Ibos contributing to the Nigerian civil war.
14. The rigging of the 1964-65 elections by the Northerners contributed to civil strife even in the western region itself chief Akintola rigged the elections prompting Awolowo to support Gowon in the coup of 1966.
15. The January 1966 coup was an overt expalination that instability was unavoidable; a click of army officers staged a coup and assassinated Prime Minister Balewa, they also killed chief Akintora and Ahmed Belle. Later in 1967 the Ibos also staged a war of secession. This was a clear political instability situation.
16. After the 1966 coup a number of decrees were issued for example Decree 33 banned political parties, Decree 34 abolished the old federal regions. This threatened the Northerners and partly contributed to the July 1966 coup.
17. The Ibo genocide of 1966, a number of them were killed with in the army circles and the general populace. This created a spirit of nationalism within the eastern region that caused further offensives.
18. The large population of Nigerian made the civil war inevitable. Such population was not easy to monitor and this gave a chance opportunists to cause instability in Nigeria, by the 1960s Nigeria had about 35-40 million inhabitants some unemployed and very poor who became very easy to manipulate.
19. The grievances of the workers. They were paid low wages yet with sky rocketing inflation and the government did nothing to improve on their conditions. This led to the famous 1964 workers strike where a lot of property was destroyed especially in Lagos causing civil commotion and instability in Nigeria.
20. The demand for Biafran secession in 1967 was further to cause instability in Nigeria, the need for an independent state by the Ibos commanded by Ojukwe was resisted by the federal government of Gowon and the conflict naturally caused instability in Nigeria.
21. The grievances of the army can not be under estimated. Not much was done to improve their standards and to make matters worse promotions were not on merit. Such a discontented army became very easy to manipulate and that explains why the federal government of Balewa and Azikiwe was overthrown in 1966 coup leaving many Ibos dead.

**ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE OF NIGERIA**

There were three significant parties that is to say NCNC of Azikiwe, NPC for Hausa Fulani and Action Group (AG) led by Awolowo for the Yorubas.

**THE ROLE OF NCNC**

It was formed in 1944 by Namdi Azikiwe to spearhead Nigerian independence. Its operations became more vibrant after 1945. Its pressure was felt and by 1960 Nigeria was to be given independence.

1. It was a mass political party as it recruited people from all walks of life. They included teachers, Doctors, Business people and the peasants’ it even surpassed regionalism.
2. NCNC established links with trade unions, student clubs and cultural associations throughout Nigeria and this was to help in the spread of nationalistic ideas.
3. NCNC out rightly demanded for immediate Nigeria’s independence. Put up serious demonstrations and this neared the date for Nigerian independence.
4. It set up a base on which other parties were formed a case in point is the Action Group of Awolowo and NPC which also helped to add more pressure to the British to grant independence.
5. NCNC formed A Newspaper called the West African pilot through which Nationalistic ideas were passed on to the populace.
6. NCNC talked about the grievances of the people such as forced labor, heavy taxation, and mineral resources exploitation among others. These attracted a number of people to NCNC and it was in position to create a reasonable pressure.
7. NCNC pressurized Britain to introduce constitutional and political changes in Nigeria, demanded for increment of Africans in the Legco and in other bigger posts. This was in preparation for independence.
8. It pointed out the loopholes of Richard’s constitution of 1946 it demanded for more changes rather than mere reforms.
9. In 1947, NCNC sent a delegation to London led by Dr. Azikiwe to raise complaints against the Richard’s constitution which did not clearly state the date for independence.
10. NCNC leaders toured the whole Nigeria to collect funds to facilitate Azikiwe’s journey to London. However this was a plan aimed to reach the masses and explain to them the need for independence.
11. NCNC supported the workers riots between 1948 and 1950 where a number of British investments were destroyed. This was a clear signal for the British that the Nigerians wanted independence sooner or later.
12. NCNC advocated for a united Nigeria and after winning the 1954 elections, it called other parties to join them in a coalition against the British.
13. NCNC participated in the 1957 to 1958 constitutional debates in London in which the date for independence was scheduled in October 1960 hence its objective was partially achieved.

N.B. Nandi Azikiwe was a significant figure in the politics of Nigeria and Africa in particular for in 1945 he had presented a memorandum to seek for the fulfillment of the 1941 Atlantic charter. With such nationalism he was to spear head Nigerian independence.

**Therefore the roles of NCNC are the same roles of Azikiwe in the struggle for Nigerian independence.**

**THE BIAFRAN SECCESSION**

On 30th May 1967 Lieutenant Colonel Ojukwe declared the eastern region independent from the rest of Nigeria. He revoked the new Gowons federal government and Gowon retaliated by militarily confronting Ojukwe on 5th July 1967 Such that by July 1970 the secession had been halted.

**CAUSES**

1. 1. The colonial legacy. The British through their divide and rule policy

***Lt. Colonel Ojukwe***

promoted tribal divisions. It failed to bring together the North, West and Eastern regions together prompting Ojukwe to demand for self rule of eastern region.

1. Ethnic rivalry. Each tribe wanted a superior status over the other for example Northerners pre-dominantly Hausa Fulani, the Westerners predominantly the Yorubas and the Easterners the Ibos were not at peace yet the central government did nothing to promote ethnic unity. This was exploited by Ojukwe to stage a secessionist struggle.
2. Economic strength of the Ibos facilitated by the discovery of oil in Eastern Nigeria, they felt secure and self sufficient to stage a successful struggle using the petroleum wealth.
3. The Ibo genocide, after the July 1966 coup led by Yakub Gowon, a number of Ibos were killed, these included Major General Ironsi, about 200 Ibo men and very many civilians in the North and West. This made them migrate to their tribal home in the East where they then declared secession.
4. Differences in religions while the Ibos were predominantly Christians, the Hausa Fulan were Muslims and because of this the Ibos thought that the July 1966 genocide was religiously motivated. Therefore to achieve tribe and religious independence the Ibos sought to secede.
5. By the 1960s the Ibos had a large class of elites and with this high education they were compelled to think that even if they seceded they can not have man power shortage.
6. Eastern Nigeria was also blessed by a good climate and fertile soil plus reliable rainfall and on top of that it was accessible through Port Harcourt. This added to her feelings of economic sufficiency that compelled Ojukwe to stage a secession.
7. The 1963-64 census sagas which showed exaggerated population growth in Northern Nigeria, it was worsened when Balewa the Prime Minister declared that government resources were to be allocated according to population concentration. This was definitely to favor the Hausa Fulani. The Ibos reacted by staging secession so as to have economic independence.
8. The domination in politics by Northerners at the expense of other regions, all key posts was controlled by the Northerners yet the Ibos were the most educated. By 1967 30% of the Ibos were unemployed and this was to cause resentment that resulted into secession.
9. The Vice Chancellor saga. This erupted at Lagos University when the Ibo chancellor doctor Njoki was replaced by a Yoruba Biobaku who had already obtained a fat job in Ghana. Yet Njoki was one of the great hopes of the Ibos. This facilitated the struggle of secession.
10. Unfair distribution of services. The North usually took the lion’s share where most of the development programmes were allocated to the North at the expense of other regions, good schools, hospitals and a lot of funds went to the North. This worried the easterners to stage secession.
11. The need for regional independence. For long there was a myth among the Ibos that their region was not part of diverse Nigeria and following the 1966 unification decree the Ibos were prompted to secede a chance that was exploited by Ojukwe.
12. In a bid to reduce tribalism, Gowon declared a state of emergency and in May 1967 he issued a decree dividing the country into twelve provinces, this annoyed the Ibos for most oil resources went to small tribes in Eastern Nigeria. This then prompted them to declare a war of secession.
13. The influences of other secessions in Africa, for example, the 1960’s Katanga crisis, Eritrean secession, the Ibos were therefore convinced that they could secede with extra effort. It should be noted that the Nigerian soldiers had been sent to keep peace in Congo and the Ibo ex-soldiers became intoxicated with secessionist ideas hence demanded for the independence of Ibo land.
14. The ambitious character of Ojukwe, he was uncompromising and determined to break away from the central government. Even when Gowon wanted to create peace by organizing a conference in Lagos Ojukwe himself refused to attend and he claimed that he feared for his life. Therefore under such circumstances the Biafran secession was inevitable.
15. Grievances of the army. Promotions were not o merit and by 1967 due to Gowon’s quota system of recruiting soldiers the North had 50% of the new recruits and other regions had 25% each. This worried the Ibos prompting them to secede.
16. The stationing of Northern soldiers in Ibo land for security reasons of the central government. This compelled Ojukwe to demand for their removal and when Gowon refused the Ibos decided to wage a war of secession.
17. The Ibos expected support from foreign countries especially USA and France, the Biafrans also had support from some African states like Tanzania, Ivory Coast and Gabon. This inevitably led to a war of secession.
18. The post independence problems in Nigeria, the Northerners were corrupt and arrogant and this annoyed the Ibos who opted to secede. For they were unemployed and faced problems of inflation.

**FACTORS FOR BIAFRANS FAILURE TO SECEDE**

1. Military strength of Gowons federal government, he had a well trained equipped army of about 12,500 soldiers yet the Ibos had a relatively small number of untrained peasant. This army was very easy to defeat hence the failure for Biafran to secede.
2. The federal government of Gowon was also blessed by the World War II service men that were highly experienced, trained and disciplined. They voluntarily joined the federal troops fighting against the Biafrans.
3. External support mainly from Britain and Russia which offered moral and financial support to federal government and with this Gowons army was strengthened to repulse the Baifrans.
4. In addition Biafran secession was hampered by the opposition from the Ibo elites who greatly opposed the move to secede these included Dr. Namdi Azikiwe, Major Azikuna and university lecturer Okadi, with such secession of the Ibo was a myth.
5. The support of the federal government from Nasser of Egypt who provided them with update air force pilots whose bombings cause Havoc in Biafra this so much affected the Biafrans such that by 1970 they were defeated.
6. The economic blockade of Gowon’s government who surrounded Biafra and captured Port Harcourt and therefore cut off Biafra from external world. Biafra did not obtain any fresh supply of weapon, medicine or food. Therefore with such circumstances Ojukwe’s forces were ought to be defeated.
7. Severe famine that hit Eastern Nigeria, there was severe drought yet all local routes into Biafran were all locked by Gowon’s army. This demoralized the Ibo fighters and by 1970 they opted to surrender.
8. The indiscipline of Ibo forces, they much concentrated on raping women and looting this lost them massive support yet Gowons army on contrast was disciplined and therefore received warm welcome even with in Ibo circles by 1970 the secession had clearly failed.
9. The effective military strategy of Gowon’s government. He had good commanders like Olusegun Obasanjo and Shuwa. They for example planned and cut off Biafran’s external supplies and concentrated on aerial bombings. This greatly weakened the Biafrans and the secession was halted.
10. The economic strength of eastern Nigeria blessed by oil wealth of which the future of Nigeria partially depended could not be allowed to be lost. Therefore the military determination showed by Gowon’s army to capture oil wealth in Ibo land definitely could not allow the Ibos to secede.
11. The cowardly act exposed by Colonel Ojukwe was to hamper the secession. On 11th January 1970 he abdicated to neighboring Ivory Coast and this greatly weakened and demoralized his army.
12. The economic strength of the central government. The state treasury had reasonable resources to facilitate the war which was not the case with Biafra which was even hit by an economic embargo; Gowon could buy enough drugs, new uniforms and enough supply of food and ammunitions. This bought him army morale to fight on until the Ibos were defeated
13. The 1966 Ibo massacres greatly affected the Ibo secessionist ambitions, the Northerners had killed about 43 high ranking officers, 171 junior officers and a number of peasants. This left Biafra with no experienced soldiers and with a lot of fears among the populace such that when the Biafran secession was staged it was easy to crush.
14. The destructive nature of the 1967 war. Gowon’s soldiers were merciless to the Ibo fighters and peasants, the aerial bombing made the situation worse and therefore to avoid further destruction and death some revealed Ojukwe’s secrets. This was definitely to work against the secessionist.
15. The role of OAU can not be underestimated. From the very beginning it was opposed to the Biafran secession. It called upon member states to denounce Biafra cut off trade relations and this scared the masses in the Ibo land. With such pressure, the Ibos surrendered by 1970.
16. The role of UNO can not be underestimated in halting the Biafran secession.

**EFFECTS OF THE WAR (BIAFRAN WAR OF SECESSION)**

1. The war led to a great loss of human lives and property. About 2 million Nigerians are believed to have perished and these were mainly the Ibos.
2. It led to abdication of Colonel Ojukwe to Ivory Coast and this was a stepping stone to wards Nigerian unity.
3. In an effort to create peace and unity in Nigerian a number of Ibos who were imprisoned were later released without trial.
4. The Biafran war increased refugee crisis in West Africa especially in Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Benin and Niger and these were especially Ibos.
5. The war exposed Ibos to great sufferings especially in refugee camps within Nigeria. About 2-3 million people starved, lacked drugs and others were raped.
6. The war drained the National treasury. A lot of money was spent on weapons and other logistics. For three years no reasonable development was experienced in Nigeria and therefore reducing the standards of living of general population and therefore the sky rocketing inflation.
7. A number of infrastructures like roads, schools, hospitals, public buildings were destroyed yet reconstructing them proved to be expensive. Therefore Nigeria turned into external borrowing which increased its debt burden.
8. The war divided Africa onto fronts some supported Biafra like Zambia, Ivory Coast, Zanzibar and Gabon and others like Egypt were against the secession. This destroyed the desired African unity.
9. Brought in light new personalities like the appointment of Obasanjo to be the commander of the army of the central government forces, this was later to help him acclaim as president of Nigeria later.
10. The war ushered in neo-colonialism within Nigeria, by 1970 Nigeria could not fully support development projects because large sums had been spent in the Biafran war, Britain was then to start providing funds for reconstruction hence foreign dependence of Nigeria.
11. The war eased cold war politics because this was the first time the capitalists and socialists supported united Nigeria for both Britain and Russia supported Gowon’s government.
12. The war led to reconciliation attempts in abid to solve the Biafran crisis for example in 1968 peace talks were held in Uganda in Kampala others in Ghana and Lagos though in most cases Ojukwe refused to attend but it was a stage forward to National reconciliation and unity.
13. The war introduced the army in solving the political problems of Nigeria and since then democracy is not fully experienced as Nigeria is experiencing coups and counter coups.
14. The war cemented relations amongst tribes who joined hands against Biafra for example the Hausa Fulani and the Yoruba.

**QUESTION**

“The colonial legacy was primarily responsible for the Biafran war of secession.” Discuss.

**ALGERIA**

**THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1954 – 1962**

It was colonized by the French in 1830. It is located in the North of Africa occupied by the Berbers, Arabs and white settlers, they achieved independence in 1962 but before that a war of independence had been fought beginning with 1954. Its first president was Ben Bella who commanded a front for National Liberation (FLN) to success.

**CAUSES OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION**

1. The need for total liberation and independence for Algeria. The French had suppressed the authority of the traditional Muslim leaders and all the top posts were occupied by the French settlers. By 1950s this was out of fashion and the Algerians joined hands in the struggle for independence.
2. The problems of Land. This was as a result of the increased number of settlers in Algeria who grabbed the Algerian land especially along the coast and the oases hence pushing the native Algerians into less productive reserves and to make matters worse, Algerians were turned into mere squatters in their own country this made the revolution inevitable.
3. The rumor that the French were planning to make Algeria a white man’s country prompted a revolution. For example after World war II France started preparing its colonies for independence. These included Morocco, Tunisia and no such plans were made for Algeria. This increased Algerian nationalism and the revolution became inevitable.
4. Forced labor on public works, plantations with little or no pay. To make matters worse the French were very brutal and sometimes canning lazy Algerians. Therefore it can be argued that when FLN started a war of liberation, they were to definitely get a large number of supporters.
5. French discrimination and racism. The Algerians who were not assimilated could not go to the same good schools with the French, good healthy centers and Algerians were barred from city life were many ended in villages. This annoyed the Algerian nationalists to struggle for Algerian independence.
6. Religious diversity, the majority Algerians were Muslims and the French were Roman Catholics for example the French did not allow polygamy yet the Muslims valued it and to make matters worse the French took wine and pork and moved freely with their dogs. As if that was not enough, they started changing mosques into churches; this annoyed the Muslims who joined the FLN against the French.
7. The need to protect Algerian cultures that had been eroded so much by the French policy of assimilation. Africans were trained to think, dress, speak, and build as French men thus creating white Africans in black skins. This annoyed the vibrant African nationalists in Algerian who then staged a war of independence.
8. The role of the Second World War, the Algerian ex-servicemen had destroyed the invisibility of the white man. In addition Algeria was a theater and the Americans who had fought in Algeria impressed upon Africans democratic principles of Equality, Freedom of speech hence prompting Ahmed Ben Bella and Belkacem Krim to stage a war of independence.
9. The French defeat by the Vietnamese in the famous battle of 1946-1954. This convinced the Algerians that if the French could be defeated in the jungles of Vietnam they too could defeat them in the deserts of Algeria.
10. The 1945 Algerian massacre at setif as the French were celebrating the defeat of the Germany’s in World War, the Algerians decided to demonstrate and demand for self rule. However the French reacted by indiscriminately killing the Algerians and about 200,000 Algerians perished and about 100 colonial officials. This steered up the morale for war.
11. The failure for peaceful means to attain independence for Algerian. This was first steered up by Fehat Abas but the French reacted by banning trade unions and political parties yet in the British colonies reforms had been awarded and Fehat Abas had this to say: “My role to death is to stand aside for the chiefs of armed resistance; the methods I have upheld for the last 15 years of cooperation, discussion, have shown themselves inefficient I recognize the armed struggle.
12. The 1952 Egyptian revolution; Nasser gave asylum to political fugitives from Algeria. He even gave moral and financial support to FLN against the guerillas and even allowed them use radio Cairo for their anti-French propaganda. This only prepared a serious war against the French.
13. The unveiling of Algerian women by the French police, this was tantamount to defilement and annoyed both women and their husbands. However the French reasoned that such women were suspected of carrying dangerous weapons such as grenades. The result was that ladies started putting on short dresses and this was demeaning the Islamic community who sought to change it by war.
14. The ambitious characters of Algerian nationalists like Ben Bella and Krim. They all wanted to reign as presidents of Algerian, for example Abas wrote a book entitled “The manifesto of the Algerian People” that was nationalistic, this won him an arrest but later escaped from prison and continued sensitizing the masses against the French. Ben Bella had fought in the Vietnamese war and came back more radical. These and others joined hands to fight in the Algerian war of independence.
15. The role of the press; the writings of Frantz Fanon aroused nationalistic sentiments, in 1952 he wrote a book entitled “Black skins white masks”. In 1956 he became the editor of the FLN Newspaper and in 1958 he wrote an article entitle “dying colonialism”. Other writers included Michelet, Victor Hugo and others who wrote about human rights. These ideas were bought by young intellectuals at Algiers University and as a result the war of independence attracted a number of people who had read these democratic principles.
16. The spirit of Pan Africanism; the Arabs for long had yawned for unity and resistance to any foreign influence and when Nasser came to power in 1952 in Egypt he dragged many Arab countries into the Arab league and the ideologies taught were freedom and independence which the Arabs in Algeria fought for.
17. The role of the 1941 Atlantic charter can not be under estimated, prompted the Algerians to demand for independence and when Namdi Azikiwe of Nigeria presented a memorandum in demand for independence the Arabs in Algeria followed suit. They started by peacefully demanding for independence and later violence.
18. The role of western education; a number of Algerians had attained education by the 1950s yet they were discriminated in the acquisition of jobs and promotions especially in the army. This prompted Fehat Abas in his manifesto for Algerian people to write and criticize the theoretical assimilation policy. This explains why a number of elites joined the struggle for independence in 1954.
19. The 1944 Brazzaville conference left a lot to be desired. Charles De Gaulle called representatives from all French colonies and they resolved to cause changes in the colonies. Therefore since Algeria was also a French colony, the nationalists demanded for the actualization of the conference resolutions therefore failure led to armed conflict.
20. The role of UNO with its decolonization committee pressurize the colonial masters to grant freedom and independence there fore with such external support Ben Bella staged the war of independence without fear.
21. The 1945 manchester conference gave the Algerian nationalist courage to stage the war of independence for the delegates stated that where peace fails force should be applied explaining the use of violence beginning with1954.

**EFFECTS OF THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

1. In 1962 Algeria finally got independence after 132years of French colonialism.
2. Democracy was realized for examples, in 1962 elections were held supervised by the UN and Ben Bella was democratically elected as president who put up constitutional governance.
3. Forced labor was abolished and urban rural migration was encouraged, employment opportunities were created and wages increased. This improved the conditions of the workers.
4. Land redistribution took foot where Algerians regained their land. However some French settlers who had genuinely possessed land were allowed to repossess it or sell it to Algerians. This was a great move by the FLN fighters.
5. Agricultural modernization; the government extended credit facilities, quality seeds and radio programmes to farmers in addition they set up a drain dam to provide water for irrigation. It also created 190 socialist villages and formed about 6000 cooperative unions. This was a great step that had never been realized.
6. Algeria opened up a new phase of cooperation between France and Algeria. This was in a bid to create harmony between the two states. For instance it remained Francophone country and color discrimination ended where about 1000 French teachers remained in Algerian schools, Algeria also continued receiving aid from France. This explains why until the time of the coup in 1965 Algeria experienced reasonable development.
7. Cultural revival was ensured as the Arabic language was soon adopted to match French, Islamic names were also adopted, the mosques renovated, Islamic dressing upheld and Quranic schools reconstructed. This improved on morals of the Algerians as many vices were dropped which included drinking, prostitution among others.
8. The army and police were also put into consideration as their conditions were improved, promotions were on merit and this created a new coherent and disciplined force to keep law and order.
9. There was nationalization of all major means of production. This was a move to the left. This brought reasonable development in Algeria as Ben Bella invited a number of foreign socialist advisors and a number of industries were put in place. These included textiles, cement and food processing and this greatly improved the standards of living for Algerians.
10. Unity was also enhanced as the FLN leaders involved all the populace without discrimination in the administration of their country. This compounded Algeria into a one sovereign state.
11. There was formation of the Geo-economic union amalgamating all African countries into a Maghreb union. It emphasized the need for creating self sustaining economies by utilizing the locally available resources, preserve Islam, avoid external attacks, and avoid ideological collusion and neo-colonialism. This was a one man plan (Ben Bella) which helped Algeria to remain peaceful after independence which was very paramount for development.
12. The revolution quickened the pace of events in other French speaking countries. This explains the early independence of Guinea Conakry in 1958. Other countries like Senegal were also to receive changes for the French speeded up political reforms after the outbreak of the Algerian war of independence in 1954.
13. The war of independence established diplomatic ties with the outside world. This was a result of FLN’s external missions in various countries like Egypt, Tunisia, America, European and Asian states which attracted international sympathizers that helped Algerians to gain their independence in 1962.
14. The UNO was equally touched especially when Kwame Nkrumah tabled the Algerian question condemning the French nuclear bomb test in Algeria. It can therefore be argued that the war of independence opened Algeria to other countries.
15. The Algerian war of independence enabled Charles Degaule to reign for the second time as president of France. This was as result of the weakness of the fourth French republic to handle the problems of France at home and in Algeria. The French men then trusted Degaule as the only man who was to end the Algerian crisis and solve the home problems and on 1st June 1958 when he came to power he made it clear that Algeria was to get its independence sooner.
16. Ben Bella released all political prisoners this was in a bid to cement relations among the Algerians themselves.
17. The war of independence led to the loss of lives and destruction of property. About one million Algerians died in the struggle and about 8000 villages were burnt plus a number of Europeans killed. This was as a result of the French revenge on the numerous strikes and riots staged by the Algerians.
18. It highly hiked the refugee problem in Africa. About 300,000 fled to the neighboring countries of Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Libya and about 2,000,000 Algerians were internally displaced. This created great suffering of the populace.
19. The war of independence brought in dictators as Ben Bella soon turned to create misery to the Algerians; he limited freedom of speech and press prompting the 1965 coup that was master minded by the Boumedienne. However this did not end the problem as he also soon became a dictator.
20. It introduced the army in the politics of Algeria for example due to the problems created by Ben Bella in an almost bloodless coup the army over threw him and power passed on to the soldiers to date.
21. The revolution failed to create a self sustaining economy for Algeria as Ben Bella found him self begging for economic and technical aid from former colonial masters. This undermined the independence achieved by the revolutionlists.
22. The revolution gave birth to Islamic fundamentalism and Arab racism. This replaced French racial discrimination as the Muslims turned to terrorize the Christians. This tarnished the name of the revolutionaries and the image of Algeria.

**FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF ALGERIAN WAR IN 1962**

1. The courage and determination of the Algerians; they did not like French colonialism and such statements like “**This Muslim Algeria is not for France, cannot be France and does not want to be France,” “This land is the country of the Arabs, you are here as Turks did for 300 years, you are bound to leave in the end.”** were in most cases heard in the first half of` the 20th century. Therefore when the war was staged in 1954 a number of them joined the struggle to success.
2. The topography of Algeria characterized by hot temperatures, desert and during the course of the war drought hit Algeria so much. This only helped the Algerian guerillas who were used to the environment. It was a disadvantage to the French.
3. The role of women can not be under estimated who acted as spies, prepared food for the guerillas and gave them comfort. This helped the Algerians for they accessed the secrets of the French and sometimes hit them at the weakest point.
4. The use of hit and run tactics confused the French fighters and prolonged the war. This explains why the Algerians question touched the French public opinion and when De Gaulle came to power in 1958 the date for Algerian independence was set.
5. The formation of FLN after constitutional means had failed to yield success. It carried out sporadic attacks and its organization won massive support and in 1962 it achieved success.
6. The role of Nasser of Egypt; he gave the FLN training bases and access to radio Cairo on top of providing military and financial support. He then helped the Algerians carry on prolonged and successful war.
7. Ambitious and charismatic character of Ben Bella, Fehat Abas, and Massoli Hadi among other nationalists helped to steer up the Algerian struggle to success.
8. The rise of De Gaulle as president of France on 1st June 1958. He immediately opened peace talks with FLN leaders. He also organized a referendum in which Algerians opted for independence. This naturally neared the date for independence.
9. The role of press was very paramount. Radio Cairo kept the masses informed of FLN’s reforms and development. The FLN also formed the voice of Algeria which exposed the French colonial evils. This compounded very many behind the FLN hence success.
10. The role of Second War world where many Algerians learnt skills of operating ammunitions and organization of the masses that they used against the French in Algeria. Without such experience the war would not have yielded positive results as soon as the 1962.
11. FLN put up reforms in the liberated areas such as free education, low taxes and this made a number of people join the FLN for immediate liberation of Algeria.
12. The French brutality paramount of which was the 1945 setiff massacres. These were followed by the 1956 executions and by 1958 bombings which left a number of people dead. Such helped to attract the international sympathy of the UN and NATO members who pressurized France to decolonize immediately.
13. The role of the Algerians Bourgeoisie who mobilized funds, food and medicine for both urban and rural guerillas. These helped to sustain a successful war of independence.
14. The twin independence of Morocco and Tunisia in 1956. The Algerians wondered why the French had granted independence to Morocco and Tunisia not Algeria but this worked in favor of Algerian fighters, they got training grounds nearby Algeria enabling the hit and run tactics to cause havoc among the French who responded by grant independence in 1962.
15. Unity of the Algerians; as a result of rural urban migrations where they suffered a lot and looked at a revolution as the only solution for their problems. With concerted efforts the French were attacked from all concerns of Algeria and by 1962 independence was achieved.
16. The role of the Pan African movement where Kwame Nkrumah in 1960 convinced the UNO that French colonialism in Algeria was inhumane. He even exposed the French nuclear bomb test which aroused world concern. The UN then followed up the matter and saw Algerian decolonized.
17. War fatigue in France, after the disastrous Vietnamese war, the French ex service men became less willing to involve in another war in Algeria. This explains why Degaule’s plan to make Algeria independent was supported by a number of youth soldiers and this was good news to FLN. By 1960 it was very clear that Algeria was to get its independence.
18. The French public opinion where a number of parliamentarians and general population did not see any reason for the continued struggle of France for Algeria yet the French treasury was drained. This made France loose grip on Algeria and independence was granted.

**BEN BELLA AND THE 1965 COUP IN ALGERIA**

On 19th June 1965 Col. Havari Boumedienne arrested Ben Bella and most of the Government officials and on 5th July 1965 he announced the new government of Algeria governed by revolutionary council.

**CAUSES:**

1. The reshuffles within Ben Bella’s government for example in June 1965 he removed Abdul Aziz Bouteflika from the ministry of foreign Affairs. This was done without consultation from the cabinet. This was then exploited by Havari Boumedienne to overthrow Ben Bella in 1965.
2. Ben Bella’s dictatorship; he started mistrusting his friends who had even supported him to power. This led to the resignation of Fehat Abdul and Mohammed Khidder just after one year of independence. This was supposed to be stopped a situation that was exploited by Boumedienne to overthrow him.
3. The plan to create a people’s militia which was opposed by other revolutionaries created thinking among them that Ben Bella intended to strengthen him self and do away with the revolutionaries. They then reacted before he actualized his plans.
4. The continuation of unemployment where about one million Algerians flocked to the Diaspora to look for jobs such that by 1964 over 700,000 Algerians were working as economic exiles in France alone. This was against the revolutionary principles and by 1965 a coup was justifiable.
5. The grievances of the army; the army was not satisfied with Ben Bella’s reforms and to make matters worse most soldiers remained loyal to their former guerilla leaders since Ben Bella was in the prison for most of the years before independence. This then became very easy for Boumedienne to organize the army to overthrow Ben Bella.
6. The creation of the privileged class by Ben Bella created a large income gap between the rich and the poor. It was a few hench men of Ben Bella who benefited from the government and this was not expected of a revolutionary like Ben Bella. This made it very easy for Boumedienne to organize a coup in 1965.
7. Ben Bella’s foreign policy was to work against him, he concentrated more on supporting Liberation movements and forgot the domestic policy. This was blamed on him as most of the tax payers’ money was spent abroad. It is asserted that by 1965 no much improvement was seen in infrastructure development, Agricultural or industry.
8. The collapse of the Algerian economy; most of the business enterprises were nationalized and put in the hands of illiterate Algerians who in the long run failed to run them. The result was inflation a situation that was exploited by Boumdienne to over throw Ben Bella.
9. The question of Western Sahara where Ben Bella interfered in the politics of Morocco and supported the polisario rebels which created conflicts between Moroccans and Algerians, in turn Morocco supported the discontented army officers in Algeria against Ben Bella.
10. Lack of economic plan that was supposed to liberate Algeria from its owkward economic state; they expected Ben Bella to industrialize the country, put up agricultural reforms but by 1965 the country was too poor and with a large debt burden. To avert the situation therefore a coup was inevitable.

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**EAST AFRICA**

**TANGANYIKA:**

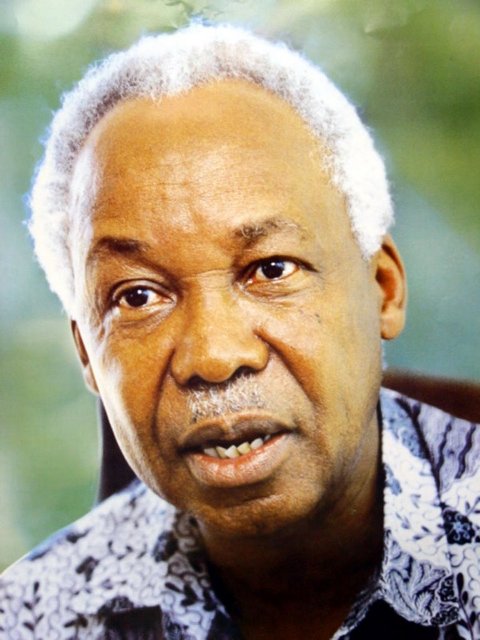
Tanganyika got independence on 9th December 1961 in the hands of Mzee Julius kambalage Nyerere.

NB: No country called Tanzania got independence in 1961 but rather Tanganyika, it came to be called Tanzania in 1964 when Tanganyika amalgamated with Zanzibar to form one state Tanzania (this is an error usually used by students).

**Factors for the Independence of Tanganyika 1961;**

1. The role of Swahili as a unifying factor example Jophet kirilo used Swahili in Meru area to call people against land alienation therefore, Nyerere also used the same language to call for independence.
2. Absence of a dominant tribe, Tanganyika had about 120 tribes and none was dominant this favored nationalists because the red devil of tribalism was minimal in their call for independence for example Nyerere came from a small tribe of Wazanaki but became influential.
3. The population in Tanganyika was scattered making it possible to have reduced tribal or regional feelings which made it easy for the nationalists to call for independence.
4. The past unity of tribes in fighting for a common cause was a good experience for example the Wagindo, Pogoro and Ngoni had united and fought against the Germans in the famous maji maji rebellion, such unity was still lingering in their minds such that when Nyerere called for national unity for independence, many were willing to sacrifice.
5. The adoption of Ghandism as a means of struggle for independence encouraged the British especially Governor Turn Bull to speed up the pace of events leading to Tanganyika’s independence by 1961
6. The role of trade unions, like the Tanganyika African association, the Kilimanjaro native planters association, these became basis of sensitization and organization against the one armed bandit colonialism.
7. The formation TAA 1929 and later transformation into TANU 1954 prepared ground for the independence to Tanganyika, these recruited people from all walks of life and this non-sectarian approach won them support and with the numerical strength attained, independence was a must.
8. The role of UNO can not be under estimated, since Tanganyika was a mandate territory of the UNO to British, it used its decolonization committee to pressurize Britain to decolonize.
9. The ambitious character of Nyerere, he was humble, intelligent and with good organizational skills, he thus used all these to win the support of the masses hence with the numerical strength he pressurized the British to relinquish power.
10. The colonial problems like land alienation, heavy taxation, forced labor united the people of Tanganyika to fight for a common cause for example in Meru alone about 3000 people were evicted from their land which scared other communities hence started listening to anti colonial sentiments.
11. Mild religious conflicts kept Tanganyikan communities united this explains why Nyerere who was a catholic easily convinced other people including the traditionalists, Muslims to fight for independence.
12. The 1947 workers strikes left a lot to be desired especially when large numbers of workers were laid off and those still in employment their wages cut, in effect such led to nationalistic sentiments that resulted into independence.
13. The new agricultural programs by the colonial government without enough sensitization for example farmers were required to reduce on the number of their animals kept, Dip them at a fee, compulsory terracing on hilly areas. All these called for resentment creating fertile ground for independence struggles.
14. The need to Africanize Tanganyika’s economy for example the economy was dominated by Asians who controlled trade and commerce yet the British were watching, this became a cause to demand for independence.
15. Lack of enough representation on the Legco for example by 1951 only one African was appointed to the executive and only 4 to the Legco. This aroused sentiments leading to the independence of Tanganyika 1961.
16. The federation attempts summed up the situation as Africans in Tanganyika feared that the British were planning white settler scheme in other areas to extend to Tanganyika, this situation was exploited by Nyerere to call for independence.
17. The 1952 – 55 Mau- Mau revolt scared the British who decided to co-operate with the up coming nationalists among whom was Nyerere. The situation speaks for itself, Nyerere demanded for a complete overhaul of the colonial order.
18. The character of Richard Turn Bull, he was accommodative to liberation ideas and worked closely with nationalists like Nyerere whom he respected. This made Independence easy to be achieved by 1961.

**Role of TANU in Liberation Struggle of Tanganyika.**

 Formed on 7th 07. 1954 by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere at a meeting in Dar-es-Salam, Nyerere convinced others to transform TAA into TANU; it played the following roles in the struggle for Tanganyika’s independence.

1. TANU recruited people from all walks of life including teachers, lawyers, casual laborers, men and women, the elite and illiterates, this enabled it get numerical strength the result was unity in diversity

Leading to the independence of Tanganyika.

***Mwalimu Julius Nyerere***

1. TANU adopted a motto; **“freedom and unity”** this became a guiding spirit on to which party members built the strength to achieve the independence of Tanganyika.
2. TANU had good leaders like Dr. Julius Nyerere who was eloquent in speech and respected by many people, in effect this bought TANU a big membership which numerical strength convinced the British in 1961 that Tanganyika was mature for independence.
3. TANU took over TAA branches all over Tanganyika, this enabled her expand quickly its membership thus got already sensitized members which helped in ensuring effective struggle for independence.
4. TANU won the support of trade unions especially in area like Dar-es-salam, Meru, for example the Bukoba-Buhaya union, Kilimanjaro native planters association among others. Such Support was Important in the Struggle for Tanganyika’s Independence.
5. TANU talked about the grievances of the masses, for example forced labour, Land grabbing, cutting coconut shambers like in Meru thus it became a voice of the voiceless, and in effect people massively supported Tanu hence spearheading the Independence of Tanganyika.
6. TANU called for National unity, Independence and Sovereignty, these Ideas coined people together since it was seen as non sectarian.
7. TANU used Ghandism in the struggle for Tanganyika’s Independence for example they used newspapers to write critical information, peaceful demonstration thus buying the interest of British who then hurried to give Tanganyika independence.
8. TANU worked closely with UNO for example in1954 it called on the UNO and presented their demands for independence thus the UNO pressurized the British to grant Independence.
9. TANU put up an effective mobilization campaign such that by 1958 it boosted of about 250,000 members such threatened the colonial masters who even put a ban on TANU activities in eleven districts however, this only worked to increase TANU popularity.
10. TANU accepted the 1957 multi-racial policy that called for equal representation of Africans, Asians and Whites, a number of Tanu members rejected it but Nyerere advised for approval; subsequently a number of Asians and Whites supported TANU to Victory.
11. TANU participated in the 1958 pre-independence elections rivaling with united Tanganyika party (UTP), the results showed victory of TANU, which sent a clear signal that TANU would maturely receive the tools of independence.
12. TANU members accepted the 1959 ministerial posts from the British Government in Tanganyika which gave chance to TANU to demand for Immediate Independence.
13. TANU worked closely with Turn Bull the new governor of Tanganyika which gave him confidence that Tanganyika was ready for self rule.
14. TANU won the 1960 election with 70 out of 71 seats which buried all worries of the British, by 1961 Independence was granted with confidence.
15. TANU successfully led to independence on 9th, Dec, 1961 and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere received the tools of Independence.

**MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE KAMBARAGE AND THE UJAMAA POLICY IN TANGANYIKA**

Ujamaa philosophy was Africa socialism inaugurated in a famous document known as Arusha declaration in 1967. It was a form of co-operative farming revolving around the newly created villages known as the Ujamaa villages. It had the following aims. **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

1. To attained self reliance by improving on Agric and this involved resettling peasants into resettlement villages where they could grow maize, beans and Groundnuts.
2. To promote and consolidate Tanzanian independence by making Tanzania immune to foreign aid.
3. To provide public services to the local populace like public schools, healthy centers, roads were to be set up.
4. To develop Tanzania’s natural resources, all wealth was to be nationalized for the good of the masses and all people were to work equally.
5. To create a classless society where nobody was to be a Master of the other for example in urban centers no one was to set up a house for others to rent. This was aimed at bridging the gap between the poor and the rich.
6. To fight poverty and raise people’s standards of living. It could be attained by grouping people into co-operative villages where they could grow both food and cash crops like peanuts, maize, beans, and sisal among others.
7. To promote National unity in Tanzania through communal work and it designed a five year plan for teaching Swahili language.
8. To attain National defense each village would provide its own security and peace. However a number of youths were to be recruited in the Tanzania people’s defense force.
9. To Africanize the economy by putting it into the hands of Africans so as fight against corruption where productive resources were put under the villages supervision. This enhanced the spirit of concern, promoted hard work, honesty and eliminated the evil of laziness.
10. To fight famine, ignorance, diseases and poverty.

**ACHIEVEMENT OF THE UJAMAA POLICY**

1. There was land redistribution where the Government embarked on resettlement policy and land was distributed to the peasants in the newly created villages for example in Mwenga and Lindi villages no body could complain of being landless.
2. There was increased food production where the government encouraged the production of cassava, Maize, Groundnuts and other food crops. Consequently food became abundant in villages like Mwenga.
3. There was growth of small scale industries such as those producing fertilizers, pesticides that provide products on demand in the settlement villages. This level of industrialization developed Tanzania.
4. The army was strengthened and peace plus stability were attained. The locally trained soldiers formed a reserve army to supplement the Tanzania National army. This helped to avoid civil wars and coup detats.
5. The Ujamaa policy checked Neo-colonialism; it discouraged foreign aid and called for self reliance. For upto around 1970 Tanzania was able to achieve this though in the long run it failed.
6. The government easily provided social services to the masses such as schools, medical services, water through extensive government funding. By 1980 the literacy level had drastically reduced in the country.
7. National unity was attained as people from diverse origins were resettled in the same village and a sense of National unity was created and Swahili became a unifying factor.
8. Self help projects were created to provide employment opportunities to the masses. The Ujamaa emphasized traditional African value of communal work. It emphasized the view that every body was a worker and this discouraged idleness hence there was employment for all.
9. There was maximum utilization of Tanzanian resources for the benefit of all Tanzanians. All land was put to use and the exports increased.
10. Better farming techniques and skills such as re-afforestration, irrigation, diary farming and on top of that demonstration farms were put in place. Such helped the farmers to improve their yields which increased the prices of Tanzanian products on the world market.
11. The Ujamaa villages saw the growth and development of urban centers which became a basis of socialism. These include Mwenga, Arusha developed Dodoma and Dar-el-Salaam were highly developed especially through marketing the farm products. This improved the standards of living of the masses.
12. The Ujamaa led to uniform rural development as the government was in position to provide equal opportunities as far as schools, roads, co-operative organizations, and health centers were concerned. This reduced conflict based on regionalism.
13. The Ujamaa philosophy made Tanzania famous as a number of researchers from all over the world visited Tanzania, wrote books on the success and the limitations of the Ujamaa policy as it was very new in world history.
14. The Ujamaa philosophy made Mwalimu Julius Nyerere a famous figure in world politics. On many occasions he was invited to attend conferences and settle disputes amongst African Leaders. He was very significant in solving Ugandan problems especially after 1975.But all this can be attributed to the farmers’ idea put in place in 1967.

**WEAKNESSES OF THE UJAMAA POLICY**

1. The Ujamaa partially contributed to food scarcity later in Tanganyika. This was because production was controlled by the government which over emphasized the growth of cash crops like coffee, sisal at the expense of food crops. This led to the outbreak of famine in Tanzania especially after 1975.
2. The Ujamaa policy failed to improve the standards of living of the local population as the self help projects that were put in place were poorly funded by the government yet the government rejected foreign aid that would have helped the people to get capital and start new projects. By 1980 it was very clear that the government could not accomplish the projects started thereby lowering the standards of living of the masses.
3. The majority of the Tanzanians looked at the policy as a form of forced labor so they did not work wholy hearted for Tanganyika and this limited labor productivity. To make matters worse, some of the land given to farmers was semi-arid and this worked to demoralize the workers.
4. The Ujamaa philosophy created environment degradation as large areas were cleared in abid to boost crop production. This involved burning of brushes, cutting down of trees and such crude methods caused soil erosion. The result was loss of soil fertility hence low production.
5. The policy made a number of people discontented as they lost their land when they were shifted to co-operative villages. This caused resistance that was expressed by the unwillingness of the masses to work within the village projects. In such a case the villages were to fail.
6. The policy increased corruption and embezzlement of government funds. The appointed officials received high salaries and sometimes used the money given for development for selfish interests. This was against the ideals of the 1967 Arusha declaration and when this continued the Ujamaa turned out a miserable failure.
7. There was decline in social services due to poor government funding a number of sectors collapsed including schools, hospitals, transport and communication network among others. Even the universal primary education declined due to over crowding in classes, overworking of school teachers and lack of incentives to both teachers and pupils. By 1980 the Ujamaa had failed totally to fulfill the objectives to which it was put up for.
8. Mal administration within the villages, the government officials within the villages were hostile to masses in implementing government policies like on road works, in collection of taxes and tributes by 1981 even Nyerere himself had realized that the aims put up in 1967 had failed to be fulfilled.
9. The Ujamaa philosophy failed to iron out capitalism in Tanganyika. As a number of people by 1985 were demanding for capitalism and condemning socialism which had impoverished them. Nyerere himself had stood aside to watch the events take their own course.
10. Ujamaa philosophy paved way for neo-colonialism. Nyerere’s original plan was being self sufficient but after failing to attain this, Tanzania gradually started accepting grants from Britain, USA and other countries via the Non-Governmental organizations. This meant that the objectives of self reliance had failed to be realized justifying the view that the Ujamaa philosophy was a miserable failure.
11. The policy created disunity as the gap between haves and have not still remained unsealed. However when compared to other African countries, Tanzania’s efforts to unite her people still stood high.
12. The philosophy facilitated the 1973-74 economic depression in Tanzania charaterised with sky rocketing inflation. This made the people’s lives hard within the country Tanzania.

Qns: - 1. Socialism in Tanzania was a measurable failure. Discuss

1. Assess the achievements and Failures of the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania.

**POLITICS AND NATIONALIMS IN UGANDA**

Uganda officially became a British colony in 1894 and only regained her independence in October 9th 1962. The pace of nationalism in Uganda was slow and it was until 1952 that mass nationalist parties were formed.

**REASONS FOR DELAYED NATIONALISM IN UGANDA**

1. Colonial Legacy, the British applied the divide and rule policy in Uganda which led to delayed nationalism. The policy was calculated at keeping the tribes of Uganda far a part from each other. The districts they created were curved along ethnic lines. The Baganda were made to think that they were the only people fit for office jobs; Northerners were holding the gun and Westerners for casual labor. This later created suspicions, fears and abuses between the tribes hence hindered genuine Nationalism.
2. The British favoritism on Buganda hindered mass nationalism in Uganda till the 1950s. In pursuit of their indirect rule the British sent a number of Baganda agents to rule other tribes for example Semei Kakugulu was sent to Eastern Uganda, James Miti to Bunyoro. This created Anti-Baganda sentiments in Uganda and to make matters worse the British rewarded their Baganda collaborators with social, economic developments such as good schools, hospitals and roads. This made them proud and brewed jealous of other tribes towards Buganda therefore mass nationalism had to delay.
3. Religious divisions in Uganda also led to delayed nationalism. In their divide and rule policy the British aimed at keeping the Christians apart from the Moslems; they also favored the Protestants more than the Catholics thereby creating further divisions, suspicions and fears. Earlier political parties were formed along religious lines for example UNC for the Protestants, DP for the Catholics this hindered mass nationalism and concerted efforts in Uganda.
4. The absence of common grievances against the British colonialists led to delayed nationalism in Uganda. Uganda did not suffer so much from the colonial, oppressive and exploitative policies as compared to Kenya, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, Algeria and Belgium Congo where African land was grabbed by white settlers, where Africans were forced to work on White man’s plantations, discriminated. The relationship between whites and Africans in Uganda was fairly peaceful and hence delayed nationalism.
5. Colonial developments such as roads, urban centers, schools, hospitals and factories made Ugandans generally friendly and loyal to the British colonialists. The British colonial economy made most Ugandans busy cultivating cash crops like coffee, cotton and tea. They were pre occupied with the desire to become rich and had no time for politics hence delayed nationalism.
6. There was massive illiteracy in Uganda, the few educated Ugandans before 1950 were mainly in Buganda like Ignatuis Musaazi, J. Mukasa, J. Kakonge, Abubaker Kakyama Mayanja. These left the rest of Ugandans in ignorance. The majority of Ugandans looked at the British as gods or masters. The few educated Baganda did not help the situation since they fought for Buganda’s interests
7. Most elites were colonial puppets; the British provided employment opportunities to the elites in the colonial service and such Africans were prevented from joining politics and any who did was retrenched, this made most elites shy away from politics hence a delay in the development of nationalism in Uganda.
8. Absence of a common language hindered the quick growth of nationalism in Uganda. Each ethnic group had its own language which it valued above other languages. Between 1937 and 1950 most Kingdoms discussed serious issues in the local languages which suited the British divide and rule policy.
9. Absence of trade unions. The British discouraged the formation trade unions and those that existed were in Buganda and were religiously divided.
10. Absence of a serious press unit. The earliest Newspapers like Munno, Uganda Eyogera only appealed to the Baganda monarchial sentiments.
11. The delayed formation of political parties. The British did not favor the formation of political parties and those that emerged later promoted religious divisions, this prevented unity.
12. Lack of contacts with the Western World also delayed nationalism. By 1950s few Africans from Uganda had visited Europe or USA; this meant that most Ugandans were ignorant about political party activities and the idea of self rule. Just a few like Musaazi and J. Mukasa had gone abroad.
13. The absence of Asian and European politics in Uganda. Unlike South Africa and Zimbabwe where whites had formed political parties, there were no such exposures for Ugandans. Even the Asians were pre occupied with businesses and not politics so Ugandans took long to gain the concept of political parties.
14. Differences in ideologies even UNC and UPC became socialist oriented because of strong socialist members like Kyango Macho, Bidandi Ssali, Kirunda Kivenjinja, DP was capitalist while Uganda National Movement was on positive actions, and such differences delayed nationalism.
15. The slow rate of urbanization, a number of Ugandans were poverty stricken and based in the rural areas these could not finance serious political party activities.
16. The existence of Kingdoms, the Kings decampaigned political parties for they would reduce their traditional powers even some educated Bagandas like Kulubya opposed political parties.
17. The need for federo by the Baganda, Buganda was opposed to unitalism and favored federalism, this provoked jealous from other tribes thus unity for a common cause could not be achieved.
18. Absence of charismatic leaders; a number of early politicians were weak and hardly met and at time they only meet once in a while on weekends in suburbs like Katwe to discuss politics. This delayed nationalism.

**FACTORS FOR THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN UGANDA**

1. World war II and its impacts; ex soldiers like Baraki Kirya sensitized the masses of the need for democracy on top of that Britain had reduced its grip on Uganda forcing the governors to create reforms hence Ugandans demanded for more reforms thus nationalism.
2. The 1945 appointments of three Ugandans in the legco was a turning point in the history of Uganda as the grievances of the masses were heard and when the British failed to act positively nationalism surged to the fore.
3. The role of UNO with its decolonization committee made Africans and Ugandans in particular to demand for quick independence this explains why there were a number of demonstrations throughout the 1940s and 50s.
4. Colonial education produced nationalists like Musaazi, Obote, Binaisa, and Nadoipe who mobilized the masses to fight for independence, they also provided leadership and put pressure on the colonial masters to decolonize.
5. Colonial infrastructures like roads, railways eased the movement of nationalists hence there was easy sensitization and fighting for the common cause.
6. Formation of political parties such as UNC, UPC, DP, KY brought people from all walks of life together to fight for a common cause.
7. The economic exploitation of Uganda by Asian and European business men led to nationalistic sentiments.
8. The development of urban centers like Kampala and Jinja led to rise of a big multi tribal population with common grievances. This population gave audience to emerging politicians.
9. The British favoritism towards Buganda united other tribes of Uganda against Buganda and later against the Brisish.
10. Asian countries gave moral, economic and financial assistance to Ugandan nationalists for example in 1949 the India High Commissioner to East Africa gave an inspiring lecture at Makerere University. It was attended by among others Abubaker Mayanja Kakyama. Then in 1960, Nehru (Prime Minister of India) invited Milton Obote and gave him tips on struggling for Uganda’s Independence.
11. The impact of the 1952 Egyptian revolution, after its success Nasser even allowed Musaazi to put up an office in Cairo this was a stepping stone to wards decolonization.
12. The 1953 Kabaka crisis for the first time united all Ugandans especially the Kingdom areas to demand for his return this enhanced unity that furthered the growth of nationalism.
13. The declaration of the East Africa Federation in the 1950s; it was opposed first by the Baganda and later all Ugandans against the British hence rising nationalistic eye blows.
14. The liberal nature of Sir Andrew Cohen; he was ready to Africanize the politics of Uganda, this chance was exploited by the elites to demand for immediate independence.
15. Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana’s independence; the independence of Ghana in 1957 and later the calling of the Accra conference raised the spirit of nationalism in Africa and Uganda in particular.
16. The emergency of the press for example “Munno” “Uganda Eyogera” played an important role in enlightening the masses of their rights that is why mass nationalism emerged in the 1950s.
17. The increment of the number of Ugandans in the Legco to fourteen by 1953 led to nationalism, these clearly articulated the grievances of the masses and the British promised further changes hence independence by 1962.

**THE 1953-1955 KABAKA CRISIS**

In 1952 Sir Andrew Cohen was appointed as the new Governor of Uganda. Misunderstandings soon cropped up between him and Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda and this made Cohen to depose the Kabaka. On 30th November 1953, he deported the Kabaka to London where he lived in exile till 1955. The political confusion surrounding the deportation of the kabaka is referred to as the **“Kabaka crisis”.**

***Sir Edward Mutesa 11***

**CAUSES OR ORIGINS OF THE 1953 KABAKA CRISIS**

1. Personality differences, the two men Kabaka Muteesa II and Sir Andrew Cohen had divergent personalities. The Kabaka was a conservative monarch interested in protecting the interests of the Baganda while Cohen was a modernizer. There was no way the radical Cohen could accommodate the “out dated views” of Kabaka Muteesa.
2. The crisis was a result of colonial legacy; the British had given a number of privileges to the Kabaka and the Baganda in general. However the Buganda Agreement of 1900 had reduced the powers of the Kabaka for example the Kabaka could no longer pass any New Laws in his Kingdom without consulting the British. The British could also dismiss the Saza Chiefs without consulting the Kabaka. To MuteesaII this was loss of his powers which was unacceptable hence the 1953-55 crisis.Bangada
3. Disloyalty to the Governor. By the terms of the 1900 Buganda Agreement, the Kabaka was answerable to the Governor of the Central Government. However ever since Sir Andrew Cohen’s arrival in Uganda in 1952, the Kabaka had consequently questioned the decisions of the new governor. This led to his deportation because he had brinched the 1900 Agreement.
4. Cohen’s unitalism led to the Kabaka crisis. In his reform agenda, he intended to turn Uganda into a unitary state; however, Kabaka MuteesaII rejected the integration of Buganda into a wider Uganda. He instead called for federo of Buganda or a federal government. Cohen could not allow this and hence the crisis.
5. The rejection of Cohen’s legislative reforms also led to the deportation of the Kabaka. In October 1953, MuteesaII influenced the Lukiiko to reject the nomination of Buganda’s representation to the legco. To worsen matters, he also influenced his fellow kings of Toro, Ankole and Busoga to reject the nominations to the Legislative assembly. He even attempted to influence the UNC top brass to reject the British proposals. All these annoyed Andrew Cohen to the extent of deporting the Kabaka.
6. Muteesa II’ demands for federo persistently annoyed Cohen. When Muteesa threatened to use force, Cohen concluded that the King deserved deportation.
7. MuteesaII’s desire to become a hero also earned him a deportation and hence the crisis. Inspired by the traditions of Kabaka Mwanga’s resistance against the British (1894-97), MuteesaII became determined to follow in the foot steps of his ancestor who was a hero but this led to his s deportation.
8. MuteesaII’s rejection of the East African Federation plans led to the 1953 crisis. On 20th June 1953, the British secretary of state Oliver Lylleton announced that Britain was going to create a unification of three East African colonies. This was unacceptable to the Kabaka of Buganda who feared that the Kenyan white settlers could encroach on Buganda’s land. Moreover he felt that he had to be consulted first before announcing such a plan in London. This annoyed Cohen who deportated him.
9. Both men were hard liners with neither of them ready to concede to the ideas of the other. The conflict only resulted into the famous Kabaka crisis.

**EFFECTS OF THE KABAKA CRISIS OF 1953**

1. The crisis seriously undermined and terminated the Buganda Agreement of 1900. By disrespecting each, both the Kabaka and Governor Cohen broke the Agreement and rendered it null and void.
2. Kabaka Muteesa II was deportated to London where he stayed for two years till 1955 when he returned.
3. The crisis led to strained relations between the British and the former Baganda collaborators because of the deportation of their kabaka.
4. The kabaka crisis influenced the British to speed up the independence of Tanganyika more so because even in Kenya the Mau-Mau rebellion had broken out at the same time with the Kabaka crisis.
5. The crisis led to wide spread anger and discontent within Baganda and fuelled the growth of Baganda sub- nationalism. All Baganda’s including those who had served as the British puppets were demanding for the return of thier King.
6. Muteesa II became a hero since the number of Baganda had the monarchy at heart; Cohen had hoped that his exile would please some Ganda. However, he was proved wrong because the exiled King became more popular and indeed a hero. He remained the King of the Baganda even in his absence he was not replaced.
7. The crisis led to country wide protests, for the first time in history other tribes of Uganda cooperated with the Baganda in demanding for Buganda interests – return of the exiled Muteesa II. This proved a key step in the forging of national unity.
8. The crisis led to the rise of a self styled prophet - Kibuuka Kiganirwa Omumbale who operated from the hills of Mutundwe. He claimed divine powers from the Ganda gods and ancestors. He assured his followers that his prayers would secure the return of the Kabaka.
9. UNC became militant and radical in demanding for the return of the Kabaka. In 1954 it boycotted Asian and British shops, buses. This was intended to pressurize the British to return the Kabaka. This won support for UNC which had originally been suspected of trying to undermine the Kabaka’s powers.
10. The Young Baganda elites in the Lukkiko formed a committee which they sent to London to demand for the return of their Kabaka. The delegation which was led by Ignatius Musaazi included Eridadi Kironde, Thomas Makumbi and Apollo Kironde. However the colonial secretary rejected their requests.
11. The British stationed their troops at Mengo to prevent a possible Baganda riot. Similarly a state of emergency was declared in the Kingdom but the Baganda remained firm and united in their demand for the return of the Kabaka.
12. New political parties were formed during the crisis period for example DP was formed in 1954 and Progressive party in 1955. They demanded for the Kabaka’s return and the independence of Uganda.
13. The crisis led to the fleeing of Ignatius Musaazi to exile in Sudan for fear of being arrested and accused of the 1954 UNC boycott on Asian and European business.
14. The crisis led to internal divisions within the UNC between those who supported and those who did not support the UNC delegation to London. This later led to the splits within the UNC.
15. The crisis led to a breakdown in the speed process of independence which Cohen had wanted. The relationship between the Baganda and Cohen remained cool.
16. Other kings in Kingdom areas lived in fear unable to predict Cohen’s next step.
17. The labor party criticized the ruling conservative party in Britain of interfering in the cultural affairs of the Baganda in the House of Commons; a stormy debate erupted between conservatives and the labor party representatives.
18. The crisis led to the formation of the Keith Hancook Commission which studied the origins of the crisis and provided solutions. Professor Keith Hancook and his committee tried very much to restore the relationship between the British and the Baganda.
19. Th crisis resulted into the signing of the Namirembe Agreement 1955 by which the tensions between the British and the Baganda were eased. The position of Baganda and the Kabaka was discussed at length.
20. The Namirembe Agreement of 1955 recommended the return of the Kabaka and it modified the 1900 Agreement.
21. The crisis resulted into agreement that Buganda was to be part of the Uganda protectorate and the Kabaka was to become a constitutional monarch.
22. A ministerial system was introduced compromising of Africans, one European and one Asian.
23. An appointments’ Board was set up to appoint chiefs in Buganda. However the governor had powers to approve the appointment board.
24. Buganda was to adopt direct elections in future elections.

NB: In all the conflicts it is importatant to note that Buganda has never outrightly come out to aske for a secession but it has always demanded for a federo status and a favored position in the politics of Uganda . This is the case to date.

**THE 1966 CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN UGANDA**

**(KABAKA CRISIS)**

The year began with the arrest of 5 cabinet ministers when obote (prime minister) ordered the army commander (Amin) these included Dr. Lumu, Baraki Kirya, MM Ngobi, Grace Ibingira and G.M Magezi. The arrest took place in the middle of the cabinet meeting and Obote overthrew the constitutional president Mutesa11 together with his vice Nadiope

***DR.Milton Obote***

(the kyabazinga of Busoga) in the famous Kabaka crisis of 1966.

This incident took place on 24th .05.1966 when the army led by Idd Amin invaded the Kabaka’s palace, forcing the Kabaka to abdicate his thrown to exile in London.

**CAUSES OF THE CRISIS**

1. The issue of the lost counties of Bunyoro, that is to say Buyaga and Bugangayizi; Obote used his powers as the prime minister and elections were held in 1964, however this was not supported by the kabaka and the lukiiko and Buganda at large. Obote and the Kabaka then became enemies the result of this enemity was the 1966 confrontation.
2. The breakdown of the UPC – KY alliance which was a marriage of convenience in 1961. Obote terminated this alliance in 1964 August and many KY members were forced to cross to UPC this in turn ended up into a crisis for the Baganda felt sidelined.
3. Obote’s manupilation of the 1962 and 1966 constitutions were yet to cause misunderstandings for example the 1962 constitution was changed in 1963 where the prime minister was above the president yet the 1966 constitution was never discussed by any one except Obote and Binaisa. When the kabaka and the Baganda opposed this Obote was only left with one option- deport the Kabaka.
4. The introduction of the army in the conflict between the president and the prime minister; Obote ganged up with the army to solve his personal issues, he went on to demote Shaban Opolot for supporting KY, later used the army to invade the Lubiri, this in effect called for the crisis.
5. Conflicts in UPC as a party, partly called for the 1966 crisis; in 1964 J.E Kakonge was replaced by Grace Ibingira as secretary general of the party,later in 1965 many UPC members were expelled from the party, these included Kintu Musoke, Kirunda kivejinja, Bidandi Sali among others. These started collaborating with the Kabaka which annoyed Obote who in turn invaded the palace.
6. The 1965 Gold scandal where Obote was pin pointed as having been involved, this caused Punic in parliament when the Baganda wanted to establish the facts about the case, Mutesa and the Lukiiko were behind the move led by the secretary general of KY David Ochieng, Obote reacted before the motion was moved by deporting the Kabaka.
7. Bugandas continued demand for Federo annoyed Obote whose aim was to create a united Uganda. He there for decided to deport the Kabaka to reduce this pressure.
8. Obotes fear to lose the 1967 elections, elections were to be held in 1967 and Mutesa was expected to win so Obote feared to lose power, he then decided to invade the palace before time hence the crisis.
9. The appointment of Idd Amin as the army Commander on 22nd feb 1966, Amin was very ambitious and more close to Obote, Amin then saw the invasion of the palace as his only chance to expose his ability.
10. Mutesa’s Military plan; he made arrangements to take some battalions of the Uganda army for more training without the knowledge of the prime minister. Obote then thought that Mutesa was mobilizing the army to overthrow him thus he invaded the palace to maintain himself in power.
11. Mutesa’s letter to the UNO was later to cause problems in 1966; Mutesa wrote to the UN predicting political unrest therefore Obote invaded the palace before the UN could intervene.
12. Kabaka’s importation of arms without the knowledge of the Prime Minister (Obote), this created fear and Obote decided to overthrow the Kabaka before he was overthrown.
13. The opposition of the Baganda to Obotes dictatorship; some KY members were forced to take an oath in support of the pigeon hall constitution and those who refused were threatened ,expelled or deprived of citizenship. All these created fertile grounds for the crisis.
14. Obotes allegations that the Kabaka had decided to overthrow him; Obote claimed that he had documented evidence about the issue and in his speech to the nation he said**; “During my absence , Sir Edward Mutesa11 called on foreign diplomats and asked them for armed forces and the secretary to the Katikiro is also aware about the same mission”** he then used this as an explanation to deport Mutesa.
15. Baganda’s claim that the kabaka was automatic and above other leaders both political and cultural and that this was violated by Obote together with UPC diehards. This only created ground for chaos.

**EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS**

1. Loss of lives and destruction of property especially at Mengo.
2. The Kabaka was forced into exile to London where he died.
3. The army was introduced into Ugandas politics that is the army arrested Shaban Opolot and 5 cabinet ministers later overthrew the constitutional president Mutesa11.
4. The crisis soured relations between Obote and the Baganda forever.
5. After the crisis kingdoms were abolished and Uganda became a republic.
6. A state of emergence was imposed on Buganda.
7. Uganda was declared a one party state that isUPC.
8. The crisis was a heavy blow to Buganda’s federo demands.
9. There were demotions and promotions in the army forexample Shaban Opolot was demoted and Idd Amin was promoted as army commander.
10. Assassination attempts became very common to Obote since the Baganda wanted him dead.
11. The crisis was a fore runner of the 1971 coup for Ugandans realized that force can be used to attain power. As a result Amin organized the army together with anti Obote regime into the 1971 coup.

**UGANDA’S MOVE TO THE LEFT.**

**The common Man’s Charter.**

This was a document issued by President Milton Obote on 8th Oct 1969, this document termed as the Common Man’s Charter signified Uganda’s adoption of socialism. The Common Mans Charter came as a result of UPC delegates’ conference of 1968. It had the following aims;

* + To guide Uganda towards socialism.
  + To up lift the standards of living of the Common Ugandan
  + To lift the country out of an economic crisis.
  + To bridge the gap between the rich and poor.
  + To undo neo-colonialism in Uganda.
  + To fight kondoism (armed robbery).
  + To justify the shift to a one party system.
  + To end capitalism which they termed **“man eat man”** society.
  + To mobilize the common man for development especially rural based development projects
  + To build one country, one people, one government and parliamentary democracy.
  + To implement economic reforms.
  + To promote development of the Agricultural sector especially though co-operative farming.
  + To nationalize all Ugandan property that is to say 60% government 40% private owners
  + To ensure monetary reforms.
  + To divert peoples minds from Obote’s failures especially the 1966 Kabaka crisis.
  + To adopt an independent political ideology.
  + To reduce reliance on only cotton, coffee in other wards to diversify the economy.

**“It is my sincere belief that in June, 1968 the party conference clearly indicated that the party and Uganda as a whole must take initial steps as early as possible to move ideologically and practically to the left”**

**Statement by Obote Oct. 1969.**

**Achievements of the common Man’s charter:**

1. There was formation of organizations to mobilize people for national development these among others, included; national union of youth organization. This led to a number of people to involve them selves in self help projects especially the agricultural sector.
2. Traditional cultures were promoted for example there was a ministry in charge of culture and cultural offices were set up almost in every district to promote traditional culture hence promoting African nationalism.
3. Promoted unity of Ugandans for example it successfully fought federalism and set up a unitary republican government.
4. There was Africanisation of Uganda’s economy which meant that Ugandans were to be in charge of their economy, in effect employment opportunities were created for Ugandans.
5. It led to government firm control of the economy for example a national bank was put up, a national currency and a Uganda commercial bank.
6. There was rural transformation through encouraging co-operative farming through which farmers were in position for acquire loans, technical support which boosted agricultural production.
7. The CMC reduced neo – colonialism as Uganda delinked itself from the west and affirmed itself as a self reliant government.
8. The charter was promising especially to the majority poor, this was evident when the government promised to improve the welfare of he common man. This was important in promotion of nation unity especially when Uganda was very young from colonialism.
9. The CMC was easily understood as the president himself (Obote) and UPC officials took up the responsibility of sensitizing the masses through debates, and programs in different languages on T.V and radio.
10. Through the charter Uganda came to a forefront in supporting anti-colonialism on the whole continent of Africa for example Uganda supported blacks in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Lissan among others.

**Weaknesses of the charter;**

1. There was adoption of a one party system in Uganda (UPC) which promoted dictatorial tendencies hence democracy was compromised.
2. Cold war extended to Uganda as the capitalists like Britain and America withdrew their support and engineered the 1971 coup against Obote’s government leading to great suffering of Ugandans.
3. CMC failed to attract all Ugandans as UPC personalized the chatter which annoyed a number of people some of whom were ministers and politicians who sabotaged the charter.
4. CMC discouraged investment especially with the policy of Nationalization, most private investors relocated to Kenya hence extending economic progress out of Uganda.
5. CMC put the economy of Uganda under unexperienced local managers who lacked the capacity to under take big investments, this led to the collapse of the economy making Uganda one of the poorest countries in the World.
6. Agricultural production declined as the new Co-operative workers paid low prices to the farmers on top of embezzling funds .Such discouraged productivity, for example coffee shambers were cut down.
7. CMC failed to win the support of the Buganda especially with memories of 1966 Constitutional crisis and the subsequent abolition of Kingdom since the Baganda were the most educated and with quite big number. It was a blow to CMC aspirations.
8. CMC outlawed strikes and demonstrations a weapon through which grievances are brought out. This was because the workers became the masters of their economy and therefore could not strike over them selves. This led to poor living standards in Uganda.
9. CMC Increased political opposition to Obote that explains why two attempts were made on Obote’s life in 1969 one at Lugogo and another at Nankulabye. The situation has gone too far.
10. Robbery increased (Kondoism) hence causing disorder, this was mainly because of the scarcity of goods and services in the country.
11. The expulsion of foreign workers created a vacuum that was filled by inexperienced Ugandans. This was a clear signal of danger in Ugandans economy.

**THE 1971 COUP IN UGANDA**

It was carried out on 25th January 1971 by major General Idi Amin (the army commander) against President Milton Obote (the Commander in chief of the armed forces). He gave 18 reasons for overthrowing his boss. However historians have internalized these and came up with the following reasons that called for the 1971 military coup in Uganda

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***Field Martial Iddi Amin Dada***

**CAUSES**

1. Divisions in the army; Obote created divisions in the army by setting up para-military units. He created a special force and a General Service Unit (GSU) as two security bodies to rival the power of the regular army (Uganda armed forces). The GSU of 1000 elite soldiers acted as both Obote’s body guard and intelligence service unit. It was headed by Akena Adoko, Obote’s cousin who sent spies in the regular army. This annoyed Amin and his comrades hence prompting a coup against Obote.
2. Obote’s tribalism tendencies also contributed to the coup. Obote’s government and especially the army became increasingly tribalistic. In the army and other security organizations, he ordered the recruitment of more Langi than other tribes. He went ahead and promoted the Langi who had little experience. This annoyed Idi Amin who had wanted more recruits from West Nile. Soldiers of other tribes were also unhappy and hence the coup.
3. Grievances of the defense council; since July 1969 the defense council had not met and the regular army could be listened to. To worsen matters Obote had started making promotions, transfers and demotions without consulting the defense council or the army commander. Rumors that Lieutenant Colonel Oite Ojok was to replace Amin were also taken seriously and hence the coup.
4. Political insecurity in Buganda area contributed to the coup. The 1964 referendum which returned the lost counties of Bunyoro, the January 1964 army mutiny and Obote’s invasion of the Kabaka’s palace in 1966 all combined to create unrest. Obote declared a state of emergency in Buganda, arrested a number of suspected opponents including some Ky-UPC allies. This insecurity, dissatisfaction in Buganda and the indefinite state of emergency gave the army grounds to plot the coup.
5. Obote’s dictatorship also led to the coup. He had declared a one party rule and put a ban on political parties; he abrogated the 1962 constitution and made a one man constitution in 1967 (Pigeon Hall constitution), persecuted some of his ministers for example Grace Ibiringa, Dr. Lumu, Mathuis Ngobi and Magezi. This gave grounds to the coup.
6. Corruption and embezzlement of public funds by government officials with in Obote’s government made the coup inevitable. The money that would have been used for development ended up in making lavish parties and buying expensive cars. This explains why a number of people supported the coup.
7. Amin’s desire to prove his courage and strength, following an ttempted assassination of Obote at Lugogo stadium in December 1969 there was general disorder in Kampala and when the soldiers went to Amin the army commander to inform him of the disorder Amin hid and his deputy Brigadier Okaya made fun of Amin and said he was a coward, he then organized a coup to prove his courage.
8. The murder of Brigadier Okaya and his wife on 25th January 1970, Amin was seriously questioned by Obote and out of fear he carried out a coup in 1971.
9. Personal differences between Obote and Amin. Whereas Obote wanted to put more Langis, Amin declined to it and there was a state of confusion between the President and the army commander. The result was that Amin decided to overthrow the president.
10. The investigations of Auditor General in the ministry of defense, he found out that about 35-40 million shillings had been embezzled by Amin and Onama. When Obote questioned them Amin decide to carry out a coup before the situation went out of control.
11. Foreign intrigue; Obote had constantly condemned the British over Apartheid in South Africa, he also conflicted with Israelites who were using Northern Uganda to supply the Nyanya rebels with support against the Sudanese government. These in turn supported the coup plotters against Obote.
12. Obote’s turn to the left a lot to be desired, following the Nakivubo pronouncements in 1969 Obote issued a common man’s charter which annoyed the Western block that in turn supported the younger officers of the army to carry out the coup.
13. The 1969 economic crisis characterized by unemployment, inflation, increased taxes was a chance that was exploited by the army to carry out a coup supported by the masses.
14. The failure of Obote to organize any election for example the elections scheduled for 1967 never took place and there was no chance for a number of people to rise to prominence. The option was seen through a coup to change the situation.
15. Obote’s introduction of the army into Ugandan politics especially when he sent away the Kabaka in 1966. He made the army convinced that their problems can also be solved by the gun and a result was 1971 coup.
16. Influence of other coups in Africa like 1966 in Ghana, 1965 in Algeria, 1969 in Libya, 1952 in Egypt and their success influenced the army in Uganda to carry out theirs against Obote in 1971.
17. Divisions within UPC radicals like Grace Ibingira and Bidandi Ssali challenged Obote and were expelled. Even the Baganda conservatives of UPC were expelled thus the party became very weak and easy to overthrow.
18. Expulsion of Kenyan and Tanzanian workers from Uganda, prevention of the use of Kenyan and Tanzanian Shillings in Uganda created enemity with the neighbors who rallied support for Amin to over throw Obote.
19. The wide spread kondoism within Obote’s regime yet he took no steps to solve the problem gave Amin the chance to give it as an excuse to overthrow Obote.
20. The order to arrest Amin, Obote telephoned Oite Ojok while in Singapore to arrest Amin. However Musa a Kakwa tribe mate of Amin interfered with the telephone call and informed Amin who organized a coup to protect his life.

**THE 1972 ECONOMIC WAR IN UGANDA**

This refers to the expulsion of Asians from Uganda by President Idi Amin in 1972. Asians had come to Uganda in 1902 during the construction of the Uganda railway. After its completion a number of them stayed and involved themselves in private businesses as well as assisting the colonial masters. The 1962 constitution granted them a right to stay in Uganda and many of them enjoyed dual citizenship.

Obote’s common man’s charter included plans of expelling Asians and nationalizing their property. However it was Idi Amin who later actualized this plan in his famous Tororo Pronouncements of 1972. They had to take luggage of not more than 10kgs each and to leave the Ugandan land in 90 days. Their expulsion is termed as the Economic war.

**CAUSES:**

1. Asians were exploitative, they paid very low prices to Ugandan farmers yet the prices on the world market were high. Unfortunately they made no efforts of developing Uganda but rather repatriated all the profits to their mother countries for example India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Some had fat accounts in USA and British Banks.
2. Asians had dual citizenship. A number of them had citizenship of both Uganda and other countries like Pakistan, Britain and India. The 1962 constitution had not provided for this. Amin suspected this and expelled them.
3. Fulfillment of the common man’s charter; president Obote had already made plans of getting rid of Neo-colonialism as outlined in the common man’s charter. In trying to actualise this Amin expelled the Asians who he accused of promoting neo-colonialism by operating multi national corporations like Barclays Bank, Shell.
4. The inspiration from Ghadaffi also led to the economic war. After the 1969 coup, president Ghadaffi had nationalized all foreigners’ property. Idi Amin followed in the footsteps of his Libyan comrade.
5. The desire to revenge against the British also led to the economic war. Amin had asked Britain for financial assistance to buy modern weapons but none was given to him. He retaliated by expelling Asians many of whom were British citizens.
6. Asians were racists. They had separate schools, residential areas, hospitals and a religion which was scared and unknown to Africans. They befriended African girls but the reverse was not true Amin expelled them.
7. They monopolized trade. Having huge sums of capital, Asians monopolized all the import and export trade. They owned wholesale and even retail shops. Yet they were Pseudo (false) investors who repatriated all the profits. President Idi Amin had to chase them so as Africanize business.
8. The desire to create jobs. Idi Amin wanted to create employment opportunities for Africans. Most well paying jobs in the civil service were in the hands of Asians yet a number of educated Ugandans were jobless and had proved a threat to Obote’s government.
9. Amin wanted to reward his supporters. Being new in the position of presidency, Amin wanted to coin the support of Ugandans. Firstly by rewarding those who had supported his coup and secondly by “buying” more friends. Hence he expelled Asians, gave their property to his henchmen and thereby created a class of “mafuta Mingi”.
10. The increasing Asian population also worried Idi Amin. By 1972, there were about 83,000 Asians, 60,000 of who were non-citizens of Uganda. Their increasing birth rate was a risk to Ugandans whose population was only about 9.7 millions.
11. The harshness of Asians also led to the economic war. Asians mistreated Ugandans who worked for them. Africans were not allowed to rest, go for burials, arrive late for work, and go for sick leaves. They were often abused and slapped.
12. The denial of sex to Amin by an Indian widow also led to the economic war. Amin had become attracted to an Asian widow but who refused to have a love affair with him. This muddled the president who interpreted it as superiority complex of Asians. Feeling humiliated, Amin gave Asians 90 days to vacate Uganda.
13. Asians practiced price discrimination. They used to sell goods to Ugandans at high prices and yet sold similar products to fellow Asians at lower prices. This earned them an expulsion.
14. Amin wanted to create an indigenous managerial class by putting Ugandans at the centre stage of the economy. To do this the only option was to send away Asians.

NB: Amin’s dream in Tororo gave an immediate explanation for the expulsion of Asians. While touring Tororo, Amin had a dream that Asians were milking Uganda and not developing it. He believed in the dream, which influenced him to expel the Asians. However this cannot be taken as a fact because it cannot be proved.

**CONSEQUENCES OF THE ECONOMIC WAR**

1. Uganda lost the skilled manpower, which had given her momentum in the industrial, medical and educational sectors. Asians were replaced by men a number of them had no experience and this led to a decline in the standards of education, Industry and most sectors that required skilled labour.
2. There was a decline of the production sector. This was because factories broke down and the international community refused to provide spare parts for those factories.
3. An economic embargo was imposed on Uganda’s coffee, cotton and other crops. This led to extreme sufferings of Ugandan farmers, many of whom cut down the coffee trees.
4. A new class of rich business people **“Mafuta Mingi”** was created in Uganda. They replaced the Asians in business and commerce and became equally exploitative as Asians had been.
5. Smuggling of Uganda’s goods into Kenya and vice versa became the order of business along the Kenya-Uganda border. This was termed as Magendoism.
6. Scarcity of essential commodities led to inflation. Lack of market for agricultural products rendered a number of Ugandans unemployed. This was also due to the collapse of industries.
7. Uganda’s relations with Britain, Israel and India became soiled this denied Uganda of essential aid when Uganda was still very young from British colonialism.
8. Idi Amin opened up diplomatic relations with the Arab world to which he turned for financial and technical assistance. Such countries included; Saudi Arabia and Libya
9. The economic war led to Africanisation of all sectors of Uganda for example major David Oyite Ojok became the chairman of Coffee Marketing Board among others. This was in abid to fight Neo-colonialism.
10. The economic war led to the decline of Tourist industry. This was due to the unreliable political conditions in Uganda. This led to balance of payment problems.
11. The economic war blocked the capital in flow to Uganda. This was because foreign investors feared to risk their capital in the unstable Uganda. They turned to shift their investments to the neighbouring Kenya or Tanzania.
12. Uganda was ranked amongst racist countries. This was because Amin had expelled Indians and later Israelites and whites. This was unacceptable in the modern times.
13. Uganda became a dumping ground for Kenyan industrial products because it could not produce its own since the foreigners who controlled the industrial sector had been expelled.

**THE 1979 COUP THAT OVERTHREW AMIN**

The self styled Field Martial, Alhaj Idd Amin Dada, MC,Victoria cross distinguished service order(VC DSO), the conquerer of the British Empire was overthrown in 1979 just after about 8years of his rule.

The 1979 coup was mastermind by a number of disgruntled Ugandans and supported by the Tanzanian defense force of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, he had become a tyrant who even threatened a number of countries like Britain, Israel, Kenya and Tanzania. A number of factors explain his downfall:

1. Open dictatorship; he had centralized powers and declared himself as life president. This gave no hope to the people who wanted Democracy; he was a fascist and was termed as the Hitler of Africa. By 1979, the coup against Amin was inevitable.
2. Amin violated human rights and it is alleged that he killed about 100,000 -300,000 Ugandans. These included Ben Kiwanuka, Bishop Luwum among others by 1979 a coup was staged against his rule and people demanded for his immediate over throw.
3. Tribalism and Nepotism practiced by Amin caused problems to his reign. He only favored the Kakwa tribe, the Lugbara plus the Madi who took up important positions yet they did not have skills to manage the various sectors. The result was discontent of the masses who welcomed the coup in 1979.
4. The 1972 economic war affected Amin’s regime. It created sharp differences between Amin and Britain plus the Israelites, this act denied Amin international support and sympathy and these countries turned to support the rebels against Amin which justified the coup in 1979.
5. Economic mismanagement characterized by unemployment, corruption and sky rocketing inflation affected the people of Uganda and this kind of suffering without the government promising any change justified the coup in 1979.
6. The international sanctions and isolation. It is alleged that Amin violated human rights and the international community came out to place trade embargos on Uganda when Amin promised no change, this meant that Uganda could no longer receive aid for breaking down factories meaning that the economy had to collapse. To change the situation a coup became justified.
7. Amin’s expansionist tendencies caused problems to his reign. He wanted to extend Ugandan territory East wards to cover parts of Kenya and West wards to cover salient Kagera. His reasoning was that the Berlin conference did not favor Uganda and it was now his turn to bring back the lost parts of the country. The result was that Kenya blocked Uganda’s trade and Nyerere of Tanzania tried to support the rebels against Amin. In such a situation a coup could not be avoided.
8. Amin used the Nyanya ex-rebels and recruited them in his state research bureau to terrorize his opponents and throughout his regime an unestimated number of people were arrested without trial or killed. Those who were exiled organized a revolution that overthrew Amin.
9. The breakdown of the social services like schools, health services brought him problems and he had no way of averting the situation since the Indian Doctors, teachers and investors in the social services had left. This was used by his opponents to convince the masses to overthrow Amin in 1979.
10. The role of exiled Ugandans cannot be underestimated in explaining Amin’s downfall as a number of persecuted Langi’s and Acholi soldiers plus a number of educated Ugandans’ like Museveni mobilized other disgruntled people in and outside Uganda to overthrow the **“tyrant”.**
11. Amin’s conflicts with Nyerere cost him a lot, he at first called him a woman, a coward he later bombed Bukoba which cost his international image for he was attacking a man of respect and a peace lover. This compelled OAU to enter the conflict on the side of Tanzania and the later results left a lot to be desired.
12. Amin’s religious intolerance, he came up to promote Islam and Moslems at the expense of Christians. When he killed the Arch Bishop Janan Luwum, it showed the extent to which he disliked the Christians. This denied him majority support and the result was a number of people welcomed his overthrow.
13. It is alleged that Amin’s security men commanded by Maliyamungu had tarnished the image of Amin and his regime became unpopular explaining why a number of peasants welcomed and supported Amin’s over throw in1979.
14. The upsurge and Magendoism (black marketing) as a result of the collapse of the economy and the trade embargos placed on Uganda. Essential things like soap, sugar, oil were sold on black market; thuggery became a common feature in Uganda a situation that could only be changed by war.
15. Amin banned parliamentarian and constitutionalism. He became a final man in decision making of the state which could not be accepted thus a plot against his regime could not be avoided.

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRESIDENT IDDI AMIN THAT CAN NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED:**

1. He was a great fighter of Kondoism and immorality where he punished people putting on mini skirts. Such vices reduced during his reign.
2. He made land reforms especially when he issued a land decree in 1975. This benefited a number of peasants.
3. Amin Africanized the Ugandan economy as a number of people got jobs and business enterprises after sending away the Asians. To this he is regarded a great Nationalist.
4. He constructed a number of infrastructures like roads, Entebbe Airport, Kampala conference center. This showed him as a man of vision desired by Ugandans then.
5. Amin improved and promoted sports. During his regime Uganda participated in African cup of Nations reaching the finals in 1978. Other sports included boxing, Athletics, swimming, motor riding.
6. He created a very strong army, equipped it for the service. No one would have removed him without concerted efforts of many countries including Britain, Israel, Kenya, and Tanzania among others.
7. Amin imported teachers from Ghana to fill the gap created by the departure of Asians and Israelites.
8. He promoted African culture by allowing polygamy and banning the wearing of mini skirts.
9. He strengthened Pan Africanism by linking up ties with Libya, Morocco, and Egypt. He had realized the need for African unity.
10. He fought against Neo-Colonialism, he denied the control of Uganda by foreigners and this makes him a great Nationalist of Uganda.
11. He registered Uganda as a Moslem state the benefits include the construction of the Islamic university in Uganda.

**NATIONALISM IN KENYA 1920 – 1963**

In Kenya the intensive nature of colonial rule coupled with the settlement of white settlers in Kenya Highlands made the armed conflicts between the Africans and the colonial masters inevitable in the struggle for freedom.

**FACTORS FOR THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN KENYA**

1. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1896. By 1901 it had linked to Nairobi. This helped to link the diverse Ethnic groups of Kenya together and helped in the movements of nationalists from one place to another such that by 1960, a number of people were willing to join the struggle against the colonialists.
2. The role of western Education which helped to provide a common language for the expression of grievances, common demands and contacts with the outside world. This facilitated Nationalism in Kenya.
3. The role of ambitious characters can not be under estimated like Jomo Kenyatta Warihui Itote (general China) Tom Mboya, who instigated the masses with Nationalistic ideas, they moved across Kenya, East, South, West and North expressing the colonial evils to the masses. This helped to shape the heart and mind of Kenyans to struggle for their own freedom and independence.
4. The two world wars that is to say 1914 – 1918 and 1939 –1945 are hailed for the growth of Nationalism in Kenya. For example by 1917 about 160,000 men among the Akamba, kikuyu and Luo had been recruited to fight on the side of Britain and during the Second World War the numbers more than doubled. They fought in India, Burma and some reached Britain. On coming back they were more determined to dismantle colonialism in Kenya.
5. The role of Asian countries and specifically India helped to shape the nationalistic mind of Kenyans. In 1952 for example the Indian Government provided moral and financial support to kenyansto carry on the struggle for independence.
6. The British colonial policy of racial segregation angered the Kenyans for example by 1962, it was estimated that Africans were about 8.5 millions which make up 97% of the Total population, the Asians were estimated to be 5,759 people and Arabs 34,048 people yet the Africans who were the majority were at the bottom of the political arena. This could not be accepted.
7. The land Factor. According to the 1901 British order in council, alienation of Kenyan land was legalized without consulting Africans and by 1915 about 6000 kms in the highlands had been alienated and the Masai for example were taken to Laikibia region. Such aroused resentment against the colonialists.
8. The creation of African reserves in Kenya created suffering of the indigenous Kenyans where they faced problems like unemployment, poor standards of living and this helped to pile up grievances a chance that was exploited by the nationalists to stage a partially successful revolution from 1952 – 55.
9. Forced Labor was another cause problems for it was compulsory for all able bodied men and women to work on plantation and public works with little or no pay. This explains the rise of worker’s riots in Mombasa in 1939 and 1947 hence forth facilitating Nationalism.
10. Heavy taxation was another problem. Taxes like the gun tax, hut tax were collected and to make matters worse Africans were forbade from growing cash crops for the colonialists feared that they would become rich and challenge the colonial order. This definitely aroused resentment causing conflicts with the colonial masters.
11. African wages were arbitrarily cut for any slight offence. This caused resentment. Breach of contract under the master and servant ordinance was a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment or a heavy fine. Such colonial injustices later turned out into resentment and the result was a famous Mau- Mau rebellion.
12. The 1920 Kipande system for every male over 16 years was another cause of grievance in the rise and growth of Nationalism. It was a registration certificate for identification where they had to pierce the ear and fix this identification card. It had the name, age, place of residence and by 1952 it was out of fashion.
13. The need to increase African representation in the legco facilitated nationalism. It is surprising that even Eluid Mathu was elected as Late as 1944 and by 1954 there were only six African representatives in the legco such were definitely to cause resentment against the colonial masters.
14. Africans were also opposing Asian domination of commerce where they had dominated the manufacturing, marketing, wholesale and retail. By 1930 for example Africans had been driven out of business in Tanga. This plus other grievances led to the growth of nationalism in Kenya.
15. The existence of color bar in Kenya where Africans were discriminated in residential areas, schools and hospitals for example the British government in Kenya spent 5 pounds per year in Education of the pan African child and at the same time spent 35 pounds on a European child per year. Such level of discrimination caused resentment in Kenya and the result was demand for independence.
16. The banning of political parties and imprisonment of people like Dedan Kimathi of Kenya African union and Jomo Kenyatta of KAU. This inked the Kenyan masses into an armed struggle against the whites.
17. Urbanization in Kenya also led to the growth of nationalism in Kenya. This is true in Nairobi city which became a centre of Nationalism as people who worked and lived in Nairobi easily got Nationalistic sentiments and at the same time experienced unemployment and other forms of colonial injustices. They even became very easy to organize. Other cities include Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu.
18. Need for independence, this was very true as all Kenyans were tired of colonialism and were yawning for self rule especially as a result of the wind of change blowing across Africa.
19. The role of OAU and UNO, these gigantic organizations supported the Kenyan cause in the demand for independence, therefore with external support the british speeded up the pace of events leading to the growth of nationalism and independence of Kenya.
20. Political party activities for example KAU was formed in 1944 by Eluid Mathu, Tom Mboya formed Nairobi people’s convection party in 1957, KANU and KADU were formed in 1960. These played an organizational role.
21. The role of independent African churches. Pastors included Bildad Kaggie, Elijah Masinde who preached the need for a black messiah and condemned colonial evils, all their coverts developed nationalistic minds.
22. The role of trade unions for example in 1939 Trade unionists organized the Mombasa African workers general strike and Chege Kibachia made the 1947 strikes in Mombasa. This showed the extent to which Africans had got fed up with the colonial setting.
23. The role of the forty group or Anakwe wa 40 comprising of the ex-servicemen, the unemployed and the Loopens. They were most significant after World War II. They were more determined to dismantle the colonial setting.
24. The declaration of the state of emergency by Sir Evelyn Barring who even arrested KAU leaders for 7 years. This had become too much for the Kenyans that caused an armed struggle.
25. The role of independent African countries like Egypt 1952, Ghana 1957, and Sudan 1956 encouraged the Kenyans to fight on for their independence which was achieved in 1963.

In conclusion the European Mal – administration together with other accumulated grievances welded Africans into associations, cultural resentment and at the climax Mau – Mau militant Nationalism was seen.

**THE MAU – MAU REBELLION 1952 – 1955**

The Mau Mau rebellion was one of the first major wars by African to manifest their open opposition to colonial policies and demand for total independence. This rebellion makes Kenya the first African country to have experienced a war of independence on such a scale.

Mau – Mau has been given different interpretations by different scholars. Some take it as an attempt by backward people to reverse progressive trend. This report considers Mau-Mau as backward looking and a tribal movement. However the Mau-Mau was a slogan coined by the Kenya Land freedom fighters (KLFF). Some writers interpret it to mean Land freedom army from the Kikuyu context. Others have popularly agreed that it was an abbreviation for **“Muzungu Arudi Uraya Mwafrika** **Apate Uhuru”** Let the Europeans go so that Africans get their independence.

**CAUSES OF THE REBELLION**

1. The Land Question. The number of people had increased steadily yet Land, which they would have expanded on, was occupied by settler farms. This is more significant with Kenyan highlands. This loss of land affected the Kikuyu the most and it explains why they spearheaded the Mau- Mau rebellion.
2. The role of World war II with its blowing wind of change, for the case of Kenya, the ex-service men formed the forty group including soldiers like Warihui Itote (General China), Dedan Kimathi, Bildad Kaggie organized other urban petty traders, the un employed of the town and carried out sabotage on the British colonialists on the famous Mau-Mau rebellion.
3. The British colonial economic policies for example the government enforced the policy of soil conservation in the country side and gave orders against cultivation on steep slopes and even restricted vallies, the government went as far as conserving land in the overcrowded reserves along white farms. As a result the Kikuyu districts had reached a crisis point such that by 1952 it was just ripe for a rebellion.
4. The Mau-Mau rebellion was caused by the exclusion of the natives from the main stream of economic activities for example Asians dominated plantation and Livestock farming. This restricted Africans to peasants’ holdings as squatters. To avert the situation a rebellion was inevitable.
5. Mal-administration. The British policy of divide and rule made the head men become harsh while implementing colonial economic policies for example Africans were arrested without trial for any offence real or imaginary this led to resentment and a rebellion was inevitable.
6. The Devonshire white in 1923 left the Land issue unsolved and this was later to cause a rebellion in 1952. The paper advocated for the rights for Africans and however the situation remained unchanged. Therefore in abid to fulfill the terms of the Devonshire white paper, the kikuyu rose up in an armed conflict against the British colonial masters.
7. The creation of African reserves such as Laikibia where the Masai had been pushed, Africans suffered from Land shortage resulting into famine they were also unemployed and to change the situation the kikuyu who suffered most after being pushed out of the Kenyan highlands begun an armed struggle against the British in 1952.
8. Forced Labour, Africans were forcefully conscripted to work on plantations and public works with little or no pay, the reserves acted as labor reserves for the whites. To make matters worse the African labor suffered from torture and by 1952 the situation was ripe for a rebellion.
9. Heavy taxation was introduced and this included the hut tax, graduated tax, pole tax and this was aimed at forcing Africans to work for the money so as to pay for these taxes, the methods of collection were even harsh. This compelled the Africans to rise against the colonial masters in 1952.
10. The need for independence, Africans had got tired of perpetually being under colonial rule and by the 1950s colonialism was out of fashion. Therefore men like Jomo Kenyatta, Dedan Kimathi organized others to demand for immediate change.
11. The role of colonial education, a number of elites were unemployed and could not get jobs in colonial civil service which preferred traditional chiefs, headmen and others who were quite loyal in their system. This system made the elites accept the radical strategies of the forty group in order to overhaul the colonial system if they were to get freedom, independence and employment.
12. The need to increase African representation in the legco. At first Africans were represented by five white missionaries who did not articulate African interests. By 1944 Africans had only one representative Eliud Mathu and in the face of these continued political exclusions the alternative available was violence.
13. The ambitiousness of men like Warihui Tote, Jomo Kenyatta, Dedan Kimathi. These used the masses to achieve their selfish ends of acquiring leadership in Kenya through the Mau Mau.
14. The famous Kipande system propelled nationalists to go to Mountain Kenya and Abardere forests to carry on a revolt against the colonial masters.
15. Colonialists practiced color bar in which certain places were only supposed to be for whites like restaurants, residential areas, recreation centers among others. Such degree of discrimination created fertile grounds for the revolt.
16. The prohibition of African made drinks and other Afro-cultures aroused Nationalistic sentiments because when cultural Nationalism failed, violent action in form of Mau-Mau became inevitable.
17. The desire to please ancestral spirits, the kikuyu land had religious value that it was handed to them by their ancestors they decided to fight the whites who had taken over control of Kenya. The war songs like **“They will be asked…why did** **you sell our land?”** were very common in the fight against British colonialism.
18. The presence of idle land yet not allowed to be used by Africans brewed jealousy for those ones who had no land and when the Kenya land freedom fighters started the revolt a number of Kenyan supported it.
19. Urban unemployment in cities like Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu these became catchments areas for the recruits in Mau-Mau circles for such people expected to live a better life when the whites were ousted out of Kenya, they also blamed the whites for causing the situation they lived in especially the elites who could not get jobs in the civil service.
20. Famine and starvation. This was as a result of forced cash crop growing and over crowding in the reserves. Therefore in situations of hunger the forty group exploited the situation to carry on an offensive against the British in the famous Mau Mau rebellion.
21. Religious and cultural clashes as a result of the missionaries attempt to stop male and female circumcision that was practiced mainly by the kikuyu on instruction of their god Gikuyu and Mbi. The missionaries regarded the act as primitive and barbaric such could not be accepted and the result was confrontation into the mass Mau-Mau rebellion.
22. The role of Nasser and the Egyptian revolution encouraged the forty group to resist the colonial setting in Kenya. Egypt promised financial and military support and with such encouragement the invasion became inevitable.

**EFFECTS OF THE MAU - MAU REBELLION**

1. Mau Mau manifested African bravery because it was the first major offensive in African history against the one armed bandit colonialism. This sent a message to the colonial masters that they should soon prepare Africa for independence.
2. It was during and after the Mau-Mau that constitutional concessions were given, six Africans were elected to the legco by 1957, by 1958 the number had increased to 14 African representatives and one Kenyan was appointed to the executive that is B.A Ohanga.
3. Land reforms were made where a royal commission on land was appointed which consolidated Kikuyu Land and abolished absolute landlords. Therefore Land alienation was dropped.
4. Racial segregation become out dated though continued on a small scale, African cultures were also given fair treatment which saw an end to discrimination in civil service.
5. There was economic Liberation as Africans were now allowed to grow profitable cash crops like coffee, Tea and also started participating in commerce.
6. Taxation was lessened and methods of collection were highly improved to have a human face, this improved the standards of living of the masses.
7. Forced Labor was dropped thus Africans now sought employment on their own will.
8. There was revitalization of political party activities by 1956. However parties emerged on regional basis (majimboism), parties like KAU, PCP (People convention Party) started operating freely.
9. It neared the date for Kenyan independence as the majority of Kenyans became active in politics prominent of which were Kenyatta, Arap Moi, Oding Odinga, and Ronald Ingara among others. These plus their ambitious characters demanded independence as soon as possible.
10. It led to the 1960 – 62 Lancaster house conferences in London which favored African majority on the legco.
11. The Mau – Mau were militarily defeated in 1955 for many of it leaders had been arrested or killed for example General china had been captured in 1954, they also arrested Dedan Kimathi and was even hanged. However it was a diplomatic defeated for the Mau - Mau for it pressurized the British to grant concessions which showed that the date for independence was near.
12. The Mau-Mau resulted into a state of emergency declared on 20th October 1952 until 1955, it was characterized by curfew, arrests imprisonment of prominent people like Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei, Bildad Kaggie among others
13. The British created fortified villages aimed at separating civilians from the guerillas. By 1954 about 100,000people were affected and these places later turned into places of torture.
14. About 11,503 Mau-Mau fighters died, 1920 loyal Africans perished, 60 Europeans, 29 civilians and 29 Asians lost their lives.
15. It shuttered the British intensions of turning Kenya into a Whiteman’s country.

**How far was the Mau-Mau a Nationalistic movement?**

Eurocentric scholars regarded the revolt as a primitive African resistance against civilisation however Afro-centric scholars regarded it as forward looking and nationalistic. These arguments are summed up in the following arguments;

**Notions of Kikuyu sub-Nationalism**

1. Mau Mau mainly emphasized hymns concerning Kikuyu land and traditional religion plus mountain Kenya as a home of god (Mbi and Gikuyu). This explains why it attracted many kikuyu members and left out a number of other tribes.
2. The oath taking commanded loyalty to kikuyu traditions and was seen as a strategy to champion the cause of this particular society.
3. Mau was also seen as a peasant movement because of the land grievances and could therefore not be considered Nationalistic, however most Afro-centric scholars argue that since the majorities were peasants and the major grievance was land then it can not be left branded a peasant movement.
4. The word itself Mau-Mau is from kikuyu vocabulary “Go, go”. This makes the Euro-centric scholars argue that it was only a movement portraying kikuyu sub-Nationalism.
5. Judging the Mau-Mau on the number of people who died in the war, 90% of the Mau - Mau fighters were kikuyu, this makes historians believe that the Mau - Mau was a tribal movement of the kikuyu.
6. The main leaders of the Mau – Mau rebellion were from the kikuyu such as Jomo Kenyatta, Dedan Kimathi justifying the view that they were fighting for the kikuyu cause and interests.
7. The Mau – Mau rebellion of 1952 started in the central part of Kenya predominantly occupied by the kikuyu making some myopic people to question why it never started anywhere else but in kikuyu land.
8. Female circumcision that was one of the major causes of the rebellion was mainly practiced by the kikuyu and they could not think of leaving the practice as preached by the missionaries making some historians believe that the Mau- Mau was just a tribal movement.
9. The kikuyu terrorist’s activities were not only directed to whites but also other non-whites, a case in point is the assassination of Tom Mbotela and Ambrose Ofafa. This made the Mau-Mau look like a tribal movement.

**Notions of nationalism**

1. It is true that the Mau-Mau fighters were kikuyu, this was due to the fact that they knew more than the rest the problems associated to white settlers which were not only affecting the kikuyu but the whole populace for example the land grievances, forced labor therefore the kikuyu revolt can not be reduced to merely a tribal movement.
2. Rose berg and Nottingham in their book **“The myth of the Mau - Mau”** observed that the Mau – Mau was Nationalistic arising out of unpopular colonial policies like forced labor, putting Africans in reserves something that was not affecting only the kikuyu.
3. Racial segregation that became a major grievance of war did not only affect the kikuyu but the whole populace, all African cultures were under rated, discrimination in schools, emphasizing Christianity over African social values thus Mau Mau can not just be rubbished as a tribal movement.
4. Leaders like Kenyatta who became more prominent were more interested in Uhuru (Independence) rather than simply promoting kikuyu interests. Therefore the cause of the Mau – Mau can not be just narrowed to the issue of land grievance among the kikuyu; therefore the problem was just more than a kikuyu affair.
5. The use of violence that spread all over Kenya between 1952 -55 threatened the British and had an impact on other British colonies who were also struggling for independence such degree of pressure imparted is far more than just a kikuyu affair for other tribes even in Kenya would not have supported it.
6. The use of hymns and popular songs were partly to draw masses closer to the movement and to help reflect the ancestors and give morale to the fighters. Therefore one must know it was just a strategy used to regain independence and therefore should not be used to grant the Mau- Mau a tribal movement.
7. Judged from the effects of the war and the final acquisition of Kenya independence in 1963, one can not hesitate to label the Mau-Mau a nationalistic movement, the effects were immediate for example the number of Africans in legco increased, political parties revitalized among others.
8. B.A Ogot accelerated African historian lamented that the Mau-Mau aimed at ending colonial rule and bringing political reforms in Kenya, this justifies the view that the Mau – Mau rebellion was a nationalistic movement as even Africans started to be nominated on the executive for example B.A Ohanga from Nyanza.
9. The rebellion recruited people from all walks of life for example peasants the unemployed and to look more nationalistic, Kimathi sent people to recruit Mau – Mau fighter in Nyanza, Ukambari and coastal areas which won it international sympathy.
10. Not all top leaders of the Mau-Mau were kikuyu for example Paul Ngei was an Akamba and therefore with such you can not limit the rebellion as just a tribal movement of the kikuyu.
11. The Mau – Mau was as result of the need by the Africans to have improved conditions within the reserves where they had suffered problems of inflation, unemployment, diseases, famine which where affecting a number of people including the masai and the Nandi, therefore it would be wrong to assert that it was just a tribal movement.

**THE HARAMBE PHILOSOPHY IN KENYA**

 Harambe is a Swahili word used by Mzei Jomo Kenyatta after independence when he was calling for unity if Kenya was to realize the fruits of independence.

Technically Harambe means **“Pulling together in the same direction”.** The philosophy came into application in 1965 and it called for mutual social responsibility based on African traditional culture.

Kenyatta summarized the problems of Kenya as being**;**

***Jomo Kenyatta***

**poverty, ignorance and disease**

He was well aware that transformation of this new nation could not be achieved by one man but all Kenyans.

The guiding principles of Harambe philosophy were; Democracy, social justice, freedom from want, eradication of ignorance, equality to opportunities and high growing incomes as a result of equal distribution of resources.

After the death of kenyatta in 1978, his successor Daniel Arap Moi in 1979 acknowledged the importance of Harambe policy and vowed to follow the foot steps of Kenyatta in what he termed as **Nyao Philosophy**.

NB: to date in Kenya there exists several Harambe projects meaning that Harambe remains a basis of direction in Kenya’s economic struggles.

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF HARAMBE PHILOSOPHY**

1. Unity of the Kenyans was achieved, from 1965 the government encouraged national unity through a one party system under KANU. This brought all Kenyans under one manifesto and national development philosophy.
2. The philosophy attracted international support, Kenya got a lot of foreign assistance in form of loans and grants especially from the west like the Breton hood institutions as well as countries like Britain, USA and German. Such were effectively used to provide services to the people.
3. The philosophy led to rural transformation using the limited resources for example there was redistribution of land to the benefit of the poor and the land less in areas like Sotik, Lugari, Maguga.
4. Emphasis was put on cash crop production to reduce on the balance of payment problems growing crops on large scale like Tea, Coffee, and cotton rice among others.
5. The government developed infrastructures like roads and feeder roads to the rural areas this enabled easy mobility of goods and services to where they are demanded.
6. The government encouraged rural urban migration given the high unemployment rates in cities like Kisumu, Nairobi, and Mombasa by putting up small scale industries and factories in the rural areas.
7. The philosophy led to Africanisation of Kenya, in trade, agriculture and even the service. This was done through co-operative movements for example by 1968, 45,000 families had been resettled on land got from white settlers.
8. There was rapid economic growth, the Harambe free enterprise policy encouraged free investment and from 1964 to 1982 the economy grew at the rate of 5.1% annually and production rate by 6 to 7 % annually.
9. Education was also given a thought such that by 1988 about 17 Harambe institutions existed, 700 secondary schools and youth polytechnics, in 1974 primary education was made free. This in effect improved the standards of the people of Kenya.
10. Under Harambe, the government sponsored and trained a number of Kenyans hence equipping them with knowledge and skills necessary for the day to day living like in production of goods in industries, taking up posts in government among others.
11. The philosophy led to the establishment of health centers, knowing that a healthy mind lives in a healthy body thus about 250 healthy centers were put in place. All these improved people’s welfare.
12. Harambe philosophy attracted regional co-operation and unity which widened market and increased mobility of labour. This led to the formation of EAC 1967.
13. Through Harambe Swahili developed as a national language hence a unifying factor as one people of Kenya.

**Challenges/ problems and weaknesses of Harambe Philosophy**

* 1. Imbalance in natural resource endowment has led to income disparities and regional feelings.
  2. The philosophy put emphasis on agriculture yet it largely depends on natural factors thus areas which are not blessed with good climate like the north, north east and North West continued to remains backward.
  3. High level of illiteracy has limited co-operation among the Kenyans
  4. Cultural rigidities worked to limit co-operation especially in line with tribe for examples Kenyans still refer to them selves as Kikuyu, Akamba, and Masai among others.
  5. Continued poverty, this has made the government fail to realize its dream of pulling together.
  6. Poor infrastructures, those that were built in the 1960s, 1970s have collapsed and the cost of maintenance are high especially roads, health centres.
  7. Political instabilities and rivarly especially the highly populated Luo- Nyanza offered allegiance to oging odinga founder of KPU 1966 against KANU, such opposition involved also opposition to government programes.
  8. Limited sensitization about the phillosphy, it remained elitist.
  9. Cold war politics.

**AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES**

Portugal’s involvement in Africa is the longest than any other European power.

Its early areas of contacts were the East African coast, Gore Islands, Kalabuna, Cape verd, Tsao Tome Island and later Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

**N.B.** Portugal was the earliest colonial Master in African and was the last to depart.

**LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA 1961 – 1975**.

Historically Angola was one of the four colonies of Portugal up to 11th November 1975 when it finally got her independence. However, the war of independence was due to accumulated grievances as discussed below.

1. Portugal by 1960 had deployed 60,000 troops in Angola out of 180,000 estimated Portuguese in Africa. This showed the nationalists that Portugal was not ready to surrender at any cost. This heavy deployment was followed by massive arrests and assassinations plus brutal suppression of Africans. This gave Africans determination to sacrifice their lives so as to liberate Angola.
2. The Portuguese policy of treating Angola as overseas province that was not to be surrendered at any cost compelled the Angola people to use armed struggle to achieve their independence.
3. The eruption of Bakongo Nationalism who declared war on the Portuguese with the view of seceding from the rest of Angola and integrate with their Kith and Kin in Zaire (cong) but they wanted to first defeat the Portuguese and get full independence for Angola which in turn would recognize the sacred state of the Bakongo. It is against this background that they formed the Angola people’s union to spear head the war which resulted into the liberation struggle.
4. The failure of the Portuguese to respect the peaceful demands of June 1960 for political and economic reforms, they only reacted by arresting popular member of MPLA and flogging Augustine Netto publicly and immediately after arrested many Angolans and massacred them. This only served to widen the conflict between the Portuguese and the Africans hence turning the armed struggle as the only source of life.
5. The influence of Marxism-Leninism ideology which believed that capitalism was responsible for planting colonial rule in Africa. This conclusion was reached by Augostinho Netto who bought the socialist ideology to fight the Portuguese.
6. The wind of change as a result of result of World War II aroused the desire for self government as it had already done and achieved in Kenya through the Mau- Mau and Algeria through guerilla warfare. It convinced the Angolans that if armed struggle yielded fruits in Kenya and Algeria they must follow suit through military action. Of course this was reinforced by the adamant response of the Portuguese to grant any constitutional or political reforms.
7. The rise of ambitious personalities like Jonas Savimbi of UNITA, Augostinho Netto of MPLA who organized the masses and forcefully demanded for the sovereignty of Angola.
8. The rise of different political parties with different ideologies. MPLA was socialist oriented. These parties solicited support both financial and military that facilitated a successful guerilla warfare that led to the sub-sequent independence of Angola in 1975.
9. The invitation of racist South Africa by UNITA and FNLA to participate in the war against MPLA which was Marxist oriented. This conflict between Angolans themselves forced MPLA to declare war on UNITA and FNLA.Once MPLA defeated these two parties, it resumed armed struggle against the Portuguese.
10. The interaction of the Soviet and Cuban forces to assist MPLA in order to establish packets of communism in Africa and since capitalism in the eyes of Angola was synonymous with exploitation, misery and oppression, the Angolans gave massive support to MPLA to counteract Portuguese influence in Angola.
11. Land alienation by 1940 was another grievance for the war of independence for example the number of settlers by 1940 was 44,000 and by 1951 the number had doubled. To make matters worse by 1970 a number of Angolans could not access Land since the Portuguese were establishing plantations; such resulted into conflict and an armed struggle could not be avoided.
12. The formation of UNO in 1945, Angola like other colonized states took advantage of the UN clauses for the recognition of sovereignty, fraternity of small states to demand for full independence and when it was denied by the Portuguese the alternative left was an armed struggle.
13. Contract labor to South Africa from Angola was another area of grievance, the conscription was brutal and even when they reached South Africa the conditions of work were very poor. This was exploited by Nationalists to convince the masses to fight the Portuguese colonialists.
14. The role of OAU can not be under estimated, on its formation in 1963 it became more determined to achieve the independence of African states for example the OAU Liberation committee assisted Angola with funds to wage a guerilla warfare against the Portuguese.
15. The role of PIDE the secret police of Portugal which terrorized the Angolans suspected to be anti-Portuguese, some Angolans were arrested without being tried and others massacred such a situation of terror only worked to facilitate a war of independence.
16. The influence of moderate Portuguese who were opposing the inhumane treatment of the Africans worked to precipitate the pace of events leading to the decolonization of Angola.

**FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE ANGOLAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

1. There were concerted efforts which transcended tribal differences thus the uprising rose from North, East, South and even the capital Luanda. This weakened the Portuguese.
2. The formation of political parties like UNITA, MPLA and FNLA, they mobilized, sensitized and trained the Angolans to fight the Portuguese colonialists, by 1975 independence had been achieved.
3. Foreign support from the capitalist and socialist blocs, USA as a capitalist supported FNLA and UNITA yet the soviet helped MPLA to prolong the war of independence which was finally achieved in 1975
4. The support from African states like Zaire, Zambia, Congo Brazzaville and Egypt, these provided training grounds for Angolan guerillas, they even gave financial assistance to them making it very easy to prolong the war that resulted into independence.
5. The support given by the OAU liberation committee to the Angolan fighters both financially and morally made it very easy by 1975 to oust the Portuguese out of Angola.
6. The Angolan Nationalists and guerilla used hit and run tactics ambushing the Portuguese, destroying their property and consequently weakening them. By 1970 it was very clear that sooner independence would be granted.
7. The topography of Angolan comprising of thick bamboo forest in the interior and partly mountainous did not favor the Portuguese but the Angolan fighters.
8. The role of women can not be under estimated, they were used as spies who collected information from Portuguese men and fed it to the guerillas. On top of that they prepared food and created a piece of mind for the guerillas. This worked to make the war of independence a success.
9. The recruitment of Africans into the Portuguese army, these at times leaked vital information to the guerillas which they in turn used to cause havoc against the Portuguese colonialists in Angola.
10. The role of the UNO which exposed Portuguese colonial injustices and attracted international sympathy. Such condemnations of the UN put pressure on the Portuguese to decolonize Angola.
11. The Lisbon coup in 1974 which brought spinola into power, this new military Junta of young officers quickly negotiated with the liberation movements in Angola and offered 11th November 1975 as the date for independence.
12. MPLA made reforms in the liberated areas providing good communication network, good health centers and schools. This attracted many Angolans to support MPLA and with the numerical strength attained it became very easy to defeat the Portuguese.
13. The alliance of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC, they shared tactics, ideas and made regular meetings on how to do away with the Portuguese.
14. The Portuguese military response on the rebellions only led to the determination of the Angolan’s, the Portuguese burnt villages, indiscrimatively killed the Angolan people making Angolans more determined to shade blood but see the country liberated.
15. The collapse on the trimvalent of Dr. verweod of South Africa, Don Salaza of Portugal and lan Smith left Angola isolated and created fertile grounds for the nationalists to end the colonial bondage

**THE ROLE OF MPLA IN THE DECOLONISATION OF ANGOLA**

1. MPLA was formed in 1956 and it was initially urban based and it was headed by Augustinho Netto.
2. MPLA was a mass political party that recruited people from all walks of life. These included traders, peasants and a number of elites. With this numerical strength attained MPLA imparted pressure that resulted into independence.
3. MPLA surpassed racial and tribal boundaries for example MPLA trained Mesticos and white Liberals, this in effect resulted into the decolonization of Angola.
4. In 1960 MPLA sent a petition to Lisbon asking for reforms, this was sending a message to the Portuguese’ government that Africans were tired of their administration and when peaceful means failed, MPLA resorted to violence.
5. MPLA staged demonstrations in catete and Luanda to demand for the release of their leader Netto. The reaction of the Portuguese by indiscriminatingly firing at the demostrators only helped to strengthen the Angolans to demand for independence by whichever means.
6. MPLA recruited women who acted as spies and at the same time helped to cater for the guerillas and with that it became very easy for MPLA to attain the independence of Angola.
7. MPLA resorted to violence and used the hit and run tactic to disorganize the Portuguese. Such forced the Portuguese administration to make reforms in the 1970s and consequently grant independence.
8. MPLA sensitized the masses of the colonial injustices, they sent delegates in different parts, of Angola, this helped them to get a number of supporters and the result was pressure on the colonial administration that forced them grant independence.
9. MPLA provided military training to the masses of Angola, equipped them for the struggle by 1970 it was clear that the Portuguese could not hold the pressure.
10. MPLA opened up bases in Kinshasa and Eastern Angola which acted as administrative centre and at the same time where all help from outside world converged. These then became very helpful in fighting against the Portuguese colonialists.
11. MPLA attacked Luanda prison from where it obtained guns that helped in the real start of the struggle for independence.
12. MPLA fought the UNITA and FNLA factions which were dividing the Angolan populace. After completing with this MPLA then turned the guns to the Portuguese colonialists.
13. MPLA solicited support from Marxist states like Cuba, USSR and China that were very paramount in the struggle for independence such help was in form of military, economical and financial support.
14. MPLA leaders like Netto used the UNO and OAU assemblies to condemn colonialism and expose Portuguese colonial evils in Angola. This won Angola international sympathy and this explains why in 1970 MPLA was in position to get support from OAU. Such forced the Portuguese to go.

**THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR SINCE 1975**

Angola achieved independence on 11th Nov. 1975 with three significant political parties that is to say MPLA, UNITA and FNLA. All they wanted was a share in the governance of Angola, therefore the leadership of MPLA government under Augustighno Neto and later Eduardo Do Santos were engaged in a civil strife by especially UNITA’s Jonas Savimbi and FNLA.

NB: On 23rd .02.2002, Savimbi was killed creating hope for the end of the bloody civil strife.

**Causes**

1. Ethnicity was a leading factor in causing the Angolan civil war for example FNLA was for the Bacongo, UNITA for Ovimbundu tribe yet MPLA was all accommodative such created tension and suspicious after the evacuation of the Portuguese making the civil strife unavoidable in the young state of Angola as early as 1975.
2. The colonial legacy was further a factor, it is argued that the Portuguese sought the divide and rule policy as a means of managing Angola, this in effect led to the rise of nationalism on tribal grounds the result of which was disunity at independence and a civil war.
3. The 1974 Lisbon coup left a lot to be desired, after the coup that brought Spinola to power, Portugal had to with draw from Africa so as to have time to solve the home affairs without clear preparation for Angolan independence forexample they had not trained administrators to replace them. This state of confusion made political turmoil unavoidable.
4. The all inclusive approach of MPLA made the civil war unavoidable, MPLA included whites, blacks and mesticos in their government against the aspirations of other Pan-African parties like FLNA and UNITA. This situation left no chance but a civil war.
5. Cold war politics, where as MPLA was socialist oriented, UNITA and FLNA on the other hand were capitalist. Such divergent ideas on the socio-political and economic approach to Angolan post independent problems made the civil war unavoidable.
6. The ambitious character of Jonas Savimbi, he could not rest for any other position but president this is evident in the way he violated the peace arrangements for example he rejected the 1992 and 1996 election results.
7. External support and influence especially when USA gave overt backing to UNITA rebels to destabilize the MPLA legitimate government on the other hand USA and Cuba supported MPLA, in effect war was inevitable.
8. Mal – Administration, Angustigho Neto stopped listening to constructive ideas of other people including MPLA diehards, a case in point is Daniel Chipenda left MPLA to join FLNA who revealed the secrets of MPLA to the rebels, this ensured continued offensive and war.
9. The role of OAU can not be under estimated, in causing the civil war, this was evident when some members of OAU like Zambia, Zaire supported UNITA rebels to make matters worse in 1973 OAU recognized and supported FLNA and in 1976 it recognized MPLA government. Such confusion only brewed resistance and war.
10. The calling of the 1974 Nakuru reconciliation meeting by Jomo Kenyatta when Angola was preparing for independence, the resolutions of their meeting were that all parties should have equal representation in parliament and cabinet however, MPLA failed to uphold to this making the civil strife unavoidable.
11. The Independence Day confusion, 3 governments were declared on 11th. 11. 1975 for example UNITA had Huambo in the central as its base, MPLA Luanda and FNLA uige in the North West as its capital. The situation speaks for itself, a civil war was unavoidable.
12. For economic consideration the civil war became unavoidable especially when MPLA rushed to allow DIAMANG and the Gulf oil to export Angolas mineral resources, UNITA’s Savimbi alleged that MPLA leaders misappropriated the revenue hence a reason to engage in a bush war.
13. The of role South Africa cannot be under estimated in causing the civil war in Angola as it gave a lot of support to UNITA rebels to destabilize the MPLA government which it feared was helping anti-apartheid parties of South Africa and Namibia.
14. UNO played a role also in ensuring the civil war in Namibia, it failed to put up lasting strategies to end the civil war for example despite the 1992 elections, UNO failed to curb the continued war when Savimbi claimed the elections were null and void.
15. Failure to respect the 1989 peace accord by Savimbi made the civil war continue for example president Reagan of USA and Mikhail Gorbacheve of Russia and Dos Santos of Angola agreed to stop the crisis and create a government of national unity but Savimbi rebuked all this and war continued.
16. The military strength of all warring parties in Angola called for a civil strife for example Angustighno Neto had about 1.5 million troops, Savimbi about 2 million troops and Roberto Holden of FLNA about 700,000 soldiers. Such confidence made the civil war unavoidable.
17. The 1992 elections left a lot to be desired, Savimbi out rightly declared them null and void hence breaking the Cease fire and war continued.

**EFFECTS OF THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR**

1. The war resulted into a refuge crisis in the neighbour hood especially in the nearby Zambia, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Tanzania among other states. In addition there were also the internally displaced this led to severe suffering of people and a burden to the neighbours.
2. There was severe loss of lives and even Savimbi himself perished as result of the war horrors on 23rd Feb.2002, all sides lost men, women, and children.
3. It resulted into untold severe economic breakdown of the Angolan economy as most of the government resources were spent on the war budget. To make matters worse infrastructures like roads were destroyed, agriculture retarded and mineral exploitation especially in Kabinda. (Diamond) very difficult.
4. There was overt (observable) ethnic tension especially when Savimbi claimed to demand so much for the Uvimbundu tribe.
5. The civil war gave birth to dictatorial tendencies especially when the different factions failed to reach agreement, the option left was use of force in solving the problems of Angola by MPLA leaders.
6. The war resulted into low standards of living due to unemployment, inflation and brake down of industries which resulted into scarcity of essential commodities.
7. The war led to starvation as people did not get enough time to practice agriculture to make matters worse gardens were destroyed and people lived in fear.
8. There was intense cold war politics as the east led by the Soviet Union supported MPLA forcing USA to support UNITA, this deprived Angola of its sovereignty.
9. The crisis showed the weakness of OAU as OAU was divided, some member states like Algeria supported MPLA others like Zaire supported UNITA rebels, making African countries especially in the north shifting their loyalty to other organizations like the Arab league.
10. The guerrilla tactics of fighting used in Angola after independence were copied by other selfish leaders in Africa like in Uganda 1986 the Kony rebels went to the bush on the after math of NRA victory.
11. The civil war in Angola delayed the independence of the neighbouring states especially those in which South Africa had influence like Namibia and Zimbabwe through the triumvalent.
12. The crisis displayed the weaknesses of UNO, the UN failed to come out with outright force to stop the crisis making many to question its legitimacy to the cause of national unity and peace.
13. The war resulted into the 1992 multiparty elections as a measure to curb the crisis, it failed to ensure lasting peace and the MPLA government is credited for trying to use diplomacy.
14. There was severe distraction of property like infrastructures such as roads, industries, farms, machinery among others.
15. There was environmental degradation especially from poisonous gases of the war machinery, forests burnt among other evils.

**THE MOZAMBICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

**(1962-1975)**

By 1945 a number of white settlers had settled in Mozambique emphasizing Pseudo economic and social advancement. However with the blowing wind of change the Nationalists in Mozambique started fighting the Portuguese and on 25th June 1975 independence was granted.

**CAUSES**

1. The Land Question. A number of white settlers rose from 19,800 in 1930 to 130,000 in 1970. This influx meant grabbling of African land in Mozambique and the result was resentment from the masses.
2. The Portuguese policy of seeing Mozambique as an oversea province that could not be left at which ever cost. Therefore this unwillingness to grant independence prompted the nationalists to take up arms.
3. Forced cash crop growing of cotton led to starvation and famine and to make matters worse cotton was cheaply bought, this annoyed the nationalists who started the war of independence.
4. Nationalists were also opposed to the careless exploitation of their natural resources. These included Mozambique’s cotton, sugar cane, Tea and minerals like copper, Diamonds and Gold. Such did not benefit the local populace and to avert the situation an armed struggle became inevitable.
5. Forced labor was another factor. By the 1950s the Portuguese had started taking Mozambican labor to South Africa to work on British plantations. By 1960 there were over 400,000 Mozambicans working in South Africa. This on top of the labor problems in Mozambique forced the Nationalists to take up arms.
6. Heavy taxation on the African populace within Mozambique compelled the nationalists to take up arms. These taxes were even collected harshly.
7. Mal-administration. The Portuguese sometimes arrested innocent Mozambicans without trial and demonstrations were repulsed brutally for examples in 1960 about 600 Mozambicans were killed at Mueda as they were demonstrating against the Portuguese colonial rule.
8. Class division where the populations was divided into privileged Portuguese, assimillados(assimilated Africans) and Mesticos(Mixed blood) and below them were the indigina(the locals) who had not adapted to Portuguese ways of life. These suffered and to change the situation an armed conflict became inevitable.
9. The myth of Luso-tropicalism where the Portuguese believed that they were ordained to civilize Africans. This increased color prejudice for example out 26,000 pupils in schools by 1963 only 5200 were Africans. Such degree of discrimination made the nationalists stage a war of independence to change the situation.
10. The presence of ambitious men like Rev.Uria simango, Mondlane who wanted their abilities to be realized by becoming Leaders of the independent Mozambique. They then played an organizational role and fought the Portuguese colonialists.
11. Collusion of Christianity and traditionalism, the Portuguese did not allow the Mozambicans to practice their faith, culture, language and norms. This could not be accepted and the result was an armed conflict.
12. The forced conscription of the Mozambicans into the Portuguese army only brewed wrangles and rebellions.
13. The creation of detention camps at times referred to as **“rehabilitation centers”** where stubborn Mozambicans were usually taken and sometimes killed and led to resentment which resulted into war.
14. The question of Cabora Bossa dam built in Mozambique but to supply electricity to other areas of Portuguese interest like Angola yet the citizens of the country whose rivers were tapped lived in darkness. This facilitated the war of independence.
15. Unemployment coupled with inflation yet caused conflicts with the Portuguese. Trade was controlled by the Portuguese and Africans were even denied the low skilled jobs. This resulted into poor standards of living and such people were exploited by nationalists to stage a successful war of independence.
16. The formation of FRELIMO which played a mobilization role, the mobilised masses then caused offensive to the Portuguese circles and this made the war inevitable.
17. The increments of Portuguese troops in Mozambique to 50,000 troops made Mozambicans feel insecure yet their urge for independence was high. They then organized themselves into an armed struggle.
18. The role of world11 war and the blowing wind of change can not be underestimated. A number of its neighbors including Malawi, Zambia and Tanganyika supported the Mozambican cause. This then encouraged the Mozambicans to continue with the war of independence.
19. The socialist support being solicited by men like Eduardo Mondlane, Samora Machel made it very visible to begin a war of independence.
20. Lack of freedom of press and speech for example Mozambican Newspapers like “O” Chamor Africano and O Africano plus O Brado Africano which were censored and later banned made the war of independence inevitable as Nationalists did not want to see the Portuguese depriving them of their freedom.

**FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE MOZAMBICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

1. The dynamic, charismatic and competent leadership of Mondlane who organized the exiled parties in Algeria into FRELIMO, his successor Samora Machel also had exceptional abilities. He for example abandoned his job in the UNO and joined FRELIMO. Even after the death of Mondlane in 1969, FRELIMO did not collapse but continued to fight for the independence of Mozambique.
2. The involvement of the masses made the war a success , it became a people’s war as the organization (FRELIMO) cut across all classes of people therefore with the numerical strength independence was attained
3. The use of hit and run tactic which disorganized the Portuguese forces. The guerillas operated in North, East, South and West of Mozambique, such made the Portuguese troops exhausted and by the 1960s it was very clear that they were willing to grant independence.
4. Topography of Mozambique characterized by steep slopes and forests and the presence of river Ruvuma acted as natural barriers that forced the Portuguese to disperse their troops all over Mozambique. This weakened their combatant action against the guerillas. This then prolonged the struggle and weakened Portugal financially leaving the success for FRELIMO revolutionalists
5. Support from the communists’ countries was another factor for the success. Countries like China, USSR and Czchechoslavakia provided help in form of military equipment and training. This support was effectively used to dismantle Portuguese colonialism and even counteracted the support Portugal got from NATO countries like USA, Britain and France.
6. The ability to diffuse ethnicity leading to good co-operation and unity among the guerillas. This explains why even after the death of Mondlane in 1969, Samora Machel was in position to mobilize the masses and fight on until independence was attained.
7. The use of women was also very paramount in the Mozambican war of independence. These acted as spies and helped to provide food and comfort to guerillas. Such vital roles made the war of independence a success.
8. FRELIMO’s socialist mode of organizing liberated areas for example it initiated grass root democracy from village committees to central committees. Such politicized the masses and swore their allegiance to FRELIMO. By 1970s three quarters of Mozambique had been liberated.
9. The role of colonial education. A number of Mozambicans by 1950 had gone abroad for further studies. These became unemployed and they then started questioning the rationale of the continued Portuguese colonialism prompting people like Rev.Uria simango, Lazaro Kavandame and Edwardo Kivambo Mondlane to fight tooth and nail such that by 1975 Portuguese colonialism was no more.
10. The role of the world council of churches which provided 7000 pound sterling to the FRELIMO fighters. This gave impetus to the guerillas hence attaining the independence of Mozambique.
11. The 1974 Lisbon coup which brought Spinola to power. He was willing to accept change, later in the same year the Mozambicans held peace talks with the Portuguese in Lusaka-Zambia such reformist approach of Spinola led to the success of Mozambican independence.
12. The uncoordinated military strategy of the Portuguese worked to weaken them. The Portuguese were fighting the war on two fronts for example divided its army to protect her interests like economic installation and the scattered properties in the whole country, at the same time they had to fight FRELIMO guerillas, such weakness was exploited by FRELIMO fighters who effectively succeeded in their struggle for independence.
13. The support got from OAU, it provided platform to nationalists condemning colonialialism. It went ahead to give moral and financial support to Mondlane and Samora Machel which gave them the Zeal, courage and determination to dismantle the colonial bondage.
14. The role of UNO cannot be underestimated, through its decolonization committee, the UNO called on the portugues to grant independence, this gave impetus to the Africans to fight on till independence was attained.
15. The role of World War II.
16. From 1962-64 FRELIMO took a time plan and established bases in Algeria and Bagamoyo in Tanzania. These acted as training grounds for the guerillas. By 1965, they had established a base in Mozambique; such strategies enabled them to easily defeat the Portuguese.
17. The recruitment of Mozambican people into Portuguese forces made it very easy for FRELIMO guerillas to get the secret plans of the Portuguese and attack them from the weakest points for example in 1964 simultaneous attacks were made on the Portuguese in provinces of Cabodelgado, Zambezi, Tete and Niassa.

**THE MOZAMBICAN CIVIL WAR OF 1974 – 1994**

Mozambique was a Portuguese colony and got its independence on 25th June 1975 under Samora Machel who succeeded Eduardo Mondlane who mysteriously died in 1968. The civil strife started when Frelimo government banned all other political parties which included RENAMO**.**

**Causes of the civil war**

1. The colonial mistake of not preparing Mozambique for independence, this was evident with the way public property was mismanaged by the new African managers who had no skills. In effect, this created discontent forcing many people into the bush to avert the situation.
2. The 1977 ban on political parties left a lot to be desired especially RENAMO. This in effect drove a number of people to the bush so as to fight this dictatorship.
3. Cold was politics, Frelimo got support from the East which threatened the Western interests in Mozambique in turn the West sponsored rebel activities to weaken Marxism in Mozambique, the civil strife had started.
4. The Nationalization policy made the civil strife unavoidable, after independence settler property were nationalized which angered them, in turn they decided to sponsor rebel activities against Frelimo government.
5. The role of south Africa cannot be underestimated it supported RENAMO so as to keep Mozambique busy, in turn Frelimo could not support ANC and SWAPO against South African apartheid government. The civil war in Mozambique could not be avoided.
6. Post independence problems like unemployment, scarcity of essential goods among others led the civil war. It is important to note that the departing Portuguese destroyed a lot of infrastructures which sowed seeds of discontent on the independent government hence leading to the civil war.
7. Shortage of food leading to famine in Mozambique made the civil war unavoidable. To make matters worse, the rebels sabotaged the relief food aid forcing many to join the war.
8. The death of Samora Machel in 1986 plane crash convinced RENAMO that it was their turn to lead therefore when Frelimo’s Joachim Chissano took the tools of power, the civil strife continued.
9. The role of the UNITA rebel group in Angola can not be under estimated, it supported RENAMO rebels fearing that stable Mozambique could help the Angola government against them.
10. Presence of foreign forces from the East in Mozambique convinced the RENAMO that Mozambique was not yet free from foreign domination. To make matters worse, foreign advisors also existed knowing that it would take long to produce competent Mozambicans. This continued the civil strife.
11. The ambitious characteristics of men like Samora Machel, Joachim Chissanno, these were unwilling to relinquish power making the civil strife continue till 1994.

**Effects of the Mozambican civil war**

1. There was high government expenditure on the war leading to economic decadence. This explains why the government of Mozambique even up to now still struggles economically.
2. The war resulted into the refuge crisis in Africa as a number of Mozambicans fled to the neighboring Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola for their dear life.
3. The war led to severe loss of lives including women and children, Samora Machel also lost his life in this crisis.
4. There was a lift on political party activities by Joachim Chissano in 1993 which saw the 1994 multi party democratic elections.
5. It led to agricultural decline as a result of instability leading to famine and hence leading to poor standings of living.
6. The war resulted into the NKOMAT accord of 1984 by which it was agreed that South Africa should stop supporting RENAMO and Mozambique would sell H.E.P from Cabora Bossa Dam to South Africa.
7. Trade was disrupted and Beiva Port closed, this limited the prospects from exports especially minerals hence leading to balance of payment problems.
8. Infrastructures were destroyed like roads, buildings and this limited progress of Mozambique. Actually the economy of Mozambique declined.
9. There was environmental degradation especially the poison gas from the sophiscated war weapons. This affected people’s health.
10. The doctrine of non alignment was sidelined as Mozambique got attached to the Eastern block so as to get aid for relief and economic recovery, this was neo-colonialism at play.
11. The war led to uncalled for corruption and embezzlement of government resources especially by bosses in the ministry of defense.

**GUINEA BISSAU**

Nationalism in Guinea Bissau was spearheaded by Amilcar Cabra, a capeverd Agronomist who formed a political party called African independence party for Guinea Bissau and Capeverd in 1954. However the war of independence started in 1963 until 1974 when she finally achieved her independence.

**CAUSES OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

1. The need for independence.
2. Portuguese mal-administration that is to say in 1959 PIDE massacred about 50 demonstrators; other nationalists like Edwardo Pinto and Ziano were killed. Such brutality called for war.
3. The unwillingness of the Portuguese to leave Guinea Bissau following the 1951 clause that declared Portuguese colonies as overseas provinces forced the nationalists to stage a war.
4. Over exploitation of Guinea Bissau’s natural resources like Palm Kernels, ground nuts and vegetable oil made the war of liberation unavoidable.
5. The formation of PAIGC in 1954 under Amilcar cabra triggered off the war of liberation, peaceful means had failed to yield positive results so the armed struggle was opted for.
6. The capture of Santa Maria brewed revolutionary mood in Guinea Bissau. He was arrested on 22nd Jan 1961. He was a Portuguese Liberal who demanded for changes within Portuguese colonies. He was arrested by Henrique Galvao the colonial inspector. This forced nationalists in Guinea Bissau to begin a war of liberation in 1963.
7. The independence of neighboring countries for example the French Guinea attained its independence in 1958, Algeria obtained her independence in 1962. Such compelled the nationalists in Guinea Bissau to demand for their independence too.
8. Increase in the number of Portuguese troops in Guinea Bissau buried their hopes of attaining early independence. This annoyed nationalists who sought the use of the gun as their only option.
9. Forced recruitment of Africans into the Portuguese army. This made the Africans unwilling to co-operate with them. This in effect called for a civil conflict.
10. Poverty followed by skyrocketing inflation yet the Portuguese administration just watched made the war of independence unavoidable.
11. The inferior education system where the government schools were reserved for Portuguese children and left the African children to church schools. This annoyed the nationalists who staged the war of liberation.
12. The presence of ambitious men like Amilcar Cabra who had worked in the Portuguese administration, moved throughout the country preparing an agricultural census in 1952, he became aware of the people’s problems and in 1954, he started decampaigning the Portuguese.
13. Racial segregation with the doctrine of luso tropicanism.
14. The role of world war and its blowing wind for change.
15. Over taxation where the Africans (indigna) were highly taxed compared to the Assimilados. Such created resentment that resulted into war.
16. UNO encouraged nationalists to obtain self determination. It prompted Amilcar Cabra to form PAIGC which became a liberating movement.
17. The role of OAU cannot be underestimated.

**FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE NATIONALISTS IN GUINEA BISSAU**

1. The dynamic and charismatic characters of Amilcar Cabra. He became a moving spirit in the struggle. He had earlier been carrying out Agricultural census and learnt how people were suffering; he then exploited the situation to stage a successful war of independence.
2. The support of the masses ranging from petty Bourgeoisies, teachers and even peasants. This numerical strength imparted pressure that resulted into independence.
3. The efficient organization strategy into three groups of fighters’ that is to say one group had 2000 people who were spies and comprising of local people, another group of 2000 – 3000 who were peasants soldiers that used to go early morning to dig along with their guns and the other 3000 engaged in full scale fighting. This obviously penetrated Portuguese and divided them on several fronts.
4. The conscription of ill trained and half hearted Africans in the Portuguese army, these could not match the skills of the guerillas, at times they defected to the circles of the guerillas this boosted the African fighting spirit leading to success.
5. The geographical setup of Guinea Bissau characterized by Mangrove and bamboo forests could not allow the sophisticated weapons of the Portuguese to be effectively used. However such geographical setup was only ideal for guerillas.
6. The independence of guinea conankry in 1958 under Seku Toure was a blessing to nationalists in Guinea Bissau for example Amilcar Cabra put a military base for his liberation movement. Seku Toure himself gave moral and financial support to PAIGC fighters which eased the struggle.
7. Like in Mozambique the role of women cannot be under estimated, they were used as spies and also supplied food to the guerillas, this combination sow the liberation struggle a success.
8. PAIGC transcended (cut across) traditional boundaries, it watered down the traditional conflict of the Fulla and Balante, this unity was strengthened in 1972 when 2000 balante fighters rescued the fulla from being over run by Portuguese.
9. PAIGC under Cabra had foreign backing from socialists’ states for example China, Czechoslovakia with moral, financial and military support that was used effectively to dismantle the colonial bondage.
10. The organization of the liberated Zones gave PAIGC support of the masses. They for example built 127 primary schools in ten years compared to the 50 built by Portuguese in 400 years. Such support from the masses made the revolution a success.
11. The role of NATO countries in Britain and France which had earlier given support to the Portuguese later saw it illogical and withdrew such support. Therefore without backing from the western world Portugal was ought to withdraw from Guinea Bissau and it became an advantage to PAIGC to prolong and defeat the Portuguese and by 1974 it had attained independence.
12. Of great importance was the UNO formed in 1945 with its agenda of complete decolonization, it then imposed sanctions on Portugal which crippled the economy of Portugal and given the background of economic weakness, PAIGC under Cabra was able to wage a successful revolution.
13. The Lisbon coup 1974, the event of the coup was an advantage to PAIGC because incumbent spinola gave political and constitutional concessions within Guinea Bissau. This boosted the morale of the guerillas that saw success in 1974.
14. The collapse of the Portuguese economy due to high expenditure on colonies for 400 years. It was the earliest colonial master and almost the last to leave. By 1970 the Portuguese economy was characterized by unemployment, shortage of goods and services and skyrocketing inflation. This meant that Portugal could not sustain its economy back home and the numerous wars in the colonies. In the long run this paved way for the success of the revolutionary struggle in Guinea Bissau.
15. Coupled with the above OAU played a paramount role, it gave moral and financial support to PAIGC fighters to carry on the war of independence. Such resources were effectively used to make the struggle a success.
16. Perhaps important to note was the formation of an alliance with PAIGC of Guinea Bissau, FRELIMO of Mozambique and MPLA of Angola, they met and hatched strategies to end Portuguese colonialism. Such alliance yielded fruits as by 1974 the Portuguese left.
17. The role of written literature helped to alert the outside world about the atrocities of the Portuguese rule in Guinea Bissau, such critical stories were written by Amilcar Cabra which attracted international sympathy and in turn it gave the independence struggle momentum to succeed.
18. The exhaustion of the Portuguese army. About 30,000 Portuguese troops including Africans who had been forced to join the Portuguese army fought reluctantly and sometimes defeated by PAIGC forces. This made PIAGC gain the secrets of Portuguese and effectively used them against the Portuguese that saw the success in 1974.

**THE BRITISH IN CENTRAL AFRICA**

**(The central African federation (CAF)**

In 1953 the British government setup CAF, it was to be a federation of British colonies to link southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). Britain wanted to prepare them for independence as one unit which would have many political and economic advantages. The first Prime Minister of the federation was Godfrey Hungins from Southern Rhodesia in 1953-1956 with a firm belief in white rule; he was succeeded by Sir Roy Welensky who ruled it from 1956 up to the time of its collapse in 1963.

**REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF CAF**

1. The whites formed the federation because they wanted to form one political entity comprising Nyasaland, South and Northern Rhodesia but under their leadership, this would ease the administration of the colonies.
2. They also aimed at promoting economic developments in the three regions through pooling of their resources together, they would use this as an advantage to exploit the resources then later export them to Europe for running their industries.
3. The federation was formed to avoid any aggression from the masses for it would not be very easy for Nationalists to mobilize all these masses in the three countries to fight for the same cause. This therefore aimed at prolonging their stay within Africa.
4. The federation was put up to show other African states that development would only occur when there was unity of Blacks and whites. It was therefore to act as an example to the rest of Africa to uphold the ideas of multi-racialism. This was in line with the civilizing mission of the British in Central Africa.
5. The British wanted to protect white settlers after being alarmed with the growth of African Nationalism in Northern Rhodesia; they therefore wanted to protect the minority of about 300,000 Europeans out of the total population of 8.5 million.
6. They wanted to combine unity and economic progress within the region; they were encouraging the growing of cash crops in the three countries and later export raw materials to Britain. They reasoned that it will increase trade efficiency as traders would not get difficulties in the mobility of their products and services since similar currency and tariffs would be in existence.
7. In the economic arena again the British wanted effective control of the copper belt which would provide resources to pay the white settlers who were in the region. This then made the British declare the central African federation.
8. The federation was declared because they wanted to share the Zambezi River in the provision of Hydro Electric Power to run their industries. The British were to construct a dam to serve the three countries; this therefore necessitated a federation to eliminate conflicts within the three states.
9. The federation was encouraged by the victory of the nationalist party under Dr. Malan in South Africa. The white settlers were scared of Malan’s ideas of separation of Africans from the whites by creating Bantustans. The white settlers wanted to freely spread all over central Africa prompting the formation on the central African federation.
10. The federation was an attempt to overcome French policies of assimilation and balkanization of Francophone Africa. This was a threat to British colonialism in Africa.
11. The federation was also encouraged by other federations like the British East African federation which was to link Uganda, Kenya Tanzania and Zanzibar; they realized that such a federation would make available to them more economic resources to be exploited in their use as it was already happening in East Africa.
12. The white settlers were also scared of political advancement in many African countries after world war, Africans had started taking up arms like in South Africa- African National Congress had been formed to struggle for freedom. Therefore in an attempt to cripple such political advancement in central the whites declared the central African federation.
13. The white settlers were also encouraged by the victory of conservative British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill who announced that he had not been elected to liquidate the British empire and when Oliver Lyttleton was appointed as the secretary for colonies in London was also not ready to safeguard African political progress. Such compelled white settlers put up a federation which would enable them exploit the economic resources to their advantage.

**WHY THE FEDERATION SHORT WAS LIVED?**

1. The changes in politics of Britain which saw Harold Macmillan as the new Prime Minister replacing Anthony Eden who had resigned in 1957 due to the Suez canal crisis. Macmillan was against this idea of the federation, he even sent two commissions that is Devlon and Macton commissions, they published reports indicating that the federation should come to an end, therefore this lack of blessings from Britain gave Africans an opportunity to antagonize the federation.
2. The growth of African Nationalism in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia weakened the federation for example in Nyasaland, Kanyama Chicumo led by Kamuzu Banda Hastings and in Northern Rhodesia ZANU was formed and in Southern Rhodesia Nkimo had formed a National Democratic Party. All these parties decampaigned the federation and provided the background for its collapse.
3. Further changes in the office of the secretary for colonies in London brought the conservative Ian MacLeod who had planned that many British colonies should get independence for example Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. He therefore decampaigned CAF because he wanted reforms and eventually Zambia and Malawi which were members of the federation attained their independence.
4. The whites were very few as compared to Africans and with passage of time they realized that it was time they handed over power to the Africans because they could not hold the continued demand for independence by African leaders who had started using violence.
5. The slow rate of economic and educational advancement, the British government failed to provide and sustain the federation and this made the Africans start questioning the rationale of the continued existence of the British in central Africa, such caused discontent and therefore worked against the federation which collapsed in 1963 just ten years after its formation.
6. The British Mal-administration after the formation of the federation especially in Nyasaland where Africans were forced to work on coffee plantations on top of being overtaxed, this forced the Africans to resist the federation. This then caused collusion and the result was that by 1963 the federation was bound to fail.
7. The rise of ambitious men like Kamuzu Banda, Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Mugabe, these were determined to do away with the British colonialists, they organized the masses to demonstrate and boycott dealing with the whites, however they were arrested in 1960 but a message had been sent that Africans were dissatisfied with British rule in central Africa and by 1963 the federation had failed.
8. The declaration of the state of emergency on top of banning political party activities in central Africa annoyed Africans which pushed them to the option of resistance that saw the fall of federation in 1963.
9. Change in governorship of the colonies forexample by 1960 Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia where there was much attack from Africans were now to be governed directly from Britain, in Southern Rhodesia, the white settlers resisted this arrangement and formed their own government in 1962 under Winston Field assisted by Edgar Whitehead and Garfield Odd. This division in the federation undermined the very objective of integration hence collapse in 1963.
10. The release of Kamuzu Banda and Kenneth Kaunda brought independence for their countries in 1964. Therefore it can be argued that if whites had killed nationalism in Malawi and Zambia then CAF would have survived. However it died in 1963 and buried in the dustbin of history.
11. The role of World WarII with its blowing wind of change spreading the message of independence. Therefore the forces of change ushered in by World WarII inspired African Nationalists to dismantle CAF. This was also followed by the decline in British economy such that by 1963, Britain was not willing to continue supporting such huge political agendas.
12. The role of UNO can not be underestimated. They advocated for sovereign status and also it’s decolonizing committee facilitated nationalism and by 1963 CAF was bound to fail with such pressure in place.
13. OAU on its formation out rightly condemned colonialism and its pioneers like Nkrumah, Gamal Abdel Nasser were willing to provide any assistance in line with decolonization. Such support worked to facilitate the decolonization of central Africa and the collapse of this giant organization.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)**

**THE UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN 1965 (UDI)**

This came as a result of long negotiations which broke down between Ian Smith’s government in Southern Rhodesia and the British government on the issue of independence. Ian Smith reigned to prominence as the prime minister in Zimbabwe in 1964; he was particularly annoyed when Britain granted independence to Zambia and Malawi in the same year. He then declared the unilateral declaration of independence on himself on 11th November 1965. However this independence was not approved by Britain.

**FACTORS FOR THE DECLARATION OF UDI INDEPENDENCE**.

1. To safeguard the minority white settlers against the ever advancing independence struggles in the country. Smith therefore wanted to maintain control of Southern Rhodesia and form a political entity dominated by whites.

Note: They were just 200,000 whites in Zimbabwe versus 4,000,000 Africans.

1. The 1961 constitution only provided five seats for blacks out of 65 seats. This encouraged Smith to think that Britain would never mind the imbalance of political arrangement in Zimbabwe and therefore took it upon himself to declare the unapproved independence of the whites in Zimbabwe.
2. The failure of the British to respect the self granted independence of the white settlers in Zimbabwe in 1923 for Britain retained the rights to veto legislations passed by white settlers in Zimbabwe which convinced rebel Ian Smith that this independence was Pseudo hence consolidated the UDI.
3. The collapse of the central African federation in 1963, then Malawi and Zambia granted independence in 1964, this worried Ian Smith who saw the white settlers in Zimbabwe isolated. This process scared white settlers provoking Ian Smith to form the UDI government.
4. The increasing demands by Africans who wanted the white constitution of 1961 dropped resorted to demonstrations and formulation of political parties, such as Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU), this scared the white settlers who reacted to counteract this by forming UDI.
5. The rise of Winston Field in December 1962 who had not been accepted by the white settlers who had invested so much in Zimbabwe, in 1965 Ian Smith got the support of the white settlers and declared the independence of Zimbabwe.
6. The ambitious character of Ian Smith, he was aggressive and his influence could only be seen with the UDI in place. This is seen in 1965 when Britain refused to approve the UDI and he went on to implement it.
7. Ian Smith views were reinforced by Apartheid policies in South African that had taken place in 1948 when Dr. Malan came to power and continued to extend his policies towards the neighboring states. This was further encouraged by Dr. Vorweod as from 1958 these two men supported white dominance in Africa and later supported the UDI regime. This made the UDI government establish strong roots in Zimbabwe.
8. The spirit of white superioty and civilizing mission was another factor in the declaration of UDI. The white settlers could not look at themselves at the same footing with the blacks and looked at the blacks as immature to get independence. Such ideas prompted Ian Smith to declare the UDI.
9. The formation of OAU in 1963. Later in 1964 OAU summit in Cairo that demanded for the transfer of political power to Blacks in southern Rhodesia was viewed as dangerous by the settlers and therefore declared the UDI to counteract OAU.
10. The influence of the triumvalent, it was an understanding of Don Salaza of Portugal, Vorweod of South Africa and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia. They agreed to prolong the white man’s stay in Africa and jointly suppress Nationalist activities. This influenced the declaration of UDI.
11. The independence of USA from Britain, by 1776 the Americans had declared their independence from Britain and in 1918 the Irish had done the same, this encouraged Ian Smith to declare his independence from Britain in 1965.
12. The military and economic strength of the white settlers in Zimbabwe, these convinced them that they could resist nationalism and that Britain would not intervene since it had economic problems at the time.
13. Divisions amongst Nationalists on ideological grounds enabled the whites to take advantage to declare white minority rule in Zimbabwe.
14. The hypocrisy of African Chiefs like Jeremiah Chirau made the whites carry on their plans of dominating the Blacks by declaring UDI.

**WHY IT TOOK LONG TO END OR DEFEAT UDI GOVERNMENT (1965-1980)**



1. 1. Division of Zimbabwe Nationalists on approach to UDI, while some wanted pseudo diplomacy others wanted military approach for example Mugabe and Ndabaning wanted military approach yet Nkomo wanted diplomacy. Such divisions gave time to UDI to stay.

***Magret Thatcher Premier of Britain***

1. Ethnicity and tribalism were became a factor for the delay to defeat UDI. Nkomo was from Ndebele yet Mugabe from the Shona. These at time did not agree, such were exploited by the UDI to perpetuate itself in government.
2. Cold war politics, the British public opinion supported the UDI for they did not want to see socialist influence in Zimbabwe. They then provided moral and financial support that prolonged the UDI’s stay in Zimbabwe.
3. The British industrialists who got raw materials and market for their finished products in Zimbabwe supported the hard line position of UDI in Zimbabwe. In addition the UDI used money got from trade to stay in Zimbabwe.
4. The strong standing army and police manned by the white settlers served to repulse any insurgence from the Nationalists until 1980 when Margaret Thatcher the British Prime minister granted independence to Zimbabwe.
5. The banning of political parties, this was a measure intended to suppress radical Nationalism that was gaining ground in Southern Rhodesia.
6. The repressive laws placed upon Africans, censoring the press, denial of freedom of speech and expression and arresting of nationalists like Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo left a leadership gap making the UDI enjoy the undisturbed existence that served to delay Zimbabwe’s independence.
7. The hypocrisy of African chiefs Like Chirau who acted as spies betrayed the cause of African Nationalism.
8. The formation of the triumvalent comprising of Don Salazar, Ian Smith and Dr Vorweod of S.Africa created buffer zones impenetrable by African Nationalism. They usually assisted each other explaining the delayed independence of Zimbabwe.
9. The UNO is not totally blameless, it imposed half hearted sanctions that were not effective for example UDI continued to acquire oil from South Africa and trade with other countries like Malawi for example between 1968-69 financial budget, the UDI budgeted 103 million pounds. Such economic strength facilitated the stay of UDI.
10. The British government is blamed for the continued existence of UDI; it was not until Margaret Thatcher reigned in 1979 that Zimbabwe achieved its independence in 1980.
11. The delayed independence of the neighbouring states. Countries like Mozambique got independence in 1975 meaning that zimbabwe had no bases to stage a revolution against UDI. This was exploited by UDI to keep within the corridors of power.
12. The Methodist church in Zimbabwe and the Dutch reformed church in South Africa heavily supported the UDI government indoctrinating the masses to accept white rule as God ordained. Such put a number of Africans in the backlight of politics of the British and ensured political existence of the UDI.
13. The civil wars in Angola and Mozambique made Southern Rhodesian nationalists helpless a chance that was exploited by UDI to stay.
14. The 1970 constitutional arrangements eliminated Africans from the voting list and left them as political virgins until 1980. Such political backwardness delayed the independence of Southern Rhodesia.
15. Natural calamities, 1973 witnessed the outbreak of cholera which claimed a number of lives for nationalists. It disorganized strategies and delayed the independence.

**WHY THE UDI GOVERNMENT CAME TO AN END**

1. 1. The economic sanctions imposed by OAU, UNO, Britain and USA.

Note: Tougher sanctions were imposed in 1977 and such weakened the UDI government.

***Robert Mugabe***

In addition to the above UNO facilitated the election campaign in Zimbabwe in 1980 and even sent observers which saw Robert Mugabe reign as president of Zimbabwe. Such efforts made the UDI government come to an end.

1. The support from African states especially Mozambique, Angola helped the nationalists in Zimbabwe to dislodge the UDI. Other countries like Zambia and Lesotho convinced other neighboring states to isolate the UDI.
2. The determination of Africans in Zimbabwe, after facing unemployment, inflation became determined to shade blood but see their country liberated.
3. The rise of prominent Nationalists in Zimbabwe like Joshua Nkomo and Mugabe. These enlightened the masses and mobilized them for the struggle and by 1970s it was very clear that they were to achieve independence.
4. Support from communist states like China, USSR and Czechoslovakia, such help was used effectively to dismantle the UDI regime.
5. The collapse of the CAF in December 1963 this was later to block the intensions of the whites to dominate the region for example Malawi and Zambia attained independence in 1964 and they were later to help Zimbabwe do away with colonialists.
6. The white settlers were few in number compared to the Africans, they then became isolated as Africans refused to co-operate with them any further. By 1980 they relinquished power to Africans.
7. Lack of favor from Britain. The British government was always against UDI and when in 1979 Margaret Thatcher reigned she forced the UDI leadership to organize elections in 1980, Robert Mugabe won massive 57 seats which gave him legitimacy to establish the independence government.
8. The breakdown of the triumvalent especially after the 1974 Lisbon coup yet vorweod of South Africa finished his political life. Smith remained isolated and in 1980 accepted to give independence.
9. Loss of support from South Africa volster who replaced Vorweod wanted to improve South Africa’s international image and stopped helping the UDI hence by 1980 the UDI was thrown in history archives.
10. The role of traditional leaders plus spiritual leaders inspired the elites to join the nationalistic movement they promised them protection from the ancestors increasing the number of anti-white dominance hence the independence of Zimbabwe.
11. The adoption of the guerilla tactics of hit and run disorganized the UDI regime. This prompted them to relinquish power in 1980.

**THE 1965-91 CHAD CIVIL WAR**

Historically Chad was colonized by Germany but after the Franco – Germany pact of 1894 Chad became the first colony of France up to 1960 when she achieved her independence in hands Tom Balbaye who was supported heavily by Christians and non- Moslems in the south yet the north remained Muslim dominated. Such sharp differences were later to cause conflict hence a civil became unavoidable.

1. One of the main factors was religious conflicts between the Moslems and Christians. During the French colonial period, the Southerners easily collaborated with the French and were influenced by western ideas and civilization as a result they adopted Christianity and most of the people became Catholics. To the contrary the North remained with Islamic culture most understandably Islam. This made the government of Tom Balbaye to restrict the activities of Moslems to the extent of banning the wearing of turbans and carrying of knives as the Islamic tradition required. This angered the rulers of Northern Chad who organized war.
2. Mal-administration and brutality also worsened the situation as evident from the harsh tax collection. It should be noted that the civil servants in the North replaced the local chiefs and these exhibited a lot of brutality in policy implementation and especially during tax collection. The taxes were even unrealistically excessive. High taxes in Mangaline caused riots which spread throughout Balta district predominantly inhabited by Moslems. Such riots even caused an exodus of refugees to Libya for instance Derde Sultan Quedder, Kadefari and his sons with Gonkonin Quedelonk took refugee in Libya but later took the arms against the Chadian government.
3. To make it worse corruption became rampant as the taxes collected from the North were repatriated to develop the south. This caused discontent hence the civil war.
4. The ushering in of the cultural revolution led by Tom Balbaye with the aim of revolutionizing Chad. He reverted to the traditional name of N.B.D’Jamena as the capital city. He changed his name from Francois to Tom Balbaye and he even appointed many Northerners in Cabinet and banned Christian names in favor of African names, this sparked off another wake of religious persecution. Above all this move lost him the popularity from the Southern Saras thus intensifying civil war from 1973.
5. Government negativity to the rise and activities of political parties further worsened the situation. If the government had allowed freedom of association and democracy this could have acted at least as vents to the oppressed. However on the contrary, political parties and their activities were banned. This made Tom Balbaye as an absolute dictator who only relied on his ethnic tribe the Sara. When he banned the political parties in 1962, it sparked off underground opposition which was answered by wide spread arrests of the suspects. Trade unions and students now acted as a new force for instigating the masses into mass rebellions but unfortunately by 1963, they were brutally suppressed for instance over 300 were butchered by government forces.
6. There was continuous agitation for social justice and freedom of speech and association, racial and ethnic equality so as to break the monopoly of Southerns in government. This radical thirst for social justice was a response to Tom Balbaye’s autocracy of purging potential rivals in, banning of opposition parties ridging of election in 1963, suppressing of trade unions and killed 5000 people at Ferlamei all these set Chad to war.
7. The colonial Legacy displayed by France the colonial master when it failed to establish democratic institutions which could integrate political and social difficulties between Northern and Southern Chad also supported the emergency and prominence of Christians in the civil service political and economic sectors. This colonial legacy brought hatred between the northerners who are Moslems and Southerners who are Christians hence leading to civil crisis in Chad.
8. The breakup of the central government in February 1979 when Felix Malloum the then president was fighting against the forces of his prime minister Hussein and Habre. This thirst for political power continued even in the government of national unity. Gonkonin Quedelonk the president, Habre as the defense minister and Vadel Kamoryne as the Vice president.
9. To make it worse the division in the National army led to the rise of private armies such as those of Hussein Habre and yet others remained loyal to the central government. All presidents after Tom Balbaye failed to make a national army. This division led to the absence of the displinary force hence the civil war was inevitable in Chad.
10. The failure of the OAU peace keeping force in 1982 when it withdrew on orders of the OAU chairman Moi of Kenya. OAU however, failed to combat the inflow of Habre soldiers from the neighboring states. OAU also failed to raise funds to facilitate the survival and operating of their troops in Chad. It had good talking heads of state but without tough military action because of political intrigue among them. For this 300 peace keepers sent in December 1981 to maintain peace in Chad were called off hence continuation of the civil strife between the forces of Habre and those of Gonkonin.
11. Influence of Libya in Northern part of the country. On coming to power in 1969 Ghadaffi wanted fundamental Islam to be realized especially within the Arab countries. He was therefore not willing to see Moslems in Chad suffering. He therefore concentrated on giving moral, financial and military assistance to the Northern Moslems of Chad against Southern oppressors.
12. Dictatorship of Tom Balbaye and other leaders. They stopped listening to constructive views and molested their opponents. This in effect called for a civil war.
13. Unemployment as a result of educational inefficiency in the North. These unemployed became easy to mobilize to cause violence. In such a situation the cilvil war could not be a voided.
14. Ethnicity the Saras were seen as a privileged class which caused jeolous of other tribes, the situation speaks for its self, the civil war could not be avoided.\
15. Power struggle or ambitiousness of personalities like Odinga, Goukoun. These felt that they were the right people to lead. War could not be avoided.
16. Cold war politics, the north was socialist orientated while the South supported capitalists which brought conflicts in Chad.
17. Social injustices where there was no freedom of speech press and Northerners wanted to break the monopoly of the Southerners. Such situation brewed sentiments that led to the civil war in chad.
18. France is also blamed for having left Chad without settling the divergent divisions which prevailed, they had used the Southerners and when they were leaving they did not leave a clear structure to incorporate all people of chad in administration of their country making the civil war ripe.
19. Breakup of the central government after Tom Balbaye in around 1975 where Felix Malloum conflicted his prime minister Habre. This divided up the Chadian army as some remained loyal to Habra yet others supported Felix. Such indiscipline precipitated a civil war.
20. The need for Ghadaffi to implement the third theory of radical Islamic socialism made him avail himself in the chad conflicts by supporting the northerners. With such confidance of support, the civil conflict became una voidable.
21. Double standards of UNO as a world body was expected to come in and solve the Chadian problems, however it kept a deaf ear and this forced men like Odingar to continue with their ambitious schemes and war could not be avoided.

**SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN CHAD IN 1962 – 90**

1. Dictatorship of Tom Balbaye and other leaders like Odingar, Felix Malloun, and these prepared fertile grounds for civil conflicts which even hindered economic progress.
2. Ethnicity where the Saras were favored at the expense of other people in Chad.
3. The rise of opposition groups like FROLINAT (Chad National Liberation Front) formed in 1966, MNLY led by Ahamed Moussa, such blocked the desired unity.
4. Mal administration evidenced by heavy taxation of the Northerners and the moving of their chiefs to be replaced by the Saras this was unacceptable.
5. Power struggles by men like Ahmed Moussa, Felix these made a lot of insurgence within Chad.
6. Rebel activities especially by FROLINAT made a number of people get arrested by the government of Tom Balbaye and others fled as refugees. However these came back to cause intension and instability in Chad.
7. Religious persecution of Moslems especially after independence. This led other Moslems states like Libya to support Muslims in Chad hence causing problems.
8. There was inflation as a bigger portion of the National budget went on security such that by 1980 some communities lacked the basic necessities like medicine, food.
9. Cold war politics where the country went on tension as the south was sponsored by the west yet the North was sponsored by the East. This hampered National unity.
10. In 1972 Ghadaffi promised 23,000m dollars to the government of Chad in turn to occupy the Aouzon strip which was rich in uranium however Ghadaffi did not pay but continued to occupy the area. This caused internal conflict as he supported the Muslims against the Chad government.
11. Coups and counter coups became rampant for example in 1975 Tom Balbaye was over thrown by the army and this introduced the army in the politics of Chad.
12. Income inequality, the Saras remained the most favored with a lot of wealth at the expense of other people in Chad. They lived a luxurious life style and drained the state treasury.
13. Educational imbalances. Southerners had good infrastructure and better education institutions; this meant that even the civil service was to be dominated by the Southerners. This created collusion.

**Sample Questions**.

1. Account for the civil war in Chad between 1965 and 1991.
2. Discuss the origins of the civil war in Chad in 1965 – 1991.
3. Examine the social, economic and political problems faced in Chad between 1962 and 1980.

**NAMIBIA**

It is geographically located in southern Africa near South Africa and Angola. It was a Germany colony between1884-1915. Afterworld war 1 the League of Nations mandated it to South Africa in 1920. However the trusteeship council in 1966 terminated this mandate right but South Africa continued illegally to dominate Namibia which forced nationalists to take up arms.

**FACTORS FOR THE DELAYED INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA**

1. The determination of South Africa to hold grip over Namibia, it was considered the 5th province of South Africa which could not be left to go. Such made the Nationalists to rise up to attain independence.
2. The lust for Namibia’s resources such as zinc, copper, Uranium and lead made it very difficult for South Africa to grant independence till 1990.
3. South African military strength, it sent about 5000 well equipped troops to act as watch dogs to Nationalist activities. This crippled them hence delaying independence.
4. The support South Africa got from outside countries like Britain, Holland, Germany made it stronger to be reckoned with. This worked to delay Namibia’s independence.
5. Ethnic rivalry forexample the Nama, Herero and Khoisan were great enemies to the ovambo and such ethnic collusion made it very difficult to have concerted efforts against South Africans.
6. The fear by South Africa to lose that cheap source of labour especially as South Africa was industrializing at a higher pace. They needed labour to work in Gold and copper mines and in the plantations. Granting Namibia independence could deny them chance hence continued domination until 1990.
7. Difference in approach by the nationalists to wards the South African questions forexample Sam Nujoma and Jacob Karuhanga preferred table talks throughout the 1950’s and to make matters worse they were socialist oriented yet other nationalists like Janhermal and Jah-Tario preferred the use of force and were capitalist oriented such disunity worked to prolong South African domination.
8. The brutal and inhumane response of the South Africans forexample in 1969 demonstration about thirteen people were killed and in the 1971 strikes the British declared a state of emergency which saw the destruction of schools and arrest of Namibians. Such threatened the masses and delayed independence struggles.
9. The introduction of Apartheid policy in Namibia in 1969 disorganized Nationalists as Africans were grouped in the Bantustans along tribal lines. Such as the Ovambo in the Ovambo land. Therefore such could not find lasting solution for Namibians in the struggle for independence.
10. The weakness of O.A.U which failed to discipline and repulse South African imperialism in Namibia. To make matters worse, its members like Zambia and Malawi continued supporting the Pretoria government. This worked to delay the independence of Namibia.
11. The heavy investments of the white settlers in Namibia made the whites get determined to stay. On top of that the multi- National companies influenced the masses to water down their nationalistic demands through increment of their wages every year. This meant that a number of people collaborated hence delaying the independence of Namibia.
12. External support offered by Jim Carter in 1977 to the pretorian government, this double standards of USA widened chances for the continued South Africa colonialism in Namibia.
13. The formation of the triumvalent of Don Salanza, voerwed of South Africa and Ian Smith of Zimbabwe, they vowed to assist each other militarily and economically to suppress nationalism. This made South Africa very strong to continue dominating Namibia.
14. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola led to cold war politics in the region and in a bid to counteract this communism by S. Africa; it used Namibia as a buffer colony. This delayed the independence of Namibia up to 1990.
15. The presence of British investment totaling to 25%, Germany had 18% investments, USA 15%, Canada and France each had 2%. These countries feared that granting independence their industries would be nationalized, they then agreed with South Africa to protect their interests in Namibia.
16. Lack of external support from immediate neighbours especially because they too up to mid 1970’s were still under colonialism like Angola and Mozambique and to make matters worse, even after independence they entered into the era of civil wars. This then acted to deny Namibia near by bases and support hence delaying independence.

**CONTRIBUTION OF SWAPO IN THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE OF NAMIBIA.**

1. SWAPO combined violent and non-violent means in the fight against colonialism. On the side of non-violence it petitioned the South African government in the UN assembly, OAU and common wealth conferences which helped to attract international sympathizes that was very vital in the independence of Namibia.
2. SWAPO was a mass political party that recruited people from all walks of life. This numerical strength helped to impart pressure onto the South African government which later granted independence in 1990.
3. SWAPO addressed people’s problems like unemployment, inflation and on 28th of June 1950, SWAPO launched an armed struggle against the South African government, slowly but surely by 1990, Namibia had to get independence.
4. SWAPO sent a number of people to train as guerillas in Egypt, USSR and Tanzania this helped to create a professional army that ousted South African administration from Namibia.
5. SWAPO carried out political sensitizations in Namibia and beyond which created political awareness forexample in 1969 SWAPO held a conference at Tanga in Tanzania which initiated tricks and a way forward in the defeat of South Africa.
6. SWAPO also co-operated with the church in the fight against the spread of apartheid in Namibia, the followers were easily reached and by 1971 a number of people participated in country wide strikes organized by the church to condemn racial segregation.
7. SWAPO worked hand in hand with trade unions to pressurizes S. Africa to grant independence for example in 1972 they organized the workers strike in Ovambo land where about 20,000 workers participated. The result was that a number of people were retrenched which created excessive resentment for South Africa in Namibia.
8. SWAPO boycotted the elections after realizing that South Africa had the intension of rigging the elections in their favour, these elections were to determine whether Namibia still wanted to be under the leadership of South Africa or become independent. After refusing such demands SWAPO intensified in mobilizing the masses to use military means.
9. SWAPO military wing (SWANLA) that is South West African National Liberation Army enjoyed the monopoly the moral support especially after the Lisbon coup of 1974. It managed to send 40,000 Namibians to train in Angola who later returned to use military means.
10. SWAPO solicited support from communist Russia, China and a number of African countries like Mozambique, Tanganyika which support was effectively used to dismantle the South African colonialists.
11. SWAPO secured the support of OAU and UNO in the struggle for independence forexample a part from condemning the colonial injustice OAU and UN provided moral and financial assistance.

In conclusion no single factor can stand on its own to explain the liberation of Namibia however SWAPO’S role appears more significant in the attainment of independence for Namibia.

**Qn. Assess the role of SWAPO in the liberation struggle of Namibia.**

**FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE NAMIBIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

Namibia received independence in 1990 from South Africa under the leadership of Sam Nujoma the founder president of SWAPO. The factors are as follows;

1. USA played an instrumental role in the collapse of the racist control over Namibia for example in 1966 USA terminated South African control as a mandate colony for Namibia. Also USA through the international court of justice pressurized South Africa to grant independence which was achieved in 1990.
2. The role of USSR cannot be under estimated for example if extended military and financial support to SWAPO, it also allowed the Cuban troops to train SWAPO guerillas this definitely led to the independence of Namibia in 1990.
3. The assistance extended by African countries Angola, Algeria, this gave moral determination to the nationalists in Namibia to struggle for their independence.
4. The employment of the full scale guerilla war based on the hit and run tactics weakened the South African administration in Namibia. As the war became more expensive by 1990 it was very clear that independence was to be achieved.
5. The ambitious leaders within Namibia like Sam Nujoma especially from the Ovamboland who mobilized the masses from all walks of life, gave clear leadership, this then put pressure on South African government to grant independence.
6. The creation of liberated zones, SWAPO like other liberation movements created the liberated zones where they cultivated their own food ,putting up schools, health centers among others then embarked on liberation of the masses this attracted support of the masses which eased the independence struggle for Namibia.
7. The role of OAU through its liberation committee gave military and financial support to SWAPO to fight against South Africa. This acted as a spring board in the defeat of South Africa in 1990.
8. The acquisition of external bases by SWAPO in the neighbouring countries like Angola, other independent countries easily sent their support to the guerrillas which all worked to destabilize the South Africa administration.
9. The end of cold war, in 1990 after the collapse of the eastern block, western powers started forcing South Africa to water down its colonialism in South Africa for the buffer zones had become unnecessary. This explains why South Africa granted independence in 1990.
10. The break down of the triumvalent especially after the Lisbon coup of 1974, later in 1980 Ian Smith’s reign also reached an end yet voerwed of South Africa had been replaced therefore this was a clear signal that colonialism over Namibia was to come to an end.
11. The contribution of the common wealth cannot be under estimated, it expelled South Africa officially in 1957, it imposed economic sanctions on her, and this made South Africa unpopular. This then lead to the independence to Namibia.
12. The cultural isolation of South Africa for example, the international Olympic committee banned South Africa from participating in any Olympics and to have any contacts with other countries in sports. This isolation made South Africa uncomfortable and by 1990, it was willing to give up Namibia.
13. The role of women cannot be under estimated who acted as spies and helped the guerrillas to attack the South Africans at the weakest points and this helped SWAPO to attain the independence of Namibia by 1990

**SEKOU TOURE AND THE FRENCH GUINEA 1922-84.**

**(HIS CARREER)**

Sekou Toure is a great grand son of Samori Toure born in Faranah in 1922. At the age of 19 Sekou Toure became an administrator in the post and telecommunication department in Conakry.

1. Sekou Toure’s organizational ability enabled him become the secretary general of the departmental union in 1945 which enabled him come in open talks with the French to decolonize the French Guinea.
2. In 1946 he entered into active politics through trade unions, he became involved in the general confederation of labour (CGT) or the communist dominated French worker’s association.
3. In the same year 1946, he helped to found the French African democratic rally. This also sought the improvement of the conditions of the workers.
4. In 1956, he was elected mayor of Conakry and later deputy from Guinea to the French national assembly.
5. In 1956, he was elected the president of CGT which became more influential in seeking for the independence of French Guinea.
6. By 1956, he had reigned as vice president of the executive council of Guinea, this helped him to come closer to the French authority which he convinced to relinquish power.
7. In 1958, he led a successful campaign for Guinea’s independence from French rule. Remember this was at the same time when Charles De-gaule came to power in France.
8. Sekou Toure held talks with French authorities and even went to France to seek for Guinea independence which the French public opinion approved.
9. On October 2nd he was elected president of the country an office he held until his death in 1984.

**Note:** Sekou Toure was allowed by the French to form trade unions and became the head of the general union of workers of black African and throughout the 1950s he agitated for the increase in the number of African representations.

Sekou Toure also led other blacks in Guinea to reject the construction of the 5th French republic and Guinea Conakry became the only territory that rejected it. This caused immediate severance between the Blacks and French in Guinea leading to early independence in 1958.

**SEKOU AHMED TOURE AND PAN AFRICANISM.**

1. Sekou Toure and Nkrumah formed the Ghana- Guinea union in 1958 as a land mark to wards African unity which would have resulted into the formation of the united states of Africa that would resist the penetration of Neo-colonialism.
2. In 1961 Sekou Toure together with other members of the Monrovian group like Nkrumah, sellassie and Balewa of Nigeria reconciled with the Casablanca group, met in Adis Ababa and on 25th may 1963 OAU was formed.
3. Sekou Toure being a member of the Monrovian group encouraged African countries still under colonial bondage to use peaceful and non violent means in a bid to attain their independence. This was emulated by Nigeria, Uganda, and Kenya among others.
4. Sekou Toure gave moral, financial and military assistance to African strugglists such as FLN fighters in Algeria, Guinea Bissau’s PAIGC and this fostered African independence.
5. After 1966 coup in Ghana, Sekou Toure gave asylum to Nkrumah as a symbol of African solidarity, he even appointed him honorary co-president of Guinea until he died in 1972 in Romania due to throat cancer.
6. Sekou Toure attended the all African congress in Accra in 1958 and together with other delegates from African like Nkrumah, Nyerere, Gamal Abdul Nasser shared means of ending colonialism and the evil of Neo- colonialism, they swore not to settle until the whole of Africa was liberated.
7. In the UN general assembly Sekou Toure was influential in exposing the evils of colonialism this helped to attract international sympathy and a number of international sympathizers financed liberation movements.
8. Sekou Toure was also bitter with Katanga’s claim for secession, he together with Nkrumah condemned it and even sent forces to see unity in the Republic of Zaire.
9. Sekou Toure upheld the idea of non-alignment this is seen when he organized the resources of Guinea to develop it such that it remains independent and self sufficient, though he later failed to leave up to this as Guinea was perverted with corruption, inflation, he is credited for spreading the propaganda of non-alignment.
10. Sekou Toure approved the independence of Western Sahara (SADR republic) in 1976. Though this brought him in conflict with morocco, Mauritania, we can not deny accepting the fact that Toure was a Pan African who wished to see the whole continent independent.
11. Sekou Toure’s attainment of independence in 1958 gave confidence to other French territories like Algeria, Congo Brazzaville & African at large that through constant pressure that the evil of colonialism will come to go
12. Sekou Toure condemned the Biafran war of secession 1967-70 this showed him as a great pan Africanist.
13. Guinea became a base for guerilla movements fighting against the one armed bandit colonialism, it became a full time base for Ben Bella’s FLN until the French colonialists were ousted, PAIGC of Guinea Bissau also used it as a base, this put Sekou Toure on same footing like Nasser of Egypt, Nehru of India which was a great pan African achievement.
14. After attaining independence for French Guinea, Toure went into close talks and negotiations with Charles De-Gaule the then leader of France to accept grant independence to other French colonies. It can therefore be argued that if De-Gaulle became so positive in granting independence to the French colonies, it was a result of Toure’s agitations.
15. The idea of forming workers associations to agitate for independence was fueled up by the independence of French Guinea under Sekou Toure, he had effectively used CGT compounded the people together and the French left on 2nd October 1958.
16. In 1958 Sekou Toure voted No to French continued domination of French Africa in a referendum explaining why the French immediately withdrew from Guinea. This was a stepping stone to Pan Aficanism.
17. In the OAU meetings Sekou Toure was a great voice of the disgruntled masses and if OAU pressurized for decolonization then great African delegates like sellassie, Nasser, Nkrumah, and Toure should be credited.
18. Negative pan Africanism. After Sekou Toure’s death the government of Guinea acknowledged that numerous violations of human rights had occurred during his reign and this was negative pan-Africanism.
19. The Monrovian group to which Toure belonged failed to reconcile with the radical Casablanca group and the result was the formation of the loose OAU which was always toothless in solving African problems.
20. Toure failed to live up to the expectations of NAM as he continued to get aid from Marxist countries like Czechoslovakia, Cuba.
21. The Ghana Guinea union that was formed as a basis of African unity could only recruit Mali and its collapse in the 1960 is discredit on Sekou Toure and Nkrumah.

**RDA (RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN)**

RDA was formed in 1946 at a conference in Bamako (Ivory Coast) and 800 delegates were present especially from French west Africa and French Equatorial. In this conference Felix Houphoet Boigny formed a federation of parties called RDA.

By 1950 RDA boosted of 700,000 members making it the largest all over Africa. RDA became a major party in the struggle for the independence of Niger, Guinea, Mali, Volta, Congo Brazzaville, Cameroon and Ivory Coast, Chad and Gabon were also members.

In 1950, all meetings of RDA were banned in Ivory Coast and Felix was threatened of arrest but despite this RDA continued with its activities.

**ACTIVITIES OF RDA**

1. RDA recruited people from all walks of life hence enjoying wide popularity.
2. RDA talked about people’s grievances such as unemployment, inflation, independence among others.
3. RDA refused to compromise with the imperialists and instead demanded for a complete overhaul of the colonial order.
4. RDA carried out demonstrations especially with the banning of news papers sympathetic to their cause and the persecution of party supporters in West Africa.
5. RDA carried out boycotts against buying of goods from French firms on top of hunger strikes.Note: by 1951 the party was nolonger active but had helped pressurize colonial masters for independence.
6. RDA got opposition from Senegal (Leopold Senghor) who thought that it had automatic leadership of French West Africa.
7. The charismatic leadership and support of Felix Boigny who argued that time had come to separate French West African countries and grant them immediate independence.
8. pressure from RDA resulted into the 1956 overseas reform act (loi cadre) this was a clear signal that independence was near in fact French Guinea got independence 1958.

NB Sekou Toure and Madibo Kaita of Mali opposed the overseas reform act and advocated for a strong independence federation.

1. RDA‘s call for independence was answered by the French public opinion which called for immediate decolonization of French West Africa.
2. Felix Boigny’s acceptance of a cabinet post in Paris was positive for he became the voice of the voiceless in French West Africa.
3. RDA supported liberation struggles for example the Algerian war of independence leading to the subsequent independence of French West Africa.
4. RDA got support from the French communist party which support was important in shading off the colonial bondage.
5. RDA persecution by the colonial governments in West Africa encouraged the formation of other anti colonial parties.
6. Felix Houphoet created links with Governor Laotrile( a communist) , a chance he used to get wide membership of RDA until the governor was replaced by Pechoux a conservative.
7. Due to persistence of RDA, the French changed its hostile policy fearing that it will raise more nationalistic sentiments.
8. RDA participated and won pre- independence elections especially in Ivory Coast, Guinea, Mali, Uppervolta .
9. RDA pushed for the expansion of the legco**.**
10. “in the struggle for independence of French west Africa De Gaulle asked the French territories to vote YES or NO , Yes was to allow the French prepare their colonies for independence and No , france was to withdraw immediately” Sekou Toures French Guinea voted No and france withdrew all its support immediately. On the other hand Djibo Bakary led the campaign for No in Niger but failed and then resigned as prime minister.

**OTHER FACTORS FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA.**

1. By 1950 France had suffered political problems and so it was willing to give in to the demands of was Africans.
2. The French parliament dropped the idea of the French federation and gave some degree of internal government.
3. On coming to power Degaulle who in 1958 overthrew the fourth French republic was willing to grant concessions.

NB In 1960 De gaulle granted independence to all French west Africa,

**THE** **REPUBLIC** **OF** **SOUTH AFRICA**

**NATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Originally a purely Black African country but by 1652 the Dutch started flocking in. The British are said to have come to South Africa in 1793. After the discovery of diamond and gold in 1867 and 1866 respectively other foreigners from Europe, Asia and America poured into South Africa in large numbers for this fortune. Now the problem was who would be the future master of South Africa.

In 1910 the British and the Boers signed an act of Union agreed to form a joint government in South Africa which clearly excluded the Blacks and this was the beginning of the conflict between the Blacks and the whites. The situation was worsened in 1948 when the Africans were put in reserves called Bantustans.

**Note**: South Africa did not get independence in 1994 but got majority rule of the blacks where Nelson Mandela became the president and De Clarke became the vice president. In fact South Africa got independence in 1910 and in 1931 the British statute of parliament gave the whites in South Africa full autonomy.

**ORIGINS OF APARTHEID**

1. Misinterpretation of the Bible; the Dutch used the biblical story of Noah and his two son; Shem and Ham. The Dutch then called themselves the descendants of Shem who was blessed and Africans the descendants of Ham who was cursed and supposed to be slave for Shem. They turned to mistreate Africans and the result was Apartheid.
2. The influence of the Dutch reformed church. They preached to have come from the lineage of the Israelites that is to say God’s chosen people and that South Africa was their land of Canaan and therefore wanted to do away with the people they found so as to stay free in this Promised Land. The result was Apartheid.
3. The development of African nationalism where the Boers believed they were the master race and to preserve this race so as to avoid contamination, Africans had to be put in separate reserves, they were proud and arrogant. They argued that equality with Blacks would threaten their mastership.
4. The need to monopolize South African minerals; its rich soils and favorable climate. Therefore the Dutch sought to segregate the Blacks and reassert their nationalism.
5. The increased demand for cheap labor to work in the several plantations and mines so in order to prevent the movement of labor out of their territories the Boers introduced Apartheid and reserves.
6. Apartheid developed out of fear of the whites after seeing that they were the minority race; the whites feared that in future the non-whites would easily combine forces against the whites. To curb this Apartheid looked as the only avenue of reducing that threat for example by 1948 a number of South Africans had gained modern education which would have been used against the whites.
7. The rise of fascism and Nazism which all preached that it was a duty of the stronger races (the whites) to rule over the weaker ones. By 1948, it became an official policy in South Africa.
8. The rise of African Nationalism, some Africans who had witnessed democracy in Europe and America like Walter Sisulu, Steve Biko came back demanding for reforms, they used demonstrations and protests and the Dutch got scared of their status in South Africa introduced apartheid.
9. The need to limit competition with the Asians. When some skillful Asians started investing in South Africa threatened the Boer merchants who now put policies to limit the dealings among Asians and Africans and also to reduce on repatriation of profits from South Africa to the Asian countries. They now agreed to put up Apartheid laws.
10. The need to fight British liberalism prompted the Dutch to introduce Apartheid, there existed a number of liberal minded British who emphasized equality and this acted as a danger that could reduce Boer superiority the option left was to introduce Apartheid.
11. The 1917 Russia revolution led to drastic flow of communist ideologies in most parts of the world. This threatened the Boers as a number of people in South Apartheid started expressing disappointments with the rich whites in South Africa. This prompted the nationalisation policy so as to oppose the poor administration of the whites in South Africa.
12. The rise of Dr. Malan who believed in the white man’s superiority, he organized the nationalist party in South Africa which he used to gain popularity amongst other whites. He came up with strategies one of which was effective discrimination of the Black race. It can be argued that without Dr. Malan Africans would not have suffered the way they did for he effectively controlled liberal ideas.

**APARTHEID LAWS**

Beginning with 1948 a number of laws were put in place to promote White superiority and inferiority of Africans, Indians and the coloreds. These laws included:-

1. The Asiatic Law Amendment Act in 1948 which abolished Asian representation in the Parliament. This meant that the South African Parliament purely became racist.
2. The prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949 which made marriage between whites and non whites illegal this was to preserve racial purity of the Dutch and other whites and any one caught in fornication or adultery with a white was detained without trial.
3. Unemployment insurance Act in 1949 which denied the majority of Africans and immigrant workers the right of being insured. The insurance was for only those who earned more than one thousand eighty two pounds a year and since most Africans earned below that the effect was felt.
4. The Immorality Amendment Act in 1950 prevented any form of sexual intercourse between the whites and non whites.
5. The Population Registration Act in 1950 categorised the people of South Africa into racial groups for example Europeans, Coloreds, Africans and Asians and these were not entitled to same rights.
6. The Group Areas Act in 1950 created separate residential areas for various races while 86% of the land of South Africa was for whites, the other races who were even the majority were to sustain their lives on the remaining 14%.
7. The native Act in 1952 which limited movements of Africans, the Africans were to have pass books in which one’s name, age, race, origin, residence, photograph and residence number were put. This led to a number of Africans get imprisoned for not bearing the pass books.
8. The Bantu education Act in 1953 introduced separate schools, colleges and universities for the various races, definitely the best institutions went for the Europeans and the mission schools which helped Africans were closed.
9. The 1953 Separate Amenities Act denied Africans access to public facilities with the whites such as vehicles, restaurants and recreation grounds.
10. The native Labor Act in 1853 made strikes, demonstrations, boycotts, trade unions illegal and any one caught in the act was imprisoned without trial.
11. The native resettlement Act in 1954 removed fifty thousand Africans from Johannesburg to Soweto and Africans were grouped into different settlements.
12. The criminal procedure act in 1955 empowered police to search a black man’s house without a warrant.
13. The industrial coalition Act in 1956 prohibited the mixed trade unions and reserved some jobs strictly for the whites yet blacks were entitled to dirty manual jobs.
14. The 1957 native laws introduced discrimination in nursing schools and hospitals.
15. The Bantu self government Act in 1959 allowed Africans to form their governments in the reserves. This promoted sub-nationalism and limited real nationalism.
16. The unlawful organizations Act in 1960 abolished African political parties like the Pan African Congress and African National Congress.
17. Critical publications were banned that is 8000 of them.
18. The no-trial Act in 1963 empowered the Minister of Justice to imprison any one for any crime, real or imaginary which victimized a number of innocent Africans.
19. The Bantu homelands citizenship Act in 1970 made every African a citizen of a certain ethnic homeland outside South Africa. It also recognized black countries like Lesotho, Swaziland. By law these were not part of South Africa.

**REACTION TO APARTHEID**

**INTERNAL REACTION**

In 1912 the South African native Congress was formed to defend the rights of Africans and other non whites. It was later named African National Congress (ANC) in 1955. It began with seeking independence with peaceful means but in the 1940s the Young members in ANC like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Anthony Lembede turned to seek independence through radical means. The following expressed African opposition to Apartheid:-

1. The use of diplomacy where African representatives from South Africa were sent to London and the UN General Assembly to protest against the racist laws. Some of the representatives included Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.
2. The adoption of Ghandism for example the Youth Wingers of the ANC organized sit down strikes, hunger strikes, and demonstrations in abid to weaken Apartheid in South Africa. These methods worked throughout the 1940s up to the 1960s and when they failed to create change violence was adopted.
3. Formation of political parties by Africans in a bid to impart pressure, parties like PAC (Pan African Congress), ANC played a vital role in sensitizing the masses, mobilizing them against a common enemy.
4. Formation of trade unions prominent of which is COSATU (Coordination of South African Trade Unions). This became a pressure group against Apartheid regime in South Africa.
5. The 1952 defiance Campaign organized by the ANC. It was aimed at defying the racist’s laws, the African masses started moving without passbooks entering the buses that were supposed to be for the whites entering restaurants and this demonstration helped to expose to the whites that the Africans were not contented in the status they are in.
6. In 1952 there was an alliance of the Blacks and other non whites, they met at Wip town and issued a freedom charter where apartheid laws were dropped. This was due to the efforts of Chief Luthuli.
7. In 1959 Chief Albert Luthuli the then President of ANC organized boycotts against high bus fairs in Alexandria Township and for three months African workers walked to and from the places of work and this yielded fruits as the fairs were reduced.
8. In 1958, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe a linguist at Wit- Waters rand University had publications in the Newspaper called the Africanist, he mobilized the youth specifically of the Pan African Congress youth wing to resist Apartheid laws.
9. The sharp Ville demonstration and massacres in 1960 organized by ANC and PAC to protest against the Apartheid laws. About 67 of them were killed and around 180 were injured, Nelson Mandela called for sit down strike to mourn the death of their members. However this led to a state of emergence in which many Africans and Asians were arrested.
10. There was use of critical writings in various novels, magazines and Newspapers. Such included a novel **like “Cry for the beloved country”** by Allan Poton, **“Mine** **boy”** by Peter Abrahams other people also composed songs **like “Iam a slave”** by lucky Dube, Brenda Fassie, and Chaka Chaka among others.
11. In 1961 Nelson Mandela realized that peaceful means will not yield success and formed the armed wing of ANC called Umkhonto We-Sizwe (The spear of the nation). He sent a number of youths to Algeria and China for training. By 1963 he had started carrying out offensives in Eastern Cape and Port Elizabeth.
12. The formation of POQO which was a violent wing of the Pan African Congress. It used pangas, spears to terrorise the whites and even killed the blacks who collaborated with the racists. The militants started hitting the sensitive economic targets like the Standard Chartered Bank in 1970.
13. In Soweto there were protects in 1976 against the declaration of Africakaner as the official language in Africa, the school children organized this protest however police shot at them thus this forced a number of the survivors to flee to neighboring countries for military training.
14. The growth of black consciousness especially after 1968 by a stronger man Steven Biko whose ideas largely influenced the Soweto students to rise against the British, a number of South Africans fled to Tanzania, Angola or Algeria for military training and the result was a fight against Apartheid.
15. The return of ANC guerillas especially after 1978. They started carrying out acts of sabotage especially by attacking white firms and plantations for example in 1980 Orange Free State was a centre of chaos and this put pressure onto the colonialists.

**EXTERNAL REACTIONS TO APARTHIED**

1. There was the formation of frontline states which included Angola, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. They provided training grounds to the ANC and PAC guerillas, provided them with secondary Education, food and Medicine and this helped to weaken Apartheid.
2. The formation of SADCC (South African Development Coordination Council), a number of countries in the South of Africa formed this organization to prevent the movement of cheap labor to the South African Apartheid regime. It denied Market for the South African products thus all this was aimed at crippling the South Africa economy so as to end the policy of Apartheid.
3. South Africa was expelled from the common wealth organization in 1961. It was then used as a platform to condemn the Apartheid policies even in the UN General Assembly.
4. South Africa was isolated from the Olympics and could not participate in the world Olympic Games. To make matters worse, the International Labor Organization (ILO), WHO and UNICEF also cut off dealings with racists South Africa. This International Social and cultural isolation led to discontent amongst the whites themselves who also in turn opposed Apartheid.
5. The South African Apartheid regime also faced pressure from foreign investors. They even threatened to withdraw their investments in case nothing was done to change the ruthless policies because they were causing them losses especially in line with economic sanctions and attacks from guerillas. This slowly but sure weakened the Apartheid regime.
6. The growth of Pan Africanism in USA. The blacks and other white liberals in USA pressurized Jim Carter the then president between 1977 and 1980 to ban trade activities with South Africa and cut off diplomatic and military dealings with her. This slowly also weakened the Pretoria.
7. South Africa also faced pressure from the Eastern block which provided military and financial support to the South African fighters so as to weaken South Africa apartheid regime and do away with capitalism within it.
8. The role of OAU and UNO can not be underestimated, they provided a platform for the condemnation of Apartheid policies, and they also imposed sanction against the South African Apartheid and by 1994 Apartheid policy was no more.
9. The South African government faced opposition from the church especially from the Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu who mobilized the South African masses in the International Committee of churches. Such created pressure onto the Pretoria government so as to make reforms.

**OBSTACLES TO THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1931 AND 1994**

1. The enactment of racist laws such as the Passbook, the Residential Areas Act, Communist Laws or Communist Act disorganized the Africans and therefore could not organize meaningful nationalistic movements.
2. The provision of inferior education made Africans slow thinkers and with no political skills. They then accepted their status and this worked to delay black majority rule.
3. The use of terror against the nationalists for instance Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for 27 years, Steven Biko was tortured and died in prison in 1977, Oliver Tambo was exiled in London, in 1960 at Sharpeville about 67 people were killed and in 1976 about 176 Africans were killed in Soweto. Such demoralized the Africans.
4. The creation of the Bantustans after 1948 promoted Ethnic nationalism and reduced intertribal co-operation. They ended up thinking they are soveriegn in their reserves and reduced a wider insight for South Africa as a nation.
5. The strong espionage network of the British hindered the struggle for majority black rule in South Africa. Such included (Boss) Bureau of State Security and PISCO (Parliamentary Internal Security Commission). These arrested a number of Africans who were Anti- Pretoria Government.
6. A number of political parties were banned and these included ANC, PAC, South African Communist Party and vibrant leaders were usually arrested like Mandela. This worked to delay the black majority rule of South Africa.
7. The formation of the Triumvalent (The gang of the three) that is Don Salazar of Portugal, Dr. Verweod of South Africa and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) they met and agreed to maintain their colonies as white man’s countries. They vowed to support each other in case of any problem. This limited any chance for South Africa to attain African majority rule.
8. The continued cooperation of some African states with South Africa such as Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland helped to delay South African liberation because it could not feel the economic sanctions put up by other countries.
9. The strengthening of the South African Army (The South African Defense Force) by 1984 South Africa had about 27,000 reserves soldiers, 75,000 paramilitary commanders and about 550000 infantry. On top of having a nuclear capacity this scared countries that harbored ANC rebels.
10. The delayed independence of neighboring countries to South Africa such as Angola, Malawi, Mozambique and Namibia. Thus South Africa did not have practical examples in the struggle for freedom.
11. Cold war politics within the nationalist camps. A number of South Africans got funds from socialist and capitalist states and could at times conflict against each other, capitalist support came from the white liberals within Britain and USA and this acted to confuse the Africans on strategy for example the Inkatha Freedom Party, preferred the use of peaceful means while ANC favored the use of force. Later there were divisions and worked to delay the liberation of South Africa.
12. The economic strength of South Africa. South Africa was an easy and industrialized country that could no be affected by the sanctions too soon. It even used its economic wealth to pull some South African countries closer to it like Malawi the result was the delayed in the liberation of blacks in South Africa.
13. The presence of conservative leaders like Dr. Malan and Volster. They worked to frustrate the African struggles for equality. It was not until 1989 that F.W De Clerk came to power in South Africa that fundamental changes leading to the liberation of South Africa were realized.
14. The presence of instability in the frontline states for example the UNITA rebels destabilized the MPLA government in Angola and in August 1979, South Africa government planes bombed the ANC rebel training camps in Angola and this hindered the progress towards South African liberation.
15. The weakness of OAU, it had no standing army to crash the Apartheid regime. It even lacked finance to sponsor the war against Apartheid.
16. The UNO double standards did not affect effectively the South African regime. Thus continued to rule the minority South Africans.

**THE ROLE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID (How did the Black World react to Apartheid?)**

The Frontline states included Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique and Malawi and their contribution can be assessed as follows.

1. They gave refugee to South African political fugitives and these included people like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo which increased the campaigns against Apartheid South Africa.
2. The frontline states put up trade embargoes so as to cripple South Africa economically such that in the due course it could be urged to drop its Apartheid policies.
3. The Frontline states provided education to a number the South Africans and this sharpened them and taught other South Africans in South African the spirit of fighting imperialism.
4. The frontline states acted as mouth piece for the discontented masses within South Africa. They for instances exerted pressure on F. DeClerk to reduce on African suffering and release prisoners, the result were that a number of reforms were put after 1989.
5. The Frontline states provided military training to the guerillas against Apartheid a case in point is Mozambique and Angola which put in a lot of efforts to train ANC guerillas.
6. The Frontline states provided ANC guerillas with war logistics for example they provided them with food, medicine and uniforms plus ammunitions. It helped them in the struggle for independence.
7. The geography of the frontline states that is Forests and mountains provided ANC fighters with guerilla bases hence the hit and run tactics slowly but surely weakened the Pretorian Government.
8. After the independence of the frontline states the political freedom enjoyed inspired the South Africans to fight on.
9. The stories of successful liberation struggles against Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique made the South Africans determined to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of their states just as the Angolans and Mozambique had done.
10. **However other than the role of frontline states there were other factors that facilitated the independence of South Africa.**
11. The role of Steve Biko who inspired Africans to fight for their freedom, he was more prominent in 1976 Soweto uprisings.
12. The role of white liberals in and outside South Africa. These provide moral support and at times military support to the ANC fighters.
13. The role of OAU and UNO which acted as plat form of condemnation against Apartheid regime.
14. The diplomatic and economic sanctions of the international community against Apartheid South Apartheid.
15. The end of cold war politics 1989-1990.
16. The character of President F. DeClerk that is he was ready to grant changes in South Africa.
17. The attainment of Namibia’s independence in 1990 gave impetus to the South Africans to continue agitating for independence.
18. The break up of the triumvalent of Ian Smith, Doctor Verwood and Don Salazar especially by 1980.
19. The role of Music, Dance and Drama, people like Lucky Dube, Chaka Chaka, and Brenda Fassie these strongly advocated for the end of Apartheid regime.

**Qn. Asses the role of ANC in the struggle for South African liberation**

ANC was originally called the South African native Congress and later named the South African National Congress. It was used as a platform of political opinion for South Africa to date. Its roles in the liberation of South Africa are as follows:

1. 1. ANC used the press to write critical articles that helped to arouse Nationalism in South Africa. A case in point is Abantu Bathos which was exploited by the talented elites of ANC to

***Nelson Mandela***

pass their message to the masses.

1. ANC composed songs and slogans that were agitating for the end of Apartheid in South Africa. These included “Nkozi Sikeloto”, “God Bless Africa” which has also been incorporated into the National Anthem of South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia.
2. ANC instigated a number of South Africans into strikes, boycotts and demonstrations against the whites in South Africa. This helped to impart pressure on to the colonialists.
3. ANC encouraged South Africans to disrespect the Apartheid laws a case in point is the Passbook law.
4. ANC interpreted the 1941 Atlantic Charter to the masses and issued a document called African claims in South Africa. This helped to shape South Africans into strong nationalists.
5. In 1942 the youth within ANC formed the Youth League which was a militant wing for ANC, it carried out strikes and demonstrations. It was composed of militant Youths like Mandela Nelson, Anthony Lembede and Oliver Tambo plus Walter Sisulu. These changed the politics of South Africa.
6. The ANC organized a defiance campaign in 1952 where a number of people, Africans, coloreds and Asians participated. In other words ANC forged unity among races against Apartheid and about 8,000 people participated.
7. In 1955 ANC issued a freedom Charter that called for freedom to be achieved in the short run, it was a big step towards the demand for independence.
8. The Young members of ANC formed the Pan African Congress under Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. He had lost faith in Ghandism, he agitated for military means in attaining South African independence.
9. In 1959 Albert Luthuli the new President of ANC organized a number of positive actions; he for example put up a famous bus boycott in Alexandria for three months. He also organized the potato boycott which led to the improved conditions of workers on European farms.
10. ANC and PAC organized anti pass campaigns in 1960 which led to the massacre of 1967 unarmed women, men and children. This was followed by country wide, continental and world wide demonstrations and condemnation of the racists’s regimes in South Africa.
11. Nelson Mandela of ANC reacted by forming a secret organization called UmKhatho Sizwe (the spear of the Nation) by 1963 it had carried out 193 acts of sabotage against the imperialists.
12. ANC exiles went for military training in Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria and even China such that by 1978 ANC guerillas started returning to South Africa secretly and caused Havoc within South Africa.
13. ANC members in Europe especially in London continued sending weapons to South Africa guerillas and this helped to strengthen the fight against Apartheid.
14. ANC asked OAU and UNO to support the struggle against Apartheid and in 1994 majority rule was achieved.
15. ANC strongman Steve Biko formed the Blacks consciousness movement though violently crushed in 1976 in Soweto it did a lot to cause change in South Africa.

**NB. Steve Biko was arrested and died in police custody in 1977 under torture.**

**Qn. Examine the effects of the 1952 Defiance campaign in the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa.**

The defiance campaign was a massive riot against apartheid in South Africa.

It was organized by ANC in 1952 and was directed to specific apartheid laws that is, pass laws, group areas act, separate representation of voters act, suppression of commission act, Bantu Authorities act and the stock limitation regulations.

**Course**

As the white celebrates the Dutch landing at the Cape on 6th April 1952, Africans all over South Africa gathered in Johannesburg and prayed for freedom.

In the due course a group of high spirited men and women wearing ANC banners and shouting “Mayibuye Africa” (let Africa rise) marched in immerse pleasure through the European only entrance to the railway station.

A group of defiers including, Walter Sisulu went into the location without permits required of visitors from Bantu areas.

That night in Johannesburg, ANC held a meeting which went beyond 11.00 pm yet the curfew limited being in public places beyond 11.00 pm. After the meeting the defiers moved in the streets, the campaign spread like wild fire. Office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students joined and defied the pass laws, curfews and railway apartheid regulations.

**Effects of the Defiance campaign**

1. The campaign failed to secure the abolition of unjust laws.
2. Anti-apartheid movement gained ground like ANC gained popularity, its memberships multiplied from 7000 to about 100,000.
3. The defiance campaign attracted the international attention especially UNO as it even called for debate on the racial policy.
4. South Africa minority government was condemned of abuse of human rights.
5. UN passed a commission of inquirely in the practice of apartheid. This was the first international direct pressure which encouraged the defiers.
6. The displine and honor of volunteers won international admiration and support especially Albert Luthuli and Walter Sisulu.
7. The apartheid government hit had on the protestors for example imprisonment like in July 1952, police raided ANC offices and arrested 35 leaders among who was Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.
8. Many workers especially teachers who participated were dismissed by their employers.
9. The defiance campaign Led to death; in Kimberly about 14 Africans were shot dead and 78 wounded, In East London at least eleven people were killed and 50 wounded.
10. White liberals called for equal rights for the civilized people of South Africa. This included Bishop Ambrose Reeves of Johannesburg.
11. The campaign directly lead to the formation radical groups of whites called the congress of democrats (CDO).
12. The campaign led to drafting of the freedom charter by the national council of the Congress of the people.

Note: The effects were both positive and negative to the people of South Africa in the struggle against white minority rule.

**SHARPILLE MASSACRE 1960**

This is the crisis that occurred on 21st .03.1960 at Sharpeville a small town near Vereneeging south of Transvaal. This crisis was as a result of African rejection of **“Pass Laws”,** about 67 Africans were killed and 186 injured.

**CAUSES:**

African rejection of the pass laws , as a result Africans wanted to hand over their passes to the police station and when a senior police officer saw them he concluded that the crowd was going to be violent so he ordered police to fire at them live bullets. The crisis had started.

Unemployment and exploitation of African workers, many who did not have passes could not be employed and those with passes were lowly paid and some times their wages were arbitrarily cut over slight mistakes committed. This was unbearable.

Arbitral arrest of Africans with out trial especially those who did not posses passes or whose passes were expired in fact passes had to be renewed every month!

Harsh treatment of Africans especially in the pass offices for example in the pass offices Africans were shouted at and harshly treated , this created mixed feelings resulting into resentment.

The blowing wind of change across Africa brought by world war11, Africans were tired of the minority white domination there fore the Sharpeville incident was one way Africans expressed their dissatisfaction.

They also opposed the poor conditions in the slum of Sharpeville; there was congestion, poor hygiene, poverty, starvation among others. Such compelled men and women to rise up in a peaceful demonstration that turned violent.

The need to gain freedom, in their own country for example the right to live in towns and enjoy the lights of cities like Johannesburg. This right was denied to them for along period.

Africans in Sharpeville were also against white discrimination by the white minority race, they could not live in the same areas, use the same busses, eat in the same restaurants or even marry whites. The situation had gone too far.

The guardianship of personalities like, Albert Luthuli, these sensitised the masses of their rights, their words and charisma made the Sharpeville incident unavoidable.

The role of political parties like , the Pan African Congress, ANC, these gave hope to all the people of South Africa that with constant pressure the minority rule of whites sooner or later will relinquish power. Making this incident unavoidable.

**EFFECTS OF THE SHARPVILLE INCIDENT**

1. About 67 Africans were killed and 186 injured as police fired at the crowd.

African leaders were arrested, imprisoned or fined especially those of PAC and ANC for example Robert Sobukwe was sentenced to three months, Albert Luthuli was fined $100.

1. Africans fled for their dear life hence became refuges against their will to neighboring states like Swaziland.
2. As a result of the crisis, Africans became more determined to shade blood but liberate their mother land.
3. African political parties were banned, these included ANC, PAC.
4. The crisis led to the formation of militant organizations like Umkhonto we sizwe (Spear of the nations) for Africans realized that peaceful means had failed to yield positive results.
5. A state of emergency was declared by the ruling National party and any one could be arrested on suspicion. On record about 3000 people were imprisoned.
6. The crisis retarded production and business as part of man power was diverted to military service.
7. The crisis attracted international sympathy and international organizations like UNO helped in pressurizing the white minority rule to drop apartheid principles.
8. There was increased white mistreatment of Africans as a result of the crisis in fact pass laws were not abolished immediately.

**Qn: Account for the 1960 African resistance against apartheid.**

**THE SOWETO UPRISING 1976**

This uprising was staged by school children against the oppressive apartheid regime in 1976. It is some times referred to as the 1976 Soweto massacre. The protests began on 16th. June 1976 at 9.30 am, about 15000 pupils marched into the town, it started as a peaceful demonstration but turned out violent as the Soweto police fired at the pupils and killed 25 of them. The crisis sparked mass protests and for 8 days pupils rioted and fought with police on the streets. This left an estimated 176 dead according to the police report.

**CAUSES:**

1. The school children opposed the compulsory use of Afrikaans in teaching them since it was not an international language.
2. They also opposed the dictatorship of the white minority in their township thus pupils went on rampage.
3. Overcrowding in Soweto Township due to increased population, originally it was supposed to accommodate 600,000 people but by 1976 it accommodated 1.5 million people.
4. The housing situation was worse and unsuitable for settlement, most houses did not have electricity or running water.
5. In line of health, the situation was even dangerous, the existing health centers did not have enough doctors, there were no drugs yet with increasing number of people in the Soweto Township. This left many dead and to change the situation the crisis was unavoidable.
6. Rampant unemployment made the crisis un avoidable, to make matters worse even those who got jobs were lowly paid and their wages could be cut with slight or imaginable mistakes.
7. The students complained of having no suitable entertainment facilities for example they had a single cinema hall and illegal drinking dens in private houses were in increase. This propelled the demonstrations.
8. The youth wanted to access good town life of central Johannesburg because for example the streets of Soweto had no lights and crime was the order of the day.
9. The high crime rate of Soweto for example in 1974 a great number of Africans were murdered in Soweto alone, robbery, petty theft, prostitution.
10. The increasing cost of living, food and transport costs were sky rocketing thus unmanageable.
11. Pupils feared to be indoctrinated with, Afrikaner racial theories that were discriminative due to the teaching in Afrikaan language.
12. The pupils also feared of failing exams in subjects taught by teachers who were not fluent in Afrikaan.
13. The pupil rejected gaining qualifications in Afrikaan for they could not compete on world jobs
14. Partly inspired by victories of MPLA in Angola which the pupils wanted to emulate.
15. Role of personalities like Steve Biko who joined the demonstrations and became a burning spirit

**EFFECTS OF THE SOWETO UPRISING**

1. The Soweto uprising led to emergence of a country wide resistance like August 1976, there were demonstrations in Rand townships, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.
2. The uprising was a fore runner of other strikes like in September 1976 there were mine strikes allover and involving of about half million workers.
3. Resulted in to death of many people as police would just fire at the protestors and by the end of 1976 about 1000 protestors had been killed in the whole of South Africa.
4. Increased racist suppression of the Africans as many were arrested and tortured in prisons like Steve Biko died in custody on 12th sept 1977.
5. Violence became the order of the day as a counter measure to counteract the white oppression.
6. The racist government banned black consciousness movements and detained most of its leaders.
7. Many youth went to exile for their dear life
8. Attracted international sympathy and condemnation especially when news crusades read **“The killing of Soweto black children”** made headlines throughout the world.
9. ANC was pushed to adopt a method of sabotage in fighting apartheid.
10. Property was destroyed like houses, for eight days! The destruction was immerse.

**ROLE OF OAU IN THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

The newly independent African states formed OAU with the priority of liberating South Africa from apartheid. It then played the following roles;

1. OAU played a role of expelling South Africa out of the common wealth hence a diplomatic isolation of South Africa.
2. OAU called for world wide boycott of South African sports teams in the sporting world hence its expulsion in the Olympics.
3. OAU formed a liberation committee which solicited for funds to finance the liberation struggle against minority white rule.
4. OAU gave moral, financial and military support to ANC rebels against apartheid.
5. OAU allowed its members to be used by ANC and PAC rebels as bases like Libya and Uganda.
6. OAU convinced western countries to put military sanctions against South Africa.
7. OAU became the voice of the voiceless in South Africa on the international fora for example UNO expelled south Africa in 1974.
8. OAU called for economic sanctions as a weapon to weaken apartheid South Africa. In fact by 1976 due to pressure things in South Africa started changing.
9. OAU called for unity of ANC, PAC and the Inkatha freedom party emphasizing the need for concerted effort against white minority rule.
10. OAU out rightly demanded for the release of South African prisoners like Mandela and Walter Sisulu.
11. OAU sent delegations to the South African minority government to negotiate the liberation of South Africa.
12. OAU members provided education to the South African nationalists.

**ROLE OF UNO IN THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

1. UNO called for ration equality in the world, this was a direct attack on apartheid racist policies.
2. The UN defined apartheid as evil and in 1948 passed the universal declaration of human rights.
3. The UN was used as a platform to condemn apartheid excesses which led it international outcry.
4. UN threatened apartheid South Africa with sanctions especially after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.
5. UNO formed a committee against apartheid in 1962 which was an important move to help the people of South Africa.
6. UNO imposed economic sanctions against South African apartheid regime.
7. UNO withdrew its trusteeship over South Africa which tarnished South Africa’s international reputation.
8. UN expelled south Africa from international bodies by 1968 like World health organization, FAO among others
9. UN allowed it members to be used as bases against apartheid like Tanganyika.
10. UNO pressurized De Clarke to grant majority African rule in south Africa which was granted in 1994 with Mandela as president and De Clarke as the Vice president.

**ECOWAS**

**(ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES)**

Ecowas was signed in 1976 Lome conference (the capital of Togo) however it should be noted that the idea was perceived in the Lagos meeting of 28th may 1975 in Nigeria. The delegates who attended this meeting had the following aims and objectives;

**AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

1. To co-ordinate industrial development among West African states.
2. To promote economic co-operation.
3. To put in place a Customs Union for over 15 years so as to reduce import duties.
4. To promote self reliance in West Africa.
5. To promote trade.
6. In 1993 July Ecowas was revitalized and more objectives were incorporated and these included;
7. To achieve common market and a single currency.
8. To establish the West African parliament.
9. To establish an economic and social council.
10. To put in place an Ecowas court of justice.
11. To prevent and settle regional conflicts.

**ACHIEVEMENTS OF ECOWAS:**

1. Despite all the challenges Ecowas has continued to exist since its inception in 1975 to date, it boosts of about 15 member countries. This is an achievement in its self.
2. Ecowas has been an arbiter in regional conflicts through ECOMOG(economic monitoring group) thus restoring peace in Liberia, intervened in Sierra Leon and restored order in 1997, it also intervened in the civil war of Guinea Bissau hence a credit to Ecowas.
3. Ecowas offered assistance to crumbling West African economies especially after the departure of colonialism when the colonial masters withdrew their support.
4. Member states committed them selves not to attack one another through the non- aggression treaty signed in 1976. This promoted peace in West Africa.
5. Ecowas put up a strong standing army (ECOMOG) of 15 battalions to sort out West African problems in case of a crisis, this has limited aggression and counter aggression.
6. Ecowas has a clause of non interference in the internal affairs of member states, this in effect promoted a period of peace and development in West Africa.
7. Ecowas has successfully undertaken large projects among member states to their completion which would have hitherto called for external assistance and borrowing for example the West African power pool was started to construct power stations in different countries of West Africa. This boosted industrial development for example Diama and manatali dams in Senegal and Mali respectively.
8. Ecowas ensured free mobility of people, goods and services, this was enforced in the 4th heads of state summit in Dakar Senegal where passports and visa restrictions were removed. This in effect reduced unemployment and promoted the spirit of togetherness.
9. Trade has been enhanced through the removal of customs duties and tariffs on commodities originating from West Africa. This promoted industrialization in West Africa. This was approved in 2002.
10. Trees were planted to reclaim the Sahel region on recommendation and approval of Ecowas. This in effect has conserved the environment and steps to improve the environment upheld since 1982.
11. Much emphasis was put on agro-based processing industries and much support given to agriculture. This has increased the exports hence leading to favorable GDP of West African states. Crops like pawpaw, cotton, cocoa, rubber have been given priority.
12. Effective exploitation of West African minerals has been given a hand for example, oil in Nigeria, Niger, Sierra Leon, Gambia among others. Other minerals include, Gold, copper, diamond, which all improved the economies of West Africa.
13. Ecowas has effectively represented West Africa on the international forum, and acquisition of international markets like AGOA (African growth and opportunity act), it also deals with the European Union and this has enhance West African bargaining power on prices in the world market.
14. Ecowas asked West African states to exercise rule of law, free trade, protection of workers rights and this improved the standards of living of the Africans in West Africa.
15. Ecowas enhanced the spirit of Pan Africanism and non alignment and this in effect repulsed neo-colonialism.
16. On the side of infrastructures Ecowas is credited for putting up modern transport and communication networks in the member states and putting emphasis on LDCs
17. Ecowas protected, promoted and preserved African cultures by encouraging preservationof antiquities hence upholding the dignity of Africans.
18. Ecowas bridged the gap between former British, French and Portuguese colonies thus a blow to colonial settings of keeping Africans divided.
19. Ecowas laid a firm foundation for the establishment of similar organizations on the African continent such as SADC formed 1979.

**FALIURES / PROBLEMS OF ECOWAS**

1. Differences in the levels of development, for example, Nigeria is the largest member with GDP of about 39.5 billion dollars and with about 61% of the total population of the community**,** other members including Ghana and Senegal have used their positions to dominate and promote their interests. This has created suspicion and mistrust thus undermining the set objective of Ecowas.
2. Ecowas is facing a problem of political instabilities especially in Nigeria , Sierra Leon ,Togo, Liberia, Ivory coast , these have faced coups and counter coups which has hindered trade and co-operation.
3. Interstate conflicts have been prevailing despite emphasis on non-interference and non-aggression plus mutual respect of member states for example, Ghana closed her boarders and in 1981 Nigeria had also closed hers. Nigeria and Cameroon nearly went to war over Bakasi peninsular. Such hampered the progress of Ecowas.
4. Dictatorship, leaders in member states have not promoted transparence and accountability, there has been on going abuse of human rights, corruption in West African states. These leaders have also promoted national interests instead of regional interests, such countries include Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau among others. This hindered the progress of Ecowas.
5. Poor socio-economic infrastructures, member countries have not worked adequately to improve on these infrastructures and yet those built during colonial period have either collapsed or neglected. This has reduced on market accessibility hence affecting trade.
6. The emergence of other organizations has pulled member countries away from Ecowas for example, Benin, Senegal, Togo, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso are members of the West African monetary Union, a regional organization which shares a common currency thus members are not fully committed to Ecowas.
7. Lack of efficient diversification , almost all members of Ecowas depend on agriculture as a backbone of their economies therefore price fluctuations on the world market of agricultural products have left members of Ecowas poorer and un able to fulfill the objectives of Ecowas.
8. Ecowas members produce almost similar goods and services such as cotton, G.nuts, maize, coffee, cocoa cassava among others therefore leading to competition and protectiveness. This has hampered trade and co-operation.
9. Members of Ecowas have suffered balance of payment problems, it is argued that members of Ecowas import more and export less. In 2001 for example trade between Ecowas and America fell by 11.2% while America’s exports to the region grew by 23%. This is an economic disadvantage.
10. Un equal benefits from the community, larger nations have benefited more, these include ; Nigeria, Sierra Leon and Ghana which have good infrastructures and therefore have attracted more investments than smaller nations like Togo and Guinea Bissau. This has led to dissatisfaction.
11. The colonial legacy has hindered the progress of Ecowas , Anglophone countries like Nigeria , Ghana use English while franc phone countries like Senegal, Cameroon and Sierra Leon use French. To make matters worse the Anglophone are more attached to the common wealth while franc phone to the French association. This has hindered the integration.
12. Ecowas members have failed to meet their financial obligations especially the annual contribution, this has rendered Ecowas inactive.
13. Sabotage from supper powers and the former colonial masters , they have continued exploiting African countries, France for example persuaded her former colonies like Senegal to de link themselves from the organization for it feared that Nigeria a former British colony will dominate her former colonies and organization at large.
14. There is illegal trade through smuggling, where cheap and high quality goods have been smuggled into the community. This has undermined domestic industries and it has become difficult to regulate trade.
15. Delays in decision making hindered the progress of Ecowas for example the non aggression agreement was made in 1976 but came into effect 1986. This has hampered progress.
16. Absence of a common currency, each member has its national currency hence creating the problem of foreign exchange and inconvenience of currency conversion which has hindered trade among members.
17. Cold war politics, Guinea Bissau for example adopted Marxism which advocated for a one party system and control of resources by the state. On the other hand other members adopted capitalism therefore policy implementation in such a case is difficult.

Qn- Assess the performance of Ecowas since its inception 1975

- Account for the formation of Ecowas since 1975

**CONTRIBUTION OF ASIANS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN STATES**

Asian communities have been in Africa for long even before the establishment of colonialism, these include; Arabs, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, to mention but a few. They have had a tremendous impact in the development of Africa.

1. Asians have boosted trade and commerce, they established them selves as major importers of finished products that are affordable hence improving standards of living of Africans.
2. The Asian communities have established industries such as Madvan, Mukwano, among others; these have produced a number of products like soap, plastics, tea hence reducing African balance of Payment problems.
3. They have established commercial Agriculture, putting up large farms like sugar cane plantation such as Kakira sugar estates, tea estates, hence employing a number of Africans.
4. Asians have improved transport through their firms like DOTT Services, Spencon, RCC, which have helped African government as they develop roads or rehabilitate old ones.
5. Through their firms such as Crane Bank, Aga khan, Asians have employed Africans as Accountants, Teachers, and Drivers, which in effect has improved people’s welfare.
6. Asians have contributed to the development of telecommunications through establishment of telecom companies like Warid; this improved people’s standards of living.
7. Asians have put up a number of infrastructures like schools such as Aga khan schools, Health centers like Kadic which has led to economic transformation of African states like Kenya, South Africa, and Uganda among others.
8. In the field of Tourism Asians have played a bigger role through the construction of bigger hotels and them selves as tourists in Africa hence increasing the tax base.
9. Asians have improved African National treasury as serious tax payers Sudir, Mukwano to mention but a few which reduce dependency on foreign countries and hence reducing the balance of payment problems.
10. Asians have brought foreign exchange as they come in Africa to do business, they carry with their currency like Dollars, Pounds, Japanese Yen, among others which has improved our economies.
11. Asians have given Aid to African countries in form of Medicine, Scholastic Materials, Machinery, and Personnel among others. This has led to development of Africa.
12. In the field of leisure, they have put up a number of recreation centers through building sports centers and entertainment centers where Africans go to relax their minds.
13. Asians have given scholarships to African students to go to countries like India, China, Japan for further studies on return these have always improved the standards of African countries.
14. Asians upheld the idea of Non-alignment strategy which African states adopted and tried to fight foreign influence in their countries like Tanzania adopted African socialism, Kenya Harambe Philosophy. All these helped to enhance self assertion and development.

**Negative effects of Asian existence in Africa**

1. The Asian import activities have interfered with the local manufacturers where they import cheaper goods hence killing craft man ship.
2. Asians practice tax evasion hence cheating African governments in Uganda for example Sudir Rupereria always appears to court because of tax avoidance.
3. They exploit African labour by forcing them to work long hours but with little pay for example Tri-star company in Uganda used to pay less than 100,000/= to AGOA Girls per month.
4. The Asians practice racial segregation this explains why President Amin of Uganda expelled them in 1972.

**MADAGASCAR**

**Background of Madagascar**

1. Madagascar is an Island in the Indian Ocean, it was colonized over 2000 years ago by Africans and Indonesians. In around the 7th century, the Arabs established trading posts there. From around 1500AD Europeans began visiting the Island, these included the Portuguese, Dutch and English traders.
2. France invaded Madagascar in 1883 and in 1885 the country was made a French protectorate. There was however, resistance from the Merina royal family from 1895 to 1896 but they were crushed by the French and sent into exile.
3. Due to Charles De Gaulle’s reforms Madagascar got autonomy in 1958 but got full independence in 1960 from the French and was declared a republic.
4. The first president of the republic was Philibert Tsiranana leader of the social democratic party who identified himself with the cottiers (a tribe) and the French settlers.

NB: Since independence, Madagascar has been greatly influenced by competing interests of 2 main ethnic groups that is to say the coastral people (cottiers) and the highland merinas.

1. The crisis started in 1972 as popular protests against the government of Tsiranana who stepped down and the army led by General Gabriel Ramathantsoa representing the merina took control.
2. Tsiranana had developed close ties with the cottiers and USSR which caused resentment.
3. The ambitions of the cottiers and the rising unemployment led to the government crisis of 1975.
4. In Feb 1975 Col. Richard Ratsimandrava was assassinated after a few days as president and in June 1975 Lt. Comdr Didier Ratsiraka seized power through a coup and imposed military law under a national military directorate and banned all political parties.
5. In the same year 1975 a new socialist constitution was passed and Ratsiraka a cottier was elected president.
6. Ratsiraka cut ties with France and nationalized the economy, he also launched a policy of Malgasization of the education system and political parties were allowed again.
7. In 1977 the national movement for the independence of Madagascar (MONIMA) a radical socialist party unsuccessfully challenged Ratsiraka, he even won the elections of 1983.
8. Social and political discontents were visible from the 1980s for example; the merina openly demonstrated their opposition to the government of Ratsiraka.
9. The government nationalization policy had weakened the state for they lost the skills of the French immigrants yet the people of Madagascar did not have the skills to take up the social economic and political sectors.
10. Critics also alleged that there was decline because of Ratsirakas communism.
11. In March 1989 Ratsiraka was re-elected President with 62% votes and his party AREMA won 120 of 137 seats and in the same year press censorship ended and political parties began to form in 1990.
12. It is asserted that opposition continued to Ratsiraka’s government with a lot of strikes and demonstrations in June 1991 demanding his resignation.
13. He responded by declaring a state of emergence in July 1991 and in August 1991 government troops fired on the peaceful demonstrators killing more than 30 people.
14. This was followed by a period of peace but in the year 2000 March a catastrophy befell Madagascar about 600,000 people were made homeless after the cyclone swept through the Island.
15. This brewed more discontent and in the elections of 2001 Ravalomanana won the disputed elections which Ratsiraka refused to acknowledge, he infact refused to concede defeat.
16. In January 2002 the constitutional court ordered a recount of the votes and over 50,000 supporters of Ravalomanana refused the count ruling thus forcing Ravalomanana to declare himself president.
17. Ratsiraka declared these moves illegal and declared martial law in the capital Antananarivo on 28th Feb. 2002.
18. Days later opposition supporters burnt down government headquarters and thus violence escalated claiming about 25 lives by the end of April 2002.
19. Due to rising food prices in 2008 president Ravalomanana faced opposition from Andre Rajoelina a 34 year old media magnate and mayor of Antananarivo. The president reacted by shutting down Rajoelina’s Radio and T.V Network.
20. This led to protests and mass marches and general strikes from January 2009.
21. This disorder claimed 170 lives and on March 2009 the army ousted Ravalomanana who fled to South Africa. The army then installed Rajoelina as president which USA and European Union denounced.
22. In effect the Africa Union also suspended Madagascar.

**CAUSES OF CONFLICTS, INSTABILITIES IN MALAGASY AFTER INDEPENDENCE 1960**

1. Ethnic rivalry between the cottiers and the merina from the ancient times through the colonial period and post independent era for the merinas were the royals thus always inconflict with the cottiers.
2. The colonial policy of divide and rule where the merinas were favoured. That hatred continued to divide the people of Madagascar to date.
3. Dictatorship of the leaders like Tsiranana, Ramanantasoa, Ratsiraka. These were uncompromising and tortured those in opposition.
4. Poverty, to date Madagascar is still a poor country therefore such people have been easy to mobilize into gangs.
5. Corruption, in all regimes right from independence there have been claims of corruption leading to coups and violence.
6. Censoring of the press for example 2008, Rajoelina’s T.V and Radio were closed leading to protests.
7. Ambitious characters of people like Ravalomanana who even rebuked the court order of recounting votes and declared himself president.
8. Cold war politics USSR from 1960 and USA were present in Madagascar with such the crises were inevitable.
9. Weakness of UNO, a world body only stopped on condemnation and ensuring the non-interference code making the crisis continues.
10. Weakness of OAU, it remained toothless in solving the Malagasy conflicts even African Union stopped in condemnations.
11. Introduction of the army in the politics of the state by General Gabriel Ramanantsoa 1972 when he forced Tsiranana to step down convinced the army, that it can take control of the affairs of Madagascar.
12. Lack of enough preparation of the people of Madagscar by the Fench, when they left there was man power problems in skilled sectors leading to scarcity of goods and services hence conflicts.
13. Banning of political parties for example in 1975 Lt. Comdr Didier Ratsiraka seized power and banned political party activities. This was a dangerous move.
14. Regional imbalance, the high land merinas were more developed forcing the coastal cottiers into rebellions so as to share the national cake.
15. A series of coups in Africa, 1952 Egyptian coup, 1966 Ghanaian coup, 1971 Ugandan coup, 1965 Algerian coup, all these gave examples to the Malagasy people.
16. Unwillingness to leave power for example Didier Ratsiraka came to power in June 1975 up to 2001 when he was defeated by Ravalomanana and still refused to concede defeat, the situation made the crisis unavoidable.

**ALUTA CONTINUA**

**“The struggle continues”**

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