

## **THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC)**

The East African Community was formed / established on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1967 after signing the Arusha treaty by the heads or president Jomo Kenyatta – Kenya, Julius Nyerere – Tanzania and Milton Obote – Uganda.

It was under the guidance of Kjeld Phillips - a United Nations Professor and expert in international relations and the treaty came into effect (operation) on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1967.

### **AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF EAC**

1. To strengthen political ties between the three countries
2. To promote balanced regional economic development
3. To promote the adoption of a common currency that would ease commercial transactions.
4. To ease the mobility of resources, goods and services and eliminate restrictions.
5. To promote trade among the member states.
6. To expand the market for the goods produced in the region
7. To reduce the duplication of goods and services among the member states.
8. To foster cooperation and unity among the East African states
9. To mobilize financial support from international organizations and fight neo – colonialism.
10. To safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of East African states

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF E.A.C

The EAC existed between 1967 and 1977 and within a decade (10 years) it achieved the following:-

- The body established a common market in the region that in turn promoted regional economic development.
- The EAC established common services in the region. Tanzania became the headquarters of the harbors cooperation in Dar –es – Salaam and headquarters of community at Arusha, Uganda the East African Posts and telecommunications and EADB in Kampala, Kenya had the East African Airways and railways in Nairobi hence decentralization promoted.
- The body ensured and promoted regional unity and cooperation among member states. This guaranteed uniform problem solving in East Africa than what existed in the East African federation.
- Diplomatic relations were equally promoted in the region member states occasionally met to address their regional problems.
- The body promoted employment opportunities in the corporations set up like the railway, EADB, East African harbors, the EALA, the EAA that raised the standard of living of the people.
- The EAC harmonized trade and commerce in its initial stages. This was done through the reduction of the trade barriers among the three states.
- The EAC promoted industrialization in the region. These included the circle and plain aluminium sheets, radio assembly and manufactures of

motor – vehicle tyres and tubes in Tanzania, Kenya produced bulbs. These generated local revenue and employment provision.

- The body established the East African Development Bank (EADB) that promoted balanced development. The bank extended loans to member states for setting up projects, provided technical assistance and solicited for financial support from international organizations.
- The EAC promoted the easy mobility of East African citizens and goods. The corporations established encouraged people to work freely in the three countries e.g. the Railways, Airways, industries, EAA, the Bank among others.
- The community promoted the spirit of Pan African. The Movement advocated for regional integrity and this was enshrined in EAC and problems were uniformly solved.
- The EAC opened room for the incorporation and inclusion of other states to broaden its market like Malawi, Burundi and Rwanda
- The EAC promoted specialization among member states. This was reflected in the projects set up like the industries of fertilizers in Uganda, Electric bulbs in Kenya Airways in Kenya and even the agriculturally based projects e.g. sisal for Tanzania, pyrethrum in Kenya and coffee in Uganda.
- The EAC linked the three countries to the world economic systems or organizations. These included E.E.C, U.N.O for purposes of comparison and effective implementation and realization of the set objectives.

- The body established infrastructure in the region these included the East African railways, Airlines, roads to promote development as precursors to harness the resources.
- The body also streamlined education in the region that increased the literacy rate. Regional universities were set up e.g. Makerere University in Uganda, Dar – es – Salaam University and Kenyatta University in Kenya. This allowed all people in the region to acquire education in all without restrictions. Also examination boards e.g. EAEC to regulate performance.
- The EAC tried to harmonize the currency exchange in the region and all were using the shillings. The level of exchange was checked in the initial stages that limited the conflicts.
- The body established the East African court of appeal and councils of tribunals. These helped to check on the excesses of the leaders and promote the proper operation of the organization. (pertaining industrial disputes related to staff)
- The body too promoted the setting up of the East African legislative Assembly. This was composed of the chairperson, the general secretary, ministers from the partner states.
- Research was promoted in East Africa through the EAC. This was a branch of the council of tribunals that was in charge of finance, communications, common market and planning and coordinated networks from Arusha.
- The body tried to unify the fiscal policy in East Africa. This was done by the uniform customs duties and regulations between the member states.

## **FAILURES / WEAKNESSES / CHALLENGES BY 1977**

- Failure of the relations among the heads of state e.g. Amin conflicted with Nyerere due to the 1971 coup and Nyerere vowed never to sit with Amin on the same table.
- The EAA- the top body of heads of states failed to meet with the rise of Amin.
- The member states failed to respect the principle of regional economic cooperation and adopted protectionism i.e. not allowing other goods to flow from other countries.
- The member states failed to expand the membership and yet this had been proposed.
- The EAC leadership failed to control the bickering among the heads of states e.g. Amin, Nyerere and Kenyatta.
- Failure to control neo – colonialism
- Failure to ensure even and balanced distribution of the benefits e.g. Kenya was progressing at a faster rate.
- Failure to punish and reprimand members who failed to pay up their subscriptions e.g. Uganda and Tanzania.
- Economic nationalism and duplication of industries e.g. Uganda had to specialize in sugar industry, but Kenya also started, other countries like Uganda and Tanzania began producing tyres and set up plants meant for Kenya, lack of harmony in tax policies by 1974 etc.
- Failure to control corruption in the set up corporations.

- Member states failed to establish a uniform currency. There was nationalization of the currencies and it presented a problem to members in different countries to purchase products due to failure to accept money as legal tenders
- Failure to control individualism and prestige of heads of state regarding appointments. Squabbles came up over appointments and expulsions of Kenyans from Tanzania. This made projects to break up e.g. in 1976, Airways in each country, all wanted to own a bank, university and railway than sharing.
- Failed to stop misunderstandings over the transport sector. This made Tanzania in 1973 to manage its railway system. Kenya was blamed for developing road transport to weaken railway and Tanzania thought of the Tazara railway.

### **Questions**

1. Assess the achievements of East African Community between 1967 – 1977
2. To what extent did the EAC achieve the objectives of its founders by 1977?
3. How successful was the EAC in fulfilling the objectives of its founders between 1967 –1977?

### **Approach**

- Brief introduction i.e. year, members involved
- Aims outlined
- Clear stand point
- Achievements Vs failures.

4. To what extent did the economic factors lead to the collapse of the East African Community by 1977?

- Brief introduction

- Role of economic factors

- Other factors

- Stand point needed.

Points to consider (economic)

- Duplication of industries

- Trade diversion – trading with other countries outside the EAC i.e. Tanzania with USA.

- Trade protectionism or economic nationalism i.e. Tanzania and Uganda levying higher taxes on Kenya goods to protect their infant industries.

- Small membership that narrowed the market and financial obligations to fund projects e.g. EADB

- Consumption of poor quality products, expensively mostly from Kenya.

- Lack of a common and accepted currency. This made life hard for non – citizens in the different countries to make transactions.

- Financial corruption reflected in the set up corporations affected the smooth running of EAC.

- Unequal distribution of the economic benefits among the member states e.g. Kenya developed largely faster than all which angered other parties.

- The economic sabotage and meddling by the multi – national companies hence dumping of cheaper products

- Failure of member states to respect their subscription / obligations that dwindled progress.
- The unfair competition for foreign investors that made Kenya to woe many
- The oil crisis of 1973 – 74 drastically affected the region and world at large.
- Arab oil producing countries cut off supporters of Israel and USA (companies like Shell, Agip, Caltex originate from Britain to which EAC was affiliated and this led to break down of economy and retrenchment.

#### **Other factors include**

- The weaknesses of OAU – continental body that would prevail over the bickering
- Border conflicts i.e. Amin around the Kagera region and Kisumu, Tanzania closed border in 1976 to deny Kenya imports
- Ideological differences among the members i.e. Tanzania had adopted socialism that demanded collective ownership of resources i.e. state control etc.

Kenya was mixed, but majorly capitalized.

- Personal rivalry between the heads of state ie Amin Vs Nyerere and Nyerere vowed not to sit with a buffoon, blood stained Amin and EAA not to convene.
- The 1971 coup in Uganda / the rise of Amin to power i.e. no back ground to EAC, refused to pay subscription, expelled the Asians, workers of the community etc.



- Selfish national interests among the member countries and members employed – no interest of the EAC at heart.
- Lack of good will from the citizens / personalization of the EAC by the leaders like Jomo Kenyatta given the level of development, Nyerere did not want to be opposed.
- Political immorality, Amin -Nyerere referred to each other as woman to marry, Nyerere referred to Amin as an illiterate and buffoon and Kenyatta was called a political prostitute hence tearing the EAC.
- Lack of prior experience by the founder members. This was the 1<sup>st</sup> regional organization and leaders did not have any experience of running such a bigger project.
- Language barrier - Kenya and Tanzania felt comfortable with Kiswahili which disadvantaged Uganda.

### **Question**

1. “The 1971 coup in Uganda was primarily responsible for the collapse of the EAC in 1977”. Discuss
2. “Amin Idi Dada made the collapse of the EAC in 1977 inevitable”. Discuss
  - Brief introduction
  - Role of Amin / Coup of 1971
  - Other factors
  - Clear stand point

### **Points to consider**

- Amin overthrew Obote who was a founder member of EAC
- Accelerated misunderstandings between members e.g. between Uganda Vs Kenya Kisumu area, Uganda – Tanzania over Kagera area.
- The economic war of 1972 led to loss of revenue and industrial experts
- Amin dismissed / expelled Tanzania workers over 45,000 people and Iddi simba a senior worker in EAA and major department of EAC
- Amin promoted trade mal – practices like smuggling that led to tax evasion
- Dictatorship of Amin / Mal – administration affected the activities of EAC
- Amin contributed to the collapse of the economy not to pay the subscription obligations
- Amin accelerated corruption which dwindled the operation of EAC
- The coming to power by Amin sabotaged the communications which hindered the operations of EAC.
- Amin promoted political instability in Uganda and in the region
- Amin perpetuated neo – colonialism in that negatively affected EAC.

### **Others**

- Ideological differences i.e. Uganda and Kenya capitalists Vs Tanzania which was socialist
- Personalization of community decisions e.g. Tanzania under Nyerere
- No prior knowledge and experience by the members.
- Limited membership or narrow market
- Failure to involve members in the operations from all countries
- Duplication of industries and services by Kenya.

- Trade diversion
- Unbalanced benefits
- Completion of the Tazara railway
- Financial hardships or lack of adequate funds due to limited reserves in EADB
- Economic nationalism or protectionism
- Weaknesses of OAU
- International interference e.g. European Economic community
- Language barrier
- Lack of a regionally accepted currency that limited transactions etc.

### **Question**

Restoration of Ethiopian independence from Italy in 1941

- Ethiopia had lost its independence in 1936 when Italy occupied it after defeating the monarchy that forced Emperor Haile Selassie to exile

### **Factors include**

- The formation of the black lions movement
- The application of the guerilla tactics against the Italians
- The brutality imposed on Ethiopians by Italians increased anger e.g. the 1937 Graziani Massacres, execution of Bishop Petros in 1938 etc
- The determination of the Ethiopians to get rid of Italians
- The able leadership provided by RAS Imru

- Role of the Orthodox church that was patriotic vehemently opposed Italians
- Tactical escape of Emperor Haile Selassie to exile in England turned out to be a blessing in disguise.
- Italy's blunder of joining world war II on the side of Germany annoyed Britain
- Massive assistance rendered to Ethiopia from fellow African countries e.g. Nigeria, Sierra – Leone, Ghana, Kenya
- The role of the Rastafarian movement
- Assistance from the gallant veterans of Adowa battle e.g. Ras Mulugeta, Zerai Deress etc
- The role of the WASU from West Africa that was violent against imperialism in Africa.
- The home geographical advantage enjoyed by Ethiopians i.e. mountains were unfamiliar to Italians
- Numerical strength of the Ethiopians compared to the Italians
- Hostile press attacks against Italian rule in Ethiopia world wide
- The wide spread black demonstrations against Italian rule in Ethiopia
- The strong sense of unity and patriotism displayed by Ethiopians against Italians after the 1935 invasion
- Role of various anti – colonial movements e.g. the IASB, IAFE, Abyssinian association, Pan African Federation (PAF)

- Commitment of the educated (Elites) and the blacks in the diaspora to the cause of Ethiopia e.g. Ras Makonen from Guyana, George Padmore from Trinidad and Tobago.
- Support from Britain and France against Italy (Br through Sudan and Kenya)
- The international sympathy extended to Ethiopia when the emperor selassie fled to exile

### **THE CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN 1955 – 2005**

Sudan was a victim of the joint colonialism of Egypt and Britain from 1899 under the condominium Agreement or administration. It should however be noted that Egypt withdrew from this arrangement and Britain continued to govern Sudan until 1956 when independence was granted on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1956.

During the joint administration, Egypt took control of the North and Britain indirectly ruled the south hence the division of Sudan into two separate regions of Arab North and the Negro – South and this occasioned the conflict between the North -South Conflict.

The civil war in Sudan began in 1955 and was in numerous phases like Anyanya I, Anyanya II spearheaded by Joseph Lagu and Dr. John Garang under the SPLA / M against the Khartoum government dominated by the Arab Muslims.

## **CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN**

1. The British policy of divide and rule politics in Sudan led to the civil war. This policy implemented by Britain was aimed at separating the North from the South. The North had well developed infrastructure like roads, schools and hospitals and the joint parliament was in the North, the British discouraged marriages between the southerners and northerners. All these injustices were not checked by the British hence provoking the southerners to rebel hence the civil war.
2. The negative effects of the Anglo – Egyptian administration in Sudan occasioned the civil war. The two colonial masters pursued different policies in Sudan i.e. Egypt controlled the Muslim north while the British controlled the Christian south. The Egyptians controlled or applied direct rule and the British applied indirect rule and these different policies brought disunity creating a situation of rebellion among the southerners.
3. Cultural superiority also led to the outbreak by the Sudan civil war. This superiority was established by the colonial masters that made the northerners to be regarded as first citizens of the country, the southerners were second class citizens, left illiterate, considered inferior, despised as

former slaves and infidels. This compelled the southerners to rebel against the northern administration in Sudan.

4. The weaknesses of the colonial constitution contributed to the civil war in Sudan. The constitution was biased and discriminated the southern by denying them equal opportunities in politics e.g. 46 seats, in parliament were given to the northerners and three seats to the southerners. In 1955, the southerners requested for a federal government that was rejected by the constitution hence the rebellion of the southerners.
5. Racism that was promoted by the British in Sudan also caused the Sudan civil war. The north was occupied by Muslim Arabs who were the majority amounting to 11 million compared to the black southerners of 4 million. These two groups had different religions, culture and physical appearance in color. The Arabs were superior compared to the blacks and this arrogance was promoted by the British leading to the outbreak of the Sudan civil war.
6. The religious differences between the North and the South occasioned the civil war in Sudan. The issue of religious was a colonial legacy that brought Christian missionaries into southern part of Sudan, they taught the southerners to hate the Muslims of the North, applied the divide and rule policy.

The Arabs in the north were interested in Islamizing the whole of Sudan and establishing Sharia law. This was rejected by the southerners as the Islamic principles conflicted with the Christian faith and rejected the Islamic names leading to the civil war.

7. Unequal economic development between the north and south led to the civil war in Sudan. The colonial masters made the northerners to develop at the expense of the southerners. Developed infrastructure like schools, hospitals and railways were erected in north. Most lucrative jobs were dominated by the northerners, the southerners were unemployed and paid all sorts of taxes hence the war was because of economic development in Sudan.
8. Inadequate preparations for independence in Sudan led to the outbreak of the civil war. The colonial masters never laid a smooth transfer of power and the constitution had double standards. The British encouraged the Arab north to form political parties like the UMA and the National Unionist Party yet the southerners did not have any party. The British recruited **6** civil servants from the south and **194** northerners and this even led to army mutiny in 1955. Therefore, failure of Britain to address the irregularities by independence time in 1956 created discontent leading to the civil war.



9. The Arabisation policy implemented by the Arab north occasioned the civil war in Sudan. Arabic was made to be the official language even in the south yet the southerners preferred English. This language policy made the northerners to take top jobs in the south as the requirement was being fluent in Arabic hence denying the southerners employment.  
Also joining a public university in Sudan one had to speak Arabic fluently and this caused resentment leading to the civil war in Sudan.
10. The existence of power struggle contributed to the civil war in Sudan. It is true that Sudan experienced phases of the civil wars like Anyanya I and II under Joseph Lagu struggling to lead the southerners and in 1983, Dr. John Garang formed the SPLA to get total independence of the south Sudan. This unquenchable thirst for power by the different nationalists was responsible for the Sudan civil war.
11. The influence of slave trade and slavery also occasioned the Sudan civil war. It ought to be remembered that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many southerners such as the Dinka, Azande and Shiluk were taken as slaves by the Arabs. The northerners despised the southerners and regarded them as inferiors reduced to tradable products. This created discontent which eventually led to the war.
12. The high ended corruption by northern officials led to the outbreak of the Sudan civil war. The northern officials often misappropriated and

embezzled the funds or resources meant to develop the south. They took bribes and mishandled the government revenue which created a fertile ground for the southerners to get into war to end the corrupt tendencies of the north.

13. The discovery of oil in southern Sudan also led to the civil war. The northern government i.e. Khartoum in Sudan wanted to control the resources of the country at the expense of the southerners and yet the southerners were not ready to let their lucrative oil to be lost to the north. This competition of the oil resources brought rivalry and conflicts leading to war between the north and the south.
14. The dictatorial policies of the Khartoum government i.e. the regime of general Abboud 1958 – 1964, general Jaafar Nimeiri up to 1983, Omar – El – Bashir from 1985. These leaders were dictatorial and never preferred peaceful conflict resolution, but opted for military confrontation e.g. Hassan – EL – Bashir in 1987 applied military approaches and killed many southerners in riots with a lot of brutality. This nature of dictators compelled the southerners to fight for their independence hence civil war.
15. The emergency of Islamic fundamentalism in Sudan was responsible for the long civil war. Sudan became a centre of Muslim fundamentalists from Palestine and other parts of the Muslim world. The fundamentalists aimed at fighting the Christian infidels (pegans) in the south and desired to

spread Islam forcefully (Jihad). This created unprincipled conflict between the Arab north and Christians in the south and led to the expulsion of Christian missionaries from the south, southerners were forced to abandon Christian names and adopt Arabic culture during the regime of general Abboud.

16. Ideological differences caused by the cold war politics accelerated the Sudan Civil War. USA, Israel and Britain supported the southerners in order to spread capitalism that had failed in the north that got support from the USSR and socialist Egypt under Nasser. This cold war politics kept Sudan on fire of conflicts due to ideological differences.
17. The personal ambitions of Dr. John Garang made the civil war inevitable in Sudan. Garang formed the the SPLA/M in 1983 with an aim of leading Sudan and this made him to converse for / solicit for support from Britain, USA and Uganda from President Museveni with whom they attended University education at Dar-es-salaam. Garang fought up to 2005 when a comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) was signed in Nairobi to get semi autonomous authority.

#### **SUMMARY OF THE CAUSES OF THE SUDAN CIVIL WAR 1955 – 2005**

- Racial differences between south(blacks) on northerners i.e. Arabs.
- British policy of divide and rule
- Unequal representation of the southerners in parliament.
- Failure to grant federal government in southern provinces

- Unequal economic development between north and south
- Religious intolerance
- Cultural superiority
- Slave trade legacy
- Unequal share of pre – independence benefits
- Coming to power of general Abboud 1958 – 1964 (Arabisation policy)
- Determination of the south to get independence
- Rise to power of mohammad Ahmed in 1965.
- Character of Jaafari Nimeiri
- Formation of Anyanya / SPLA
- Greed for power or personal ambitions of Garanga
- Dictatorship of Khartoum government
- Discovery of oil in the south
- Impact of Islamic fundamentalism
- Cold war politics
- Corruption etc

### **Questions**

1. Account for the secessionist attitude in South Sudan since independence.
2. Explain the causes of the Sudan Civil War by 1955.
3. To what extent was the Sudan civil war a result of British colonial legacy?
4. “Internal factors were primarily responsible for the outbreak of the Sudan Civil War” Discuss.

### **EFFECT OF THE SUDAN CIVIL WAR**

1. The war claimed the lives of many Sudanese especially in the south. These ranged from women, children and older men and some people died of starvation and others died in the cross fire fighting between rebels and the Khartoum government forces.
2. The war caused massive destruction of property especially in the south as houses and serious settlements were burnt down, crops and fields grossly destroyed. This was intended to deny the rebels a source of survival including other vital installations like schools and hospitals leading to general decline in the standard of living.
3. The civil war intensified the cold war politics and promoted neo – colonialism in Sudan. Foreign powers such as Russia, Israel, Egypt and Britain interfered in the affairs of Sudan and also heightened the conflict of the south and north.
4. The war worsened the refugee crisis in the neighboring countries of Kenya, Uganda, Egypt, and Ethiopia among others. This strained the budget of international bodies of UNHCR.
5. The war led to the outbreak of famine and other uncalled for epidemics in Sudan. There was acute shortage of food which caused mal – nutrition among the children. Famine was also due to the disruption of farm

activities as the people could not concentrate during the war amid the government burning down the fields.

6. The war militarized the politics of Sudan as the Khartoum government embarked on buying military weapons. The national budget of Khartoum allocated a larger percentage to military hardware that narrowed the provision of social services meant for the people of Sudan.
7. The civil war attracted the attention of OAU and UNO that intervened to the extent of ending the long conflict in the region. These regional and international bodies tried to monitor the humanitarian situation in Sudan by having peace talks with the leaders to avoid the massive loss of life.
8. The war led to the successful secession of south Sudan from Sudan in July 2011. This was followed by the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) between the SPLA / M and the Khartoum government under Omar Hassan Bashir signed in 2005 (semi – autonomous leadership).
9. There was economic retardation and social decline in southern Sudan i.e. south Sudan. The infrastructure to date is very poor, medical services remained dilapidated; education was at its lowest leading to low standard of living of the masses.

## **THE REIGN OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE 1930 – 1974**

Emperor Haille Selassie was born in 1892 to Ras Makonnen a cousin to emperor Menelik II. He was one of the leaders of the solomonic dynasty who came to power in 1930 and overthrown in 1974 through a coup by the Dergue government led by Mengistu Mariam Haile and other soldiers. The emperor had various titles including his imperial majesty, king of kings and Lion of Judah.

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF EMPEROR HAILLE SELASIE**

1. The emperor gave Ethiopia the first ever written constitution in 1930 and it was revised in 1955. This constitution protected the fundamental human rights of the people and it democratized the social and political institutions in Ethiopia.
2. Emperor Selassie also spearheaded the introduction of modern political structures in Ethiopia. He began the ministry of commerce and finance and this established economic progress of the country, promoted the export and import trade and thus contributed to more foreign exchange in Ethiopia.
3. The emperor modernized the Ethiopian army. This was done by buying modern military weapons, developing the naval ships and infantry, training the army with modern skills and soldiers from Israel were brought to Ethiopia to shape the military tactics of Ethiopia.

4. The emperor made the Amharic the national language of Ethiopia and this brought national unity. It brought the tribes together and solved the problem of disunity and language barrier that eased communication.
5. The emperor succeeded in admitting Ethiopia to become a legitimate member of the UN formed in 1945. This helped Ethiopia to relate internationally and it became vocal against colonialism in Africa using the UNO general assembly.
6. Emperor Selassie placed Ethiopia at the centre of African unity which played a fundamental role in forming the OAU in 1963. The emperor also allowed the headquarters of OAU to be housed at Addis Ababa and played a role in decolonizing Africa using the liberation committee.
7. Emperor Haile abolished slave trade and slavery in Ethiopia. This practice of slavery had been common among the Amhara and Tigre tribes but they were condemned by the emperor. Other inhuman practices like forced labor was also condemned leading to the respect for human dignity.
8. Emperor Selassie succeeded in defeating Italian imperialism in 1941. Although he had been defeated and went to exile in 1936, he mobilized international assistance and got back to his country as a leader in 1941 and hence an achievement.
9. Emperor Haile promoted tourism and wild life conservation in Ethiopian. He made tireless efforts to preserve nature in his country and in 1961 he set up the Ethiopian tourist organization. He kept about 6 lions in his palace and also kept birds hence an achievement.



10. Emperor Selassie promoted games and sports in Ethiopia and him personally loved games like chess, horse riding etc. This explains partly that after his departure in 1974, Ethiopia still remains an athletic champion of Africa and even in the Olympics in the world hence an achievement.
11. The emperor catered for the welfare of the disadvantaged citizens in Ethiopia. He set up an orphanage to cater for the orphans in Ethiopia and used to often visit their places hence improving their social welfare.
12. Emperor Selassie modernized the printing sector factor in Ethiopia. He made efforts to transform the sector into a modern printing sector and he founded the Amharic newspaper that was widely read by Ethiopians, it covered the religious part of the country and promoted the education sector in Ethiopia.
13. The Emperor promoted the health sector in Ethiopia. He constructed hospitals to express his heartfelt sympathy to the sick people and he used to visit the hospital to check on the services offered, the medical personnel were highly paid leading to modern services.
14. The emperor modernized the transport sector in Ethiopia, many roads were constructed, air transport was improved i.e. the Ethiopian airways and ports like Masawa and Assab hence promoting international trade and communication.
15. The Emperor promoted religious tolerance in Ethiopia and this gave the people a fair measure of religious freedom. Religious beliefs were accommodated e.g. the Moslems from Eritrea, Orthodox Church and other religious denominations were also valued in Ethiopia.

16. Emperor Selassie modernized the education systems in Ethiopia, primary and secondary education were promoted and supported with funds from the government and this reduced the illiteracy levels. Ethiopian students were given scholarships to study from abroad, colleges and universities were set up and international lecturers hired to give education services in Ethiopia.
17. Emperor Haile introduced a 5 year development plan for Ethiopia. This was compounded by recent technologies, he hired technocrats from Sweden, Belgium, USA and Britain to modernize the country and promote quality services. This helped to improve the quality of life from the ancient empire into a modern society.
18. Emperor Selassie stood firm behind the protection of the rights and freedoms of the African continent. He worked closely with the African statesmen to condemn imperialism in Africa for example he criticized the UDI government under Ian Smith in southern Rhodesia and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

## **FAILURES / WEAKNESSES**

1. The emperor overstayed in power from 1930 – 1974 and there was an abuse of democratic governance in Ethiopia and became unpopular. In 1960 there was an attempted coup that got aborted but later was overthrown in 1974.
2. The emperor pursued a policy of nepotism and tribalism in Ethiopia. The people from the Amhara tribe were favoured at the expense of the gallas,

tigres, wellos hence undermining the credibility of his government by 1974.

3. The emperor was autocratic and dictatorial. He had a parliament that passed rubber stamp policies that were not in the interests of people in Ethiopia ,removing the emperor from power using democratic means was next to impossible leading to his over throw in 1974.
4. The emperor promoted financial and economic corruption in Ethiopia. His government misappropriated funds, embezzled a lot of money and the emperor used millions of dollars that created a debt burden for the country.
5. The emperor neglected the army and it was characterized by low pay, promotion was based on tribe, the soldiers were poorly housed and this created discontent that led to the coup of 1974.
6. Emperor Selassie neglected the industrial sector in Ethiopia. This created high levels of unemployment among the people of Ethiopia, limited revenue and it led to the consumption of highly priced products from abroad that brought in imported inflation.
7. Emperor Haile failed to address the problems of famine in Ethiopia. The country registered famine from 1972 – 74 and this claimed the lives of the people amounting to 200,000 deaths among the tigre people. The government ignored this catastrophe and it undermined his government by 1974.
8. The emperor failed to solve the problem of wide spread illiteracy among the people of Ethiopia. The majority of the people in Ethiopia weren't

educated given the expensive education, the sons of the peasants did not access education because they weren't connected to the royal family in Ethiopia hence a weakness.

9. The emperor failed to reform the land tenure system in the country. The problem of land remained constant among the peasants because the king practiced feudalism that empowered land lords to evict the squatters at their own wish hence a weakness.
10. The Emperor promoted political instability in Ethiopia. This was attributed to the war of secession among the people of Eritrea when he refused to grant self independence, the Ogaden crisis i.e. the fertile area near Somalia that created resentments among the people of Somalia and this undermined his popularity.

## **Questions**

- a) Assess the achievements of Emperor Haile Selassie to the history of Ethiopia between 1930 –1974.
- b) Examine the contribution of Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia by 1974.

## **THE DOWN FALL OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE IN 1974**

The emperor was overthrown in 1974 but his government had become unpopular several years before this incident. In 1960, Ethiopia experienced an aborted, though the intelligence network overcame it.

It should be recalled that on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1974, a group of young but experienced army officers staged a coup against the monarchy led by Haile Mariam Mengistu, Atnafu Abate and Aman Andom. The army officers detained

the emperor in a prison where he was tortured and finally died mysteriously. A new government called the Dergue (provisional advisory council was set up (PMAC).

### **CAUSES OF THE 1974 COUP (DOWNFALL OF SELASSIE)**

1. The drought and famine catastrophes worsened the situation in Ethiopia leading to the downfall of Selassie. Famine broke out in 1972 following a long drought resulting into increased starvation, over 200,000 peasants perished like the Galla, shoa, wello, Somalis etc. floods later invaded Ethiopia and a lot of property destroyed, the government of Haille Sellassie failed to address these problems hence being disserted.
2. The increased grievances in the army resulting from the appalling conditions made the 1974 coup inevitable. The army officials got meager payments, poor living conditions in terms of housing, discriminated in promotions. All these influenced the young generals to organize a coup against Haille Sellassie.
3. The dictatorship of Emperor Haille Selassie caused his down fall. The despotism of the selassie increased after 1955 – revised constitution that gave him absolute powers to become a dictator. The Ethiopian parliament existed by words, functional democracy was suffocated and political pluralism was banned.
4. The tribalistic tendencies of Haille Selassie inevitably led to his downfall. He favored the small Amharic tribe and it dominated the political lucrative and influential posts in government. This form of nepotism that even

made the royal family to distance from local people and tribalism led to the unpopularity of the emperor by 1974.

5. The emperor practiced religious intolerance in Ethiopia by favoring the Orthodox Church making him unpopular (Christianity state religion). The emperor neglected other religions like the Muslims mostly occupying Eritrean province. These other religious sects therefore rallied behind the army officers to overthrow the emperor in 1974.
6. The economic backwardness in Ethiopia affected the unpopularity of the Emperor. There was primitivity in Ethiopia and by 1974, it was becoming less developed in Africa, the infrastructure was inadequate and the roads, railways had started collapsing. Industry and agriculture were very low and the means of transport was by horse leading to his overthrow in 1974.
7. The government of Haile Selassie was dominated by gross unemployment. This was attributed to low levels of industrialization and agriculture.

The masses lacked the essential commodities and acute inflation in the country. This worsened the standards of living that became unbearable by 1974.

8. The poor foreign policy adopted by Emperor Haile Selassie led to his downfall (neo – colonialism). The emperor made USA a trade partner of coffee as its chief producer in Africa, USA in exchange gave Ethiopia American industrial products on addition to determining the price of coffee. This annoyed the young army officials who rejected the exploitative policy of America hence the coup.

NB: Also employed foreigners as advisors from Switzerland, Army, and Israelites etc.

9. The increased political instabilities in Ethiopia caused the downfall of the Ethiopian monarchy. The government of selassie failed to solve the armed conflict in the Ogden province, also the Eritrean crisis that started in 1961 for self determination posed problems. This necessitated the military intervention to address the welfare of the Ethiopians.
10. Emperor Haille Selassie deprived the Ethiopian of their fundamental human rights leading to the downfall. The freedoms of worship, association, speech and assembly were restricted. This suffering was only next to slavery and colonialism and a state of anarchy that had to be addressed by the army.
11. The failure by the emperor to return the land tenure system made the coup inevitable. The southern part of Ethiopia to include tribes like the Galla, the tigre either had no land or under the control of land lords who charged higher dues. This poor land policy was complicated by feudalism and serfdom leading to the unpopularity of the ageing emperor by 1974.
12. High rate of illiteracy caused the downfall of emperor Haile selassie. Ethiopia experienced over 90%, illiteracy rate at the continent and the few educated people lived in Addis Ababa. The illiterates in the rural areas had no chance of transformation that even increased unemployment hence the coup in 1974.
13. The emergence of the elite class in Ethiopia led to the overthrow of Haile Selassie. It should be noted that by 1956, the number of western educated

people was steadily increasing in Ethiopia; these became impatient of the policies of Emperor and desired radical changes. The government was highly criticized and this laid a foundation for the coup.

14. Corruption and economic mismanagement that characterized the emperor's government led to the coup. The government officials and the royal family exploited the Ethiopian resources to waste and to satisfy their interest, the emperor tended to bank a lot of money in foreign institutions like the Swiss bank in Geneva. This annoyed the desperate national to make the regime unpopular.
15. Poverty that claimed the majority of the Ethiopian population led to the military intervention through the 1974 coup. This made the peasants to hardly educate their children, feed them or cloth them. The working conditions were equally appalling experienced by the army too. Therefore, the failure of the government to address the poverty situation of the peasants led to the downfall of the Ethiopian monarch.
16. The existence and rise of the ambitious young socialist officers led to the overthrow of the monarchy in Ethiopia. These included Atnafu, Mengistu and Andom. These wanted to test power, reform the military sector and set up a socialist state in Ethiopia. They had detested the regime of selassie despite his ageing life who refused to step down. A dergue gov't (PMAC) in 1974 that saw the exit of the Emperor.
17. The influence of other earlier successful coups in Africa led to the downfall of selassie in 1974. This was done as a demonstration effect by the Ethiopians as other Africans on the continent had succeeded. Examples of



these coups included the 1965 Algerian coup led by Boumedienne against Ahmed Ben Bella, 1965 Congo led by Mobutu against Kasavubu, 1965 Congo led by Mobutu against Kasavubu, 1966 in Nigeria i.e. January and July led by Nzeogwu against Tafawa Balewa, 1966 Ghanaian coup led by Kotoka against Nkrumah, 1971 in Uganda by Amin against Obote, 1972 in Ghana led by Acheampong against Kofi Busia.

18. The military government initiated the establishment of workers committees to improve on the welfare of workers. This led to the creation of trade unions to regulate the minimum wage of workers. The socialist government of mengistu tried to reduce the labour exploitation in Ethiopia.
19. Mengistu and the Dergue introduced the progressive taxation system to improve on the fiscal policy. Poll tax was reduced in favor of income earners with the "PAYE". This checked the gap between the rich and the poor.
20. The Dergue embarked on mass industrialization. Many industries were set up to increase output and reduce on consumption of foreign goods. Industrialization also improved on the welfare of the people through employment and the ministry of industry was put in place to increase manufacturing.

### **Questions**

1. Account for the downfall of Emperor Haille Selassie in 1974.
2. Discuss the factors that led to the collapse of the Ethiopian Monarchy in 1974.

3. To what extent did Emperor Haile Sellasie contribute to his downfall?
4. Examine the factors for the rise to power of the Dergue military regime.
5. Account for the rise to power of Mengistu Haile Mariam.

## **ETHIOPIA UNDER MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (THE DERGUE) 1974 – 1991**

Major Mengistu Haile Mariam assumed political power in Ethiopia after eliminating the 1<sup>st</sup> head of the PMAC, but became full head of state (president of Ethiopia) in Feb, 1977.

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DERGUE / MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM**

1. The Dergue undertook a land reform policing in Ethiopia. This was done and was the major achievement of Mengistu that made households benefit directly in march 1975, a land reform decree (law) was announced and all agriculture was nationalized. Land was distributed to the peasants hence reducing the pressure in Ethiopia.
2. Mengistu defeated the ethnicism and chauvinism (excessive patriotism) in Ethiopia. This had existed during Selassie's time, but the Dergue government embarked on equality of all races, nationalities and cultures in Ethiopia. The printing and broadcasting was allowed in other languages other than Amharic. This increased cultural unity in Ethiopia.
3. The Dergue promoted religious tolerance in Ethiopia by granting recognition of the Islamic religion. This helped to ease the religious tension that built up during the reign of Emperor Haile Sellasie. This therefore,

united the Muslims from Eritrea who had been affected by religious torture.

4. The Dergue also achieved in carrying out literacy among the Ethiopians. This was basically achieved through organised local associations and expansion of more primary and secondary education that made Ethiopia to have more educated nationals.
5. The government of Mengistu managed to improve on the medical care delivery in Ethiopia, more hospitals, dispensaries and clinics were put in place and more nurses, doctors trained to man the medical care. This brought service delivery to double from what existed during Haille Selassie's government.
6. The Dergue government boosted Agricultural export production in Ethiopia. This was to do with coffee production that increased the foreign exchange earnings of the country.  
  
State farms were established where development funds were channeled to help the farmers increase coffee production and the agriculture boom was greatly realized.
7. The Dergue scored in the area of relief assistance to the famine stricken families. The government of Mengistu to get relief food to alleviate the stress of the affected families in 1980s and starvation was checked.
8. Mengistu's government carried out ground scale nationalization of the economy of Ethiopia. This helped many nationals to get jobs in super markets, banks and insurance companies. It also helped to reduce the

foreign control and exploitation of the Ethiopian economy by western multinational companies.

9. The Dergue achieved in strengthening the housing policy in Ethiopia. In July 1975, houses in urban centres like Addis Ababa were nationalized and families were resented to single unit apartments per family. The rent was also put at a level convenient to the Ethiopians and this improved people's welfare in the long run.
10. Mengistu's government recognized the rights of the Eritreans to self determination. The Eritrean quest for self rule had been suppressed by Sellassie, however, the Dergue tried to recognize their rights which they had struggled for since 1962 and they got their temporal independence in 1990.

#### **FAILURES OF THE DERGUE / MENGISTU MARIAM**

1. The Dergue failed to have a lasting solution to the famine problem and food shortage in Ethiopia. The peasant agricultural sector was completely neglected by the Dergue as the funds were channeled to large scale state firms to grow cash crops; this led to starvation in the country undermining the government.
2. The Dergue government failed to control inflation in Ethiopia. Prices of essential commodities especially food sky rocketed and the urban working class were hit greatly. This produced radical political activism to involve even university students leading to the collapse of the government in 1991.
3. The Dergue government failed to return Ethiopia to civilian rule between 1974- 1991. This also explains that when the Dergue government collapsed,

it created an environment that was hard for civilian rulers as organizing elections was not done.

4. The Dergue completely failed to solve the problem of the Eritrean question. The Eritreans struggled to secede and get complete independence since the Dergue government in 1974, but all attempts were futile leading to political instabilities up to 1993 when the Dergue had lost power.
5. The government of Mengistu carried out the Red terror which involved a series of Massacre of opposition members. The targeted group involved the Ethiopian people's revolutionary party (EPRP). The government destroyed the party by massive execution of secondary and university students.
6. The nationalization policy deprived people of property rights and led to displacement of the poor. Families got split and it also lowered agricultural production amid serious suffering hence undermining the government of Mengistu.
7. The Dergue promoted heavy military expenditure in Ethiopia at the expense of social services. The government survived on military confrontation to solve internal problems like the Eritrean secession and opposition in the country.
8. The Dergue promoted neo – colonialism in Ethiopia. There was heavy involvement of the Soviet Union in the affairs of the country. This denied Ethiopia full independence in decision making. Besides, the soviet union made Ethiopia a dumping ground of old fashioned military hard work.

9. Mengistu Haile mariam became a military dictator who replaced the aristocratic sellasie. He abolished the parliament, banned the political parties, he ruled using decrees, banned the trade unions, restricted the fundamental human rights that laid a foundation to the coup of 1991 led by MELES ZENAWI.

### **Questions**

1. Account for the collapse of Dergue by 1991.
2. “Mengistu Mariam was primarily responsible for his own downfall”.  
Discuss
3. Assess the achievements of the Dergue government between 1974 and 1991.
4. How successful was Mengistu Mariam’s regime in Ethiopia between 1974-1991.
5. To what extent was the 1974 Ethiopian coup reform?

## **THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA**

### **NATIONALISM IN GHANA**

The Ghanaian nationalism or revolution refers to the tremendous changes registered by the nationals in gold coast in the struggle for independence. Ghana was a British colony and she was the 1<sup>st</sup> African country south of the Sahara to achieve independence on 6<sup>th</sup>, March, 1957.

Nkrumah chose the name Ghana in memory of the ancient empire of Ghana. Political parties were formed early such as united gold coast convention (UGCC) formed in 1947.

Convention people's party (CPP) in 1949 among others

### **Sample questions**

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

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

1. The influence of the historical traditional resistances in gold coast led to the independence struggle. Following the British rule, the masses in gold coast staged resistances against the poll tax, the Fante also pushed for the independence , Asante people also resisted the British not to take away their traditional stool (Golden). All these inspired nationalistic sentiments laying grounds for independence.
2. The homogenous nature of the gold coast promoted national unity and promoted independence. The people had common history and culture, they were proud of their origin and the majority i.e. 60% was Akan speakers who had positive influence on other tribes like Ga, Ewe, Kwamu. This created a strong sense of nationalism due to absence of ethnic differences.
3. Gold coast had a progressive and developed economic infrastructure. The road and railway systems were well developed, the harbors were also

modern. The roads included the Accra – Tema road, the Kumasi railway. These were built by the British to exploit resources, but the nationals used the roads to mobilize the masses for independence struggle.

4. The relative economic status of gold coast contributed to the early independence. The country enjoyed high income per capita from cocoa production that made Ghana the leading producer in the world. Also palm oil, timber, mining of gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite. This gave the nationals economic power to finance the struggle for independence.
5. The wide spread western education in the gold coast led to early independence. The country registered a large number of elites by 1946 such as lawyers, teachers, journalists and business people. They included Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. J.B Danquah, and William Ofori Attu among others. These were paid less compared to the whites and it generated anger that made them to condemn colonialism.
6. The formation and role of political parties contributed to the struggle of independence. These parties included UGCC and CPP formed in 1947 and 1949 respectively. The parties were dominated by rich middle class who financed party activities, Nkrumah under CPP promoted political awareness by opening up party branches in the country side. This sped up the rate of independence.
7. The impact of the 1948 riots in gold coast laid a firm ground for independence. The riots were staged by the ex – servicemen of World War II in Accra to present a list of grievances. The British police fired at the crowd and killed people, arrested other nationalists like Nkrumah,



Danquah, Akuffo Ado etc. The arrest hardened the anti colonial sentiments leading to independence.

8. The impact of World War II was equally responsible for the independence struggle. Gold coast had about 50,000 ex – service men who had returned home by 1946. The ex – servicemen had been frustrated by the retrenchment and unfulfilled promises. These had witnessed the independence of India in 1947 and got military and democratic principles to weaken British policies leading to Independence.
9. The influence of the swollen shoot disease in gold coast aroused nationalism in Ghana. The disease attacked and destroyed cocoa trees at an alarming rate, but the colonial government ordered the cutting of cocoa trees without compensation. The Ghanaians interpreted this as a deliberate move to weaken over 65% of the peasants. This created a revolutionary mood for independence.
10. The small and manageable population of Ghana explains its early independence. Ghana is a very small country and its population was very small, compact and controllable. By 1930s, it had 5 million people and it was very easy to mobilize and organize for a national cause which sped up the rate of nationalism and independence in 1957.
11. The role of governor Burns also made Ghana attain her early independence. Burns as the governor of Ghana was very understanding, sympathetic, empathetic, cooperative and accommodative. He introduced constitutional changes in 1944 / 1946 that allowed African representation in LEGCO and in 1946, the labor government in Britain ordered him to

increase African representation in LEGCO. These changes reduced the colonial oppression and gave the people of more bargaining power of forge for self rule in 1957.

12. The positive role of Sir Arden clerk also helped Ghana to attain her independence. Arden became the governor of Ghana after the 1948 riots to bring peace in the country. He ordered for the release of Nkrumah from prison and worked closely with him, Nkrumah was made the leader of government business (prime minister) in 1954 and this accelerated the rate of independence in Ghana.
13. The attainment of independence in Asia accelerated similar developments in Ghana. Several Asian states were decolonized at the end of World War II e.g. India and Pakistan in 1947, Indonesia and China. India extended moral and financial support to the African continent and inspired the leading nationalists like Nkrumah and J.B Danquah. The nationalists also adopted Gandhi's positive strategy, peaceful demonstrations were staged by Nkrumah and this was a great boost in arousing self rule.
14. Gold coast had a strong network of the press and mass media and this accelerated nationalism. A series of instruments of communication like the gold coast independence news (1945), Accra evening news (1948). The morning telegraph and daily mail in 1949. These made political publications like  
"Towards colonial freedom"  
"Neo – colonialism, the last stage of colonialism"

These were read by elites and the evils of colonialism were exposed hence early independence.

15. The influence of the Manchester conference of 1945 contributed to Ghana's early independence. The conference was organized in the Diaspora, but was attended by very many African nationalists including Nkrumah as a co – secretary. The conference demanded for positive action against colonial rule, made Nkrumah to be exposed to international focused leadership skills. He became a true democrat and his ideology was shaped to form the CPP party with slogans like:

“Independence now”

“Forward ever”

“Backward never”

16. The positive impact of UNO in 1945 accelerated the independence of Ghana. In 1956, the UN intervened and organized a referendum which saw the **ewe** tribe in Togo joining Ghana and this boosted the unity, added pressure and reinforced political parties to demand for self rule in Ghana.
17. The charismatic leadership of Nkrumah led to early independence of Ghana. Nkrumah had exceptional skills, very visionary, had organizational ability, handsome, eloquent and an orator. He returned from abroad in 1947 and became a powerful factor in demanding for self rule, he accepted leadership in UGCC, he won the support of workers, the unemployed and became the Leninist kaizer of Africa to dismantle colonial rule in Africa.

18. The impact of the national congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) led to the struggle for independence. The congress was founded in 1920 by a leading Ghanaian patriot Joseph Hayford. The aim of the congress was to decolonize the west African countries of Gambia, gold coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone etc. It demanded for equal representation of Africans in the LEGCO, stopped the whites to select traditional rulers, separate power of judiciary from the political power of the governor. The congress set up papers called the "African morning post" that published anti – colonial articles. These weakened the colonial arm of Britain by 1957.
19. The impact of the Mau – Mau uprising in Kenya (1952 – 55) threatened Britain to initiate reforms. The labor party in London learnt lessons from the Kenyan nationalism and devised means of granting political rights to Africans on the continent. The British government in London conditioned governor Arden – Clarke to bring changes in Ghana to prevent the violent scenario similar to that of Kenya and increased cooperation with Nkrumah, reforms were made` to allow political party activities.

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

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

The UGCC was formed in 1947 in August by a group of people like Sekondi – a prominent business man in Central province, George Grant,

Dr. Joseph B. Danquah, Ernest Adjei, Edward Akufo Addo among others.

UGCC played the following roles:

1. UGCC was the first modern political party to be formed and its leadership advocated for constitutional reforms. These led to the attainment of self rule in Gold coast.
2. UGCC provided charismatic leadership under Kwame Nkrumah as a full time general secretary in November 1947. He used his organizational and oratory power to attract the youths, civil servants and this increased the pressure against Britain.
3. UGCC took part in the 1948 Feb riots which were a turning point in the independence struggle. These riots saw many nationalists arrested because of boycotting British and Syrian goods. The killing of the leaders and arrest weakened the colonial rule.
4. The UGCC leadership intensified violence on the British rule due to the harsh action of governor Gerald creasy. The Big six including Nkrumah, Danquah and others made the colonial government to lose popularity.
5. UGCC condemned and rejected the constitutional reforms of 1951. The constitution had loop holes of having many traditional chiefs as representatives in parliament. The nationalists opposed the chiefs as they were collaborators.
6. The party adopted effective use of the press to mobilize and sensitize the masses. The UGCC used the "Accra Evening News" established in 1948 to condemn the colonial atrocities of the British.
7. UGCC influenced the establishment of a revised constitution in 1954 under Sir Arden Clarke. This provided for the national assembly with

representatives voted by majority Ghanaians hence increasing demand for independence.

8. The party under the dynamic rule of Kwame Nkrumah established many party branches throughout the country. It became a mass party and brought together all people.
9. The UGCC identified with the problems of the masses that included the scarcity of imported goods, inflation and swollen shoot disease of cocoa. This move increased the popularity of the party to defeat colonialism.
10. UGCC acted as a mouth piece of the people of gold coast. It complained and condemned the oppressive policies of the British. It also demanded for immediate independence.
11. The UGCC participated in the pre – independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. These elections increased African membership in the LEGCO and this laid a plat form for independence demands.

### **THE ROLES OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY (CPP)**

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

The following are the roles of CPP;

1. The CPP adopted radical slogans such as “self – government now” and “seek your first political independence and other things shall be added later” these energized the nationals for independence struggle.

2. The CPP intensively mobilized the natives against the British colonialism. The party tried to expose the evils of colonialism that made Ghana get independence in 1957.
3. The CPP provided a frame work for consolidated unity. It discouraged the ethnic differences. The party opened gates for citizens including the youth hence boosting independence.
4. The CPP established a newspaper called Accra evening news to spread anti colonial propaganda. The articles written captured the emotions of ordinary people hence opposing the British.
5. The CPP rejected the constitutional changes proposed coursey of 1949 as being fake. This also made many Ghanaians to oppose the 1951 constitution that failed to eliminate traditional chiefs used by the British.
6. The CPP used Gandhism and positive action against the British colonialism. It took part in the wide spread strikes and riots e.g. in 1950, the British schools, shops were boycotted, cut the cocoa plantations of the British hence reforms were affected.
7. CPP employed constitutional means of demanding for independence. The party demanded for reforms and this increased African reproduction in the LEGCO and in 1954, CPP had 79 out of 104 seats.
8. CPP participated in pre – independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. In 1951, CPP won 34 out of 38 seats in parliament and 1956, 71 out of 104 to form the first independent government for gold coast.

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

## **KWAME NKRUMAH**



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

### **NKRUMAH'S ROLE**

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

### **Question**

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

### **The following are the roles of Nkrumah:**

1. Nkrumah accepted the leadership in UGCC as secretary general in gold coast in 1947. He used the position to popularize the need for independence, opened up party branches in various districts.
2. He made effective use of the press to spread anti – colonial propaganda in the country, he set up the Accra evening news and the cape coast daily mail written in local languages understood by the people. The press used the slogan “independence now”.
3. Nkrumah worked with the trade unions of teachers and railway employees to advocate for better conditions. He used these professionals

to make them employ positive action like strikes and demonstrations against the unfair policies of the British.

4. Nkrumah formed a committee of the youth after 1948 riots and this increased the youth membership to demand for independence. He also used the school leavers desperately looking for jobs to oppose the government for its unfair policies, the youth regarded Nkrumah as “Osagyefo” the redeemer.
5. Nkrumah condemned the British colonialism and sensitized the masses against the British policies. He made countrywide tours, had rallies and lectures which united the masses for independence.
6. The arrest and imprisonment of Nkrumah by the colonial government boosted his radical campaign. He was arrested in 1948 with other members of “Big six” and in 1950 for inciting workers. This turned Nkrumah into a hero and made him win 1951 elections.
7. Nkrumah formed the CPP party in 1949 after breaking away from UGCC. The CPP addressed the aspirations of the people up to the remotest village with a slogan “self independence now”.
8. Nkrumah opposed the Coussey constitution of October 1949 that proposed increased representation of traditional chiefs. The chiefs were to sing the colonial language and this made him get more support for independence.
9. Nkrumah accepted to become leader of government businesses in 1951 after his release from prison. This made CPP to win 34 out of 38 seats in

- the LEGCO that led to his acquiring of the office of Prime minister to initiate projects like Volta dam project.
10. As a prime minister, social service delivery was improved e.g. he extended the health sector to rural areas and provided (UPE) to children below 12 years, water and electricity too were provided to the local people.
  11. Nkrumah defeated tribalism during the independence struggle by encouraging national unity. Nkrumah worked with all the ethnic based parties such as Togoland progressive party (TPP), national liberation movement (NLM) of the Asante among others. Nkrumah was visionary that made CPP get support.
  12. Nkrumah cooperated with the colonial authorities under governor Sir Charles Arden Clarke. He established a mutual trust with the governor and worked on the policy of independence from the British.
  13. Nkrumah led the CPP to participate in the 1954 and 1956 pre – independence elections. Nkrumah’s party won overwhelmingly i.e. in 1954, CPP got 79 out of 104 seats and 71 in 1956 creating room for leading the country at independence in 1957.
  14. Nkrumah under CPP received the instruments of power at independence in 1957 from the British. The new nation adopted the name Ghana in memory of the ancient empire and Nkrumah became the 1<sup>st</sup> president.

#### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF NKRUMAH AND THE CPP GOVERNMENT (1951 – 1966)**

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

1. The government of Nkrumah proclaimed a five year development plan of 120 million pounds. This replaced the 10 year program of governor Allan Burns in 1946. This money was used to import capital equipment, expert personnel and train the local people to provide services to the people.
2. The development of the transport sector was also a major concern of Nkrumah. Roads were expanded from Accra – Takarodi, Kumasi, the railway line was also expanded, Ghana Airways was also established which greatly improved mobility.
3. The communication sector was also developed by Nkrumah. The CPP government modernized Radio and Television services to increase education, entertainment and information. The telephone and wireless telegraphy systems were built, automatic communication services were greatly improved in the urban centres.
4. The CPP government initiated the construction of the hydroelectric power dam at Volta River.

The dam was aimed at promoting industrialization and it was commissioned in 1961 and it began functioning in 1966 January before the overthrow of Nkrumah. The dam also generated electricity to solve the domestic needs of the people and it was exported to countries like Benin and Togo to increase revenue.

5. Nkrumah promoted industrial development in Ghana compared to the colonial government. The black government ensured the setting up of export promotion industries targeting market in England , local industries were given incentives like tax exemptions majorly on imported capital equipment. The Nkrumah government also partnered with manufacturing centre to produce essentials like safety matches and sugar.
6. CPP government promoted the agricultural sector in Ghana. The agricultural sector was diversified to reduce reliance on cocoa and bring new crops like maize, yams, G.nuts, coffee among others. Also state farms were set up to encourage livestock farming, poultry and teaching of agricultural science was emphasized in universities.
7. Nkrumah and the CPP government fought the swollen shoot diseases that affected the cocoa sector. There was a nationwide campaign against cocoa disease; trees were cut and farmers given better varieties. The livelihood of farmers was greatly improved through the marketing boards established that offered financial assistance.
8. Nkrumah's CPP government promoted the welfare of the Ghanaians. The government embarked on the housing scheme to solve accommodation shortage created by massive industrialization, the ministry of housing was established that set up houses in Accra, Takoradi and Kumasi and these were rented at low costs and people were also encouraged to buy houses slowly through the savings.
9. Reforms in education were also undertaken by the CPP government. By 1961, the Nkrumah government became the first African country to start

the universal primary education (UPE) that made all children below 12 years to attend. It was later extended to secondary and tertiary levels and textbooks were provided to improve quality. The Ghana Education Trust (GET) was set up to build and manage the schools, scholarships were also given to students to study from abroad.

10. Health services were greatly improved upon by the Nkrumah government. Hospitals were established both in rural and urban centres, regional hospitals were built, the Sekondi – Takoradi hospital, clinics were set up to bring services closer to the rural people. A medical school was set up in Accra and many nursing schools were set up in the entire country to address the problems of medical personnel.
11. Nkrumah administration reformed the local government system. District and urban councils were introduced and elective politics became the order of the day. The local councils were in charge of the construction of the roads, water services and education. The central government provided operational grants for local council development projects.
12. The CPP government Africanized the civil service in Ghana. From the time Nkrumah joined active government leadership in 1951, a plan was launched to include the natives in the management of country affairs. The Ghanaians were encouraged to take up education in order to manage the country affairs after the departure of the colonialists.
13. Nkrumah introduced constitutional reforms for Ghana from 1953. The committee to carry out political mapping for Ghana was headed by a

Ghanaian called Van Lare to demarcate the constituencies of the country. Elective posts were highlighted under universal adult suffrage.

14. The government defeated regionalism in Ghana. All the competing political parties based on ethnic lines were made to focus on nation building e.g. the Muslim party association, Ghana congress party, Togo congress, the national liberation movement led by the chief opposition leader Kofi Busia.
15. Nkrumah condemned and fought neo – colonialism. Nkrumah regarded neo – colonialism as the worst stage of imperialism and he blocked ties with the British government. Nkrumah also called upon all African independent governments to dissociate from the former colonial masters, discourage the western balkanization of Africa (divisionism).
16. Nkrumah promoted the culture of Ghana. There was cultural rejuvenation through the promotion of dance, music, art and literature. Ghana ensemble promoted the local music and dance abroad, games and sports were given priority and Ghana was crowned the champion of boxing in the commonwealth in 1963, also took part in continental football.
17. CPP government increased mineral exploitation in Ghana. Ghana exploited the gold and aluminium effectively and this boosted economic development, increased industrialization and increased the balance of payment through mineral export.

## **FAILURES OF NKRUMAH / DOWNFALL**

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP- government lasted up to 1966. Despite the numerous achievements of Nkrumah, the country was dominated by many

weaknesses that led to the February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1966 coup organized by Colonel Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, Col. A. Ocran, major Afrifa and the police commissioner Harley.

Nkrumah was overthrown while away to Hanoi – Vietnam on an international peace mission.

The following were the weaknesses of Nkrumah:-

1. The change in the personality of Nkrumah was a major weakness, he turned from a selfless, humble and osagyefo (redeemer) to a power hungry politician, become intolerant and proud that made his boot lickers [henchmen] to become his enemies hence downfall.
2. Nkrumah became autocratic and authoritarian. He destroyed the democracy after independence; he undermined the constitution of 1960 and became a dictator with absolute powers. Nkrumah ruled Ghana by decree, in 1965 – Nkrumah appointed units instead of the elections the Ghanaians waited for and the constituencies were created to the surprise of the people.
3. Nkrumah used the powers of the presidency to interfere with the judiciary.

In 1962, Nkrumah survived an assassination, and he ordered for the arrest of the chief opposition leader Adamayo as the chief suspect, but later acquitted due to lack of evidence, Nkrumah ordered for the dismissal of the chief justice and many judges, Nkrumah also in 1964 organized a



referendum to make Ghanaians decide and make the country a one party state.

4. The dictatorial and tyrannical rule of Nkrumah was a major weakness. He had a tight spy network and passed preventive detention acts, his powers became unquestionable and arrested numerous opposition leaders like JB danquah, Adamayo and Kofi Busia, others were forced to go to exile hence became unpopular.
5. Nkrumah and the CPP government plunged the country into financial bankruptcy. The government became insolvent due to the extravagant and lavish life of Nkrumah, corruption and embezzlement became eminent in the country, the large number of cabinet ministers was ever on foreign missions leading to the downfall of Nkrumah in 1966.
6. The CPP government failed to address the scarcity of essential goods. These included sugar, drugs, milk, and paraffin, among others. The country adopted unrealistic policies of controlling imports that resulted into scarcity. This was accompanied by lack of employment in urban areas hence the government became unpopular.
7. The Nkrumah government interfered with the police department. The police had attempted to get involved in the abortive coups against Nkrumah, therefore, many of them were terminated and others arrested. These police officers dismissed by the government joined the coup plotters to stage the exit of Nkrumah.
8. Failure of the CPP government to address the grievances of the army led to the down fall of Nkrumah. The army was divided after the creation of the

president's brigade, this was well facilitated at the expense of the national army. Worse of all, Nkrumah opened a military academy and recruited CPP supporters, the 1965 decree led to the dismissal of the chief of staff i.e. General Otu and his deputy Lt. Ankrah which undermined the government.

9. Nkrumah's proposal to send the army in southern Rhodesia to fight the UDI government led to his down fall. The army was already nursing grievances, the attempt to send the army out of Ghana exposed his indifference to national suffering, and this undermined the credibility of the CPP government.

### **THE 1966 MILITARY COUP / DOWNFALL OF NKRUMAH**

Nkrumah's government came to an end on 24<sup>th</sup> February 1966 and the coup plotters included col. Emmanuel Kwasi kotoka, col. Ocran, major Afrifa and the police commissioner J.W Harley.

#### **Causes included:-**

1. Corruption and embezzlement of the Nkrumah government, i.e. he spent a lot on foreign trips and lavish life on women.
2. Grievances of the national army i.e. lacked boots, uniforms and unfair promotions and demotions e.g. Otu and his deputy Ankrah were dismissed.
3. Nkrumah's attempt to send his military forces in southern Rhodesia to fight the UDI amidst internal problems.

4. Nkrumah's intervention in the police and judicial system e.g. the unlawful detention of Adamaya on assassination case.
5. The dictatorial policies of Nkrumah i.e. he abolished the independence constitution of 1954 which had put the cabinet under parliament control, banned political parties and arrested opposition leaders e.g. Danquah and Kofi Busia.
6. The change of character and personality of Nkrumah from Osagyefo i.e. redeemer to a selfish and intolerant leader.
7. The unrealistic socialist policies that did not appeal to the Ghanaians e.g. the socialist Russia funded industrialization programs that alienated Nkrumah from capitalist nations.
8. The excessive ambitions of Nkrumah plunged the country into financial bankruptcy i.e. external borrowing was very high that increased the debt burden.
9. Extravagance and lavish spending of Nkrumah and the CPP officials i.e. cabinet ministers ever on foreign missions.
10. The social economic problems e.g. unemployment and scarcity of essential goods e.g. paraffin, sugar etc
11. Nkrumah's government practiced tribalism at a later stage.
12. The impossibility / lack of avenues to remove Nkrumah from power using constitutional means. He ruled by decrees due to the 1960 constitution that gave him absolute powers.
13. The drastic fall in the prices of cocoa on the world market, increased the more problems among farmers.

14. The ambition for power by the coup plotters e.g. Kotoka, Ocran and Harley.
15. The support of USA and Britain i.e. USA was annoyed not to fund Volta dam project and they used the CIA to support the plotters.
16. Nkrumah's creation of the new security organization or spy network. This was headed by the Russians under Ambrose Yankey that even made children to spy on their parents.
17. Nkrumah interfered with the higher institutions of learning. Both secondary teachers and university professors became enemies to the government, the contracts were terminated, subjects like philosophy and political science were abolished and the world of academia undermined the CPP regime.
18. Influence of other successful coups in Africa i.e. 1965 in Algeria and Congo, January 1966 in Nigeria etc.
19. Nkrumah's interference in the affairs of African states. He had been a pan-Africanist, but went on the extremes e.g. Nkrumah supported rebels against the government of Sylvanus Olympio in Togo and Ivory Coast. He got more enemies who could not help him at the worst time of the coup.
20. The absence of Nkrumah from Ghana led to the coup. He had gone for a peace mission in Vietnam and the plotters attacked the presidential guard, seized the state radio leading to the creation of the national liberation council (NLC).

### **EFFECTS OF THE 1966 GHANAIAN COUP**

The February 1966 coup that overthrew Nkrumah was a turning point in the political development of Ghana. Nkrumah had been looked at as the negotiator

of Ghana's independence, patron of PAM, tactical and bright politician and a revolutionary who was now a fallen giant. He died in 1972 of skin cancer while in exile in Guinea Conakry.

The overthrow of Nkrumah led to the establishment of a military junta government in the name of national liberation council (NLC).

The NLC government was headed by a retired deputy head of the armed forces Lt. General Arthur Joseph Ankrah and the police commissioner Harley as the deputy from 1966 and 1969.

### **Note**

The achievements of the military government are the same as the effects of the 1966 coup in Ghana.

### **Question**

Assess the achievements of the military government in Ghana between 1966 and 1969.

- Negotiated big loans from IMF to revamp Ghana's economy
- Sought agreement with the western and eastern creditors about rescheduling loan payment
- Stopped the ill – conceived projects of Nkrumah i.e. Accra – Tema motor way and Nkrumah towers.
- Reduced ministries form 30 – 17 and this helped to invest money in other projects.

- Reduced Ghana's foreign missions by 40% and this helped to reduce on the useless expenditure.
- Placed state cooperatives under competent management and sacked redundant workers i.e. the marketing boards of cocoa.
- Improved Ghana's trade surplus by 28.5 million dollars in the first half of 1966.
- Abolished taxes on essential items and this uplifted the social welfare of the Ghanaians.
- Reduced prices of motor spirits and inland postages.
- Gave income tax exemptions to poorly paid workers
- Raised the prices of cocoa through organized marketing
- Increased the supply of essential commodities there by reducing inflation.
- Paid special attention to development of rural areas especially water schemes i.e. piped water.
- Attempted to check corruption and bribery by arresting high corrupt officials.
- Restored democracy in Ghana in 1969 through lifting the ban on political parties i.e. major Afrifa in government allowed Kofi Busia and his progressive party (PP) to take part in the elections.
- Released Nkrumah's political opponents affected by the preventive detention act.
- Restored the chiefs who had been removed by Nkrumah.

- Allowed the freedom of speech and press i.e. journalists were allowed to freely report and a centre for civic education headed by Kofi Busia sensitized the Ghanaians about the rights and duties.
- The government of NLC did not revenge on CPP supporters and used a lot of negotiation.
- Helped to prepare the constitution for the second republic of Ghana i.e. 1969 and 1972 under Dr Kofi Busia.
- Carried out a two year development plan emphasizing agriculture, fisheries and water i.e. economic diversification.
- Medical facilities were rejuvenated for the masses in the rural areas and this helped to reduce the outburst of diseases that had engulfed the Ghanaian society.

## **FAILURES OF NLC**

- Unemployment became prevalent due to the radical abandonment of Nkrumah's projects, retrenchment of workers also became worse.
- The devaluation of the currency increased prices of imported goods i.e. Ghanaian cedi (currency), It deteriorated the Balance of Payment and the consumer goods.
- Food prices remained very high in Ghana
- Failed to settle Nkrumah's external debts. The getting of money from I.M.F and WB worsened the situation the more. This prolonged Ghana's debt to future governments.

- Defence expenditure increased and this antagonized the economic life of the people. The army budget went to 22% of the country's consolidated earnings and other sectors were sacrificed.
- Economic problems persisted in the country as the inflationary trends increased.
- Corruption in Ghana persisted as the generals embezzled the government funds. This created need for change of government that came in 1969 under Kofi Busia.
- Ankrah was forced to resign in march 1969 because he had become self – centred, wanted to form his own party and this brought Brigadier Akwase Afrifa to organize elections in 1969.
- Divisions in the military council continued and this affected top government decisions. This led abortive coups i.e. 1967 that led to the death of general Kotoka. This made the Afrifa government to return the country to civilian rule in 1969 (at HO in volta region)

## **GHANA UNDER KOFI BUSIA**

### **(THE RETURN OF CIVILIAN RULE)**

Following the resignation of Joseph Ankrah, elections were organised by General Afrifa in 1969 where the progressive party (PP) of Dr. kofi Busia got 105 seats against the 29 seats of the national alliance of liberals (NAL) led by Bedemah. Dr. Kofi Busia was sworn in as prime minister in 1969.

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF DR KOFI BUSIA**



1. Busia improved on the standards of living of people in the rural areas. He extended social services e.g. 33 water projects were completed and 64 were under by 1972.
2. There was rural electrification scheme that benefited 58 villages and small towns. This boosted economic development in Ghana.
3. Many industries were constructed in Ghana during the regime of Kofi Busia. The problem of rural unemployment was overcome by the small scale industries and uplifted the peasant life.
4. Busia undertook village housing programs compounded by health clinics and feeder roads in rural areas. This increased the standards of living of the masses.
5. There was promotion of agricultural production and this reduced regionalism. The northern and central parts of Ghana experienced agricultural transformation
6. Busia's government increased the balance of payment of Ghana. He reduced the resources allocated to the defense to finance projects in the country. This helped to solve the financial crisis in Ghana in the short time.

### **FAILURES OF KOFI BUSIA / CAUSES OF THE 1972 COUP**

#### **Question**

**Assess the impact of neo – colonialism on the development of any one state of Africa**

- Give a viable introduction i.e. definition of neo – colonialism
- Country identified and consisted.
- Positive effect of neo – colonialism
- Other factors for development
- Valid stand points.

Neo – colonialism is the hidden hand of dominance and exploitation of African independent states by former colonial masters or industrialized and developed nations.

The impact of neo- colonialism on development include the following

- Has led to increased development aid in African countries to fund projects e.g. establishing social services
- Neo - colonialism has provided emergence program relief aid in areas struck by disaster / calamities e.g. the Bududa case for Uganda.
- Has improved on political stability of African countries through the extension of military aid.
- Has encouraged the growth of functional democracy through institutions hence promoting peace e.g. the civil societies.
- Neo – colonialism has promoted good international relations i.e. form the countries giving aid e.g. the Chinese have infiltrated African continent.
- Has promoted technological transfers that have promoted increased productivity, improved quality services and goods.

- Neo – colonialism has helped to bridge the investment gap in African states. This has helped to alleviate unemployment and increased revenue collection in the long run.
- Has improved on the provision of the social services e.g. education and health through the grants extended to Africa.
- Has eased communication through the introduction of international languages like English, French, Latin. Also electronic gadgets like phones and other plat forms have globalised the world.
- Promoted industrialization through direct foreign investment (FDI) and the multi – national investments. This has helped to improve on the growth path in Africa.
- Helped to fill the man power gap in Africa through the access of foreign expatriates.
- Has ensured government accountability through the supervision of projects under funding. This has helped to check on the institutionalized corruption in African countries.
- Have off set the budgetary deficits in African states. This is because the budgets of African states are not nationally funded.
- Promoted infrastructural development that has increased accessibility in Africa. This ranges from roads set up to increase marketing and finalizing development.

## **OTHER FACTORS FOR DEVELOPMENT**

- Natural resource endowment e.g. the harnessing of the available minerals e.g. Albertine oil in Uganda, oil in Nigeria, diamond in Tanzania

- The political stability that attract both local and foreign investment
- Availability of plentiful labor i.e. cheap and skilled to work in different sectors.
- The formation and membership to regional cooperation e.g. EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC, etc
- The positive government policies on investment and development e.g. tax holidays for investors, subsidies etc.
- People's positive attitude towards change i.e. hardworking populace.
- The existence of fertile soils that favor flourishing agriculture
- The able and focused leadership in terms of governance

### **Question**

- a) To what extent has neo – colonialism undermined the development of African states
- b) How far has neo – colonialism undermined the development of any one state in East Africa
- c) To what extent has neo – colonialism contributed to the under development of African states

### **Roles of neo – colonialism in under developed states is as below:-**

- Accelerated the foreign manipulation in decision making in African states
- Led to the continued exploitation of African resources
- Has undermined African independence where policies are determined by the developed world.

- Contributed to the collapsed of African integrations e.g. EAC in East Africa by 1977
- Perpetuated political instabilities and coup – detats in Africa e.g. 1971 in Uganda, 1965 in Congo 1965 in Algeria etc.
- Made African states to be producers of what they can't consume and consume what they don't produce/
- Sabotaged industrialization programs in Africa.
- Influenced African states to accumulate foreign debts which keep in the viscous cycle of poverty.
- Led to cultural erosion through the demonstration effects e.g. foreign religions and languages.
- Has created a neo – social class society i.e. the rich and the poor which has increased income inequality with all the associated evils.
- Expanded the concept of brain drain making African states to be raped of technical experts.
- Has undermined African technological advancement or destruction of African craftsmanship, innovation and inventions. These are precursors to development.
- Led to persistent balance of payment problems in Africa hence leaving African states impoverished i.e. developed states determine the market prices of goods.
- Made African states to adopt foreign ideologies like capitalism and communism. This has undermined non – aligned movement (NAM) and long term problems can't be handled.

- Increased profit repatriation or capital outflow by foreign investors. This has undermined capital accumulation in Africa.
- Promoted environmental degradation through the industries set up i.e. failure to control pollution which decimates the life span of Africans.
- Unemployment has increased due to unfavorable structural adjustment programs (SAPS) imposed on Africans i.e. forced retrenchment to downsize the numbers.
- Created puppet leaders in Africa who dance to the tunes of the supporters from the developed world.
- Made African education to be more theoretical or irrelevant or inappropriate to the current problems of African states.
- Made African states to be dumping grounds for poor quality products. These have side effects on the life of Africans.
- Increased immorality in African states e.g. prostitution and homosexuality.
- Neo – colonialism in form of aid has caused inflationary problems i.e. goods imported from inflated states.
- Devalued the currencies of African states. This is because determination of value is judged according to dollars, pounds etc.

## **OTHER FACTORS**

- Weak leadership in Africa
- Internal disunity in Africa which undermines development
- Poor government planning and prioritization i.e. neglect of agriculture vs defense to increase political longevity
- Corruption and embezzlement in government sectors

- Tribalism / nepotism and favoritism which causes unfair decisions
- Existence of unstable political systems which scare investors.
- Low levels of technological advancement.
- Cultural rigidities / indoctrinations e.g. some peasants fear to use tractors for fear of causing soil infertility

### **Question**

How has neo – colonialism affected the development of any one African country since independence?

Assess / examine the impact of neo – colonialism on the people in any one state in central Africa.

NB:

Impact on people / country – positive or negative

Impact on the development – positive vs other factors.

### **THE CONCEPT OF NON – ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)**

The non – aligned movement was founded during the collapse of the colonial systems in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world.

It emerged at the height of cold war politics that had established military blocks of NATO (1949) and Warsaw pact of 1955 for the capitalists and communists respectively.

The NAM idea was conceived in 1955 at Bandung conference organized by the Indonesian president Surkano, Jawaharlal Nehru the premier of India and Gamel Nasser the president of Egypt.

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

### **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF NAM**

Reference question

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

The aims of non – aligned movement included the following:

1. To maintain world peace by promoting non – violent means and reject the use of force.
2. To support self determination and national independence in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world, reject all forms of imperialism.
3. To safeguard the sovereignty of the member states against the domination by the upper powers i.e. encouraging the independence of the non – aligned nations from cold war politics.



4. To discourage military alliances and push for the disarmament of the superpowers to decelerate world conflicts.
5. To promote economic independence of the member states.
6. The desire to encourage active participation of non – aligned states 3<sup>rd</sup> world in the international affairs especially in the UN without coercion i.e. domination of the great powers of NATO.
7. To strengthen the UNO towards effective performance in its endeavors of decolonization and peace preservation globally.
8. To enhance socio – economic development and restructuring of international economic systems.
9. To promote the south - south cooperation i.e. the cooperation among the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations with mutual understanding and tolerance.
10. To ensure the peaceful co – existence among all nations of the world i.e. democratize international relations.
11. The desire to reject all forms of racial discrimination like apartheid and Zionism (Israel related movement)
12. To encourage the respect for human rights as contained in the universal declaration of human rights charter of UN adopted in 1948.
13. To ensure the peaceful resolution of disputes in the world without resorting to wars that had shattered world economies.
14. To oppose and castigate in union the stationing of military bases in the foreign countries. This had been done by the members of NATO having satellites in African countries (information gathering gadgets).

## **SUCCESSSES / ACHIEVEMENTS OF NAM**

1. The non – aligned movement has had a long period of existence since 1961 as inaugural year. The movement has been in existence for over 55 years and this is attributed to the numerous conferences held i.e. from Belgrade, the attendance to the UN general assemblies hence consolidating its stay.
2. The movement has expanded its membership by attracting many developing countries. This was attained after the attainment of independence by many African and Asian countries from 29 members to over 100 countries. The last members to join included FIJI from Oceania and Azerbaijan of Asia in 2011 respectively.
3. The NAM greatly contributed to the world peace and stability. The movement contained the cold war politics that had threatened world peace. It condemned the arms race by the super powers through supporting the strategic Arms limitation talks (SALT) and strategic Arms reduction talks (START). These castigated the production of nuclear weapons that reduced militarization by creating peace.
4. The NAM greatly led to the collapse of cold war politics or super powers. The member states continued with the policy of neutrality and castigated the arms race of the super powers. The members of NAM used the platform of the UN to isolate the ideological wars of USA and USSR, the NAM also led to the collapse of the Berlin wall and re – unified Germany leading to peace.
5. The NAM advocated for the reformation of the United Nations hence making it more effective. NAM openly criticized and structures of the UN – structure and power dynamics. The security council of the United

Nations was highly criticized of being undemocratic and asked the UN to reshape its structures to promote international democracy.

6. NAM contributed for the respect of small states in the world. The weight of small states was increased not to be dominated by the super powers. This completed USA to work with the NAM member countries to fight terrorism in the world and kept peace in Yugoslavia, Somalia etc.
7. Non – alignment has promoted unity and cooperation among member states. This ensured the south – south cooperation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations. This ensured a united front of member states to have a stronger voice in the UN – general assembly to reduce the dominance of the super powers.
8. NAM was instrumental in the promotion of Afro – Asian solidarity. The mutual cooperation between Africans and Asians became official at the Bandung conference. The idea of solidarity was further propagated to the subsequent conferences like the Belgrade of 1961 and 1979 Lusaka conference.
9. The non – alignment policy promoted economic relations among states. The NAM nations have extended financial and technical assistance to member states. The NAM powers like India, Indonesia, UAE, Saudi Arabia provided funds and technical expertise to the projects in weaker states e.g. Angola, Uganda and Tanzania. The movement boosted confidence among the weaker states to distance themselves from the super powers.
10. The NAM led to the establishment of the south – south commission in 1988. The commission was formed to address the economic backwardness of the weaker nations of the world. NAM collaborated with other

organizations like the group of 1977 to promote dialogue and cooperation among the 3<sup>rd</sup> world.

11. The non – alignment condemned imperialism and encouraged friendly relations of all nations. The movement has greatly condemned imperialist attacks, acts of aggression and other injustices of the big states against the small states. The NAM condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1981 and also condemned the unhealthy and senseless assassination of Muammar Gadhafi in 2011.
12. The NAM contributed to the development of African nationalism. The members of NAM used the platform of UN to voice out anti – colonial sentiments against imperialism. It demanded the intervention of the UN to impose sanctions of colonial masters, made Africans to become recommitted to independence.
13. Non – alignment condemned racial discrimination and dominance in the world. The spirit of the movement fought the racist apartheid policy in South Africa and the UDI government of southern Rhodesia. Member states extended military and financial support to the blacks to fight the whites. The movement also pressurized the UN to intervene in the Palestinian question against Zionist Israel.
14. NAM has attempted to intervene in the conflict among member states. It condemned the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and mediated in the Pakistan conflict. The members tried to arbitrate in the Sudan conflict that ended the conflict that started in 1955. This finally led to the independence of South Sudan in 2011.

15. The non – aligned nations have tried to promote the respect of human rights. This has been done in line with the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) of the UN that advocated for equality of people. The policy also condemned the aggression of the powerful nations and promoted justice and respect and cultural diversity. (Cross – cultural management)
16. Members of the non – aligned movement have continuously emphasized democracy and establishment of peoples’ governments. It condemned dictatorial regimes of Idi Amin in Uganda, Saddam regime in Iraq among others. The movement calls for the peaceful handover of power through constitutional and democratic means. The NAM nations have collectively stood against coups and unlawful takeover of governments.
17. The NAM members have exercised freedom of action while dealing with great powers. This was exhibited by Libya against NATO invasion in 2011. Egypt exercised the same and nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This was done after USA and UK withdrew the economic aid to enable Nasser to complete the Aswan project.

#### **WEAKNESSES / FAILURES OF NAM**

1. The movement has failed to solve interstate conflicts among the non – aligned nations. Conflicts and misunderstandings have existed between India and Pakistan, Iraq and Kuwait, Uganda and Sudan, the Congo question which caused tension between Uganda, the Kabila government and Rwanda.
2. The NAM failed in its attempt to maintain political stability and security of its member states. Many military coups and civil wars have existed in

African states like Congo, Uganda, Sudan, CAR, Asian countries like Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Afghanistan. This affected peace in these nations rendering the movement ineffective.

3. Nam has failed to develop into a body that can threaten the world power blocks. The eastern and western blocs have continued to exist even after the cold war politics leading to a new trend of imperialism. It is true the NAM is a big organization of next to UN, but it has been undermined by the power blocks and it has remained inferior in international conventions.
4. The NAM failed to uphold the principle of "Positive neutrality". The member states have ended up identifying with foreign ideologies of capitalism and communism. This has perpetuated neo - colonialism undermining the independence of the states.
5. The NAM has failed to prevent ideological conflicts among the member states, conflicts have occurred among members. The bigger nations have undermined the proceedings forwarded by non - aligned members for the weaker states. This has affected the process of finding a common approach to the problems of the world and hindering solidarity.
6. The movement has failed in its endeavors to improve on the living conditions of the people of its member states. Majority of the non - aligned member states have been increasingly affected by the high levels of ignorance, disease, poverty, starvation and other socio - economic problems.
7. NAM has failed to stop the intervention of western international NGOs. This has opened gates to increased domination and exploitation of the non

- aligned states. The poorest nations of the world according to the UNDP and HDI that reflect poverty index are members of NAM.
8. The movement has failed to check on personal conflicts among the heads of states. The evidence was in 1969, Fidel Castro of Cuba organized the Havana conference of NAM and was ignored by other member states. Conflicts existed between the Sultan Hassan of Morocco and Ben Ali of Tunisia, Joseph Kabila of DR. Congo and Paul Kagame of Rwanda among others.
  9. The NAM has failed to condemn militarization of the great powers in the non – aligned countries. The major world powers have since 1990s acted aggressively on NAM nations e.g. France tested its nuclear bomb in the Sahara, US bombardment of Benghazi in Libya in the 1980s, NAM members only verbally condemned without practical solutions. Also this militarism was extended in Libya in 2011 by the NATO – explosions that saw the death of Gadhafi.
  10. Non aligned members have failed to prevent the influence of western cultures. The native cultural heritage has been eroded by western imperialism leading to dubious western acts like homosexuality and gay – marriage, money has been poured in NAM countries to promote such acts due to economic desperation.
  11. Some member states of NAM have allowed the bigger powers to establish military bases in their territories. These include Pakistan, Egypt, Kenya, CAR, Iraq among others. This has undermined the sovereign integrity that the movement desired to promote.

12. Non – aligned states have become breeding grounds for the terrorist activities in the world hence a failure. Terrorism has been harbored, organised and unleashed using the aligned states like Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. Osama Bin Laden - the leader of the Al – Qaeda was assassinated in Pakistan which is a strong supporter of NAM. (This followed the September 2001 attack on USA of the trade centre.

### **PROBLEMS OR CHALLENGES OF NAM**

1. Persistent poverty and economic backwardness
2. Ideological differences creating mistrust among members
3. Neo colonialism
4. Political instabilities hindering progress
5. The end of cold war that left the movement with no enemy to fight.
6. Lack of a proper definition of NAM – Surkano looked at it as containing cold war Vs Nyerere for self determination of weaker nations, variance affected decisions.
7. Foreign supervision and patronage by great powers i.e. Cuba used USSR, Kenya with USA.
8. NAM states are affiliated to other groups or organizations e.g. OAU, AU, OPEC, regional bodies ECOWAS, Arab league, this create conflicting loyalty.
9. The persistent interstate conflicts create disunity and disharmony
10. The death of core members like Nkrumah, Nehru and leaving active politics, Nasser died in 1970. The new generation leaders lack initial vision



11. Other member states are either driven by personal or national interests e.g. Nasser joined to promote Pan Arabism, Yugoslavia joined to reduce the cold war tension and promote country security etc.
12. Wide operation area of NAM. The members of the South included Asian, African, South America and parts of North America i.e. the Caribbean / West Indies.

### **THE CONGO CRISIS: THE KATANGA SECESSION OF 1960 – 1963**

Congo got independence from Belgium on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1960, Joseph Kasavubu became the first president and Patrice Lumumba was the first Prime Minister. Five days later i.e. on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1960, the force publique (army) mutinied and this encouraged Moise Tshombe - the governor of Katanga that was the eastern province to declare the secession of Katanga from Congo on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1960 that lasted for 3 years and defeated in 1963.

### **CAUSES OF THE KATANGA SECESSION**

1. Katanga's economic strength encouraged Moise Tshombe to secede from the central government of Congo. The Province of Katanga had economic endowment like the precious minerals such as gold, copper, tin, zinc, aluminium plus high quality timber and fertile soils. The province felt it could sustain itself as an independent country and use the resources optimally.
2. The personality ambition of Moise Tshombe for power led to the Katanga secession attempt. It is true that Tshombe was the leader of the CONAKAT and governor of Katanga province, but he had expected a bigger position

at the eve of independence, but only to be frustrated. He therefore demonstrated his political manoeuvre through organizing a secession and led the people of Katanga.

3. The military mutiny of the force publique on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1960 accelerated the secession attempts. Africans demonstrated against the poor payments and shanty accommodation. This was worsened by the Belgian commander Janssens who refused to promote the hard working African officers to the ranks of commissioned officers, but instead demoted some. The situation led to the killing of Belgian officers and Tshombe exploited this situation to declare the secession amidst confusion.
4. The influence of the Pakistan's secession from India in 1947 encouraged the Katanga to organize the secession. This encouraged micro – nationalism in Congo as it had a spillover effect. In 1947, the British granted the Pakistan independence and separated it from India. This influenced Moise tshombe to declare Katanga's secession from Congo on 11<sup>th</sup>, July 1960.
5. The Katanga secessionist attempt was also blamed on colonial legacy. The Belgians did not work on any unification of the vast country, but instead resorted to divide and rule and suppressing the Congolese. The Congolese were divided on tribal grounds like the Abakongo, Baluba, Bangala and Bamongo and these looked forward to promote their interests and regional development. This situation of not uniting created a fertile ground for the Katanga to think of seceding.

6. The pre-mature granting of independence to Congo was yet another cause for the secession. The Congolese leaders were not inducted through clear political structures to control their affairs by the Belgians. Africans lacked the administrative skills, the other sectors like the army and civil service still was monopolized by the Belgians and a lot of blunders were committed. The Congolese under pressure come up with policies that provided opportunity for Moïse Tshombe to think of breaking away due to lack of clear focus of the country.
7. Lack of the spirit of Pan Africanism partly contributed to the secessionist attempt by Moïse Tshombe. The Congolese had deliberately been cut off from the ideas of Pan Africanism by the Belgian colonialists. They had limited mass media that would expose the evils of the Belgian rule and never knew the fruits of unity hence concentrated on tribal sentiments e.g. the ABAKO party was for the Bakongo and the CONAKAT was for the Katanga people. This prompted Tshombe to declare the secession in Congo due to lack of unity.
8. The weaknesses of the central government of Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba paved way for the secession.  
President Joseph Kasavubu was a capitalist and Patrice Lumumba was a socialist and this always made them to be locked up in power struggle and lack of a uniform strategy to solve Congo problems. President Kasavubu dismissed the Prime Minister on radio without consulting the parliament and this forced Lumumba to use his constitutional powers to depose the president and this situation was exploited by Tshombe.

9. The influence of the white settlers also made the secession attempt inevitable. Belgian settlers had invested in Congo and their businesses were booming in Katanga region. These feared the growing rise of nationalism in Katanga and feared to lose their large investments which Africans would destroy. The Belgian investors therefore groomed and supported Moise Tshombe to protect their economic interests.
10. The demobilization of the Belgian soldiers by Patrice Lumumba accelerated rate of secession. Patrice Lumumba had an aim of Africanising the Congolese army and therefore retrenched the army officers including the commander of the Belgian army Janssens, these soldiers took refuge in Katanga that encouraged Moise Tshombe to declare war on the central government because of the assured support.
11. The unfair parliamentary representation also sparked off the secession. It should be recalled that Katanga had the majority elites in Congo, but it had only four seats in parliament. The Katangatse presented their unfair representation but the central government paid a deaf ear hence the secession was aimed at creating a government to have posts shared equally in the region of Katanga.
12. The rumor of the success of the secession in southern Kasai and Kivu from Congo inspired Moise Tshombe to declare secession when this rumor spread into Katanga province, it encouraged Moise Tshombe and his followers to plan the breakaway from Katanga in 1960.
13. The weakness of the 1960 Brussels independence constitution led to the secession attempt. This constitution did not spell out clearly whether

Congo was to be a unitary state or a federal state. The constitution left the provinces like Katanga with a lot of powers and this made Tshombe to use it a clear and strong point to declare a state of Katanga.

14. The Belgian bombardment of Port Matadi on 11<sup>th</sup>, July 1960 also created an opportunity for the secession. The Belgians under Gen. Janssens opposed the Africanisation of the Congolese army and this led to the killing of many people and loss of property. The Katanga people supported Moïse Tshombe in order to bring back the order and peace in the province and avoid the death of the innocent people.
15. The support of different African states intensified the secession project. Countries like Ghana and Egypt supported Patrice Lumumba's unitary government while others like Tunisia and Sudan supported Moïse Tshombe to break away from Congo which they looked at as a very big country with administrative problems.
16. The undiplomatic nature and personality of Lumumba led to the secession attempt. He was a radical and the Anglo – Belgian mining companies feared him, he made fierce comments at Independence Day like "We are no longer monkeys" 'it is not a gift but a fundamental right of the Congolese' and these aroused the hatred of the whites to even fight him as a leader. He even addressed the Belgians at independence as the slave traders and this humiliated the Belgians who looked for an opportunity to overthrow him, hence the mining white companies supported Tshombe.
17. The burning desire and extreme greed for power by Moïse Tshombe contributed to the secession. Tshombe formed the CONAKAT party in

1959 with the hope to become president of the post independent Congo. Tshombe had strong desires to rule Congo and when his dream was frustrated on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1960, he said that "I will not rest until I become the president of Congo". This made the secession inevitable.

18. The military aid by the Belgians to Moise Tshombe contributed to the secession attempts. The local Belgian office supplied fire arm secretly to Tshombe and even troops were flown from Belgian to support Tshombe that encouraged him to have a strong desire for the separation.
19. The weaknesses of the United Nations also intensified the secession attempt in Congo. When Belgium abused the integrity of the Congolese by deploying troops in Congo, Lumumba appealed to the UN to use its security council, but it took a lot of time before it could respond, also the response was verbal condemnation because some UN members like Britain and France had interests and Belgium was a member of NATO, yet Lumumba had been the stooge of the Soviet Union of communism hence leading to the crisis.

## **NATIONALISM IN NIGERIA**

Nigeria was colonized by Britain and it delayed to get independence due to tribalism. The leading nationalist was Nnamdi Azikiwe who formed the NCNC i.e. the national council of Nigeria and the Cameroon in 1944, but dominated by the Ibo from the Eastern Nigeria, the Action Group (AG) Dominated by the Yoruba of the south, the national people's congress (NPC) by the northerners among others.

Nigeria received her independence on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1960 when the leader of NCNC Nnamdi Azikiwe became the governor general and later president and Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa the leader of NPC became the prime minister up to 1966 when the government was overthrown through a coup.

### **THE 1966 NIGERIAN COUPS (JANUARY / JULY)**

It should be noted that the instabilities in Nigerian politics was pegged on colonial legacy. The divisionism in the country that rotated on the political parties formed created a situation of animosity.

On 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1966, a bloody coup was staged by the Ibo officers from the Eastern part of Nigeria. The coup eliminated the PM Tafawa Balewa and the Ibo dominated the government led by General Akiyi Ironsi. Ironsi was also overthrown in July 1966 by Yakoub Gowon.

Leaders of the January coup included major Emmanuel Ifeajune, major Okafor and major Adewale. July – Gowon was called to pacify the Nigerian politics [Muhammad Murtala passed on leadership].

### **CAUSES OF THE COUPS IN NIGERIA (1966)**

1. The colonial legacy of divide and rule created a shaky ground. The independence constitution came up with federalism based on regions and

ethnic differences. This forced the easterners and northerners to stage coups.

2. Pre – mature independence granted to Nigeria. No proper preparation of the leaders hence blundered a lot.
3. Religious differences between the Moslem North and the Christian south. Worsened by the implementation of the Sharia law in the Christian south.
4. The 1963 – 1964 population scandal which reflected and inflated the statistics of the north. This inspired the Ibo in the east to stop the domination of the northerners.
5. The discovery of oil in the Eastern Nigeria that motivated the Ironsi group to stage the coup.
6. The existence of corruption and economic mismanagement by Tafewa’s government, embezzled the government funds and attracted the large firms to invest at the expense of other regions.
7. The mal – practices related to the 1965 federal elections, rigged and made Tafawa to be victorious hence created annoyance leading to coup.
8. The introduction of the army into the politics of Nigeria. Some had served as ex – service men of World War II, took part in the Katanga secession hence mobilizing soldiers to fight.
9. The personal ambitions of Ibo officers like Ironsi and northerners like Gowon.
10. The ethnicity manifested in promotions, employment and recruitment created army intervention, the government civil service and army dominated by the northerners.



11. The influence of other successful coups in Africa e.g. the 1963 coup in Togo, the 1965 in Congo by Mobutu and Bourmedienne against Ahmed Ben Bella.
12. The poor working conditions in Nigeria i.e. wide spread unemployment, inflation and general poverty of the populace e.g. the southerners.
13. Grievances of the army, i.e. low Salaries, Ltd promotions among others.
14. The role of mass media e.g. the Hausa Vernacular newspaper that published Vengeance (revenge) messages against the Ibo.
15. The impact of the spread of rumors e.g. the January rumor that the northerners army officers were plotting to kill Ibo officers and the July coup that Ibo army officers planned to kill the northerner officers.

## **EFFECTS OF THE COUP**

### **POSITIVE**

1. Led to the overthrow of Sir Tafawa Abubaker who was a dictator.
2. Led to the rise of relatively reformed and democratic leaders e.g. Ironsi.
3. The new government tried to reconcile the Nigerian tribes i.e. Ibo, Hausa and Fulani.
4. Ironsi's government registered economic development i.e. infrastructure and education.
5. Unitary government system was introduced to replace regionalism and federalism.
6. Public service was reformed and jobs were acquired on merit.
7. Ironsi reformed the army and promotion was regulated.

8. Ironsi arrested some of the people in the government considered as wrong doers and the date for the persecution was set. The coup plotters like Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna, major Okafor and major Adewale.

## **NEGATIVE EFFECTS**

1. The government that came to power in January 1966 was ineffective.
2. The military regime later resurrected ethnic tension or differences through the tribal appointments.
3. The Ibo dominance in the politics was replaced by the Hausa and Fulani domination.
4. The coup led to the murder of prominent politicians and military figures e.g. Tafawa Balewa, Ahmad Bello, Chief Akintole from Yoruba etc
5. Ironsi later turned into a dictator and was over thrown by Gowon in July 1966.
6. The coup led to the consolidation of the military in the Nigerian politics.
7. The military regime failed to control inflation in Nigeria.
8. The January coup influenced the attempted secession of Biafra from 1967 – 1970.
9. The political events of 1966 perpetuated new – colonialism in Nigeria
10. The coups made Gowon to re-establish the federal type of government that had been replaced by unitary of Ironsi.

## **THE BIAFRAN SECESSION / THE CIVIL WAR 1967 - 1970**

The Biafran secession was the attempted break away of the region of Biafra from the rest of Nigeria. It took place on 30<sup>th</sup>, may 1967 when the governor of the Eastern part of Nigerian col. Odumegwu Ojukwu proclaimed the independence of the eastern region.

The federal government of Gowon launched an offensive in July 1967 in an attempt to refuse the break away.

### **CAUSES OF THE BIAFRAN SECESSION OR CIVIL WAR**

1. The discovery of oil in the eastern Nigeria contributed to the secession. The Ibo wanted to have control of the oil resource in order to transform the region. This followed the siphoning of the oil resource in terms of revenue without developing eastern Nigeria. This created conflict between the central government and led to the Biafran crisis.
2. The Massacre of the Ibo across Nigeria also led to the crisis. Upon Yakoub Gowon's coming to power, he started revenging against the Ibo, he embarked on the systematic genocide against the Ibo soldiers and civilians. In 1966, thousands of Ibo soldiers were killed including Gen. Ironsi. The secession was intended to protect the Ibo from the brutality of Gowon's government.

3. The ethnic rivalry led to the secession. This happened between the major groups i.e. the Fulani, Hausa and the Ibo, Yoruba.  
These conflicted to dominate the affairs of Nigeria and even the political parties were ethnically based e.g. the NCNC for the Ibo, the NPC for the Fulani and Hausa, the AG for the Yoruba. This created hostility between the various tribes leading to the Nigerian 1967 crisis.
4. The 1963 – 1964 population scandal contributed to the crisis. According to the federal government, resources were to be allocated in line with population density. The population results exaggerated the statistics of the north to take advantage of the national cake. The majority easterners felt isolated and cheated hence opted for the secession attempt.
5. The northern domination of the political power since independence caused the crisis. The northern region dominated the politics of Nigeria since independence i.e. Sir Abubaker Tafawa became the PM, his government was dominated by the Hausa – Fulani. When Yakoub Gowon came to the power in 1966 – July the Hausa – Fulani continued to dominate Nigeria leaving aside the Igbo hence the secession attempt.
6. The religious differences also caused the civil war in Nigeria. The north was occupied by the Moslems (Hausa – Fulani) where as the eastern of the Ibo were Christians. Religious differences created hatred and tension between the east and the north. This made co – existence very impossible.
7. The colonial legacy was partly to blame for the crisis. In the 60years stay of the British in Nigeria, they never emphasized national unity and divided Nigeria into northern, eastern, western and southern regions. Each

- of these regions was governed separately and this made people to look at themselves in terms of regions. This was worsened by direct rule which emphasized loyalty hence problems boiled up by 1967 for the break way.
8. Corruption and inefficiency in the federal government led to the crisis. The government of Yakoub Gowon was characterized by embezzlement and misappropriation of the resources. The northerners used their powers to plunder resources for personal gains. Gowon did nothing to establish a corrupt free society.
  9. The declaration of the 12 state structures in May 1967 prompted the secession. This was reacted to negatively by the tribalism. Gowon had issued a decree dividing the country into 12 states deprived the Ibo of the oil wealth which they opposed. This led to the break away in 1967.
  10. The declining economic situation in Nigeria laid a foundation for the secession. The political turmoil that happened between 1966 and 1967 caused economic decline in Nigeria. This stretched as far as 1964 when prices of essential commodities hiked by 15%, wages fell below the minimum leading to increased unemployment, the standards of living of people became miserable. This completed the easterners dominated by the Ibo to breakaway due to the precarious economic conditions.
  11. Odumegwu Ojukwu's personality and power ambitions led to the crisis. He was arrogant and uncompromising, he was determined to create the state of Biafra at all costs Ojukwu turned down all attempt by the federal government to create peace in eastern Nigeria. He had ambitious of ruling Nigeria, but his efforts or hopes were being blocked by the northern

domination of the government affairs. This compelled the Ojukwu group to declare Biafra secession in 1967.

12. The 1966 July coup also contributed to the civil war in Nigeria. The coup led to the coming to power of Yakoub Gowon in Nigeria after overthrowing Ironsi whom he later assassinated. This was followed by massacring of 1000s of Ibos in the areas of Kaduna, Sokoto and Zaria. The Ibos were forced to migrate back to their tribal homelands in the east hence declaring the Biafra republic.
13. The economic prosperity of the Ibo land also promoted the secession. The eastern region was economically developed especially in terms of fertile soils, reliable rainfall that sustained agriculture to support the large population. It had developed infrastructure especially the Port Harcourt and this made the area to boom economically, hence compelling the secession attempt.
14. The unification decree by general Ironsi also laid grounds for the civil war. Ironsi had thought of abolishing the federal government in Nigeria and establish a unitary state. This was to be under a single government to ensure effective service delivery. The decree however became unpopular and resulted into riots in Nigeria. This regenerated into the 1967 when the Ibo got back to their homeland.
15. The conflict and struggle for government positions also led to the civil war. The largest population in Nigeria struggled for the limited slots of public services. This caused tension which culminated into the Biafra crisis. There was conflict in the army when the quota system was introduced in which

50% of the army officers were to come from the north, 25% from east and 25% from the west. The implication was that the northerners were to dominate the army and Ibo felt, marginalized prompting the civil war in 1967.

16. The expected external support to the Ojukwu led to the secession attempt. The USA, France and other oil producing companies provided support with a hope of benefiting if Biafra succeeds. These countries expected to cheaply by the oil and this gave Ojukwu confidence to declare the state of Biafra.
17. The influence of the attempted Katanga secession of 1960 – 1963 in Congo inspired the Biafrans. Some Ibo soldiers had been sent to Katanga to create peace. The participation gave the Ibo soldiers the chance to gain ideas which prompted them to work on the mistakes of the Katanga, hence the attempted break away in 1967.

### **Reference questions**

1. Account for the outbreak of the Biafran Crisis in 1967.
2. Examine the causes and effect of the civil war in Nigeria between 1967 – 1970.
3. “The economic factors were primarily responsible for the 1967 – 1970 Biafran secession”. Discuss

### **EFFECTS OF BIAFRAN SECESSION**

1. The new state of Biafra was defeated by the federal government of Yakubu Gowon. Ojukwu fled to Ivory Coast and Nigeria united to defend the territory integrity and independence.
2. Attempts were made to unite and rebuild the nation. Economic reforms were carried out e.g. the second development plan of 1974 was launched, the 3<sup>rd</sup> development plan of 1975 put emphasis on constitution, agriculture, industry and infrastructure, 32 billion Naira was put aside for development project.
3. Gowon made efforts to reconcile the people of Nigeria. He visited the Ibo territories and encouraged the people to forget the past differences and work towards national unity, peace and stability.
4. Nigeria was restructured politically by Gowon. The country was divided into 12 states to avoid ethnic conflicts.
5. The Biafra crisis led to the militarization of Nigerian policies i.e. intervention of their army. The army reasoned that no civilian government could handle Nigerian problems and curb tribal conflicts. This made Nigeria to **be a hub** of military coups e.g. Gowon was overthrown in 1975 by Brigadier Murtala Muhammed, Murtala replaced by San Abacha, 1999 elections won by Olusegun Obasanjo.
6. The crisis led to the emergences of new leaders in Nigeria e.g. Olusegun who became the high commander of the army. This is attributed to his popularity in fighting the Biafrans.



7. The secession attempt resulted into refugee's crisis in the region. Many people were displaced and several Ibos fled to neighboring countries like Niger and Ivory coast.
8. There was a decline in the economy of Nigeria as economic activities were paralyzed. Agriculture, industry and oil drilling declined. A lot of money was wasted on buying weapons. The social and economic infrastructure got destroyed like roads, hospitals and urban centres.
9. The crisis promoted neo – colonialism in Nigeria. This is because Britain extended aid to rehabilitate the destroyed economy hence continued to influence Nigerian affairs.

#### **REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF BIAFRAN SECESSION**

1. Opposition from the rest of Nigeria contributed to its failure. The Hausa - Fulani, Yoruba all opposed the secession of Biafra from the united Nigeria. This made it unpopular and contributed to its failure by 1970.
2. The fleeing / flight of colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu to Ivory coast led to failure of the secession. Ojukwu was forced to run away for safety of his life and the Biafra forces lost his ground leadership. The resistors could not effectively fight the federal government hence surrendered by 1970.
3. Opposition from some Ibo in Nigeria also contributed to the defeat of Biafra. These included Nnamdi Azikiwe and other University lecturers opposed the state of Biafra due to lack of trust in Ojukwu. They

collaborated with the federal government to defeat the sinister motives of Ojukwu.

4. The successful military strategy employed by the federal government. The government blocked all the routes leading to Ibo land and this was intended to cut off the Ibo from handy support, supplies into the Biafran state. This weakened the fighters by 1970.
5. The support and assistance from the ex – services men to the federal government. These soldiers extended support and the vast experience to the federal forces to defeat the separatist forces of Biafra.
6. The determination of the federal government to protect the independence of Nigeria. The federal government was determined to defend independence and integrity and gain firm control of the resources like oil and use it for the national development.
7. The high degree of discipline exhibited by the federal forces. They fought bravely to avoid killing of the innocent people. On the contrary, the Biafrans raped, vandalized property hence becoming unpopular in the public domain (eye). This later led to defeat in 1970.
8. The sound economic strength of the federal government accounts for the defeat. The federal government had resources to sustain the war and the government was able to purchase the modern machinery.

Also the army was highly paid which kept the morale high to fight the Biafra state.

9. The massive death of Ibo soldiers during the war and in the 1966 coup. The July coup of Gowon systematically exterminated many Ibo soldiers as a way of revenge. This alienated Ojukwu to have military experienced soldiers who could bring about victory.
10. The prolonged famine also contributed to the Biafra defeat. The effective strategy of the federal government denied the Ibo fighters food supplies amidst limited agricultural activities.
11. Overwhelming support to the federal government contributed to the defeat by 1970. The federal government received support from the European powers and they weakened the lonely Biafrans.
12. The role of OAU and Pan African Movement led to the defeat of Biafra. The OAU condemned the breakaway and treated it as sub – nationalism and micro nationalism. It took a firm stand and called upon the member states to denounce and deny the Biafrans support.
13. The military superiority of the federal government led to the defeat. This was in terms of man power that totaled to 120,000 fighters who fought a small and inexperienced Biafrans. This numerical advantage led to the defeat of the Biafran by 1970.
14. The role of the United Nations led to the defeat of Biafra. The UN forced France to withdraw support the Biafrans and this greatly undermined the success.

### **Question**

1. Account for the defeat of the Biafran secession by 1970.

2. Examine the factors which undermined the success of the Nigerian civil war between 1967 and 1970.

**END**

## **NATIONALISM IN UGANDA**

**Examine the factors that delayed the development of Nationalism in Uganda between 1900-1951**

In 1894, Uganda was declared a British Protectorate and received herself rule on 9<sup>th</sup> October, 1962 after a strong political coalition between Kabaka Yekka (KY) and UPC which was temporary. Nationalism in Uganda did not develop until 1952 because of the following political, social and economic factors;

- Political movements formed were based on religion and tribes which failed to attract the support of all Ugandans. Nationalism started developing after 1952 when UNC was formed by Ignatius Musaazi, Abu Mayanja and Ben Kiwanuka. Other parties that were formed before 1950's like the Bataka Party and Uganda Farmers Forum (association) did not attract nationwide support hence the religious and tribal sentiments delayed the development of Nationalism in Uganda.
- Uganda was characterized by traditional issues that prevented the development of Nationalism in Uganda. Buganda was mainly concerned with the land that had been grabbed by the British and Sir Apollo Kaggwa whom the British used was just a rubber stamp for the British and Okayed their policies. This failed Uganda to unite and hence blocking the Rise of Nationalism in Uganda.
- The role of the religion prevented the development of National Parties that were united hence delayed Nationalism. The British Policy of divide and rule was also reflected on Religious lines. Christians didn't work with the Moslems, Catholics and Protestants, Pagans alone, such divisionism hindered unity and parties were formed basing on religious lines e.g. UNC for the Buddo Protestants, UPC was for the Mwiri elites and DP for the Catholics and KY for the Kabaka institution. This promoted the delay of Nationalism.
- The massive illiteracy in Uganda. Very few people were educated by 1950's and only Musaazi, Abu Mayanja and Joshua Kakonge were the literates in Uganda. It was therefore difficult to mobilize the largest

population composed of illiterates whose perception of unity in diversity was difficult. The missionary education served the interests of the whites and divided the minds of the peasants who failed to conceive the fruits of democracy. Hence this illiteracy militated against Nationalism in Uganda.

- The absence of white settlers in Uganda. There was no land alienation by the colonialists as it was in S.A, Portuguese colonies and Zimbabwe hence Ugandans saw no reason of rising against the colonialists. The Buganda agreement of 1900 had alienated land but left people as squatters on their land. Therefore Uganda lacked a serious issue that would lead to the rise of Nationalism.
- The existence of multi-ethnic Nationalism; it had an impact on the development of Nationalism in Uganda. Uganda had many tribes and these lacked a common and National Language to rally them together. Each of the three tribes wanted favors from the British especially Baganda who wanted Luganda to be a national language. This was opposed by British and the rest of Uganda as it couldn't unite people. Consequently, Buganda fell out with the British and Sir Andrew Cohen deported Kabaka in 1953 which brought Obote on board hence delayed Nationalism in Uganda because one had to be a Ugandan nationalist without exclusion.
- The economic viability of Uganda. The British discovered economic potential in Uganda and reasoned that it was immature to grant independence without due preparations from the British government. All the resistances were handled with Brutality especially the issue of Buganda land, the 1945-49 revolts were crushed by the British using the

Kings' African rifles that threatened Africans (Uganda) not to revolt and lead to assassination of Buganda prime minister Nsibirwa.

- The British policy of divide and rule had a negative impact on the development of Nationalism. The Bantu were divided against the Nilotics and Buganda against the rest of Uganda. Buganda was used as collaborators and it suppressed all the revolts, oppressed people, the Protestants were divided against the Catholics which created clear cut divisions. Because of these and many others, British gave autonomous powers to Buganda against other regions which brought conflicts over leadership and Buganda even attempted to secede in 1966 which delayed concrete unity.
- The 1900 Buganda Agreement acted as a stumbling block against the Rise of Nationalism in Uganda. The agreement gave the British a lot of powers over land, taxation and government and left the Buganda Kingdom with some powers relative to other regions. The Kabaka lost power in 1955 in the common Namirembe agreement where his powers were reduced to a constitution, he couldn't have control over land and this impacted on other areas not to demand for self rule hence delaying the rise of Nationalism.
- The differences in parties and their divergent ideologies delayed Nationalism in Uganda. The parties were formed to counteract each other e.g. UNC was accused by following the position of Buganda, DP was capitalistic and opposed UNC, UPC had socialist inclinations hence the divergence in these political parties made the likes of Changa Macho, Kiwanuka, Kivejinja, Bidandi Ssali to follow different ideologies which

prevented long term unity to pursue a common cause for National development.

- The issue of the lost countries of Buyaga and Bugangaizi. These counties were given to Buganda for collaborating with the British but it sowed seeds of disunity between Buganda and Bunyoro hence the failure by Buganda and Bunyoro to unite for a common cause and fight an enemy for self independence delayed nationalism as the Kabaka had set up the Ndaiga scheme for Baganda to improve their social welfare.
- Conflicts within the Buganda Lukiiko. The Lukiiko was divided and in 1947 there was an attempted assassination of Daudi Chwa- the Kabaka of Buganda, Samuel Wamala was also opposed and there was a successor called Nsibirwa who was murdered and accused of granting land to Makerere University. These conflicts over land within the Lukiiko delayed independence because it had spillover effects to other regions of Uganda.

### **OTHER FACTORS**

- Lack of trade unions
- Lack of strong conflicts between Ugandans and the British
- Parties formed were on the basis of elites and did not get the support of illiterates e.g. UNC for Budonians, UPC for Mwiri students etc
- Lack of political interests by the elites and others were sent abroad for further studies.
- Lack of a clear policy for Uganda's future by the British. These were convinced by F.D Rugard on economic grounds which made them to Siphon resources from Uganda for long before granting it independence



- Limited nature of the press. Papers included Uganda Eyogera, Munno which were restricted in Buganda and Busoga yet the majority of Ugandans wouldn't read these papers because of language barrier.
- Existence of kingdoms which did not want to relinquish their autonomous powers to a single political unit delayed Nationalism in Uganda.

**Qn**

**Examine the factors facilitated the growth of Nationalism in Uganda in the 1950's?**

**Briefly give the history of Uganda and why the Nationalism delayed between 1900-1951**

**Give factors for the rise of Nationalism**

- Liberal policies of Andrew Cohen eg he rushed for rapid economic and political reforms, expanding LEGCO representation and advocated for a united Uganda for from tribal sentiments.
- Role of elites
- Role of religion
- The effect of Mau-Mau uprising 1952-55
- Increased Uganda participation in the legislative council (LEGCO)
- The Buganda issue/opposition of the East African Federation
- Infrastructural development in Uganda in terms of roads and railways.
- Ghana's independence of 1957
- Role of UNO
- World War II and its effects
- Independence of Asian States

- Role of the Labor Party in 1945 that even sent Sir Andrew Cohen who advocated for a united Uganda
- Role of super powers
- Egyptian revolution of 1952 i.e. Musaazi was given asylum by Nasser to form UNC which de-campaigned colonialists
- Macmillan speech of wind of change in 1960

**Note:**

- Uganda gained its independence on 9<sup>th</sup> October 1962 after a coalition between Kabaka Yekka Party and UPC of Obote. Hence Sir Edward Muteesa II became President and Obote Prime Minister with more executive powers as per the constitution of 1962. The coalition between KY and UPC was therefore a matter of convenience as the Kabaka was made a rubber stamp of the Prime Minister Obote.
- Obote used his powers as PM to make Bunyoro vote as per the demands of the referendum to be held in 1964, because the counties of Buyaga and Bugagaizi which the colonial government had rewarded the Kingdom ie Buganda for her collaboration had to be resolved. Obote also abrogated the constitution of 1962 and in 1967 declared the abolition of kingdoms in Uganda, declared Uganda a Republic upon becoming President. Hence the Buganda kingdom issued an ultimatum of 10 days to make Obote and his government to leave the Buganda land.

Obote reacted before the deadline and attacked the Kabaka's palace in Mengo which led to the second deportation of the Kabaka and hence leading to the crisis.

### **THE 1966 KABAKA/CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS**

This crisis took place on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1966 when the National Army on Obote's orders led by the Late Commander Idi Amin Dada attacked the Kabaka's palace in Mengo. There was some fighting between National forces of Obote and the defenders of Kabaka for six hours on a rainy afternoon. The Kabaka forces were defeated and he fled to exile in London where he died in 1969. The crisis however didn't only involve the attack of the palace but also five ministers of the cabinet had been arrested for betraying government.

### **CAUSES OF THE KABAKA CRISIS**

- The desire by Buganda to secede from the rest of Uganda caused the crisis. It ought to be noted that Buganda enjoyed a special position and hence demanded separate independence which Sir Andrew Cohen rejected. Also when Kabaka Mutesa II came back from England in 1955, he had been made a constitutional monarchy with reduced powers and the 1962 constitution gave the Prime Minister Obote more executive powers. The Buganda Lukiiko therefore conflicted with the central government of Obote leading to the crisis.
- The British influence within the Buganda agreement of 1900 and the Namirembe Agreement of 1955 caused the crisis. In 1900, the powers of the

Kabaka were reduced and Buganda granted semi-federal status and the kingdoms failure to work with the protectorate led to the deportation of the Kabaka by Sir Andrew Cohen in 1953. In 1955 still, the Namirembe agreement made Muteesa II a constitutional monarchy to serve through ministers, but when Buganda attempted to forward federal aspirations, it led to the conflicts with the central government of Obote causing the crisis.

- The 1964 land Referendum about the lost counties caused the crisis. According to the 1<sup>st</sup> constitution of 1962, it had been agreed that a referendum about the two counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi was to be held two years after independence. This was to make the people of Bunyoro to decide whether to stay in Buganda or go back to bunyoro. Kabaka Mutesa II and his Lukiiko refused to sign the papers sanctioning the referendum which made Obote to use his powers and people voted to go back. This led to the conflicts between Obote and Kabaka hence leading to the crisis in 1966.
- The Dual-capacities of Kabaka Mutesa as president of Uganda and Kabaka of Buganda caused the crisis. Mutesa II put the interest of the kingdom at the fore front at the expense of the country entirely. The Lukiiko ill advised the Kabaka that he presides over all the areas politically and culturally. The Kabaka also refused to sign the referendum because he wanted to protect the interest of Buganda yet people were to enjoy their rights as citizens hence the immaterial and personal interests of the kingdom by Mutesa led to the crisis.

- The termination of the KY- UPC alliance also caused the crisis. The alliance was forged on the eve of independence to defeat DP of Benedict Kiwanuka who was also aspiring to become a president of Uganda. The KY-UPC alliance was however a matter of convenience that didn't last for long based on political and practical manipulation. Disagreements ensued as to who had more powers between the PM and President. Obote advocated for a SOCIALIST and Unitary government while Kabaka Mutesa wanted to preserve the kingdom leading to the crisis.
- The conflicts between UPC Party accelerated the crisis of 1966. Obote faced many challenges in UPC party and in 1964 John Edward Kakonge was replaced by Grace Ibingira as the Secretary General which annoyed other party members. Also in 1965, many UPC officers like Ali Kirunda K, Kintu Musoke, Bidandi Ssali were expelled from UPC. These collaborated with Mutesa II leading to the crisis of 1966.
- The division in UPC as a party caused the crisis. It ought to be noted that there existed many groups and each had different objectives. There was a group that favored a one party of the socialist led by John Edward Kakonge (youth league) and this sided with Obote. Another group was led by Grace Ibingira-a northerner by birth and a Muganda by adoption advocated for capitalism and strict following of democratic principles. This led to clashes within the party that occasioned animosity hence the crisis.
- The gold scandal of 1966 caused the crisis. This scandal involved Obote and his army commander Amin and Felix Onama and Adoke Nekyon. It was alleged that these carried out secret business of trade dealing in gold

in exchange for coffee in DRC without the consent of the members of parliament. This was a lucrative business that caused public outcry and David Ochieng, leader of opposition in parliament tabled the motion to investigate into this illegal trade when Obote was on an upcountry tour. Obote reacted by dispatching army groups in parliament to arrest the suspects and those who supported the bill were charged with treason leading to the crisis.

- The removal of privileges from Buganda government facilitated the occurrence of the crisis of 1966. The pigeon hole constitution of Obote annoyed Buganda and Mutesa II as it declared Uganda a united country, deprived the Kabaka of all the privileges including the right to send indirectly elected members to parliament. The Buganda kingdom would no longer appoint civil servants to the different posts and the mailo land system where the chiefs got money was abolished.
- The emergence of educated elites from other parts of Uganda. These had hated the Buganda's special position in Uganda and they were from the North, East and Western parts and they also formed parties like UPU for East and West, UPC for the North to compete for political leadership based on republicanism as opposed to federalism of the Baganda. This made Obote to make a coalition with KY to assist him undermine the cultural leadership which gave rise to the crisis.
- The conflict between Monarchism and Republicanism also fueled the crisis of 1966. The interested parties of the Baganda, Banyoro, Ankole, Busoga and Tooro were in for monarchical rule and determined to preserve their

cultural institutions. The increasing grip of the Nationalists like Obote preferred republicanism and upon becoming the Prime Minister, he sought to abolish monarchism which led to the crisis of 1966.

- The sour relationship between KY and DP worsened the position on the government and occasioned the crisis of 1966. Benedict Kiwanuka of DP accused KY members of not supporting him yet he was a Muganda. Therefore DP members ganged up and opposed the constitution. Kiwanuka even commented that he preferred death to being led unconstitutionally. This made Obote to react and deport the Kabaka for the 2<sup>nd</sup> time hence the crisis of 1966.
- The impact of the Kabaka's letter to the UN also explains the cause of the crisis of 1966. It is said that Mutesa II was lamenting about what had happened as his powers as his Presidency had been usurped by Obote, hence he requested the UN to intervene and stop Obote from violating the rights of the president. This letter scared Obote who acted very fast by deploying the army against Mutesa before the UN would intervene hence the crisis of 1966.
- The clashing personalities of Obote and Mutesa II also caused the crisis of 1966. It is noted that by virtue of Buganda's interest, Mutesa II was compelled to be adamant and conservative while Obote was optimistic, calculative, shrewd and foresighted. Therefore Obote made an alliance with KY to have executive powers as PM, he used his powers to recruit his tribesmen into the army which assured him support he needed to attack the Mengo Palace in 1966 hence the crisis.

- The premature independence given to Uganda in 1962 equally made the crisis of 1966 inevitable. This was done without passing the Ugandan leaders through a political laboratory for practical leadership. This was exhibited by the unpractical and unprincipled alliance with selfish interests that later clashed and the crisis ensued. It's also on record that Sir Andrew Cohen remarked that;

*"I thought we still had ample time ahead of us."*

- The immediate cause of the crisis was the quit note issued by the Buganda Lukiiko. This was issued on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1966 demanding the central government and Obote to leave Buganda soil within a ten days ultimatum. Obote was also supposed to transfer the capital to another part of the country hence the document made Obote to deploy his army officers under the command of Idi Amin to attack the palace and capture the Kabaka. The palace was captured and Mutesa fled to Burundi and then to London only to die in 1969.

#### **EFFECTS OF THE KABAKA CRISIS OF 1966**

- It led to the flight of Kabaka Mutesa II to exile in London through Burundi where he died in 1969. His body was brought back for state burial when Amin was the president.
- It led to the collapse of the Buganda kingdom which had been in existence for over 500 years. It perished and was only reinstated in 1993 by the NRM Government after many years in "limbo."



- The Kabaka's palace was turned into a military barracks for over thirty (30years) when the kingdom was not in existence.
- It made many Baganda ministers also to go to exile for their dear lives as they were being hunted by Obote's regime e.g. Abu Mayanja, Nkanji who was the Prime Minister of Buganda's Lukiiko.
- Obote declared a state of emergency over the country and Buganda in particular and this was to last for six Months, however he kept on postponing up to 1971 When he was overthrown by Idi Amin in a self styled manner.
- The crisis led to the abolition of kingdoms in Uganda. The 1967 constitution promulgated that all kingdoms i.e. Buganda, Ankole, Tooro, Busoga were to be abolished and it led to the arrest of cultural leaders who attempted to oppose e.g. Tito Owiny IV, Gashonga and Wilberforce Nadiope of Basoga.
- The crisis made Uganda to be declared a Republic by the constitution of 1967. This made Obote to assume full executive powers up to the time of the military coup of 1971. This very constitution had been referred to as the Pigeon-hole constitution where members of parliament never took part but only told to pick their copies.
- It led to the banning of political parties and their activities and UPC was declared a single party which was to be contained in the common man's charter of 1969. Its aim was to guide Uganda towards the socialist principles related to the Arusha declaration of 1967.

- The Buganda Monarchy's property was declared state property including the king's palace. Mengo which was the major palace of the kabaka became a Barracks, Bulange became the republican house and the kingdom's court at Mengo also remained state owned.
- It led to the death of many innocent Ugandans through military confrontation between the central government's army and the Kabaka's forces and others died on their way to exile.
- Buganda became divided into many administrative structures e.g. East Mengo, West Masaka and Mubende and these later became districts.
- It led to the militarization of Uganda's politics. This is attributed to the successfully planned crisis that saw Muteesa II out of government, Idi Amin also felt confident to topple the government of Obote in 1971, Bazilio Okello Lutwa also organized military Juuta while Y. K Museveni organized a war that brought him to rule from 1980 – 1996 when general democratic elections were organized in Uganda.
- This crisis led to demotions and promotions in the army e.g. Shaban Opolot was demoted from being an army commander and in 1966 Idi Amin took over which brought bickering and intrigue within the central government.
- Uganda drifted to dictatorial leadership of Obote and Amin. These two leaders banned political parties, Obote declared Uganda a single party state under the dictatorship of UPC while Amin was an outright dictator without a party.

- The crisis led to the declaration of Obote's common man's charter of 1969. This was a policy guide line of Obote to make Uganda move to the left, be democratic and guard against colonialism and neo-colonialism, this policy was intended to nationalize the property where the government would have more powers however the program was managed by the people of Akokoro in Lira.

## **Qn**

**Examine the causes and effects of the Kabaka crisis of 1966.**

### **OBOTE'S DOWNFALL/1971 COUP**

A military coup can be defined as a sudden overthrow of a legitimate government by the army. It should be noted that many African countries got their independence with civilian rule educated rulers, however three (3yrs) years after independence, a wave of coups and counter coups rocked Africa and Uganda was not exceptional.

On 25<sup>th</sup>, Jan 1971 Idi Amin Dada over threw Obote who had gone to Singapore to attend a common wealth conference. The coup of 1971 was executed by Ugandan soldiers led by Idi Amin with the help of Britain and Israel and many other factors accounted for the coup.

### **CAUSES OF THE COUP**

- The coup was caused by Obote's raising dictatorship. Obote interfered with people's freedom of expression. He detained many people without trial including ministers like Grace Ibingira, Mathias Ngobi, Ben Kiwanuka-Leader of Democratic Party (DP), Prince Badru Kakungulu and

also abrogated the constitution of 1962, banned Kingdoms and failed to organize elections hence this level of dictatorship led to the coup of 1971.

- High level of tribalism and nepotism both in the Army and civil service contributed to the coup of 1971. Obote recruited his relatives e.g. Langi's and Acholi's and most soldiers were illiterate. There was the lango development plan of 1967 which ensured giving key government posts to the people from Akokoro County and Amin wanted to destroy this legacy and also get people from his region- West Nile and other parts of the country hence the coup became inevitable.
- Obote's move to the left led to the military coup of 1971. It should be noted that in 1969, Obote made pronouncement while at Nakivubo about the introduction of the common man's charter characterized by socialist policies. Obote was trying to emulate what Nyerere had done in 1967 and this annoyed Britain which professed capitalism and they supported Amin to stage a coup because of Obote's movement to the left.
- Divisionism in the army led to the coup of 1971 in Uganda. Obote's Army was divided into three units e.g. special forces, General Service Unit and the Uganda Armed Forces. The GSU was composed of 1000 Elite Soldiers headed by Obote's cousin Adoko Nekyon and were the body guards and spies of Obote. They enjoyed privileges at the expense of the regular army which annoyed Amin to stage a coup of 1971.
- The economic crisis of 1969 contributed to the military coup of 1971. Many people were very poor due to the Nationalization policy that left many unemployed. People were languishing in abject poverty, highly taxed and

inflation was at the apex hence this economic hardship compelled Amin to stage the coup of 1971.

- The fall in prices due to the 1969 economic hardships led the coup. Obote's government was characterized by increased prices of essential goods like food, medicine, and clothing. People also lacked the needed revenue to buy the commodities for their welfare. Hence Amin used this to plan for the coup of 1971.
- The unemployment and economic instability contributed to the coup of 1971. Obote's government was characterized by high levels of unemployment and most of the juicy jobs were monopolized by Acholi's and Langiis from Akokoro. Ugandans had the qualifications but couldn't easily get jobs which caused resentment in the army, inflation was high and this made people not to cope up with this situation that made the coup of 1971 inevitable.
- The creation of the general service unit contributed to the coup. This was a section of the army composed of elite soldiers headed by Adoko Nekyon-Obote's cousin. It spied on the general army and was the body guard for Obote, they accumulated a lot of wealth and were very rich. Hence Amin staged the coup with a view of bringing fairness in the Army and Uganda as a whole.
- Obote's failure to call a meeting of the defense council led to the coup. The Ugandan army had many problems which ought to have been resolved by the defense council but, Obote reluctantly refused to have any meeting and instead made promotions, demotions and transfer on his own. There was

also a rumor that Amin was to be replaced by Oyite Ojok and Amin quickly responded before his replacement by staging a coup hence, Obote's failure to meet the defense council led to his downfall.

- Obote's isolationist policy contributed to the coup. It's true that Obote did not have good bilateral relations with Kenyans and Tanzanians workers whom he expelled and prevented exports from these countries. This annoyed Ugandans who could not get what they couldn't produce and these neighboring countries therefore supported the coup of 1971.
- The failure of Obote to organize elections in 1967 led to the military coup of 1971. Obote's government failed to organize elections as per the demands of the constitution. There were no signs of elections and Obote was becoming more of a dictator than a democrat. UPC candidates stood in more than one constituency for parliamentary elections and the army wouldn't tolerate this which brought discontent and this was displayed by the coup of 1971.
- Amin's failure to account for the 40 million shillings intended for the army. The auditors' general report indicated that there was gross expenditure in the army and Amin together with Felix Onama- the minister of defense were to answer. Hence Amin feared the investigations and organized the coup to block the embezzlement scandal.
- High level of corruption in Obote's government accounts for the downfall of his government in 1971. Obote placed his henchmen in all offices especially the ministers which led to the poor performance in the day to day running of the government. There were no disciplinary measures that

were taken to investigate the high degree of corruption. There were so many weaknesses which people used to swindle the government funds from the public and hence corruption went unchecked and it laid a fertile ground for the coup of 1971.

- Heavy taxation of the masses led to the coup of 1971. The masses were burdened with so many taxes e.g. security tax, graduated tax, sales tax and development tax. Indeed people were very poor, the majority unemployed and this made them to get disgruntled with the government. Therefore, Amin staged a coup in order to eliminate these uncalled for taxes and bring fairness in Uganda.
- Obote's failure to control robbery and violence contributed to the coup of 1971. There was a lot of robbery and violence that cost people's lives and property. There was increased kondoism and the government took no practical action to address the plight of Ugandans. Hence Amin used this high degree of Kondoism to stage a coup.
- Amin's thirst for power contributed to the coup of 1971. It is historically known that Amin was semi educated and he had been referred to as an idiot and political buffoon. Obote made him an army commander thinking that he had no organizational ability. Amin therefore wanted to prove that he was not a coward and needed to enjoy the privileges of head of state. Amin also had a peasantry background that made him to have the mass support of the Nationals in the country.
- Personal differences between Amin and Obote led to the coup. Amin was an illiterate and Obote was a skillful leader and an elite, Obote promoted,

demoted and transferred officers without the knowledge of the Army commander. Also in the Gold Scandal, Amin cheated his boss which caused tension, Obote promoted the Langis which annoyed Amin, Amin also got involved in the death of Brigadier Okaya and his wife in 1970 in Gulu town which made him to be insecure, Amin was threatened to be replaced by Oyite Ojok by the call that Obote made hence the coup of 1971.

- The protracted wangles within UPC party contributed to the coup of 1971. UPC had generated many groups that disagreed on various fundamental issues and the radicals like Bidandi Ssali, Grace Ibingira, Kirunda Kivejinja and the Baganda conservatives had been expelled. This weakened the party and made Amin to capitalize on these wrangles hence the coup of 1971.
- Obote's intentions to arrest Amin led to the coup of 1971. Obote ordered for the arrest of Amin while in for commonwealth meeting in Singapore, unfortunately the telephone of Oyite Ojok was interrupted by a friend to Amin who quickly tapped him and they disseminated the information that made general Idi Amin to react by convincing the rest of the army officers that Obote had ordered for the demotion and arrest of all soldiers not from Akokoro that caused fear and the soldiers joined the coup.
- The impact of other successful coups in Africa led to the coup of 1971. It is on record that continental Africa was characterized by coups and counter coups in late 1960's and Uganda was not exceptional. Therefore, the success of the Togo coup of 1963, Congo 1965, Ghana 1966, Algeria 1965,



Libya 1969 made Amin to become confident that he would succeed in Uganda.

**Summary of the causes:**

- Obote's over reliance on the army
- Tribalism/Nepotism
- Obote's move to the left/socialism
- Divisionism in the army
- Economic crisis of 1969
- Prolonged state of emergency
- Fall in prices of commodities
- Mass unemployment
- High degree of corruption
- Failure to convene the defense council meetings.
- Obote's isolationist policy
- Obote's failure to organize elections as per the provisions of the 1962 constitution.
- Heavy taxation
- Conflicts in UPC
- High degree of Kondoism/robbery
- Obote's over reliance on the army that betrayed him
- Abrogation of the 1962 constitution
- Creation of the National Service Project that made Ugandans suffer
- The redundant army
- Formation of the General Service Unit (G.S.U)

## **OTHER FACTORS**

- Amin's thirst for power
- Amin's desire to prove his courage after the 1969 attempted assassination of Obote.
- Amin's desire to stop investigations into the death of Brigadier Okaya in Gulu town and his wife
- External factors like the support of Britain and Israel
- Other successful coups e.g. 1969 (Libya) 1966 (Ghana) and 1952 (Egyptian coup)
- Amin's fear to account for the 40 million shillings in the defense budget
- Personal differences between Obote and Amin

**Qn**

**To what extent was Obote responsible for his own downfall?**

**Assignment:**

- To what extent was the common man's charter of 1969 successful?
- How successful was the 1969 common man's charter?

## **THE ECONOMIC WAR**

### **(EXPULSION OF ASIANS IN 1972)**

The term economic war in the political history of Uganda is used to refer to the expulsion of Asians from Uganda by President Idi Amin from 4<sup>th</sup> August 1972. It ought to be noted that Asians had come to Uganda way back in 1902

during the construction of the Uganda railway, but opted to remain as business men and women after its completion, many of them became colonial administrators and the 1962 constitution legitimized them as Bonafide dual citizens of Uganda which negated the International Human rights constitution. Also the war was extended to the lives, property, interests of the departing Asians and British in Uganda.

- The expulsion of the Asians had to be done by Obote through the Nationalization of property, however, the coup did not allow him realize his dreams and Amin gave 90 days ultimatum to Asians to leave Uganda and carry property not exceeding 10kgs.

#### **CAUSES OF THE ECONOMIC WAR**

- The need to fulfill the common man's charter, it is historically factual that Obote had adopted the common man's charter to get rid of neo – colonialism. This is because Asians were operating multi-national companies like shell, Barclays, Bata and these were looked at as manifestations of neo-colonialism by Amin hence the war to get rid of the Asian exploiters.
- The desire to Ugandanise the economy, it was intended to empower the Ugandans in civil services and this made the educated and languishing citizens on the street to get jobs that were being controlled by Asians. Therefore the need to make Ugandans man their country necessitated the economic war of 1972.
- The need to reward Ugandans by Amin who supported him. Amin expelled Asians in order to get property and reward his supporters

especially the Kakwa, the royal soldiers and the Moslems to create a wealthy class called the “Mafuta Mingi.”

- Amin’s desire to punish Britain led to the economic war of 1972. Amin had been annoyed by Britain which refused to get him military ammunitions, also Britain refused to warmly welcome Amin when he had made a visit to Britain hence the war was intended to punish Britain.
- High degree of racism practiced by the Asians. The Asians were too discriminative in schools, hospital, residential quarters. The Asians also made life hard for Ugandans never to associate with them sexually, Asian women were restricted to love Ugandans and this annoyed Amin to expel them in 1972.
- The question of dual citizenship enjoyed by the Asians made them to be expelled from Uganda. Asians had pass ports of Bangladesh, Pakistan, Britain, India and this was against the International Human Rights hence the expulsion was inevitable.
- Desire by Amin to consolidate his power in Uganda led to the economic war of 1972. This was done to wipe out the Asians who had been a strong economic muscle and Amin feared that they would finance the Rebel activities and take over his government hence the war.
- Amin’s inspiration or dream on 4<sup>th</sup> August 1972 made him to declare war on the Asians. Amin reasoned that while in Tororo, he got a divine revelation to dismiss non citizens from Uganda hence the need to actualize his dream led to the expulsion of the Asians.

- The inspiration from Gaddafi in Libya made the war inevitable. Gaddafi met Amin and advised him to expel the Asians if Uganda was to develop as he had done to expel the Europeans in 1969 from Libya.
- Amin expelled Asians because one Asian widow denied him sex. This made Africa to conclude that Asians were arrogant and superior over Africans. This humiliated Amin as a president who reacted by expelling the Asians.
- Amin's desire to end corruption led to the economic war of 1972. It should be realized that in 1969, Asians survived expulsion by Obote because of increased bribes, acquired trade license wrongly, most of the land in towns were acquired through corruption hence the need to check this corruption made the war inevitable.
- Trade inequalities brought by the Asians contributed to the economic war of 1972. Asians had a lot of capital and were controlling the export and import trade, had control of wholesale trade and retail businesses which limited the Ugandans to have room for business. The Asians also smuggled goods into Uganda, evading the taxes which annoyed Amin to chase them away and he said;

“Asians milked the cow which they never fed.”

- The need for economic independence in Uganda led to the war. Amin reasoned that political independence without economic independence was useless. The British had controlled the multi-National Companies like Bata, Barclays bank, shell and employed Asians. This made Amin to remark thus;

“If they don’t remember us for any good thing, they will at least remember us for having given Uganda her economic independence”.

## **EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC WAR**

### **NEGATIVE EFFECTS:**

- The expulsion of Asians made Uganda to join the list of the racist countries in the world e.g. the international community looked at Uganda as a discriminative country in relation to color and this led to the withdraw of relationships from Uganda i.e. America and Europe.
- Asians lost a lot of their property e.g. shops, houses and big investments like industries because they were not allowed to carry property more than 10kgs. Therefore, the Asians left property worth 500 million dollars that was plundered by the Ugandans.
- It was a final blow to British colonialism between 1972 –1979 because Asians who implemented the British colonial policies had been expelled. This made Britain to resort to de-campaigning Uganda through the international community.
- It led to the collapse of the production sector since Ugandans who were left to manage the industries lacked the managerial skills, the country lacked foreign currency to transact international business like dollars, pounds and this led to the development of the “Bibanda” system due to failure to have established foreign exchange bureaus.
- Uganda became a dumping ground for Kenya’s finished low quality goods because she did not have other sources to get consumer goods. This is

attributed to the breakdown of industries and therefore Uganda had no alternative of getting consumer goods which greatly affected the lives of people.

- There was Africanisation of Uganda's Economy when Amin put the formerly owned enterprises by the Asians in the hands of Ugandans. This led to the creation of a new class of rich men known as "Mafuta Mingi" in Uganda.
- It led to the imposition of economic sanctions against Uganda. In this way, Uganda's exports were not allowed to be sold anywhere in the world and the European countries refused to extend aid to Uganda. This caused economic crisis leading to the breakdown of Uganda's economy.
- The expulsion of the Asians led to increased smuggling between Uganda, Kenya and DRC borders when the cheap goods that were sold by Asians had disappeared. This brought in the aspect of "Magendoism" which affected Uganda's Balance of payment position.
- Due to the economic war, many soldiers in Uganda turned to business and became managers of the formerly controlled Asian business e.g. David Oyite Ojok became the manager of Uganda marketing Board without any serious background of agriculture.
- There was decline in the capital inflow into the country since many investors were not ready to risk investing in Uganda. Therefore the phobia against investment was prevalent in the country that affected Uganda's economic growth and investment.

- Uganda's relationship with Britain, India and Israel worsened because of the economic war. These countries sponsored rebel activities against Amin that finally led to this downfall in 1979.
- The expulsion of the Asians affected the agricultural sector in Uganda. The Agro based industries that were in the hands of the Asians were mismanaged, Ugandans would not get fertilizers from outside countries to boost the agricultural sector and this increased the rate of unemployment in the country.
- It led to the loss of lives of Ugandans who had collaborated with the Asians, many Asians committed suicide, others threw themselves in Lake Victoria just because of the limited time given to them to quit the country.
- It led to the depopulation of Uganda since Asians comprised of almost half the population of Uganda. Therefore their departure reduced on Uganda's population in industries and education sectors.
- It made Idi Amin to win popularity among Ugandans who had hated the Asians. Amin also rewarded Ugandans for helping him to send away the Asians by giving them businesses in Kampala to manage shops and groceries that lasted for a very short time.
- It made Amin to make an alliance with the Arab world since most Western powers had isolated Uganda, Libya, Iraq and Saudi Arabia started financing the development programs in Uganda that even led to the ground breaking of the old kampala muslim mosque.

## **THE REIGN OF IDI AMIN**



After he took over Uganda's government in January 1971 and ruled as a military dictator for 8 years up to 1979, he has been described as the Hitler of Africa and upon assumption of power, he suspended all political activities, empowered the armed forces to arrest or shoot on sight any suspected opponents.

- Amin used terror as a political survival strategy where the technique of disappearance of prominent opponents was in place. He achieved for Uganda as a re-traditionalizer and upholder of African culture, but left a lot to be desired as he was disaster to **human rights**.

#### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF AMINI DADA**

- **Amin set up an administrative** hierarchy of chiefs from the grass root that showed democratic principles.
- He introduced the re-traditionalization policy that improved the morals among Ugandans e.g. banning mini-skirts and trousers for women.
- Amin fought corruption and those found guilty were brought to book.
- He introduced the land reforms in 1975 that regulated land ownership in Uganda.
- He nationalized/put the economy in the hands of Ugandans after the economic war of 1972.
- He developed infrastructure e.g. schools, hospitals & established the National teachers colleges spread all over Uganda.
- He defended Uganda from the external invasion in 1972, 1973 when the Kikosi Maluma and the FRONOSA of Museveni fought from Tanzania.

- He reduced the internal robbery commonly known as “Kondoism” and robbers were killed on spot using the State Research Bureau (SRB)
- Amin promoted sports and made Uganda Cranes to reach finals in 1978.
- He returned the remains/body of the Kabaka for reconciliation though it did not go well with the Baganda.
- He encouraged self-help projects in Uganda/Public works that promoted social interaction.
- There was some relative peace promoted though some people were killed in cold blood.
- Amin boosted the position of Uganda by hosting the O.A.U summit in Uganda where he served as a chairman and this increased Uganda’s popularity on the African continent.
- Amin developed the religious institution in Uganda e.g. he built the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council mosque at Old Kampala, he donated vehicles to Namirembe Diocese and Rubaga Cathedral.

#### **FACTORS FOR THE DOWNFALL OF AMIN – WEAKNESSES**

- **High degree of dictatorship**
- Murder or violation of human rights e.g. he killed Benedict Kiwanuka, Frank Kalimuzo- the Vice Chancellor of Makerere, Archbishop Jonan Luwum.
- Tribalism and nepotism i.e. the massive inclusion of the Kakwas, Lugbras and Anyanya into the Army without credentials.
- His expansionist policy e.g. in 1976, he claimed western Kenya to be part of Uganda, conflicted with Nyerere at Kagera hence his downfall.

- International isolation/conflict with the Western Imperialists e.g. Britain, Israel and India who sponsored rebel activities together with the Tanzania people's Defense Forces to Oust Amin from power.
- Religious intolerance e.g he favored Muslims and disrespected majority Christians, he made Friday a public holiday that affected the day to day operations.
- The spy network of Idi Amin that killed people in Uganda made Ugandans to hate his government.
- Establishment of rebel activities/groups i.e. Kikosi Maluma led by Obote and his supporters, FRONOSA led by Museveni Kaguta and the UNLF led to his downfall in 1979.
- The collapse of the economy that created a black market in Uganda and led to rationing of commodities regardless of the ability to pay made Amin's government to become unpopular.
- Amin's banning of political parties and failure to organize elections for 8 years, failure to return to civilian leadership made his government unpopular.
- High degree of human rights abuse e.g. constant killings, making people eat bars of soap and slippers made people to get disgruntled hence his downfall.

**Qn**

**“The over throw of Idi Dada Amin in 1979 was inevitable”. Discuss**

**Asses the achievements of the military rule in Uganda between 1971-1979**

**“Idi Amin was primarily responsible for his own downfall”. Discuss**

### **MILITARY COUPS IN POST INDEPENDENT STATES**

A military coup is a sudden over throw of a recognized and legitimate government by the Army. It should be noted that in 1960's, Africa was characterized by coups that swept across the continent. This state of affairs was because many countries had elite and civilian leaders whose education was based on Western origin.

- It ought to be noted that civilian rule dominated politics and this was punctuated by elites who thought that they would man the leadership and forget the role of the armed forces.
- The majority of coups in Africa were caused by power greed and rivalry rather than reform. These coups included; Libya 1969, Togo 1963 and 1967, Ethiopia 1974, Ghana 1966 and 1972 and Nigeria 1966 etc.

### **CAUSES OF COUPS IN AFRICA**

- The mistakes committed by the colonial masters account for the coups in Africa. The colonial masters granted independence to Africans without adequately preparing them for effective leadership. Leaders were prematurely prepared and this excitement sowed the seeds of future disturbances e.g. Belgians failed to prepare Congo which led to the problems of Mobutu's coup in 1965, the constitutional errors in Uganda

and Nigeria that promoted minority interests that laid a fertile ground for coups in Africa.

- The policy of divide and rule method undermined the unity and stability that led to the coups in Africa. This was a mistake also by the colonialists e.g. the Belgians drafted a constitution that promoted ethnic nationalism (Katanga Secession), in Nigeria and Uganda similar constitutions created unfavorable conditions that led the army to take over government in 1960's and 1970's.
- The rise of dictators in Africa led to coups. It should be noted that shortly after independence, the leaders who came to power were civilians who led to the intervention of the army in state affairs. The elite leaders sacrificed democracy, adopted dictatorship, manipulated constitutions to consolidate themselves in power. This created a complicated system of power change that made army to intervene e.g. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Milton Obote were removed due to dictatorial styles.
- The political rivalry among politicians was responsible for the coups in Africa. Political parties that were formed to fight for independence were divided on grounds of religion, ethnicity and regionalism and they recruited the armies basing on these differences. This also made African leaders to have different army sections with one being favored as the presidential guard. This situation conditioned mistrust, tension and suspicion that made the army officers to elevate themselves forcefully e.g. 1971 in Uganda, 1966 in Ghana and 1963 in Togo.

- Sectarianism and regionalism was also responsible for the coups in Africa. Shortly after independence, most African leaders gave key government posts to their relatives and tribesmen to consolidate their power. This fueled discontent among the Africans as corruption went unchecked and the governments became unpopular which the army used as an excuse e.g. Nasser toppled king Farouk in 1952 because the Wafds had dominated the politics, Obote used the langis, Haile Selassie used Amhara that led to the 1974 coup.
- Ethnicity in the army also caused coups in Africa. The African army was marred by ethnicism in order to promote the narrow interest of a small section. This ethnicity was prevalent in Nigeria in 1966 when the Ibo promoted regionalism, Mengistu of Ethiopia organized the 1974 military coup to check Selassie's Henchmen and in July 1966, the Hausa and Fulani organized a coup in Nigeria.
- The high degree of corruption and abuse of office contributed to coups in Africa. Many African leaders tended to use state resources to generate a lot of wealthy which bred discontent among the army and Nationals. This made leaders to plunder the country's resources and thrived on bribery and corrupt tendencies. This condition left the majority poor including the army and coups were organized to check the corruption and abuse of office e.g. Mobutu of Zaire in 1965 and Nkrumah losing power in 1966.
- The economic hardships that characterized most parts of Africa led to coups. There was rampant unemployment, poverty and inflation that characterized African countries and made prices of goods to fluctuate

beyond reasonable degrees e.g. cocoa in Ghana. This made many countries to fail to have meaningful programs to help their citizens. It was compounded by lavish and extravagant leaders who did not mind about the Nationals, but their party members e.g. CPP in Ghana, UPC in Uganda and Amhara in Ethiopia.

- Nationality threats also conditioned coups in Africa. The leaders turned to consolidate themselves and sidelined the army in the political management of the affairs of the country. This brought disorder and loss of life as it was in Uganda in 1971 coup organized by Idi Amini when Obote sidelined him, the 1966 Ghanaian coup was organized due to Nkrumah's negligence of the army.
- Ideological differences equally caused coups in Africa. The civilian leaders tended to get inclined to west capitalism or East communism and this brought conflicts. Nkrumah was toppled in 1966 due to his socialist tendencies, Obote was toppled by Amin after launching the common man's charter with socialist inclinations, USA backed Mobutu in 1965 to topple Kasavubu, the 1974 coup in Ethiopia was engineered by USSR against Sellasie, hence lack of African based ideologies and attachment to alien policies led to the coups.
- The influence of colonialism and neo-colonialism caused coups in Africa. The Europeans created governments that would serve their interests and those that failed to implement their policies were fought e.g. USA fought Patrice Lumumba in Congo in 1960 and supported Mobutu in 1965, the British supported Idi Amin in 1971. This was compounded by neo-

colonialism under the pretext of foreign governments and companies assisting Africans e.g. the oil Companies in Libya that left the Nationals languishing in object poverty and led to the 1969 coup against King Idris that served the interest of the colonialists in the totality.

- The culture of the gun as an instrument of power promoted coups in Africa. The emergence of military rule in Africa undermined civilian rule and laid a fertile ground for coups. The failures of civilian governments to respect the army led to discontent that made the governments to be overthrown e.g. the 1952 coup against king Farouk, 1971 against Obote and 1966 against Nkrumah.
- The success of other coups in Africa partly contributed to coups. The wave and tides at which coups moved across Africa and their success influenced other coups to be staged e.g. the success of the 1952 coup in Egypt inspired other coups e.g. 1966 Ghana and Nigerian coups, 1969 – Libyans, 1960 – and 65 – Congo, 1965 – Algeria were all influenced by successful coups in Africa.
- Foreign visits partly contributed to coups in Africa. The visits by the presidents of Africa laid a fertile ground for the armies to depose the legitimate governments e.g. while in Singapore, Obote was showed exit, NKRUMAH was also overthrown while in Turkey.

### **MULTI – PARTY SYSTEMS/DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA**

Multi – party politics or systems refer to the existence of more than one party in a country.

**Or:**



A system where political parties are allocated to contest for National leadership without restrictions in a given country

**QN**

**To what extent has the Multi-Party Political System met the aspirations of the independent African states?**

- Define multi – party system
- Give and explain the aspirations of independent African states
- Give the degree to which multi-partism has achieved the aspirations of the people
- Failures of the multi – party system
- Standpoint

### **ASPIRATIONS OF MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY**

- Promotion of freedom of choice
- Promotion of fundamental human rights
- Enhancing unity and diversity
- Promote competition in politics for national development
- To match with the IMF policies for development
- To promote liberalization and privatization policies
- To provide alternative leadership (cheques and balances) e.g. the free operation of arms of government i.e. executive, legislative and judiciary.
- To promote the smooth transfer of power i.e. promotion of functional democracy.

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF MULTI-PARTY IN AFRICA**

- It has promoted peaceful transfer of power in most countries of Africa. This has guaranteed effective functional democracy in Tanzania from Nyerere, to Hassan Mwinyi, to Mkapa, to Jakaya Kikwete, in Kenya, South Africa from Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and finally to Jacob Zuuma.
- It has undermined the dictatorship of one party rule in Africa. Single party systems always oppress, arrest, detain opposition leaders without trial like in Kenya in 1970's when Oginga Odinga, George Anyona were arrested but in 1992 Moi and KANU were removed by a formidable opposition led by NARC to Mwai Kibaki to adopt Multi-party in Kenya.
- It has promoted civilian rule in African countries of Kenya, Senegal and other parts of Africa. Multi party politics has made civilian leaders to access power as leaders of states and members of parliament which has worked for people.
- There has been mass participation in politics through regular and fair elections. This has been witnessed in Senegal where a large percentage of nationals get involved in the election of their leaders without regret.
- Multi party systems have promoted fundamental human rights in independent African countries. These are evident in Tanzania, Senegal, Ghana e.g. freedom of association, movement, speech and respect of the media and media houses professional reporting.
- It has ensured the promotion of liberal democratic rule in Africa. Countries like Tanzania, Kenya have had competitive and live debates in parliament that have yielded positively towards the development of their respective countries.

- Multi party systems have improved relations with IMF and the World Bank. This has worked in Senegal and Tanzania where funds are put to their rightful use without mismanagement in terms of funding problems and alleviating chronic diseases.
- Multi party systems have compelled the ruling parties to be highly accountable to the masses. This is very common in South Africa, Tanzania and Ghana where there are peaceful elections held; the incumbents have always worked for the people to ensure continuity and longevity of their terms in government.
- Independent African countries have attracted aid from the western powers for development attributed to multi party democracy. The development countries of Europe have encouraged the adoption of western model of democracy that ensures uniform and balanced democracy for the goods of the citizens.
- It has weakened ethnic tendencies and promoted National Unity. Most of the parties have cut across regions, tribes and religion and have brought so many people on board for National development. This has been seen in Tanzania in Chama cha Mapenduzi formed in 1967 after merging afro-Shirazi Party and TANU.
- It has promoted National economic development through liberal economic policies. The policies in such governments are uniform and deliberated upon e.g. developing industrialization in Kenya, South Africa and Ghana.
- Multi party systems have promoted stability and peace. This is seen in Tanzania, Ghana after the numerous coups and Senegal. This has ensured

development un-interrupted in these countries which is a precursor in these countries.

- Corruption has been minimized in countries that have adopted multi-party democracy e.g. Senegal, exercised the aspect of smart leadership as many have always been tried for the crimes connected to economic blunders during their terms of office e.g. Malawi and Zambia.
- Multi party systems expose the weakness of ruling parties. This is evident in Kenya Uganda, Senegal etc. the excess of the ruling party like NRM have always been checked by the parties of FDC, CP, DP etc, in Kenya NARC and ODM have always brought plausible reforms for constructive development.
- The rampant occurrence of coups have been checked due to the practice of multi-partism countries like Ghana, Nigeria, DRC and Uganda witnessed unprincipled coups due to lack of for a for discussion. The political dispensation in these countries has helped to make leaders accountable and allow the citizens to express their voices.

#### **FAILURES:**

- It has compounded the existence of undemocratic intolerance towards opposition. In countries like Uganda, Kenya, DRC, the opposition has been grossly disregarded, there are arbitrary arrests for trumped up cases without provision in the National constitution of these counties e.g. handling the opposition leaders on police vehicles without respect of their rights.

- The system of multi-partism has led to rigging of elections in independent African countries. This was witnessed in Ghana (1964), Uganda (1980 to date), Kenya (2007). This is done through under funding voter education not to have adequate information, intimidation by the army used by the incumbent, political patronage etc.
- It has promoted disunity between regions, tribes and religions. Some parties have been founded on religion and tribal basis e.g. democratic party in Uganda for the Catholics and Baganda. Others not balancing political appointments regionally which has caused intrigue within the party and the public
- Multi – party system is very expensive to manage for the independent African countries for effective operation, multi-party system requires civil education about the advantages of the system up to the grass roots, African countries cannot ably fund 50% of their budget and therefore expense on multi-party is compromised.
- Multi-party systems have failed to eliminate corruption and mismanagement of National resources. The party in power tries to consolidate itself by bribery and swindling billions of money, ms using the international grants as they are not sure of their continued stay in power e.g. Uganda, Kenya etc.
- It has encouraged the dictatorship of the majority in Parliament. This is very common in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, and South Africa where majority of the MP's belong to the ruling party and are given money to canvass for votes using national resources. In African parliament there is sack of

objectivity on politics, a lot of rubber stamping of justify the wishes of the ruling government.

- It has led to the delay in decision making
- It has promoted new colonialism i.e. different parties being funded by outside donor countries to support their policies e.g. Germany, Russia, China, UK and Americans. This has no lasting effects on African leadership.

## **Qn**

**1. Examine the merits and demerits of multi party democracy in any one African country**

**2. “Multi party political system is the most suitable from the government for the independent African states.” Discuss**

**3. Account for the resumption of Multi party political activities in Kenya by 1992**

The agitation and pressure for multi party democracy were mounted in the early 1990's. this was led by radical politicians, academics, professionals and clergy men including Jaramoji Oginga Odinga, Charles Rubia, Kenneth Matiba, Raila Odinga, Wangan Manthai, Reverend Timonty Njoya, Bishop Alexander Mugei etc.

In 1992, there was constitutional amendment that restored multi partyism that led to the removal of Arab Moi and KANU from power by the unity of opposition i.e. National Rainbow coalition (NARC) headed by Mwai Kibaki who established government in 2003 other parties in Kenya included ODM

(Orange Democratic Movement) by Raila Odinga and party of National Unity (PNU)

Multi party activities were resumed in Kenya due to the following;

- The alleged election rigging of March 1988 where candidates with short Mlolongos (queues) were declared winners compelled the people of Kenya to adopt Multi party democracy.
- KANU's failure to accept positive criticism for the people. These people were always grilled, suspended, expelled and incarcerated without trial which created a fertile ground for volatile opposition e.g. after 1978, following the death of Kenyatta, Moi had adopted violent and repressive policies against the opponents.
- The development in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (the end of cold war politics) the ideological wars had helped to accentuate a one party system in Kenya which disappeared with the end of cold war and opened up multi party democracy.
- Pressure from the international donor community e.g. World Bank and IMF. These international bodies have always set conditions for aid and adoption of multi party and this forced Kenya to adopt multi party system in order to get aid.
- Influence from other African countries like Zambia led to resumption of multi party democracy in Kenya. President Kenneth Kaunda had opened up multi party, the nationals were allowed to compete for elections and it led to the emergence of political parties e.g. United Progressive Party (UPP), multi party Demo (MMS).

- The role of multi party activists like Clergy, politicians and renowned lawyers and journalists who mounted pressure for change e.g. Rail Odinga, Bishop Henry Okulu, Mwai Kibaki etc.
- The July 1990 Sabasaba riots in Nairobi and other towns in which people were arrested and killed made Kenya to adopt multi party. People like Charles Rubia, Kenneth Matiba, Raila Odinga were arrested, others were assassinated and this mounted a lot of pressure on the government to open up political space in 1992.
- The Saitoti review commission and its subsequent recommendations led to multi party system in Kenya. The committee recommended a lot of reforms but the KANU government and Moi failed to adopt the recommendations forwarded by the people. This annoyed the largest number of people who pressed for multi party politics that would bring fundamental changes.
- The ethnic rivalry in Kenya accounts for the resumption of multi party politics. It is true that upon the ascendance to power of President Daniel Arap Moi in 1978, he showed signs of tribal repression e.g. the Kalenjin community against other tribes. This led to abortive coups in 1982, arrests, detentions hence the urge for multi party systems in Kenya.
- The increased levels of education in Kenya accounts for multi party democracy in 1992. Kenyans have acquired education much higher compared to the 3 East African countries. Kenya has a cross section of professionals like journalists, teachers, lawyers and economic who exercise the highest intellect in political development in Kenya and world over.



These demanded for multi party democracy e.g. Raila Odinga Mwai Kibaki etc.

- The promotion of the principles of human rights e.g. freedom of association, speech, free and fair reporting by the media, freedom to choice in politics without duress (force).
- Legislation of multi party democracy in 1990 due to the adoption of radical approaches by intellectuals like Masinde Muliro, Charity Ngilu, Ibrahim Mohammed that forced President Moi to effect constitutional amendments.
- The collapse of the society union in 1990 that had supported the idea of single party politics in Kenya.
- Failure of the single party government (KANU) in Kenya to check on the corruption and mismanagement of the public funds. This created room for political activism in Kenya.
- Multi partyism was adopted to alleviate the problems in Kenya's civil service and check on brain drain. This was intended to check the human resource flight and create employment for the Kenyans.
- The untimely death of Jomo Kenyatta and other believers in single party politics like Nyerere led to multi party politics in Kenya. Kenyatta had been respected and had neutralized tribal conflicts, his death plunged the country through into political chaos that was an impediment to democracy.

- Multi partism was adopted as an attempt to attract the Kenyan elites from the Diaspora back to Kenya and take up leadership roles e.g. Mwai Kibaki from Makerere University as a lecturer to become President of Kenya.
- The effects of globalization which is a new world order that takes into account the respect for human rights, gender sensitivity and empowerment. These forces made Kenya to adopt multi party democracy.
- The pressure from trade unions made Moi to open up for political space. The trade unions world over represent the interest of the working class and fight for their welfare. The trade unions in Kenya had a leveled ground that made Moi to open up the space for political pluralism.