

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA

Nationalism in Ghana

This was a struggle that took place in Ghana aimed at the attainment of independence. The struggle started in 1940's and by 1957, Ghana had attained her independence. It should be noted that before independence, Ghana was called Gold Coast but at independence Nkrumah chose the name Ghana in memory of the ancient Ghana Empire.

Political parties in Ghana were aimed as early as 1947 i.e. UGCC (United Gold Coast Convention) and in 1949 the CPP was formed (Convention People's Party) that played a pivoted role for the decolonization of Ghana.

Factors for the early independence of Ghana

The British economic exploitation of Ghana's resources annoyed the masses. The British exploited the minerals and offered low prices to the Cocoa farmers. The white business men monopolized the trade and accumulated a lot of wealth at the expense of the Ghana Nationals. This sparked off anti colonial sentiments amidst unemployment and inflation which accelerated the sate of nationalism.

Gold coast has a sizeable number of western educated elite. These included lawyers, teachers, journalists, Doctors like Nkrumah, J.B Danquah, William Ofori, Edward Akuffo Addo etc. these engaged in the mobilization, sensitization and funding political parties as well as interpreting the colonial language which had an impact on Nationalism in Ghana.

The economic and social advancement of Ghana explains her early independence. Ghana was more economically and socially advanced than any other Black African country. Socially Gold Coast was advanced in roads, labor, railways and urban centres like Accra, Tokoradi and Kumasi. Economically Ghana was the largest producer of Cocoa and had a booming mining industry. Therefore the monopoly of such economic benefits by white expatriates annoyed the elites to de-campaign colonialism in order to manage these resources.

The impact of World War II in 1945 accelerated the early independence of Ghana. Gold Coast contributed to a large number of troops about 65,000 to fight during the course of the war. The war experiences like operating machine guns, during armoured vehicles and

associating with liberal whites positively changed the thinking of the Nationalists like Nkrumah. The returning ex-service men became more disgruntled and started opposing imperialism. They associated with the peasants and opposed the Burn's constitution, formed political parties which saw them succeed in 1957.

The historical record of Ghana against colonial rule also explains her early independence. As early as 1874, The Asante opposed colonial value i.e. the indirect rule, the masses had also earlier on staged the anti-poll tax, hut tax which inspired hostility among the traditional leaders. Therefore, the parties that were formed were also against imperial injustices as the ancestors had done which made Ghana to attain its self rule in 1957.

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 i.e. by 1930's it had 5 million people and it was easy to mobilize and organize for a National cause which sped up the rate of Nationalism and independence in 1957.

The outbreak of cocoa diseases in Ghana accelerated the rate of Nationalism. The outbreak of the cocoa swollen shoot disease annoyed the farmers after the British ordered them to cut the trees without compensation. This instigated strikes and demonstrations and farmers joined the political parties to over throw the colonial government and attain self rule in Ghana.

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 that allowed African representation in the 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 Ghana more bargaining power to forge for self rule in 1957.

The 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.

The 1946-49 riots accelerated the early independence of Ghana. These pressured Britain to speed up the independence of Ghana. The riots were led by the ex-service men joined by farmers who had been disgruntled by the fall of prices of cocoa, elites who had been arrested like Nkrumah and the massive killing of the peasants by the police. The imprisonment of Nkrumah and other nationalists for taking part in these riots increased their popularity and undermined the colonial government which gave rise to the independence of Ghana.

The attainment of independence in Asia accelerated similar developments in Ghana. Several Asian states decolonized at the end of World War II e.g. India and Pakistan in 1947, Indonesia, China and Japan. India extended moral and financial support to the African continent and inspired the leading nationalists like Nkrumah and J.B Danquah. Nationalists also adopted Gandhi's positive strategy, peaceful demonstrations were staged by Nkrumah and this was a great boost in a rousing self rule.

Gold coast had a strong network of the press and the mass media and this accelerated nationalism. A series of instruments of communication like the Gold Coast independence news (1945, Accra evening News (1948), morning telegraph and Daily Mail (1949) led to political publications like "Towards colonial freedom", neocolonialism- the last stage of colonialism" were all read by elites. Hence the strong press in Ghana exposed the Nationals to the evils of colonialism thus Ghana's early attainment of independence.

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. It demanded for positive action against colonial rule, made Nkrumah to be exposed to international leadership skills and organizations. He became a true democrat and his ideology was shaped to form the CPP party with the slogans like;

"Independence now"

"Forward ever"

“Backward never”

The role of UNO in 1945 accelerated the independence of Ghana. UNO called for the speedy decolonization of Africa and aided the pace of nationalism in 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 1957.

The charismatic leadership of Nkrumah led to the 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 to the workers, the unemployed and became the leninist Kaizer of Africa ready to dismantle colonial rule in Africa.

The formation of political parties catapulted Ghana’s independence .The UGCC formed in 1947 by J.B Danquah and CPP formed in 1949 had profound effect on Ghana’s early independence. Nkrumah was secretary General of UGCC, he became radical and broke away in 1947 to form the CPP. These parties combined different tactics of steering Ghana’s independence mixing violence and positive action, appealing to the elites and sensitizing the masses of Ghana towards a single cause of independence.

Qn

- a) Account for the early decolonization in Ghana by March 1957**
- b) Why did Ghana pioneer Black independence in Africa?**
- c) Examine the causes of the Ghanaian revolution**

THE CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES TOWARDS THE DECOLONIZATION OF GHANA

The mass political parties were very instrumental in enhancing the independence of Ghana. These were the United Gold Coast Convention (1947), convention People’s Party (1949), Trade Union Northern People’s Party, Moslem Association Party etc. However, the two parties of UGCC and CPP steered the independence of Ghana.

THE ROLE OF UGCC

This was the United Gold Coast Convention formed in 1947 by J.B Danquah, William Akuffo Addo, William Ofori Atta who were lawyers and successful business men. This was majorly an elite party and later turned into a mass party after in cooperating Nkrumah as its Secretary General in December 1947 from London. Its roles include;

UGCC engaged in aggressive campaign of mobilizing masses which exerted pressure on Britain to effect changes.

UGCC drew the support from the elites class i.e. journalists, business men and the lawyers hence their professionalism re-enforced the Party's activities of challenging the colonial rule and interpreting the colonial language.

UGCC transcended ethnicism by rallying for support from all different tribes e.g. the Akan, Ewe, Ga, Fante and Asante. The professional leaders like Danquah won the support of the peasants who were aggrieved with the imperial policies.

UGCC used non-violent means of detesting colonial rule and in January 1948, the party boycotted European and Syrian goods which deprived the colonial government economic benefits and they succumbed to pressure.

The party engaged in the violent 1948 revolts still that protested the increase of the prices of goods, inflation in the country and unfair representation in the LEGCO that compelled the colonial government to increase African representations.

The party demanded and criticized the Burn's constitution of 1946, 1951 which had been dominated by the local chiefs that had collaborated with the whites.

THE ROLES OF CPP (CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY)

CPP was formed on 12th, June 1949 by Kwame Nkrumah who broke away from UGCC with his followers and among the founder members included Gbedemah, Kojo Bostio and street boys commonly called Verandah boys. UGCC was slow in dealing with the issues at hand i.e.

independence and Nkrumah wanted to apply radicalism using the youth to win the independence of Ghana.

Roles of CPP

CPP adopted the Ghandi idea of positive action to win the independence and this involved boycotts, demonstrations, strikes against the foreign enterprises e.g. in 1949 CPP called for a boycott of the European and Syrian goods highly priced.

CPP disseminated Nationalist information towards the colonial government. This was done through coming up with songs, dances in Kumasi and Tema

CPP criticized the 1951 constitution which side lined increased African participation in the LEGCO. This made the governor Charles Clerk to propose the 1954 constitution which accommodated the interests of Africans and Nkrumah became a Prime Minister.

CPP established news papers i.e. Accra Evening News in 1949 under Nkrumah. This served as a medium of mobilization and furnishing the name of the colonialists that made Ghana to be updated about the reality of independence.

CPP laid grounds for organizational plans that led to the success in pre-independence elections of February 1951 where CPP got 34 of 38 seats and Nkrumah became the leader of government business.

CPP instituted social, political and economic development prior to granting independence to Ghana i.e. new roads, railways, defeated the swollen Shoot diseases set up cooperatives for farmers and destroyed the economic monopoly of the expatriates.

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 and take up leadership roles.

CPP engaged in the pre-independence elections of July 1956 and they won by 71 seats out of 104 against the National liberation Movement of Dr. Kofi Busia and other parties.

CPP organized political values and composed slogans singing Nkrumah's names and title i.e. a man of destiny, deliver of Ghana, leader of street boys and all these inspired members to work hard for Ghana's independence.

CPP painted their vehicles with the party colors and this inspired the local people in Ghana with Nationalistic sentiments and commitment to attain the independence of Ghana in 1957.

CPP between 1952-56 scrapped off the 10 years development plan of the colonial government proposed by the 1946 constitution and reduced it to 5 years. This boosted the economic stand of Ghana which quickened its independence to be attained in 1957.

CPP also led to the Gold Coast to independence on 6th March 1957 with Nkrumah as Prime Minister and states the President. The Union Jack was lowered on the one of independence and the new flag had red, green, gold and a black star indicating African personality.

The CPP registered improvement in education and launched the Universal Compulsory Primary Education i.e. children between 6 years and 12 years were to attend primary, expanded the secondary and university education and increased the number of teachers colleges which increased literacy in Ghana.

CPP changed the name Gold Coast to Ghana at independence in memory of the strong ancient Ghana Empire and it was a symbol of African personality that brought identity.

THE ROLE OF NKROMAH IN THE STRUGGLE FOR GHANA'S INDEPENDENCE

Nkrumah was born on 15th September 1909 in the South Western region of Gold Coast and his father was a black Smith. Nkrumah went to a catholic mission school and his parents wanted him to be a priest but later he joined Achimoti College where he graduated as a teacher.

In 1935, he left for further studies to USA where he spent 10 years getting a wealth of experience before relocating to London in 1945. He got involved in the 5th PAM in Manchester which shaped his leadership, he became a secretary of the West African National Secretariat, was inspired by Lenin's theory of imperialism Nkrumah became a

lawyer by profession and he always used the saw to shape his leadership and anti-colonial crusade.

NOTE:

Nkrumah return from the diaspora in 1947 and his acceptance of leadership in UGCC transformed it into a mass political party and his charismatic and oratory (touching speeches) inspired many people to demand for self rule in Ghana.

THE ROLES OF NKRUMAH

He started the Accra evening newspaper in 1947 and he was able to spread anti-colonial propaganda that prescribed the colonialists to grant independence.

Nkrumah mobilized the Ghanaians and won the support of the ex-service men, civil servants, business men and the peasants who worked hard to demand for self rule.

Nkrumah formed the CPP party due to his popularity and radicalism with moving slogans like “self government now,” “freedom now,” which appealed to the peasants to demand for self rule.

Nkrumah united the people of Ghana and he was non tribalistic and this helped him to get the support of all people for the cause of Ghana’s independence.

Nkrumah provided leadership for the struggle of Ghana’s independence; through CPP he mobilized the masses through his speeches, dances and colorful flags that attracted the people to make it a broad based party.

Nkrumah prompted the colonial government to grant independence to Ghana by making constitutional reforms e.g. they resorted to Ghandism that involved strikes and boycotts in 1948 and 1950 that paralyzed the economy of the foreigners.

Nkrumah got involved in the pre-independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956 and this won him the confidence from the people, reforms were effected that brought Nkrumah on board to become the leader of government business.

Nkrumah introduced local organs of administration during his internally organized government before independence. The local native chiefs were replaced by elected local and urban councils that took part in leadership at the time of independence.

Qns

- a) Assess the role of Nkrumah in the struggle for the independence of Ghana
- b) Examine the role of political parties in the struggle for the independence of Ghana
- c) How far was Nkrumah responsible for the early decolonization in Gold coast by March 1957?
- d) To what extent did Kwame Nkrumah foster the development of Pan Africanism?

NKRUMAH'S ROLE TOWARDS THE GROWTH OF PANA AFRICANISM (AFRICA'S DECOLONIZATION)

HOW DID THE INDEPENDENCE OF GHANA PROMOTE PAN AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Ghana became independent in March 1957, with Nkrumah as Prime Minister and later president of Ghana. The decolonization of Ghana fostered the development of PAM and African nationalism as follows;

Nkrumah was referred to by historians as an African first and a Ghanaian second and therefore had solidarity of Africa at heart, Nkrumah said that Ghana's independence was meaningless unless the whole of Africa was liberated. This selfless remark served as an eye opener on the African continent to de-campaign imperialism.

Nkrumah convened the all independent African states conference in Accra in 1958. The conference was massively attended by over 200 delegates representing Africans and leaders included Patrice Lumumba, Milton Obote, Tom Mboya who intensified the political struggles against colonialism.

Nkrumah advocated for the change of the name of Gold coast to Ghana prior to independence. This showed the Africans that Nkrumah had identified himself with the Black race as the Ghana flag had a black star as a sign of identity to represent African culture.

Ghana hosted all African conferences including the African trade union federation in November 1959 in Accra. These conferences brought together the trade unions that helped to improve the worker's conditions. Therefore, colonialism was dismantled and this aroused the demand for total liberation in Africa.

Nkrumah's organizational ability paved way for the creation of O.A.U in May 1963. He helped a lot to reconcile the Monrovia and Casablanca group that gave rise to African consolidated unity in Addis Ababa with a vision of self rule.

Ghana promoted the unity of African countries by cementing together relationships on the African continent. Ghana – Guinea Union (1959), Ghana- Mali and Guinea union (1961). This cooperation promoted African togetherness to dismantle colonial rule.

Nkrumah played a leading role in forming NAM that emphasized positive neutrality. Under NAM from 1955, colonialism was castigated on the continent Africa and self rule was achieved.

Nkrumah called for the establishment of an African high command on the continent. This helped to create a shield Africans from imperial bondage that led to the independence of African countries.

Ghana supported the activities of liberation movements on continental Africa. Ghana criticized the French policies in Algeria, Guinea and helped most of the countries to get liberated. Therefore the success of Ghana became a litmus test to nationalists elsewhere in Africa.

Ghana extended moral, financial and military support to nationalists. Ghana gave 10 million pounds to Sekou Toure of Guinea to fight for independence. He assisted Ben Bella of Algeria and condemned the rebel government of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia.

Ghana was used as a training ground for African nationalists e.g. she allowed the liberation fighters, the Mali fighters trained from Ghana which served as a hub for political fugitives. This assisted Africans to plan adequately and launch anti-colonial struggles for self rule.

Nkrumah became the spokes person of the ambitious school of PAM. He was committed to defend African dignity in the hostile neo-imperial world. He addressed the UN assembly calling for the termination of imperial control in Africa.

Ghana was a source of inspiration which brought a wind of change as many countries in Africa got independence in 1960's e.g. Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi and Zambia etc.

Ghana became the patron of African states and played an oversight role over other African states to become liberated and this increased African nationalism.

He encouraged the formation of political parties to fight for the independence of African countries e.g. Tom Mboya of Kenya formed the convention party in 1957, Lumumba formed MNC (Congolese National Movement). These had attended the Accra conference that enhanced African nationalism.

Nkrumah appealed to the UN to put sanctions on countries still under colonialism e.g South Africa, Portuguese colonies ,Namibia,Algeria and exposed the atrocities of colonialism in Africa.

Qn:

a) Assess the contribution of Kwame Nkrumah in the decolonization process of Africa (2 sided)

NOTE:

It can be remarked that the decolonization process in Ghana was a land mark on the continent Africa where Kwame Nkrumah was branded a Black Messiah whose firm stand on Pan Africanism and African Nationalism made him an African first and a Ghananian second.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF NKRUMAH CPP GOVERNMENT

Nkrumah joined government business in 1951 as the head of opposition in Parliament when he was re-called from prison. He was the first African president of Ghana and he embarked on a number of vigorous activities as below.

Nkrumah promoted infrastructural development in Ghana. Many better and improved roads are constructed as early as 1951 from Accra to Dakar which became a highway the railway that ran through Ghana up to Sokoto, New harbors were built and this boasted the economic development of Ghana.

Nkrumah CPP government scrapped off the 10 year colonial development plan in 1946 which had allocated 11 million pounds for development and replaced it with a five year plan of 100 million pounds. This brought large surplus revenue for Ghana.

Nkrumah took drastic measures in defeating the swollen shoot disease in Coca trees. Also a Coca purchasing company was set up to buy cocoa directly from the farmers which reduced the expatriate monopoly and this boosted the standards of living of the Ghanaians.

The agricultural sectors was modernized and diversified during the CPP government. This was done through a research on crop disease, establishment of cocoa purchasing companies, broadening marketing boards, giving loans to farmers and introducing other crops like palm oil and rubber crops and this uplifted the welfare of the masses.

There was improvement in health services. There was construction of new modern hospitals e.g. the Kumasi hospital with doctors and nurses at a cost of 1.5 million pounds. This improved the health conditions of the Ghanaians and increased the standards of health.

The CPP government promoted industrial development of Ghana. It should be noted that Nkrumah had adopted socialism by 1960 hence he got aid in form of financial and technical assistance from the soviet union. Also aluminum smelting plant and Akasombo power station on river volta helped to generate power that boasted industrial development and this created jobs for the Ghanaians.

Nkrumah promoted education at all levels and made primary education compulsory. Children between six to twelve years were supposed to attend school; he expanded the secondary and university education and also set up a number of colleges to train teachers. Students in Ghana were given scholarships to study from abroad and this increased man power in Ghana and resource development.

Nkrumah Africanised the civil service in Ghana after the departure of the expatriates. This increased the employment opportunities of Africans from 151 in 1949 to 3,000 African workers by 1957.

Nkrumah promoted the culture of Ghana. There was cultural rejuvenation initiated by Nkrumah through the promotion of dance, music, art and literature and the CPP government developed these areas. The Ghana dance ensemble promoted the local music and dance abroad , games and sports were given priority and Ghana was crowned the champion of boxing in the common wealth in 1963 and it also participate in continental football.

There was increased mineral exploitation during the CPP government. Ghana exploited during the CPP government. Ghana exploited the gold and aluminum effectively and this boosted economic development, increased industrialization and improved the B.O.P of Ghana through universal exportation.

There was social development in Ghana through the improvement of workers welfare. The CPP government constructed houses to cater for the low income earners in Ghana, these housing projects were in Sekondi, Takoradi, Accra and it improved on the city's beauty and reduced slum development.

Nkrumah fought neocolonialism and wrote publication attacking its stay in Africa and these included the last stage of imperialism," "Towards colonial freedom" he rejected association with ECC, froze the French, economic assets in Ghana, condemned French nuclear tests in Algeria. He also fought the client states in Africa.

Nkrumah helped to decolonize the African continent by bringing about consolidated unity e.g. in 1958 there was the formation of the Ghana – Guinea that helped Guinea to vote overwhelmingly for its independence.

Nkrumah promoted the value of African personality and he addressed the UN in 1960 that Algeria is African and will remain so and France is French and European which encouraged African Nationalism in Africa.

Nkrumah enhanced the doctrines of NAM that emphasized positive neutrality and this boosted Ghana's image in 1961 when NAM effectively became official at Belgrade.

FAILURES OF NKURUMAH/DOWNFALL

From 1960 onwards, Nkrumah had become a dictator and pursued unrealistic economic policies despite the achievement he had registered for Ghana, some of his failures are;

Dictatorship

Economic mismanagement i.e. acute shortage of essential commodities and foreign debts

He adopted a laissez- faire policy

He promoted immorality in Ghana

Corruption

Unemployment

Mismanagement of the army and police which involved demotions

Promoted neo-colonialism which he had fought against

Rigged elections in 1964

Acute poverty in rural areas

He interfered with the judiciary

Qn

1. To what extent was Nkrumah's administration in Ghana successful between 1957 and 1966?

2. Assess the achievement of Kwame Nkrumah for Ghana between 1951-1966

- ❖ Nkrumah led to CPP victory in 1951 and became the leader of government business
- ❖ He constructed infrastructures i.e. roads, railways and harbors
- ❖ Succeeded in overcoming the swollen shoot cocoa disease by destroying trees and farmers were compensated
- ❖ He established a cocoa purchasing company to buy cocoa directly from farmers
- ❖ Introduced compulsory primary education for children between 6-12years expounded secondary and university education and constructed teacher training colleges
- ❖ Native authorities' courts by the chiefs were replaced by elected local and urban councils.
- ❖ Issued to new constitution of 1954/60 that made Ghana a republic
- ❖ He expanded and Africanised the civil services
- ❖ Led Ghana to independence in 1957
- ❖ Improved the health sector
- ❖ Defeated regionalism/ethnicism in Ghana by uniting people
- ❖ Promoted industrial development
- ❖ Promoted democracy through elections though rigged
- ❖ Promoted NAM by organizing the 1958 Accra conferences
- ❖ Increased mineral exploitation
- ❖ Nationalized the means of production to benefit Ghanaians
- ❖ Gave loans to farmers to modernize agriculture
- ❖ Promoted social welfare through construction of houses for low income earners and reduced slum development
- ❖ Promoted Ghanaian culture.

ACCOUNT FOR THE 1966 GHANA COUP

Nkrumah's dictatorial policies led to the coup of 1966. He had become power drunk and this brought in tyranny in Ghana. He introduced the preventive detention bill which

empowered his government to imprison all members of the opposition, he denounced all political parties like NP, TC, he arrested police officers, dismissed the chief justice and other judges. This made the police and army to remove Nkrumah from office due to his dictatorial policies.

The impossibility of removing Nkrumah from power by constitutional means accounts for the coup. The coup plotters looked at the over throws as the only solution of restoring constitutional rights of the people of Ghana. Nkrumah ruled by decree as he introduced the 1960 republican constitution that gave him more powers to outlaw the opposition, arrest people and this partly led to his downfall in 1966.

Nkrumah adoption of socialism led to the coup of 1966. From 1960, Nkrumah's government became inclined to socialist principles, the nationalized the sectors of production but without a clear vision and this brought economic hardships in Ghana. This also made the capitalist countries to withdraw aid like Britain and France and this plunged the economy in economic tatters. The coup leaders got the support of USA and Britain to over throw, Nkrumah because of socialist principles.

The extravagant character of Nkrumah made the 1966 coup inevitable. Nkrumah promoted tribalism and he was lavish, he spent a lot of government money to selfish interests of women, the army and police were starved and poorly housed and the CPP members were also dissatisfied and this led to the coup of 1966.

Nkrumah's rigging of elections caused his removal in 1966. In 1964 and 1965, elections were held in Ghana , but Nkrumah rigged them since he never wanted any replacement. The elections were marred with violence. He appointed members of Parliament and assigned them particular constituencies which annoyed the opposition. Lack of free and fair elections made the opposition, army to oust Nkrumah from office in 1966.

The fall of cocoa prices Kwame Nkrumah neglected the effective operation of the farmers' cooperatives and prices of cocoa drastically reduced. He mismanaged the economy basing on socialist principles. The farmers were therefore drastically affected by the low payments amidst acute shortage of essential commodities like sugar and drugs. This made the

farmers to team up with the military in order to improve the social welfare through the coup.

The divisions in the army, Kwame Nkrumah neglected the army, the army lacked boots, uniforms, weapons and vehicles. There was an advancing discontent in the army and the police force. Nkrumah only boosted the presidential guard made up the Russians and neglected the regular army, he fired the General Otu and his deputy Ankarah and many other police officers were detained without trial. This annoyed the military who only looked at the coup as the solution to better the conditions of the Ghanaians.

There was rivalry for power among the army and the police officers hence the 1966 coup. General Arthur Ankrah and other rival CPP members were power hungry and constitutional means were futile to make them sail through the presidential position. Therefore, the coup was the only legitimate way to end the Tyranny and corrupt regime of Nkrumah.

The influence and support from Britain and USA rendered Nkrumah's stay in power useless. The West (capitalist) was annoyed by Nkrumah's move to the East and seeking aid from the Soviet Union. This particularly annoyed the Americans that were committed to fund the Volta project and lost the economic benefits. Therefore Britain and USA used C.I.A to support the coup plotters that ended Nkrumah's regime in 1966.

Nkrumah proposal to send troops to southern Rhodesia made him unpopular and led to the coup. Nkrumah hatched a plan of sending the disgruntled soldiers to go and fight the white settlers after the creation of the UDI government by Ian Smith in Zimbabwe in November 1965. The army was already political after the dismissal of senior officers and forceful retirement of army Generals. This therefore, increased opposition that was interpreted in the language of a coup in 1966.

The success of other coups elsewhere in Africa led the coup of 1966. In 1952, General Nasser toppled the puppet and despotic regime of King Farouk. In 1965 Mobutu Seseko overthrew the government of Kasavuba in Congo, all these developments had been

watched closely by the people of Ghana. The soldiers of Ghana therefore used these foreign experiences of successful coups to topple Nkrumah in 1966.

Nkrumah's creation of the new security organization or spy network accounts for the coup of 1966. Nkrumah set up these units to protect him as the president and to spy on any potential opposition in Ghana. The spy network was run by the Russians and the special intelligence unit was led by Ambrose Yankey. Children spied on their parents who were anti government and later opposition leader like Dr. Danquah was killed in prison and this increased were opposition in Ghana.

Nkrumah interfered with the higher institution of learning and this led to his downfall. Nkrumah hated the secondary and university professors and lecturers, terminated their contracts, abolished the teaching of certain subjects like philosophy and political science and reasoned that these dis-credited his government. Tempering with the world of academia made Nkrumah to lose his focus and integrity of university professors who couldn't be compromised. Hence they teamed up with the army and police to overthrow him.

Nkrumah's influence in the affairs of African countries led to his downfall. Although Nkrumah was renowned as a supporter of Pan Africanism, he interfered, supported and reinforced rebel activities in African countries e.g. Ivory coast, Togo against the government of Sylvanus Olympio and this was interpreted as Nkrumah's dictatorship beyond his borders. This situation created strong hatred for Nkrumah in Ghana and was shown exit by 1966 coup.

Nkrumah's trip to a Common Wealth Peace Mission in Vietnam, The coup plotters had for long looked for an open opportunity to remove Nkrumah from office and this came when he was on a foreign visit. This made the army to attack the presidential guard, arrest ministers, district commissioners, CPP members seized a state radio that led to a state of emergence and creation of the National Liberation Council headed by Joseph Ankrah.

In conclusion, various factors led to the 1966 coup in which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was removed and replaced by the National Liberation Council headed by Joseph Arthur Ankrah.

SUMMARY OF FACTORS THAT LED TO NKRUMAH'S DOWNFALL

- Dictatorial policies of Nkrumah
- Impossibility of removing Nkrumah by constitutional means
- Adoption of socialism
- Extravagant character of Nkrumah
- Rigging of 1964 elections
- Fall of cocoa prices
- Divisions in the army and police
- Rivalry for power by the army and police
- Influence of capitalist countries
- Nkrumah's proposal to send troops to Southern Rhodesia
- Successful coups in Africa
- Creation of the new security organ
- Nkrumah's trip to Vietnam
- Nkrumah's influence in affairs of other African states
- Interferences in higher institutions of learning

EFFECTS

The downfall of Nkrumah was a turning point in the political development of the Ghanaian political arena. Nkrumah had been looked at as the negotiator of Ghana's independence, a patron of PAM, tactical and bright politician and a revolutionary who was now a fallen giant. It ought to be noted that after the overthrow of Nkrumah, the National Liberation Council was put in place by the coup plotters such as Ocran, Kotoka and Afrifa put the government under General Joseph Ankrah as the leader assisted by a group of Army officers and policemen.

NOTE:

The achievements of the military regime of Joseph Ankarah are the same as the consequences of 1966 coup both politically, socially and economically as below;

The military government of Joseph Ankarah solved the National debts that had amounted to 800 million Ghanaian currencies. This was done by approaching the IMF that gave Ghana grants to offset its loans and this improved the standards of the Ghanaians.

The military regime improved an agricultural program that increased the availability of food stuffs and this reduced the financial crisis that had hit Ghana in the past years of the CPP government.

The military government tried to recover Ghana's economy by scraping Nkrumah's five year development programs in Ghana. The regime got support from foreign countries of about 40% to boost the economy and the ministers were reduced from 30 to 17 which cut down the expenditure and uplift the welfare of the Ghanaian people.

Medical facilities were rejuvenated for the masses in the rural areas. This helped to reduce the rampant outburst of diseases that had engulfed the Ghanaian society.

The NLC created a platform for future democratic elections in Ghana. This was realized in 1969 when elections were organized and won by the progressive party (PP) of Dr. Kofi Busia.

The economic mismanagement was handled by giving new management to run the state owned enterprises. This helped to check on the corruption that had dominated the CPP government by 1966.

The NLC dissolved CPP after defeating Nkrumah and this led to spontaneous mass rejoicing throughout Ghana. The people of Ghana got some relief from the atrocities of Nkrumah who had become a murderer.

Te regime raised the prices of cocoa which had drastically reduced. The prices of cocoa stabilized on the world market, storage facilities were put in place and the standards of living of the people were uplifted.

The military regime released the people that had been imprisoned over trumped up cases by the government of Nkrumah. This helped to condense the pressure politically in Ghana.

Ghana returned to civilian rule for three years i.e. from 1969 to 1972 when elections were held and PP got 105 votes against the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) with 29 votes.

The housing facilities of the army and police were revamped by NLC.

Nkrumah's personified cult of Osagyefo was demystified in Ghana and was made to seek asylum in Guinea Conakry where SekouToure made him a co-president.

GHANA UNDER FOR KOFI BUSIA (THE RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE)

Following the resignation of Joseph Ankarah, elections were organized by General Afrifa in 1969 where the Progress 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

Busia improved on the standards of living of people living in rural areas. He extended social services e.g. 33 water projects were completed and 64 were under construction by 1972.

There was rural electrification scheme that benefited 58 villages and small towns. This boasted economic development in Ghana.

Many industries were constructed in Ghana during the regime of Kofi Busia. The problem of rural unemployment was overcome by the small scale industries that constructed and the life of the peasants was uplifted.

He also undertook village housing programs compounded by health clinics and feeder roads in rural areas. This increased the production and the standards of living of the masses.

He promoted agricultural development in Ghana and this reduced regionalism. The Northern and Central parts of Ghana experienced agricultural transformation.

Busia's government increased the Balance of the National government of Ghana. He reduced the resources allocated to the defense to finance projects in the country and this solved the financial crisis in Ghana for a short period of time.

FAILURES OF KOFI BUSIA/CAUSES OF THE 1972 COUP

The region of Kofi Busia was characterized by problems which were beyond his handling and eventually led to his over throw on 13th January 1972 led by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong who was a commander of the infantry brigade at Accra and he established the National Redemption Council (NRC).

The causes of the coup in 1972 included the following;

The excessive corruption in Busia's government caused the 1972 coup. The ministers in the government became too corrupt and started competing with one another in buying expensive cars, construction of mansions in upscale areas and set up Lucrative businesses. This led the Ghanaian economy in the crisis that warranted the coup of 1972.

Busia's regime was tribalism and ethnic hence causing the coup. Nepotism was at its climax and Busia promoted his tribe mates the Asante in the civil service and discriminated other tribes like the Iwe. The growing discontent about tribalism and ethnicism accounts for the coup of 1972.

The dictatorial policies of Kofi Busia led to his downfall hence the 1972 coup. He failed to respect the liberal ideas of society; he banned trade unions, dismissed editors of news papers and banned the press to leave only the government papers. He denied people the freedom of speech and association, banned activities of political parties and therefore failed to respect the constitution hence his downfall in 1972.

The poor economic and financial polices of Busia undermined his government. This was registered in 1971 when the world prices of cocoa fell drastically without measures adopted by the government to address this urgent problem. Farmers became very poor and

even depended on buying highly priced goods imported in Ghana. Therefore failure to address the economic and financial problems led to the coup of 1972.

The expulsion of African nationalists from Ghana led to the coup of 1972. The Nationalists who opposed the government and others from neighboring countries were shown forceful exit and this made Busia's government unpopular in the eyes of the Ghanaians and Africa as a continent hence the 1972 coup.

High levels of unemployment led to the coup of 1972. It ought to be noted that the elites without jobs and the peasants who were very poor mounted pressure on the civilian government. Kofi Busia had also closed some industries which led to low standards of living of masses and the aggrieved citizens' master minded the coup of 1972.

The poor administrative policies of Kofi Busia led to the coup of 1972. He was a poor administrator, very slow at decision making and could not cope up with the tricky challenges of the day hence the coup of 1972.

The disappointment of the army in 1971 caused the coup. Busia offended the army by cutting its salaries from 20%-10%, he abolished the vehicle allowances, cancelled expenses on transport and ammunitions, removed the privileges of the army and this led to the coup of 1972.

Busia's dialogue with South Africa made his government unpopular. African countries had hated South Africa and even isolated it due to the racist apartheid policy and failure to grant independence to the Blacks of South Africa. This made the Ghanaians to hate him and was removed using the coup of 1972.

The unlimited demands of the farmers undermined the government of Kofi – Busia and it led to the downfall. The marketing boards that had been set up during Nkrumah's era were paying farmers promptly after the sale of cocoa. Kofi's government gave a lot of liberty to the marketing boards to pay farmers after the export of cocoa which caused problems and hence the 1972 coup.

Qn:

Assess the contribution of civilian rule between 1969 to 1972 in Ghana

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 allowed 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-partysim 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 (checks 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 Zuma.

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 Chamma cha Mapenduzi formed 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-partysm. Countries like Ghana, Nigeria, DRC and Uganda witnessed unprincipled coups due to lack of forum 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 countries e.g. handling the opposition leaders on police vehicles without respect of their rights.

The system of multi-partysim 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, misusing 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 MPs belong to the ruling party and are given money to canvass for votes using national resources. In African parliaments, there is lack of objectivity in politics, a lot of rubber stamping to justify the wishes of the ruling government

It has promoted neo- 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 form of 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 Timothy Njoya, Bishop Alexander Mugei etc.

In 1992, there was constitutional amendment that restored multi partyism that led to the removal of Jomo Kenyatta 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 queues were declared winners compelled the people of Kenya to adopt Multi party democracy.

KANU's failure to accept positive criticism from 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 likes of children 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 respected 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 accounted 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 economists 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 dues (force).

Legislation of multi party democracy in 1990 was 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 partism 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 into political chaos that was an impediment to democracy.

Multi partysim 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 interests 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.

CAF

The central African federation was established in 1953 as a constitutional arrangement of the 3 protectorates of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It was a loose union of 3 colonies that existed up to 1963 under the key players of Huggins and Welensky with headquarters in Salisbury (Harare).

Reasons for the formation

Need to reduce with of colonial administration in the C/A. the colonial office in London that this would ease administration and separateness of the colonies wouldn't help them govern the area and would require more governors.

The political and economic status of the white settlers led to the creation of CAF. The whites had art a masterly position and did not want Africans to threaten it. CAF we formed to want Africans to threaten it. CAF we formed to promote the recruit policy and extend definition resistance hence the governor like Roy Welensky and Sir Godfrey Huggins supported the idea of CAF.

The influence of apartheid policy/system in South Africa led to the creation of CAF. The success of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa gave the whites in C/A hope that it is easy to impose racist policies on Africans given the triumvirate alliance.

Need to promote the economic inter dependence of British colonies in Central Africa. This is because Southern Rhodesia had industrialized and had commercial activities, Northern Rhodesia had the crops and mining of copper, Nyasaland provided the cheap labor. For also

water to tap the market in these regions and also provide British invest of markets in the region by using the resources what the colonies.

The fear of the growing threat of the Africans nationalism led to the creation of CAF. Africans had began being restless given the effect of World War II and began advocating for self rule and freedoms. Others had become violent to uproot colonialists. The whites therefore created CAF in order to certain African nationalism and prevent the independence of the protectorates.

Need to create an alternative area for investment led to creation of CAF. The British and other capitalists wanted to get a good investment area in order to escape the nationalization policy of the racist government of the Afrikaners after 1948. The whites therefore created CAF not to lose their wealth to the Afrikaners in South Africa.

Pressure created by the increased influx of the white settlers from Britain led to creation of CAF. The whites from Britain especially due to effects of World War II did not have land for settlement and jobs to improve their welfare. It is also true that over 16000 white immigrants had settled in Southern Rhodesia and hence there was need to get more land by bringing the protectorates together.

Need to secure future political independence of the whites led to the creation of CAF. The whites in 1923 had acquired internal autonomous status in salisbury from the colonial secretariat i.e. had independent LEGCO, police army and fiscal policy (taxation). This gave them more strength and authority to use the federation to challenge the imperial power/authority hence CAF.

The role of Sir Andrew Cohen facilitated the creation of CAF. He was a powerful liberal and influenced the London conference of 1950 that hatched the plan of the federation. He advocated for the federation and reasoned that it would boost economic progress of the Africans and whites in the region.

The need by the whites to reduce the economic competition from Africans led to creation of CAF. Africans began threatening with the formation of trade unions like the African mine

workers union to frustrate the labor and economic policies of the whites. Therefore Roy Welensky in Northern Rhodesia advocated for the federation to protect the industrial color bar, hence the need to exclude Africans to make independent decisions made CAF inevitable.

There was need to expand and improve the economic infrastructure in Central Africa. The whites reasoned that this would facilitate economic development of the transport and communication world boost trade and related activities of the railway line from Salisbury to Maputo was to boost development hence CAF being created.

The coming to power of the conservative party in October 1951 led to creation of CAF. The labor party that had been in power since 1945 was reluctant to pursue CAF as it wanted to decolonize African countries, but the conservatives in 1951 yielded to the demands of the white settlers to form CAF.

The recommendations of Bledsloe commission of 1938 led to CAF. The commission took three {3 } weeks carrying out a feasibility study and viability of the project. It recommended that a closer union would be wise hence was adopted in 1953.

Threats created by the Hilton Young Commission of 1938 facilitated the creation of CAF. Hilton young had proposed the merging of British Central Africa to British East Africa to boost a closer union and boost development. This idea was not liked by the whites in the central Africa who quickly hurried to create theirs independent of East Africa as the two broader areas would be huge for administration.

The role player by Sir Godfrey Huggins and Roy Welensky led to creation of CAF. These were Prime Ministers of the federation created and played vital roles in the hatching of the plans to create CAF. The CAF idea was proposed by Huggins in Salisbury and was supported by the Welensky in Southern Rhodesia hence their roles were very significant for CAF.

Qn: Account for the formation of the Central African Federation

EFFECTS OF THE CAF

The federation had both positive and negative effects as below;

Positive effects

The federation boosted independence in the region which in turn boosted the agricultural sector. The economic benefits made the people of the three territories benefits though largely to the whites.

Te federation contributed to domestic income in the three territories by 1953 the region had raised 26 million pounds and by 1956 the income jumped to 360 pounds attributed to the world increase in copper prices.

The federation attracted settlement around the mining and under centre. This increased production terms of growing crops as fertilizers to boost agriculture sector were produced by the independence.

Africans were able to get employment opportunities. These were working in the independence set up in Salisbury and mines in Zambia. The salaries and wages improved the standard of living of the people.

The federation promoted urbanization and this was attributed to the massive boom in development, the white settlement in the areas of Salisbury, Harare etc, all had skyscrapers built and modern Hotels.

The federation invested in the education sector. Primary and a few secondary schools were set up and a multi racial university in Salisbury constructed. This increased the elite class among the Africans to champion the struggle for independence.

CAF increased African representation in legislative assembly of the whites by Joshua Nkoma, Harry Nkumbula, Kamuzu Banda ,the Africans got involved in the decision making

that helped them to oppose the colonial oppressive policies leading to the rise of modern nationalism.

The federation laid grounds for the emergency of radical nationalist like Robert Mugabe, Kenneth, Kamuzu Banda. These organized demonstrations in the face of colonialists like strikes and formed political parties like ANC, ZANC and these helped in the decolonization process.

The federation constructed the Kariba dam to generate power in the region ,the dam was on river Zambezi which in turn boosted independence and social welfare of the Africans, also the dam promoted tourism in the region due to the manmade lake created i.e. Kariba lake created avenues for revenue.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS/SHORTCOMINGS

The federation ignored the forces of nationalism in central Africa. The founders of the project were short sighted and failed to realize the forces of change that swept across Africa after world war II, Africans were not consulted hence weakened.

The whites adamantly ignored and denied Africans representation or participation in the federal affairs, African ideas were ignored and it was not multi racial as it had been hoped.

The federation promoted income inequality in the region between the whites and the blacks. The economic boom in the region disadvantaged the Africans due to land alienation by the white minority.

The federation led to unfair distribution of the benefits among the states and the whites. Southern Rhodesia gained more them the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. All the commercial activities and industries had headquarters in Salisbury at the expense of other regions.

The federation sharpened the color problem in the mines and industries. This increased racism and isolated Africans in all spheres of life. Africans were discriminated even in public places like hotels and given meager wages compared to the minority whites.

The federation denied Africans meaningful education. The education provided was elementary without proper qualifications for competition with their counterparts; the white minority in the region. Africans attended primary education and few crossed to secondary and university level.

There were reactive measures to the African activists, politicians were arbitrarily arrested, others were made to lose jobs and this led to the state of emergency that saw many Africans being killed. This attracted criticism and condemnation from the British liberals and international community.

The majority of the Africans were disenfranchised by the whites. Africans were denied the voting rights to have their leaders elected for representation. The African leaders like Kamuzu Banda were not allowed to sensitize their nationals about their civil rights and the federation was dominated by African chiefs who were compromised by the whites.

Africans were made to lose their land and some became squatters. This was because of the creation of the Kariba dam and the manmade lake hence displacing Africans on top of the plantations that claimed large chunks of land.

Qn: Assess the impact of the central African federation (CAF) on the Africans in central Africa

- Available introduction of CAF (3-4 lines)
- Aims (expand market, suppress Africans, and protect whites]
- Stand point
- Positive and negative impact
- Conclusion

THE COLLAPSE OF CAF IN 1963

The CAF encountered constant attacks from the outside world. It was sharply criticized and the 1958 Accra conference, 1955 Bandung conference and the UNO all condemned CAF.

This weakened both the CAF at home and abroad hence it was terminated in 1963.

The public pressure from the masses in central Africa made the collapse of CAF inevitable and the British lost ground.

The growing tide of African nationalism that swept across the continent weakened CAF. Africans began to stage demonstrations given the encouragement from Ghana and this raised the mood for independence.

The influence of the Mau Mau rebellion impacted negatively on CAF. The British had just fought a costly rebellion in Kenya. This made the British to discontinue the fighting with Africans because its economic muscle had been weakened.

The failure of the East African federation led to the collapse of CAF. The East African territories met opposition from the cultural leaders like Buganda which had semi – autonomous powers.

The role of the Monckton Commission recommended the dissolution of CAF. The commission suggested the revision of the federal constitution that allowed every state to secede and run its affairs. This compelled Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to manage their affairs by December 1963 and got independence in 1964.

The role of Butler was also a potent factor in the collapse of the federation. He was officially sent by the British colonial official to dismantle and dissolve CAF in 1963.

The arrogance of the federation leaders prompted the collapse of the project. Roy Welensky reasoned that Africans were horses and the whites were riders, Huggins commented that African ideas were not properly guided in the federation Parliament. This annoyed the Africans to oppose the federation.

Other factors include;

- Rise of African nationalism
- Unfair representation of Africans in the LEGCO of 8 Vs 14
- Economic disparity between Africans and whites
- The racist policies of the whites and color bar

- Impact of distribution of the benefits among the federation states e.g. Indians in Salisbury, copper exploited in Zambia and cheap labor from Nyasaland.
- The rise of African elites in British central Africa e.g. Kamuzu Banda, Kenneth Kawunda, Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo etc.
- Pressure from the commonwealth of Nations from 1959
- The rise of Macmillan as British Prime Minister in 1959 and his inspirational speech in African political struggles
- The secession of Nyasaland and later Northern Rhodesia

- Imposition of the federation on Africans by whites without consultation led to collapse
- NB: All other negative consequences led to the collapse

NATIONALISM IN NYASALAND (CURRENT MALAWI)

Nyasaland (Malawi) since independence was a British Colony and was federated to the white dominated CAF in 1953.

It was the 1st territory to achieve self-determination under African administration after its secession from CAF in 1963 and got independence in 1964 led by Malawi Congress party (MCP) under Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF NATIONALISM (DECOLONIZATION)

The role of the colonial education facilitated the independence of Nyasaland. It was through the living stonia schools established by the missionaries that made the nationalists like Banda, Aleke, Chipembere attain education, they offered leadership roles at independence time.

The impact of the Scottish Missionaries strengthened African confidence to get independence. Missionaries adopted the slogan of Africa for Africans and missionaries saw Africans as trusted friends, some condemned the British colonialism which made Africans to advocate for equal rights hence leading to independence.

The role of independent African churches in Nyasaland influenced the growth of nationalism. The first African churches were led by John Chilembwe established in 1915. The activities of the churches inspired Africans to demand for political freedom and denounced the discriminative British churches.

The absence of ethnic sub nationalism contributed to the success of the independence struggle. Nyasaland was dominated by the Bantu majority speaking people with a common linguistic characteristic like the Yao, Ngoni, Luba, Moradi. No tribe claimed an upper hand in the independence struggles leading to consolidated unity.

The geographical size of Nyasaland favored its independence. It was very small, narrow and long which eased the mobility of the nationalists during the campaign programs.

The creation of the central African federation strengthened nationalism in Nyasaland. The federation aroused African consciousness as it had led to white influx with its negative effects like land grabbing, denying Africans political activism, color bar and forced labor. These compelled Africans to demand for the freedom.

The economic inability of Nyasaland favored its independence. The British realized the little resources to be exploited in Nyasaland and the white settlers had not invested in Nyasaland. Therefore, this motivated the people to advocate for independence.

The role of Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda greatly encouraged the rise of nationalism; Banda returned from abroad in 1958 and became the leader of NAC .The colonial government released Banda from prison in 1960 and he accepted leadership in MCP, he mobilized the masses to take part in the pre-independence elections leading to victory in 1964.

The role of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was a positive gesture for independence. He issued policies that led to the release of political prisoners through governor Ian Macloed, he encouraged the revision in the constitution that increased African representation in the LEGCO, he issued the Monckton commission that led to the collapse of CAF.

The role of Ian Macloed who replaced the conservative governor Lennox, he organized the pre-independence elections in 1962 that made Africans to overwhelmingly vote for the African independence.

The collapse of CAF made the independence of Nyasaland inevitable. It immediately favored the secession of Nyasaland from the white dominated government. It allowed the Africans to carry out political activities that laid grounds for independence.

The independence of the neighboring British colonies in East Africa influenced the rise of nationalism in Malawi. Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya got independence early and this raised the hopes of the nationalists in Nyasaland to demand their self rule.

The independence of Ghana also impacted on independence struggles in Nyasaland. Nkrumah had spoken of the alliance of African countries in the struggle for independence, he said that the independence of Ghana was meaningless if the continent was under colonial bondage, he organized the Accra court of 1958 attended by nationalist including Kamuzu Banda leading to success of the independence struggle.

The criticism from international community compelled Britain to relent on its policies on Nyasaland. The UN general assembly condemned the British stay in Africa and criticized the state of emergency in Nyasaland in 1959 that led to death of people, the liberals of the labor party also demanded the quick release of nationalists and this led to the secession of Nyasaland.

The British experience in the Mau – Mau rebellion encouraged the decolonization of Nyasaland. The British were reluctant to witness another military uprising in Nyasaland; therefore, the Prime Minister Macmillan initiated reforms that made Nyasaland to secede.

The formation of OAU in 1963 provided formidable ground for the decolonization of Nyasaland. The OAU quickly set up the liberation committee with Headquarters in Tanzania whose role was to assist Africans to get independence.

The independent countries under the guidance of Julius Nyerere gave moral, financial and military assistance to Nyasaland.

The role of common wealth of Nations since 1959 made the independence of Nyasaland inevitable. These countries at the CHOGM sessions pressurized the British colonial government to grant independence to Nyasaland and increase membership.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MCP/KAMUZU BANDA IN THE DECOLONIZATION OF NYASALAND

Malawi congress party was formed in 1959 to replace NAC and its first President was Orton Chirwa assisted by Aleke Banda as the general secretary.

MCP provided leadership in the independence struggle under Orton Chirwa and later by Kamuzu Banda in 1960 after his release from prison.

MCP recruited masses in the ranks to bring about independence in Nyasaland

The party demanded for the release of political prisoners like Kamuzu Banda imprisoned in 1959 and released in 1960 which strengthened independence struggle in Malawi.

The MCP under Kamuzu Banda campaigned all over the country condemning the negative policies of CAF and encouraged the People of Malawi to secede in 1963 paving way for independence.

MCP employed the press in its struggle for independence in Nyasaland. The party established a news paper called "Malawi News," which was used to pass anti colonial messages.

The party used music to sensitize and popularize the struggle against federation it came up with popular songs called Africans to vote for MCP leading to independence.

The MCP under Hastings Kamuzu took part in the constitutional talks of 1960 and 1962 organized in London aimed at preparing Africans for majority rule.

The party participated and won in the pre-independence elections of 1962 that increased Africans representation in the government. This made Africans to get 20 votes against 8 votes of the whites.

The MCP expanded the long neglected secondary education in Nyasaland. This made the party to become popular and Banda was appointed as minister of internal affairs.

MCP mobilized the funds to push for the independence struggle. This was done through subscription by members as well as selling the badges bearing images of Dr. Kamuzu Banda.

MCP restored the native/local courts in Nyasaland and this promoted justice at Local levels and democracy hence winning the support of local People.

The party reformed the existing marketing boards that had been under the management of whites and this reduced the exploitation of the masses hence winning the support of the people.

The party introduced the popularly elected district councils that replaced the local chiefs. This promoted grass root democracy that made MCP popular in Nyasaland.

MCP encouraged the secession of Nyasaland from CAF in 1963 and Banda was made a Prime Minister and later head of state to prepare for independence in Nyasaland.

MCP under Kamuzu Banda received the instruments of power in Nyasaland. This made Nyasaland to be free from the British colonial ties or bondage.

The party participated in April 1964 independence elections and won by the majority vote to establish the 1st African government led by African majority.

Questions

- 1. How far did Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda contribute to the attainment of independence in Nyasaland (Malawi)?**
- 2. Assess the contribution of Kamuzu Banda in the struggle against CAF**

3. Examine the influence of Kamuzu Banda in the struggle for independence in Malawi.

ROLE OF KAMUZU BANDA IN THE DECOLONIZATION OF NYASALAND

Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda was born in 1902 to a peasant family in Kasungu and went to a Livingstone mission school for early education. He trained as a doctor in human medicine in USA and returned to Nyasaland in 1958.

To a greater extent, Banda contributed in the decolonization struggle as below;

Hastings Banda represented the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) in London and requested the labor government to intervene in the Nyasaland affairs.

Banda extended financial support and advice to the leadership of NAC while in London.

Banda returned to Nyasaland in 1958 and began campaigning against African cooperation with federation government.

Banda accepted to be the president of NAC and led a direct positive action towards gaining independence in Nyasaland.

Kamuzu vigorously denounced the CAF and mobilized mass disobedience against the unjust laws of the whites.

Kamuzu beat the security of the whites and attended the 1958 Accra conference that added momentum in the independence struggle.

Banda united a cross section of the ethnic groups in Nyasaland. This created a strong force that rallied behind the independence project.

The arrest of Banda in 1959 by the white government made him a political hero and increased his popularity.

Band led a constitutional talk in 1960 in London to meet the colonial governor Ian Macloed laying a foundation for independence.

Kamuzu took part in the multi racial constitution in 1961. The constitution increased African representation in the colonial government by 28 seats.

Banda was appointed to two ministries in the colonial government i.e. natural resources and the local government that made him to extend social services to the people.

Kamuzu also participated in the 1962 constitutional talk which recognized the breakaway of Nyasaland from CAF and set up an internal government by African domination.

Banda accepted the post of Prime Minister in the internal self government that was a major step towards independence in 1964.

He led MCP to consolidated victory of 50 seats in the common roll of 1964 in independence elections

He accepted the instruments of power on independence in 1964 and established the new state of Malawi.

NB: Banda fielded conflicts with his neighbors i.e. Nyerere accusing him of supporting rebels, got internal problems with his ministers that undermined his government.

He left power in 1994 after opening up space for political parties and died at the age of 94 years.

Other factors for independence of Malawi/Nyasaland

- The contribution of MCP
- Impact of missionary education
- Role of Scottish missionaries
- Activities of African independent churches
- Absence of ethnic nationalism in Nyasaland
- The small geographical size of Nyasaland
- Creation of CAF that strengthened political consciousness of Africans
- Economic inability of Nyasaland
- Role of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan

- Contribution of Ian Macloed (governor)
- Collapse of CAF
- Independence of neighboring countries
- Independence of Ghana/role of Accra conference
- Formation of OAU
- Influence of the UNO – impact of Mau – Mau
- Role of Common Wealth of Nations

NATIONALISM IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) since 1980 was one of the settler colonies of Britain. It was inhabited by a large number of whites who invested in the area and generated a lot of revenue. The area was composed of the shona and Ndebele tribes.

The nationalists who struggled for the independence in southern Rhodesia included; Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Rev. Sithole Ndyabangi, Harry Nkumbula etc.

Political parties included the National Democratic Party (NDP), Zimbabwe African peoples union (ZAPU), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) until 1965 when UDI government was declared by Ian Smith to dominate Africans and suffocate their road to independence.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UDI 1965-1980

The unilateral Declaration of independence was a rebellious government of the White founded by Ian Smith contrary to the British Colonial government in London.

UDI came shortly after the collapse of CAF in 1963 and the independence of Malawi and Zambia in 1964 respectively.

Qns:

- 1. Account for the formation of the UDI in 1965 in Southern Rhodesia**
- 2. Examine the factors that led to the proclamation of UDI in Southern Rhodesia**

The factors for the establishment of UDI include;

The conflicting attitude of the British government and the minority whites in Southern Rhodesia. Britain was preparing for decolonization of the 3 territories in Central Africa and this was rejected by the minority whites. Britain wanted to bring democratic government to involve Africans and this scared Ian Smith to set up the UDI to block Africans.

The internal self government given to the whites laid a foundation for UDI. The British government appeased the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia and gave them powers e.g. political, legislative, collecting taxes, army and police. These privileges convinced Smith to set up a government not to get aid from Britain.

The African native population was considered inferior and unable to manage political affairs. This made the white settlers to become arrogant and decided to dominate Africans not to empower them hence UDI.

The fear of the growing African nationalism contributed to the UDI government. Africans had started to demand for self rule in the 1960's due to wind of change and negative CAF policies, Africans had begun forming political parties like NDP and ZAPU by Joshua Nkomo. This made the minority white to form UDI and prevent the wave of nationalism.

The collapse of CAF in 1963 paved way for UDI. The CAF project lost momentum by 1963 and made Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to get independence in 1964, this influenced the blacks in Southern Rhodesia to become active politically i.e. demonstrations and strikes. This quickly made Ian to declare UDI to check African activities.

The economic potential of Southern Rhodesia made the creation of UDI inevitable as the whites had got the fertile areas and established the land law thereby controlling the arable land.

Plantations had been set up comprising of tobacco, wheat and corn. The industries had been set up and there was booming trade, the area had minerals e.g. nickel, chrome. This necessitated the grip of the white minority of 1965.

The rise of the Rhodesia front party (RFP) formed in 1952 paved way for UDI. This was a party for the whites and aimed at promoting rights of white minority, block the Africans

like denying voting rights and civil liberties e.g. association and speech. Ian Smith became the head of the party and set up the UDI in 1965.

The character and personality of Ian Smith led to establishment of UDI. Smith had become a Prime Minister in April 1964 and became conservative, reactionary and rebellious. He believed that Africans were primitive for independence and would carry out chaos similar to Congo in 1960. Therefore African proposals were turned down to set up UDI in 1965.

The whites were inspired by the American war against Britain between 1776-1783. This was an inspiration because the white settlers defeated the British colonial government. Therefore Ian Smith under the RFP felt the need to duplicate the American experience by establishing the UDI to be independent of Britain.

The formation of OAU in 1963 scared the whites to establish UDI in 1965. The OAU in its summit in Cairo passed a resolution to fight the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia, it recognized the nationalists like Joshua Nkomo and extended support. This quickly made Ian Smith to establish UDI and prevent further activities of OAU.

The activities of the labor party under Wilson Harold led to the formation of UDI. Harold was liberal and always held discussions aimed at democratic governance in Southern Rhodesia. This was unacceptable by the white minority dominated by suppressive, oppressive and dictatorial leaders hence UDI.

The incompetence and short sightedness of the British government led to creation of UDI. The British government gave a lot of powers to the whites i.e. self government, independent security force, powers to collect taxes and appoint representatives in the LEGCO. This strengthened the whites under Ian Smith and Britain could not employ a military approach to stop it.

The impact of World War II on Britain also favored the creation of UDI. The war weakened the economic muscle of Britain and made it practically incapable to sustain colonies, from 1945, it began granting reforms aimed at independence. This created a soft landing for Smith as Britain did not have interest in African colonies.

The influence of the triumvirate alliance led to creation of UDI. Ian Smith was convinced by his conservative friends like Don Salazar and Verwoed of Portugal and South Africa respectively. They agreed to stay in Africa and create racist empires by jointly suppressing African countries. This made UDI government inevitable.

The military strength of the white government in Southern Rhodesia favored the UDI establishment. They had modern fighting weapons like fighter planes, bombers and armored cars. This gave Ian Smith confidence and capability to prevail over the Africans hence UDI.