

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 9th 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 9th 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 24th 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 kingdom's 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 Mutesa 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 1st 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 forefront 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 2nd 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 21st 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 Muteesa 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.

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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 25th, 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

- Amini'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 4th 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 4th 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 Gadaffi in Libya made the war inevitable. Gadaffi 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 export 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 over thrown 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, Thambo 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 countries 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, mis 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 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 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 partyisum 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 Mlolongo (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 dues (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 from 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 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 worldwide 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.