

THE PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT SINCE 1900 – PRESENT (PAM)

This refers to the black intellectual movement that was intended to jointly unite the blacks all over the world. It was founded in 1900 by men like William Sylvester, George Padmore from Trinidad and Tobago, WEB Dubois from the Caribbean Islands and many others who were renowned lawyers and professors. They were interested in the pride of African race.

Pan Africanism is divided into two phases i.e. the 1st phase was in the Diaspora and conferences took place in Europe and America i.e. London Conference of 1900, 1919 Paris Conference, 1921 Conference held in the capitals of Paris, London and Brussels, 1927 New York Conference and the 1945 Manchester Conference (5th Pac).

NB: The Manchester Conference was dominated by many African delegates from both African and the European countries and this compelled Marcus Garvey to comment that “if Europe is for Europeans, then the Negroes must claim Africa as their home.”

2nd Phase of Pan Africanism

This phase was dominated by all Africans and it took place in Africa. This is because PAM had got a home base when Ghana got its independence in 1957 and it began with the 1958 conference in Accra i.e. the April for African Independent Countries, December for all African People's Conference (APPC).

Aims and objectives of PAM

- It aimed at promoting and forging unity for all the blacks all over the world regardless of their education and economic levels.
- To restore the black man's respect and dignity that had been white washed by slavery and colonial policies.
- To build and establish a strong loyalty in Africa as opposed to individual and divisive interest hence encouraging the theme “Africa for Africans”.
- To establish a strong voice against the white domination and discrimination.
- To promote international relations with other races and continents without enslaving Africans
- To promote the respect of the rights of Africans on the African continent and world over.
- To uplift the African interests and the desire to develop

- To eradicate interstate conflicts out of the entire African continent
- To ensure the respect and dignity of African sovereignty and territorial integrity and independence.
- To uplift African standards of living and curb down the biting poverty on the continent.
- To enforce economic integration in order to end the economic exploitation of Africans.
- To Promote technological transfer from the new world to Africa i.e. Africans getting to know the recent sciences and technology to promote development and propel themselves.

FACTORS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF PAN AFRICANISM

1. European colonialism and exploitative policies
2. The influence of the blacks in the Diaspora i.e. George Padmore
3. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935
4. The impact of the Manchester Conference in 1945
5. The role of the black students movement (WASU) since 1945
6. The impact of the Apartheid Policy in South Africa in 1948
7. The role of the Egyptian revolution under Nasser in 1952
8. The impact of Bandung Conference of 1955
9. Ghana's independence/Role of Nkrumah 1957
10. The Independence of Guinea Conakry/Role of Sekou Toure 1958
11. The role of the Accra Conference of 1958
12. The role of mass media and the press
13. The formation of political parties
14. The role of artists/MDD i.e. Lucky Dube, Chinua Achebe
15. The role of African elites/impact of western education
16. The formation of OAU in 1963

FACTORS EXPLAINED

1. European colonialism and the exploitative policies led to the development of PAM. These policies were the same in all African countries and they compelled the blacks to share experiences and lay strategies that brought them together to fight colonialism jointly.
2. The influence of the blacks in the diaspora like WEB Dubois, William Sylvester, Marcus Garvey. These mobilized the Africans and organized conferences to show them the need for unity and chase the colonial masters for African independence i.e. in Portuguese colonies, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

3. The impact of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 led to the growth of the Pan Africanism. Ethiopia served as African model for independence and confirmed African solidarity evidenced by the strikes in west Africa led by Nnamdi Azikiwe hence it inspired the African continent to help Ethiopians to restore their independence in 1941.
4. The role of the Manchester Conference in 1945 greatly influenced the development of Pan Africanism. This conference was organized by WEB Dubois assisted by Nkrumah and it was vastly attended by African delegates. The conference inspired Africans to become militaristic in order to get independence, it equipped African leaders with leadership skills and encouraged African nationalists to form political parties.
5. The renewed activities of WASU in 1945 led to the development of Pan Africanism. This body identified itself with all Africans that were struggling for their independence; they extended moral, financial and military support to the suffering African's leading to the development of PAM.
6. The impact of the apartheid regime in South Africa since 1948 led to the development of Pan Africanism. This was discriminative and segregative that made the people of South Africa to suffer in established Bantustans where life was very hard. Therefore African countries under OAU and the Front line states offered assistance to help South Africa get its independence leading to Pan Africanism.
7. The role of Egyptian revolution under Nasser in 1952 led to the development of PAM Nasser upon getting complete independence for Egypt, extended support to liberation movements i.e. FLN of Algeria, offered radio Cairo to be used by the MAU MAU fighters, provided asylum to suffering Africans like Musaaazi of Uganda hence Pan Africanism.
8. The positive impact of the Bandung Conference in 1955 influenced the development of PAM. This conference was attended by African Nationalists like Nasser, Jomo Kenyatta, Kamuzu Banda, it brought Africans together, consolidated their unity and increased their commitment for independence hence PAM.
9. Ghana's independence in 1957 led to the development of PAM. Ghana's independence under Nkrumah made a strong stride in African history by helping African countries like Guinea conakry through financial aid using the budget of Ghana, this forced Africans to form close ties like Ghana-Guinea, Mali Union.

10. The independence of Guinea conakry/role of Sekou Toure led to PAM. Sekou Toure encouraged Africans to form unions and federations that would address African's problems. He adopted African socialism that was embraced by Julius Nyerere under ujaama, this brought Africans together to promote economic prosperity that finally weakened colonialism in Africa.
11. The role of the Accra Conference held in Ghana in 1958 influenced the formation of PAM. The conference united both independent and struggling African countries. It shifted Pan Africanism from the diaspora and it got a home in Africa, it militarized African nationalism and encouraged the formation of political parties to capture power from the colonialists.
12. The role of the press and mass media had a strong impact on the growth of PAM. The news papers like Western African pilot by Nnamdi Azikibwe, the Accra evening news by NKrumah and the radio Cairo by Nasser that spread anti-colonial propaganda, all revived African culture and condemned colonialism thereby rekindling the spirit of nationalism.
13. The formation of political parties in Africa led to the development of these parties like PAIGC, MPLA, FLN, FRELIMO, UNC solicited for assistance from external sources like super powers, united Africans and sensitized them about the need for independence, adopted radical strategies to attain independence.
14. The role of artists MDD such as Lucky Dube, Chinua Achebe, these brought messages that condemned colonialists. These writers encouraged Africans to identify themselves with their culture and resist from cultural manipulation leading to the development of PAM.
15. The role of African elites/western education greatly influenced the development of PAM. The Africans who acquired colonial education like Kamuzu Banda, Kenneth Kaunda got exposed to the life of the colonial world; they exchanged ideas with the civilized and democratic people in France and America. These ideas changed the thinking of African elites to unite and form African government.
16. The formation of OAU in 1963 led to the growth of PAM. OAU united Africans on the continent, it decolonized African countries through extension of aids using its liberation committees, it imposed sanctions on colonial masters in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, it encouraged economic prosperity through formation of regional bodies like COMESA, EAC that united Africans.

Qn.

1. Account for the development of PAM since 1945
2. Explain the factors that led to the growth of PAM

MANCHESTER CONFERENCE OF 1945 (THE 5th PAC)

The M.C was the fifth and the last conference held in the diaspora, it was chaired by WEB Dubois and assisted by George Padmore and Kwame as co-secretaries. It was attended by very many African delegates including Jomo Kenyatta & Patrice Lumumba etc.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF M.C TO THE GROWTH OF PAM

- ✓ The conference brought the aspect of “Africa for Africans”, this is because the conference was dominated by nationalists from various parts of African continent leading to PAM.
- ✓ The conference equipped African leaders with leadership skills, this included Nkrumah, Kamuzu Banda which they used in their respective countries to offer leadership role that made the countries get independence.
- ✓ It militarized African nationalism; the liberation fighters in Africa were encouraged to adopt military approaches in order to uproot colonialism i.e. Mau Mau fighters in Kenya, FLN in Algeria and Kamuzu Banda in Nyasa Land (Malawi).
- ✓ It encouraged African nationalists to form massive political parties that led to the respective countries to independence which include CPP by Nkrumah in 1949, Milton Obote formed UPC in 1959, NCNC in Nigeria, these parties sensitized and united Africans for a common cause of independence.
- ✓ The conference made the Africans to agree to sell the idea of PAM to Africa. It therefore shifted Pan Africanism from the diaspora to Africa and it laid a foundation in the acquisition of a base in Ghana following the independence of Ghana in 1957.
- ✓ The conference brought together Africans for Africa and those in the diaspora. It fostered unity among Africans in order to share strengths to fight colonial tendencies in Africa.
- ✓ It encouraged African delegates to return home and provide leadership to the independence struggles. This is clearly evident when the attendants like Jomo Kenyatta, Nkwame Nkrumah came back to prepare their countries for independence.

- ✓ It encouraged African delegates to include the masses in the struggle for independence. The African freedom fighters involved the illiterate peasants into the struggle against European domination i.e. KAU, UGCC.
- ✓ It openly criticized and launched intellectual attacks on the negative colonial policies within and outside Africa. The conference condemned the in human exploitation of Africans through forced labor, land grabbing, denial of political rights.
- ✓ It advocated for cultural revival among the African states. The delegates were concerned with the abuse of African cultural values like introduction of Christianity and colonialism by Europeans.
- ✓ The congress led to the formation of the West African national secretariat in 1945. This was composed of West African politicians staying in UK and France such as Danquah and these condemned the atrocities of the white men.
- ✓ It encouraged African unity and solidarity; this helped Africans to corporate in order to win their independence the way Liberia and Ethiopia enjoyed the fruits of independence.
- ✓ The Manchester Conference laid a foundation for future conferences i.e. Accra conference of April and December in 1958 that was organized by Kwame Nkrumah, the Cairo conference, the O.A.U 1963 Conference in Addis Ababa and all these brought Africans together to fight for their independence.
- ✓ It strongly condemned racism in African and the African continent. The representatives agreed to treat the black race equally and therefore attacked the apartheid regime in South Africa.
- ✓ It increased the activities of WASU which had been formed in 1920 by Soyinke Ladipo, WASU became more radical and attacked colonial masters allover Africa and demanded the implementation of the 1941 Atlantic charter.

Qn

1. To what extent did the 5th PAC contribute to the growth of PAM?
2. Examine the impact of the Manchester Conference to the development of PAM?
3. Assess the role of the Manchester Conference to the growth of African nationalism.
4. Explain the significance/role of the 1945 conference in Manchester to the development of Pan Africanism.
5. Discuss the role of Mc to the development of PAM

NB: Qn. 1, 2, 3 are two sided and 4 and 5 are one sided.

ACCRA CONFERENCE 1958

The Accra Conference was held in April 1958 for the independent African countries and in December for All African people's Africans conference (AAPC) that included over 25 African countries. The major aim of these conferences were to fight colonialism, racism and bring Africans together and even Nelson Mandela escaped from South Africa to attend the conference.

It was organized shortly after the independence of Ghana and Nkrumah clearly stated that "Today is African independence and tomorrow is the United States of Africa".

ROLE/IMPACT OF THE ACCRA CONFERENCE

The conference provided a platform for the interaction of African nationalists, they shared a lot in common regarding the strategies for achieving African independence, and leaders like Patrice Lumumba were equipped with leadership skills.

- ❖ It emphasized consolidated unity of Africans, Africans were equipped with cultural and economic skills that would make them unite and move forward as a continent. The nationalists agreed to establish a base for PAM in Africa and therefore Ghana became a home for revolutionary fighters in Africa.
- ❖ The theme of the conference made Pan Africanism practical and militant; it quickened the demand for immediate independence that led to a speedy move to fight colonialism.
- ❖ The delegates at the conference agreed to ensure the respect for African leaders, territorial integrity and sovereignty of African countries. Africans therefore agreed to help one another to solve interstate conflicts.
- ❖ The independent African states pledged to offer moral, financial and military support to African nationalists. This increased the revolutionary spirit among African nationalist geared towards independence. It groomed African nationalists and this made them to manage their affairs as committed and foresighted leaders in their countries leading to independence.

- ❖ It condemned colonial rule in the strongest terms. The participants jointly condemned the negative policies in Africa more so in Portuguese Africa, South Africa and South Rhodesia.
- ❖ It enhanced the policy of NAM among the African states. This was intended to prevent African countries to join cold war politics which would divide African countries on ideological grounds of the west and east and Nkrumah said “we face forward not East or west”.
- ❖ It bridged the gap between the Arab North and the black South, Nkrumah went ahead and unified the blacks of the south with the Arab North i.e. Algeria, Egypt etc in order to fight for the independence of African continent.
- ❖ It acted as a basis for the formation of O.A.U in 1963. It was through the Accra conference that Africans thought of having a regional body that would bring African countries together to fight for their independence.
- ❖ It also laid a foundation for other African conferences i.e. November 1959 Conference in Cairo, 1960 Tunisia Conference, 1963 in Addis-Ababa intended to unite Africans.
- ❖ It laid a foundation for regional groups i.e. Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union and this brought Africans together. Also ECOWAS was formed in 1976 to promote regional cooperation in Africa.
- ❖ It depicted Ghana as a model country which inspired other African nationalists to fight for their independence due to the numerous changes economically, politically and socially which were copied by countries like Angola (1961), Mozambique (1964) and Guinea Bissau in 1963.
- ❖ It encouraged the Africans religious leaders in the struggle for independence. Leaders in Africa agreed that religious leaders would bring people together through their preaching and also encouraged African leaders to think beyond political lines.
- ❖ It inspired militant nationalism in Africa. It encouraged the formation of radical liberation movements in Africa i.e. SWAPO, ZANU, MPLA, FREELIMO which finally weakened colonialism and led to independence.

Qn.

1. To what extent did Accra conference contribute to the growth of PAM?
2. How far did Nkrumah contribute to the advancement of PAM between 1945 to 1972?

- ❖ Nkrumah attended MC in 1945 and contributed to its resolutions like shifting Pan Africanism from the diaspora to Africa, forming political parties which he did in 1949.
- ❖ He was a brain behind the formation of Ghana, Guinea, Mali Union that emphasized African unity geared towards PAN Africanism.
- ❖ He appointed George Padmore to be his adviser on African issues from Trinidad.
- ❖ Nkrumah gave a 10m pound loan to Guinea Conakry in 1958 when the French had cut ties from his country i.e. (Sekou Toure).
- ❖ He gave scholarships to Africans and this increased the level of literacy in Africa, ending poverty and empowering Africans economically.
- ❖ Nkrumah extended financial, material and propaganda support to nationalists and liberation fighters i.e. ANC in South Africa.
- ❖ He opposed secessionist movements in Africa i.e. Katanga secession of 1960 – 1963 hence encouraging continental democracy in Africa.
- ❖ Nkrumah laid a ground and mooted the idea of the United States of Africa which was geared towards Pan Africanism.
- ❖ He expressed solidarity with the blacks in Southern Rhodesia ie current Zimbabwe when he sent the army to fight the government of Ian Smith.
- ❖ Key provided military bases and training grounds for the liberation fighters in Africa to organize for their independence.
- ❖ He provided political asylum and assisted the political fugitives to settle and this helped to organize themselves in order to attack their colonial masters.
- ❖ He condemned nuclear tests in Algeria during the liberation war. He did this using the platform of the UN.
- ❖ He changed the name gold coast to Ghana in memory of the ancient Ghana kingdom which was a direct reflection of the objectives of PAM to revive African culture.
- ❖ He organized and hosted the number of conferences including AAPC in December 1958 that brought Africans together.
- ❖ He married an African lady from Egypt on the advice of Nasser Fatia hence embracing African modernity and cross cultural management.
- ❖ He was a strong supporter of NAM which in turn boosted PAM

- ❖ He condemned neo-colonialism in Africa and referred to it as secondary form of colonialism that had to be fought by Africans in the strongest terms.
- ❖ He stimulated Pan African sentiments through his writings of Articles i.e. “Africans must unite”, “we move forward and backward never”.

Qn: Examine the role of Sekou Toure to the growth of PAfricanism

- Sekou Toure was born in 1922 and he was the 1st President of Guinea Conakry that attained its independence in 1958. To a greater extent, he contributed to the rise of PAM as seen below;
- He stressed the need to unite in democratic organizations men and women irrespective of their differences
- He condemned the racist policies of the French as undemocratic and invited Africans to oppose them.
- He advocated for the African unity and opposed the French Balkanisation (Fragmentation) on the continent that brought the Africans together.
- He opposed the French federation of bringing the French colonies under one administration which would promote neo-colonialism.
- He strongly supported the 1958 referendum in which Guinea Conakry voted “No” for her Independence and this destroyed the French colonial bondage.
- He helped to create Ghana- Mali union and this was a gesture towards the integration of African countries.
- He gave Nkrumah political asylum and later made him to be a co-president in Guinea Conakry after the 1966 Coup in Ghana.
- He was a strong supporter of the Casablanca bloc to form the United States of Africa that later became the O.A.U.
- He played a role in the formation of RDA that helped Ivory coast to attain independence.
- He played a role in the 1958 AAPC in Ghana that laid a foundation to dismantle colonial rule.

Factors that delayed PAM to have impact on Africa before 1945

- ✓ Pan African Conferences were held in Europe and N. America and Africans from the continent could not attend due to the restrictions from the whites. This limited the exposure of Pan Africanism.
- ✓ PAM lacked support from the few independent African states i.e. Ethiopia and Liberia. This is because these countries were facing internal problems Like Ethiopia between 1935 and 1941 when Italy invaded it making PAM more theoretical than practical.
- ✓ PAM was originally a movement of intellectuals i.e. WEB Dubois, George Pad more, William Sylvester in the Diaspora, therefore, the uneducated peasants were ignored, their ideas were not represented and this undermined the popularity of PAM in its initial stages.
- ✓ The wide spread illiteracy and ignorance on the entire African continent greatly affected PAM by 1945. Africans were largely characterized by few people who would conceive the idea of PAM in its depth and it became difficult to sensitize the masses about the alien (foreign) thing as they claimed.
- ✓ Lack of a propaganda base in Africa before 1945 accounts for the limited impact of PAM. There was no place where Africans would meet to discuss the affairs of their continent until Ghana became independent in 1957 and it provided a base for the movement.
- ✓ The poor infrastructural development in Africa was an inhibiting factor for PAM. Transport and communication was still very poor, under developed and this limited the scale of interaction and dissemination of information about PAM and its objectives.
- ✓ The negative influence of colonial powers in Africa greatly undermined the impact of PAM. The colonialists looked at PAM as sabotage to their stay in Africa that would inspire self rule, therefore this led to the arrest of several nationalists linked to PAM like Nkrumah, Lumumba etc.
- ✓ Low levels of Patriotism, particularly before World War II. It should be noted that many Africans succumbed to colonialism and feared to oppose it hence this limited the operation of PAM in Africa and this was left to the people in the diaspora.
- ✓ Language barrier also made the movement to have less impact on the African continent. Africans lacked a language which the common people would understand as the founders

used the language of their colonial masters i.e. from Europe and America, therefore Africans were detached from the body (movement) due to communication incompetence.

- ✓ Ideological differences among the leading personalities of PAM affected its development. It is true that all the founders agreed on aims and objectives of PAM, but often disagreed on the methods of achieve the objectives e..g WEB Dubois was a moderate and believed in peace, advocated for the rights of slaves where as Marcus Garvey was a radical and preferred violence and use of force to achieve independence in Africa. This militated against the development of PAM.
- ✓ PAM before 1945 had been perceived as a brief movement aimed at promoting the interests of the blacks in the diaspora. The native Africans always looked at the movement as an organization of strangers who did not have the original African culture at heart hence it was opposed in the early stages.
- ✓ The black descendants in the new world experienced financial constraints. They lacked adequate resources and work force to spread the idea of Pan- Africanism. This explains why PAM and its activities remained on paper for a long time as the resources were very limited to finance its development.
- ✓ The colonial policies in Africa introduced by the Europeans could not allow PAM to have a leveled ground. These policies divided Africans and groomed politicians who created hatred and bickering. This was very true in the British colonies where divide and rule was practiced, the French and the Portuguese colonies were assimilation policy that took a centre stage hence dividing Africans not to unite.
- ✓ The native Africans of the time were politically backward and ignorant of the rights they were to enjoy. They treated whites as a godly race and therefore it is not surprising that their consciousness took long to be aroused for consolidated unity.

CHALLENGES OF PAM FROM 1945

The area of operation is too big i.e. from the Caribbean, N. America, Europe, West Indies and Africa hence this limited the effective operation of PAM.

- ❖ African societies lacked a fairly developed cash economy that would be used finance the activities of PAM. The African societies therefore were weakened by the European colonial policies.

- ❖ Lack of militant nationalism on the African continent. This was only realized after World War II i.e. by ex-service men and the emergence of intellectuals that attended the MC.
- ❖ Lack of indigenous African political culture of purpose. The Africans were forced to adopt the western political culture like the multi-party politics and disguised democracy which would not solve the African problems but only divided them.
- ❖ The heterogeneous nature of the Africans in terms of race, tribe i.e. Africa has the blacks, coloreds, white and Indians. Also so many languages are spoken on the African continent and with a variety of religious views which can't foster the gospel of PAM.
- ❖ There was a problem of regionalism in Africa. Nkrumah and Nasser advocated for the integration of all Africans into the United States of Africa as the pioneers of PAM proposed. Others like Azikiwe of Nigeria opposed this and considered smaller groupings hence leading to smaller organizations i.e. EAC, COMESA, SADC and ECOWAS.
- ❖ The impact of civil wars divided the African states and affected unity and cooperation i.e. the 1967-1970 Biafra secession, 1960 Katanga secession divided Africans as some countries in Africa were in support of the destruction of those countries.
- ❖ The inter-state and personal rivalries in Africa have dragged down PAM. African leaders were seen supporting the subversive activities of the rebels in different countries and cases in this category include Uganda and Rwanda, being accused of supporting the Nyamurenge to overthrow the government of Laurent kabila.
- ❖ The weaknesses of OAU have impacted negatively of PAM, OAU was never perfect since its inception, it was economically and politically weak, it had no army etc amidst ideological differences.
- ❖ The differences in the level of development among the Africans, stronger economies like Egypt, Ivory Coast and Nigeria were not willing to share their resources with the poor countries like Burundi, Uganda and Mozambique which hampered unity.
- ❖ Bad governance which surrounded the African continent; this was witnessed in the violation of human rights in Uganda under Idi Amin Dada, Mobutu Seseke of Zaire. This was a reflection of colonial oppressive rule of the Europeans on the African continent hence a challenge of PAM.
- ❖ Neo-colonialism has further impacted negatively on PAM. The former colonial masters and the industrialized nations of the world have intensified their materials and this has

undermined development which can't bring about effective economic prosperity as advanced by the pioneers by PAM.

- ❖ The Independent States have been divided along Anglo-phone and Francophone lines, these countries adopted foreign cultures as they have been made vulnerable to the dictates of their former foreign masters instead of addressing their local problems.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAM

1. Assess the contribution of PAM up to 1963
 2. To what extent has PAM fulfilled the aims and objectives of its founders?
 3. Discuss the achievements of PAM since 1945
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- ❖ The PAM led to decolonization of the African continent. Ghana was decolonized in 1957 and other African countries followed with South Africa being de-colonized lastly in 1994, hence the movement gained independence for all African countries and this was a great achievement.
 - ❖ The activities of PAM made many Africans in the diaspora to return home from Europe and America. Marcus Garvey advocated for the back to Africa as a slogan and this forced many Africans to return, George Padmore became a citizen of Ghana and other nationalists like kamuzu Banda (Malawi) returned home.
 - ❖ PAM created unity between Africans and Arabs, this solidarity and unity was showed when Nkrumah convened the 2nd Accra conference in 1958. These united Africans and fastened the rate of decolonization on the African continent.
 - ❖ It was through the activities of O.A.U which was part of PAM that Africa got the continental body in 1963. After MC of 1945, Kwame Nkrumah became an active member of PAM and advocated for the United States of Africa. This came after the coalition of Monrovia and Casablanca forming a loose confederation that would solve the problems of colonialism.
 - ❖ PAM achieved in holding several conferences that brought Africans together. It begun with the MC; Accra conference of 1958 and 1960 Tunis conference and this discussed the way forward of the black people to achieve self rule hence an achievement.
 - ❖ PAM led to development of regional integrations which brought Africans together. These included the Magreb region, SADC, ECOWAS etc. these bodies still exist despite the

challenges they faced. The setting up of these economic integrations was to bring Africans together and speed up the achievements of PAM developments.

- ❖ PAM intervened in the various conflicts on the African continent in order to reduce disunity. These included civil wars in Nigeria 1967-1970, the Congo civil war 1965, in Angola and Mozambique were all silenced by PAM'S efforts therefore stability was created on the African continent.
- ❖ PAM succeeded in producing the Africans who were secretary generals at the UNO and this included Boutros Ghali and Kofi Anan of Ghana. These Africans spoke vehemently in the same voice in international foras for the voice of the voiceless Africans hence uplifting the dignity of the African race.
- ❖ It condemned the racist governments in Africa more so in South Africa during the apartheid regime, the racist government of Ian Smith of South Rhodesia and it also fought the atrocities of Don Salazar in Portuguese Africa.
- ❖ It condemned military coups and political assassinations in Africa. A case in point was President Olympio of Togo who was assassinated in 1963, Patrice Lumumba assassinated in 1961 during the Katanga secession. The condemnation of political coups and assassinations was a great achievement of PAM.
- ❖ It defended and preserved African culture. African languages like Kiswahili, Zulu have been developed to enhance interaction and communication in Africa a view of preserving the culture, several books have been written and published in various languages as a result of PAM and the Bureau of African languages was established in Kampala.
- ❖ PAM proposed the construction of Trans African highway project. This was meant to develop and improve transport network in Africa. It was to start from Mombasa through Uganda, DRC, CAR, Cameroon to Nigeria, it was aimed at easing mobility and unifying people on top of improving trade.
- ❖ PAM promoted peace and stability in Africa although the newly independent African states influenced civil wars and military coups. PAM tried to come up with workable solutions to end instabilities. A case in point was Angola, Mozambique, Chad and Sudan which experienced civil wars.
- ❖ The movement fought neo-colonialism and its negative impact on the Africans. This started right from Accra conference where neo-colonialism was condemned strongly.

Africans were encouraged to decrease relationships with their colonial masters and Nkrumah described this as the worst and the dangerous form of imperialism and appealed to the African states to fight it with all their strengths.

- ❖ PAM has stayed for a long period of time and this is a great achievement. Its long stay is attributed to the strong state togetherness among African leaders by evolving from a loose confederation of OAU to AU which is a major continental organization.

FAILURES/WEAKNESSES OF PAM

- ❖ PAM failed to completely end slavery in Africa e.g. countries like Sudan, Morocco, Chad, Mauritania have consistently practiced slavery and this is a failure of PAM.
- ❖ Africans have not been accorded the respect and dignity they deserve in the world. Sectarianism and racism still exist on the continent, blacks are not fully represented in games and sports. Africans teams are considered inferior unlike their counter parts in Europe and America which are regarded superior and this difference brings Africans to be looked down.
- ❖ The movement failed to convince all the blacks to return to Africa from the diaspora. Many of these could not return because of the extreme poverty on the continent. Only those few who returned like George Padmore were to assess the performance of PAM, but not stay in Africa. Hence the failure to bring back the people of the black origin was the failure of PAM.
- ❖ PAM failed to achieve total independence of the African continent and this is manifested by the Western Sahara which is still struggling to uproot the policies of Morocco from its politics. PAM was expected to fight for the independence of all Africans on the continent and this failure to liberate western Sahara is an indicator of a weak movement.
- ❖ The movement has not fully united the blacks and the Arabs on the continent. There is still a conflict between the blacks and Arabs of the North of Africa as they look at themselves as being different races, the blacks associate Arabs with slavery and this is a failure of the movement clearly seen in Northern and Southern Sudan.
- ❖ PAM failed to achieve a common market and a single currency for the entire continent. This has made it difficult and has caused competition and protectionism. It has therefore

failed to bring about a uniform currency that has made African countries to stagger and dwindle at the expense of stronger currency like dollars, Euros, pounds, Yen etc.

- ❖ PAM has failed to end conflicts on the African continent Africa is still a continent of restless conflicts like these that exist between Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Uganda, Somalia, Ethiopia etc.
- ❖ PAM has failed to end the military coups and assassinations on the African continent i.e. President Tolbert of Liberia was overthrown by Samuel Doe in 1980 with bloodshed, Laurent Kabila was killed, Gadaffi, were killed and this was a failure of the movement.
- ❖ It failed to stop cultural erosion. The western culture is still preferred and Africans were seriously copying the western culture through the wave of globalization and promoting cultural alienation. PAM has done nothing to stop the ugly Scenario of the dress code including nudity which oppose African culture.
- ❖ It failed to eradicate neo-colonialism and all its forms like foreign aid, technological transfer and education. This has made African countries to associate with their colonial masters and the western world in general hence losing their direct independence as colonialism came back through the back door.
- ❖ It has failed to eradicate poverty, ignorance and diseases in Africa. Africa is regarded as one of the poorest continents in the world where people die of treatable diseases due to mass illiteracy. The movement has therefore failed to improve the welfare of the people on the continent.
- ❖ It has failed to create a continental language. The African continent up to date lacks a common language and they speak English for the Anglo-phone states, French and Kiswahili was proposed to be a continental language though it is restricted in Africa and spoken by a small % of Africans.
- ❖ It has failed to stop human rights abuse in African. it is on record that Africa has a worst record of human rights abuse and violation due to existence of dictators in government who kept on killing, beating and bundling opposition leaders upon rest.
- ❖ It has failed to ensure infrastructural development on African continent. Many of the African states have poor social economic infrastructures especially in the transport system. This has affected the mechanism of development in the areas of agriculture and industrialization hence making Africans to fail to realize the MDGS.

ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1954-1962)

Qn

1. Account for the war of independence in Algeria
2. To what extent was France responsible for the Algerian war of liberation between 1954-1962?
3. Account for the delayed independence of Algeria
4. Examine the role played by National Liberation Front (F.L.N) towards the independence of Algeria
5. Examine the consequences of the 1954-1962 Algerian Revolution

CAUSES

Algeria is found in the Maghreb region dominated largely by Arabs and Kabylie speakers. It was colonized by France in 1830. In November 1954, a liberation war led by Ahmed Ben Bella, Belkacem Krim, Ferhat Abbas, Messali Hadj under the FLN umbrella started war against the French colonial rule and raged on until 1962.

1. Desire for independence caused the Algerian war of liberation. The Algerians were under the French from 1830 – 1962 (132 years) and were therefore tied of foreign, oppressive and exploitative rule.
2. The rise of Algeria Nationalists e.g. Ferhat Abbas, Messali, Hadji, Hourri Boumedienne, Ben Bella etc led to the independence struggle. These formed friends of the Manifesto of liberty which organized the setif demonstration of 1945. Ben Bella and other young radicals formed organization secrete (O.S) to fight against the French also formed F.L.N which was used to fight the French from 1954.
3. The failure of constitutional means of struggle led to the war of independence in Algeria e.g. on 10th February 1943, Ferhat Abbas and 55 other Muslims signed the manifesto of Algerian people calling for an Algerian constitution, but the French remained adamant and instead Abbas was arrested and imprisoned for inciting people. This provoked public anger resulting into liberation struggle.

4. The people of Algeria wanted their liberty and freedom observed. The French were oppressive to the extent that freedom was a rare commodity. There was no freedom of press, expression, assembly and anybody who tried to assert his freedom was dumped in prison. Therefore Algerians emerged on the war stage to claim their rights and liberties.
5. Influence of cold war politics caused the Algerian war of independence. The communist bloc fully supported the Algerian war of independence providing military logistics, economic assistance, moral backing and financial aid to F.L.N to dispose off the capitalist France.
6. Impact of World War II caused the war of independence in Algeria. It equipped Algerians with military tactics, skills and it was an eye opener against colonialism e.g. Ben Bella a leading nationalists in Algeria participated in world war II on the side of France and acquired military experience that he used to wage a war against France in Algeria.
7. Declaration of Algeria as an overseas province of France caused the war of independence. In 1951, France declared Algeria as her metropolitan/overseas province despite geographical differences. This meant that whatever happens, Algeria would never be independent because it was part and parcel of France. This was unacceptable to the Algerians they preferred to be treated as a colony which would have a right to demand for their autonomy.
8. Impact of the VE day celebrations of 1945 resulted into the independence struggle in Algeria. On 8th May 1945, Algerians were celebrating their victory in Europe and used the celebrations to demand for Algeria's independence, they moved with banners chanting, "Long live free Algeria down with French colonialism.. This did not please the French, they resorted to indiscriminate killing of Algerians, they killed between 18,000 – 30,000 demonstrators.
9. The formation of radical political parties e.g. National Liberation Front (F.L.N) in 1954 caused the war. Radical nationalists in Algeria grouped themselves under F.L.N,

mobilized and politicized the masses against the French, declared war in 1954 and sustained it up to 1962 with the view of redeeming Algeria.

10. The influence of the American troops in Morocco inspired the war of independence in Algeria. The Americans in Morocco convinced the conservative sultan to demand for Morocco's independence from the French and cause viable changes in the country, this inspired the Algerian to demand for similar changes against the French in Algeria [decolonization / twin independence of Morocco and Tunisia in 1956].
11. Success of the 1952 Egyptian revolution caused the independence struggle in Algeria. Egypt under Nasser was against foreign colonial rule. She funded the activities of Algerian nationalist against the French colonial rule. Algerian nationalists were given asylum in Cairo, gave military training, arms, etc in order to root out colonial rule from Algeria.
12. Influence of the Vietnamese war of independence against the French caused the war of independence in Algeria. The Vietnamese began the independence struggle in 1946 -1954 with the Vietcong under the Chiminh and defeated the French at the famous battle of Dien Bien Phur therefore Ben Bella witnessed their defeat in the Vietnamese war and concluded that the Algerian would defeat the French in the Algerian desert hence forming FLN in 1954 Cairo to dislodge the French.
13. Influx of white settlers into Algeria caused the war of independence. France encouraged poor and elderly whites from Malta, Spain, Corsica to settle in Algeria and put pressure on Algerian resources, by 1954 there were over 1 million white settlers. They enjoyed urban life employment, took African land, etc which did not please the Algerian Nationalists.
14. The independence of Syria and Lebanon from French imperialism inspired the Algerians to fight for their own independence. They reasoned that if their fellow Arab countries could get independence, they why not the Arab Algerians hence the war being inevitable.

15. The imposition of the French culture onto the Algerians caused the liberation war. The French imposed the French language onto the Algerians and undermined Arabic, they required the Algerians to dress, speak and behave just like the French did through the policy of assimilation. This was resented by the Algerians hence the war of independence.
16. Religious differences between the Arab Muslims and the catholic French colonialists caused the liberation war in Algeria. The French forced Algerians to convert to the catholic faith and abandon Islamic practices. The Quran was replaced by the Bible, Mosques were turned into churches and Islamic names were substituted with Christian names. The Arab Muslims in Algeria hated being ruled by “infidels”- catholic and were annoyed by the French. This compelled the Algerians to stage the war of independence.
17. Racial discrimination against the Algerians caused the liberation war. The French practiced discriminatory measures in employment and promotion, favouring majority the white settlers e.g. Ferhat Abbas which rekindled the opposition to French colonialism, got discontented with the discrimination he experienced in the promotion in the French army. Besides the Arabs were pushed to the country side and urban life was monopolized by the white race.
18. Over taxation of the Algerian resulted into the war of independence in Algeria. In order to sustain the ever growing white population, heavy and multiple taxes were imposed on Algerian natives, the method of tax collection, simply dehumanized the tax payers. It often involved public flogging of suspected tax defaulters those who failed to pay were often dumped in jail. The heavy taxes worsened poverty among the local people thus misery was a common feature among the natives.
19. Forced labor/exploitation of peasants caused the Algerian war of independence. The colonialists subjected Africans to forced labor, Africans worked without pay on public projects, they were harshly supervised, many times the Africans fainted/suffocated in the process of working on private and public projects of colonialists, this paved way for the war of independence.

20. Land alienation caused the war of independence in Algeria. From 1830 when the French occupied Algeria, there was an influx of poor whites into Algeria. The white settlers monopolized the agricultural land and mineral resources especially in the Constantine valley. All land with water was taken over by the white settlers leaving Africans in dry and unproductive areas. This created a war mood in Algeria.
- Under representation of Algerians in the national assembly
 - Influence of the writings of Fanon Frantz eg the "Black skin ,white masks", 'The dying colonialism' ,he was a medical Dr by qualification and criticized the French system.

EFFECTS OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION

POSITIVE

1. Stepped up Algerian Nationalism. The Algerians were able to come together and rescue their country from foreign hegemony/domination
2. Led to the Algerian independence in 1962. This ended the French colonial rule that had lasted for 132 years and Ben Bella became the 1st president
3. Ushered in agrarian reforms in Algeria. After the French settlers had vacated, many people gained access to land and increased agricultural production.
4. It had to the second coming of Charles de Gaulle to power in France in 1958. De Gaulle was able to overthrow the 4th Republic of Radamier who had failed to settle the Algerian question.
5. Popularized the F.L.N internationally. It received support from the communist bloc, it was recognized by the UN, Egypt greatly backed F.L.N
6. Forced France to grant independence to Tunisia and Morocco in 1956 and all the French colonies south of the sahara.
7. Promoted unity in Algeria. This unity was mainly enhanced by the radio which mobilized the people to come together and resist the common enemy. The Algerians used the war period to heal old wounds of enmity. The Arab and Kabylie speakers were able to reconcile [voice of Algeria]
8. Resulted into the revival of Algerian culture. Arabic speaking was recognized, Islam was once again a dignified religion, all Arabic practices and Islamic practices were given due regard.

9. Compelled Britain and Belgium to speed up the decolonization of their territories in Africa e.g. Ghana, Nigeria, Congo for fear of a possible war.
10. Resulted into the introduction of democracy in Algeria. From 1962 when Ben Bella was elected the 1st African president, universal adult suffrage came into effect.
11. It increased women participation in politics. The women worked as war combatants, spies, recruitment agents, smugglers of war weapons, after the war the women gained significance in the civil service, army and politics.
12. Led to the adoption of socialism in Algeria. This was partly because Algeria received a lot of support from the socialist countries during the independence struggle. She was able to get economic, political and social aid to rehabilitate the economy e.g. from U.S.S.R, China etc.
13. Algeria assumed an active part of Pan Africanism and labored so much to help African countries that were still under colonial rule e.g. western Sahara, Guinea Conakry
14. Led to industrialization in Algeria through increased petroleum mining using Cuban resources, products like electrical appliances and this improved the standard of living
15. Led to the formation of the Maghreb Union i.e. Unity of Arab African countries in North Africa
16. Led to release of political prisoners [Ben bella Ferhat Abbas among others]
17. Led to formation of cooperative societies.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS

- Led to the death of both soldiers and civilians. Nearly 1 million Algerians mainly of the Islamic faith perished in the war.
- Led to massive destruction of properties especially in 1958 when the French used their planes to destroy villages,[earth scorched policy of being non-selective]
- Algerians didn't defeat the French and thus lost political prestige
- Led to displacement of people thus causing refugees crisis (2) million were displaced from their villages, (1) million colons (white settlers were uprooted from Algeria.
- Led to creation of concentration camps where Africans were congested for effective monitoring by the French

- Algeria remained dependent on France for economic survival, she sought aid from France to rehabilitate the economy.

Famine and disease became wide spread during the war because the French adopted the earth scorched policy, destroying productive activities.

- It ushered in the dictatorship of Ben Bella. This invited the military to overthrow him in a coup in 1965 led by Hourii Bourmedienne.
- Led to the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 in Egypt. This was because Nasser funded the liberation struggle in Algeria thus antagonizing the French.
- Led to massive economic crisis in France, the economy experienced a slump forcing the army officers to ally with Charles de Gaulle to overthrow the 4th Republic (Radenier) in 1958.
- Led to rise of Islamic fundamentalism, terrorist groups emerged, resulting into a civil war in Algeria, causing instability in the Middle East, supporting PLO terrorist attacks on Israel and turned the Middle East into a blood stained region as Jews and Palestinians continued to kill one another.

REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

- Role played by the National Liberation Front (F.L.N), it was formed in 1954 by Ahmed Ben Bella while in exile in Cairo and declared war against the French colonial rule and the roles include the following;
- It groomed leaders who fought and sustained the war against the French e.g. Hourii Bourmedienne, Bout Afrika, Chadri etc.
- It tried to pursue peaceful means of struggle with the French for Algeria's independence e.g. Dialogues, demonstrations, petitions non-cooperation
- Resorted to armed struggle against French colonial rule in 1954 and sustained the war up to 1962. This weakened the French Imperial will.
- It sought for support and recognition from the communist bloc i.e. from U.S.S.R providing military assistance, diplomatic support, moral courage.
- F.L.N called for the release of political prisoners e.g. Ben Bella to further their nationalistic agenda

- F.L.N sought support and recognition of United Nations indeed the U.N acknowledged F.L.Ns contribution and condemned the French subversions in Algeria
- F.L.N involved women in the struggle for independence, the women were used as spies, recruitment officers, active combatants, provided food and cover to the freedom fighters.
- F.L.N established an exile based government known as GPRA in Cairo. This helped to groom more leaders and coordinated the activities of freedom fighters in Algeria [Algerian Revolutionary Peoples Government].
- F.L.N established external bases in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt such bases were used for training, recollection and based in such areas to attack the French colonial government.
- F.L.N openly criticized and exposed the evils of the French colonial rule e.g. killing of innocent people, detention without trial, over taxation, etc making the public and the international community to react.
- F.L.N established political and economic reforms in all liberated areas e.g. grass root democracy, agricultural reforms, rule of law, etc which made Algerians value the cause for independence
- It established a propaganda base to propagate anti-colonial messages i.e. set up free voice of Algeria which mobilized and sensitized the public to resist French colonial rule.
- F.L.N forged unity among Algerians i.e. the Arabic speakers and the Kabylie speakers, the whole country was bound together to resist a common enemy for the sake of Algerians independence.
- In 1962, the French granted Algerian independence following the talks and a referendum which F.L.N represented the Algerians
- The contribution of Algerian Nationalists led to the end of French colonial rule. For example Ben Bella, Hourii Bourmediene, Belkacem Krim etc. they fought the French, involved in Dialogue, participated in the 1962 referendum, recruited freedom fighters, solicited for external support, called for unity during the struggle for independence, formed a radio for spread of propaganda and accepted instruments of power from the French in 1962.
- The strategic location of Algeria led to the success of the independence struggle. Being located in the desert with extreme conditions of heat and lack of water, it proved hard for

the French forces to finish off the freedom fighters. The African were used to fighting in such harsh conditions and thus were able to win the French forces in most battles.

- The rise of power of Charles de Gaulle in France in 1958 blessed the independence struggle in Algeria. De Gaulle was not ready to continue with war against Africans, initiated dialogue with F.L.N & organized a referendum which F.L.N swept with 99.7% in favor of independence.
- Support from the communist bloc favored the independence of Algeria. It provided financial and military aid to F.L.N extended moral support to freedom fighters which inspired them to fight with vigor for independence.
- Support given to Algerians by the Arab league/Arab states led to the success of the independence struggle. These countries used Tunisia to channel financial and military aid to F.L.N.
- Anti-war mood in France led to the success of the independence struggle in Algeria. The French youth who supported De Gaulle's resolves to grant independence to Algeria later turned to demonstrations in Roven, Toulon and Vareness. They were supported by the veterans the Vietnamese war of independence and they were not ready to continue fighting over seas wars.
- Tunisia's independence in 1956 favored the liberation of Algeria. The Algerian freedom fighters grouped in safe heavens, provided by the Tunisians and always returned to attack. Tunisia also provided training grounds to the F.L.N freedom fighters.
- The role played by the international community led to the success of the independence struggle by Algeria. After the French Bombardment of Sakheth, Sidi Youssef in 1958, America, exerted strong diplomatic pressure on France to respect the demands of Algerians. In response France began negotiations with F.L.N which resulted into Algerians independence on 5th July 1962.
- The role played by the General Union of Algerian workers led the success of the independence struggle. It organized support for F.L.N in Algiers among workers, organized demonstrations and strikes which helped to depopularise the French rule and added weight to the F.L.N.
- The support given by Egypt under Nasser led to the success of the Algerian independence struggle. Nasser surrendered Radio Cairo to the service of F.L.N freedom fighters to

convey Nationalistic messages, sent large consignments of military equipments to F.L.N through Tunisia.

- The role played by the women led to the success of independence struggle in Algeria. The women became F.L.N members, gathered intelligence and acted as liaisons. They smuggled revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards, bombs and millions of Francs to buy medicine and supplies for the guerillas.
- The resort to armed struggle/violence led to the success of the war of liberation in Algeria. In 1954, the Algerians resorted to armed struggle having realized that peaceful methods had failed. The war option broke the back of the French colonial rule thus the independence of Algeria.
- The counter revolutionary warfare of the French made the independence struggle a success. The French resorted to mass arrests of suspects, destruction of villages in collective punishments, brutal interrogation. This made the masses determined and rallied behind F.L.N to fight and defeat the French.
- Popular support given to the independence struggle led to the success of the Algerian liberation war. The public fully supported the struggle and by 1962, FLN forces numbered 200,000 troops.
- Role played by Nkrumah against the French stabbed colonial rule in the back. Nkrumah strongly opposed the French nuclear tests that were being carried out at Reganne in Algeria. When the French continued with their nuclear tests, he froze French economic assets in Ghana until they agreed to negotiate for independence. He sent off the French Ambassador from Accra and recalled the Ghanaian Ambassador in Paris. This affected France economically and internationally tarnish her image[Islamic factor, writers like Frantz Fanon, strong determination of Algerians]

THE 1965 ALGERIAN REVOLUTION|COUP

Qns

1. Account for the 1965 Military Coup in Algeria
2. Examine the causes and effects of 1965 military takeover of Algeria
3. To what extent was Ben Bella responsible for his own overthrow in 1965?
4. How far were economic factors responsible for 1965 Algerian revolution?

In 1965, the government of Ahmed Ben Bella was overthrown by Houari Boumedienne in a military coup. This was due to;

- Ben Bella became a dictator and could not be related any more. He hated all positive criticism directed towards his government. He became final in all state decisions, the opposition was steadily suppressed and voices of the majority were shunned. This caused the overthrow of Ben Bella.
- Transformation of Algeria into a one party system caused the overthrow of Ben Bella. He only allowed FLN political space; emerging political parties were suppressed in their infancy.
- Failure to fulfill promises made at mass rallies caused the downfall of Ben Bella. He became a great speaker with brilliant promises and fulfilled none of them e.g. promised rapid development, employment, land redistribution etc but 1965 nothing had come to fulfillment.
- Insufficiency of social-economic facilities especially in Algiers caused the coup. Power supply, water etc became very scarce and life for the average Algerian proved hard.
- Low levels of education and experience of state workers caused the overthrow of Ben Bella. He was accused for failing to rapidly improve education facilities and taking Algerians for further training to fight inefficiency in the economy.
- Unemployment which led to the brain drain led to the overthrow of Ben Bella, 70,000 elites moved out of Algeria to seek for employment especially France leaving behind a manpower crisis, the economy was run down.
- High levels of poverty among the Algerian peasantry caused the downfall of Ben Bella. The Algerian economy was characterized by inefficiency despite of increased productivity. This resulted into low prices for people's produce making poverty rampant among the peasant.
- [lack of economic progress despite the increased prices of oil, the proceeds were plundered by the ministers and the president].

- Divisions in the army caused the downfall of Ben Bella. Ben Bella had a proposal to form a people's militia and ran down the national army. This did not please the army officers who had just liberated the country from French colonial rule.
- Personal rivalry between Ben Bella and Bourmedienne caused the military coup of 1965. Ben Bella had spent a lot of time in prison during the liberation struggle and only released in 1962 to become a leader. Therefore, Bourmedienne did not appreciate Ben Bella as a national leader. Ben Bella was planning to reshuffle Bourmedienne as the army commander.
- Break down of the economy caused trouble for Ben Bella. As workers took over factories and shared profits after paying a contribution for the state, they mismanaged economic affairs of the country. Production sectors were paralyzed.
- Failure of Ben Bella's socialist reforms led to the overthrow of his government e.g. he nationalized major means of production e.g. industries, banks, large private enterprises etc and in the event antagonised capital owners. These teamed up with army officers to oust the government of Ben Bella.
- Corruption and inefficiency in the government of Ben Bella caused his overthrow. Ben Bella failed to control misuse of public funds by his ministers, permanent secretaries and army officers and accumulated wealth within a short time.
- The civil war that broke out in the Kabylie region caused the overthrow of Ben Bella. Many people who had fought in the liberation war remained with guns and kept on killing, robbing, looting and terrorizing the capital city and the country side. This was blamed on Ben Bella causing his downfall.
- Power lust by colonel Hourri Bourmedienne resulted into the overthrow of Bella. Bourmedienne had played a central role in the liberation war against the French and therefore he wanted to assume the supreme office.
- Ben Bella abused the press/censorship of the press, only wanted the mass media to report positively about his government. Press freedom was greatly limited to the disappointment of liberal army officers.
- Influence of successful coups caused the overthrow of Ben Bella. Successful coups such as 1963 coup in Togo, 1965 in Congo, 1952 coup in Egypt inspired coup plotters in Algeria to topple Ben Bella.

- Rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria created enmity for Ben Bella, these preached the teachings of Islam where a leader must be accountable to the subjects.

EFFECTS

- Led to restoration of collective leadership in Algeria
- An Economic restoration program was launched in 1968 (3 years industrial plan) which resulted into development of several industries.
- There was nationalization of foreign firms; they became government owned on behalf of the public.
- Agrarian revolution was launched in 1971, enabling Algerians to access land for production
- There was expansion of free education, health services and other social amenities to improve the welfare of Algerians.
- Algeria supported Non alignment movement and thus tried to pursue a neutral policy in international politics.
- Promoted democracy in 1965 – 68 by electing leaders from the grassroots
- Algeria turned to the socialist bloc, receiving a lot of support from socialist countries like USSR, China, Cuba among others.
- Oil revenue increased resulting from proper use of the oil reserve
- Algeria trained local manpower to man industries and by Algeria's industrial sector was experiencing a boom.
- Algeria started supporting liberation movements e.g. POLISARIO in Western Sahara.
- Tried to fight desertification through afforestation programs
- Tried to fight corruption by bringing corrupt officials to book
- Algeria became an active member of the Maghreb Union ie a union of Tunisia, Morocco, Libya ie majorly Arab countries in North Africa.

NEGATIVE

Failed to maintain good relationship with neighbors e.g. Morocco

Algeria funded terrorist groups that threatened peace in the Maghreb region

Boumedienne became a dictator and suppressed the opposition.

NATIONALISM IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA (THE ROUGH ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE AND THE LIBERATION WARS)

Portugal was the earliest colonial master in Africa and it was the last to vacate the continent.

The Portuguese colonies included;

- Mozambique
- Angola
- Guinea Bissau
- Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe

NB: The Portuguese used very autocratic, coercive and regressive methods to administer the colonies and this greatly delayed the independence of the Africans.

The Africans therefore resorted to armed struggle to claim their rapid independence.

FACTORS THAT DELAYED INDEPENDENCE IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

1. The Portuguese regarded their colonies as overseas territories leading to delayed independence. The Portuguese leader Don Salazar smuggled this issue into the Portuguese constitution and it became illegal and difficult to grant independence without amending the constitution.
2. The existence of a tight and strong spy network in the colonies delayed independence. Portugal had a repressive police called PIDE that crashed African struggles. The PIDE police arrested , detained and assassinated African leaders. It is on record that Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique was assassinated in 1968 and Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau in 1973. This affected Africans' clear road to independence.

3. The military superiority of the Portuguese contributed to the delayed independence of Portuguese Africa. Portugal was very powerful militarily; the army was well trained and equipped compared to the Africans.
4. Portugal had very few colonies in Africa and this gave it a strong advantage against Africans. Unlike other colonial masters like Britain and France that had many colonies and met resistances, Portugal had very few and had the capability to silence riots, not willing to surrender hence delaying African independence.
5. The support received by Portugal from the North Atlantic Treaty organization (NATO) hindered the independence of Portuguese colonies. The NATO forces came to check the spread of communism that gave support to the liberation movements eg MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique and PAIGC in Guinea Bissau. The military and financial support of NATO weakened the Africans.
6. Limited exposure to nationalistic ideas among the Africans delayed independence struggles. It is true that Africans were denied external contacts and interactions. Banning of liberal press reports and literature were all a stumbling block. The Portuguese accessed African mails and telegrams hence delaying independence.
7. Lack of constitutional avenues to attain independence hindered early decolonization. Africans were denied participation in political affairs, were not represented in the parliament and all political activism was restricted.
8. The conservative rule of Dr. Don Salazar (1928 – 68) delayed the independence of Portuguese colonies. Don Salazar was very repressive and not prepared to grant independence. He was opposed to liberal ideas and he remarked thus;

“ I cannot bend the winds of change”

This broke the hopes of the Africans not to get early independence.
9. The ruthless policies of the Portuguese administrators also delayed the independence of the Portuguese colonies suppressed the African programs, strikes, about 49 dock workers were shot dead in Mozambique, 50 in Guinea Bissau and 200 in Angola. Leaders like Augustinho Neto were arrested and publicly flogged hence discouraging Africans activities.
10. The establishment of rehabilitation centres (reserve camp). These camps housed suspects who were tortured and killed. Examples of these camps were in Zambezi valley, fortified

villages were created and African homes were destroyed, the scorched earth policy was applied which denied African freedom.

11. The increased deployment of Portuguese troops to counter African resistances delayed independence. The large number of troops that amounted to 200,000 soldiers by 1970 which weakened Africa hopes for early independence.
12. The economic advantage of African colonies to Portugal delayed independence. The independence of Africans could weaken the economy of Portugal. The existence of Portugal in Africa had guaranteed her middle – manship position in Europe and could not therefore let the colonies get independence.
13. The economic dwarfness of Portugal delayed the independence of Portuguese colonies. Portugal was very poor and could not sustain its economy without the financial support of African territories. This therefore delayed independence.
14. The high literacy rate among the Africans delayed the independence. It should be noted that the Portuguese deliberately offered inferior education and the education did not offer technical skills to Africans and intellectual abilities. This therefore limited the scope of nationalistic Movements hence delaying independence.
15. The divide and rule policy of the Portuguese affected nationalistic sentiments among Africans. National unity of purpose was destroyed by the Portuguese of the Ovimbundu against the Bakongo in Angola, the Fula and the Balante in Guinea Bissau and the Makua, Nyanja against the Makonde in Mozambique. This retarded early independence struggles.
16. Existence of ethnic nationalism (micro – nationalism) affected the independence of Portuguese colonies. The Bakongo, Mbundu and Ovimbundu in Angola were not united. The Fula and Balante in Guinea Bissau never co-operated and the Nyanja, Makua and Makonde in Mozambique were also grumbling. The failure to diffuse ethnicity delayed the independence of Portuguese colonies.
17. The apathy that existed among Africans delayed independence. Some Africans were not interested in the cause for independence and could not join the liberation struggles. Others used peaceful means to demand for independence yet colonial masters understood the language of violence.

18. Absence of capable and charismatic leaders in the initial stages of liberation delayed independence. The fierce leadership of Don Salazar discouraged people to offer leadership in the infant stage, the likes of Eduardo Mondlane, Amilcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto emerged in the 1950s to catalyse the effective and meaningful struggles.
19. Lack of organized internal bases for the liberation movements delayed independence. Most of the liberation movements like FRELIMO operated in Tanzania and Malawi, MPLA operated in Congo Zaire and Congo Brazzaville, PAIGC operated in French Guinea. This made them to have slim impact on the Portuguese stay in Africa.
20. The weaknesses of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) affected nationalism in Portuguese Africa. OAU had established a Liberation Committee based in Tanzania, but it made more condemnation and its contribution remained theoretical due to limited funds and military incapacitations.
21. The double standards of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) frustrated the efforts of Africans in Portuguese colonies. The UN verbally reacted and imposed weak sanctions on the Portuguese. Some members of the UN also doubled as members of NATO that gave support to the capitalist Don Salazar. This left the Africans more disappointed.
22. The formation of the “Triumvirate Alliance” strengthened the Portuguese administration in Africa. This was a repressive movement or a gang of the three dictators i.e. Don Salazar of Portugal, Verwoerd of South Africa and Ian Smith of the UDI of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). These pledged effective assistance to each other in case of war and resistance and suppressed Africans.
23. The ideological differences of the African leaders affected early independence. A case in point was Simango in Mozambique who disagreed with Mondlane and joined the Portuguese leading to the assassination of 1968, MPLA against UNITA of the capitalists. All these left Africans stumbling.
24. The negative attitude of the Catholic Church hindered early independence. The Catholic Church condemned the African liberation movements as terrorist clubs, they used their spiritual platform to scare away 1000s of Africans contributing to the delayed independence.

Reference Questions:

1. Account for the delayed independence of Guinea Bissau / Mozambique / Angola.
2. Examine the challenges / problems faced by the nationalist in Portuguese Africa.

3. Discuss/Explain the problems faced by the PAIGC/FRELIMO/MPLA in the struggle against the Portuguese rule.
4. To what extent did the Portuguese colonial policies delay in the independence in Africa?

CAUSE OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The Africans in the Portuguese colonies tried to use peaceful means in the initial stages, however independence was far from reach and they resorted to armed struggle against the Portuguese.

- The people of Angola formed MPLA in 1956, launched war against the Portuguese in 1961 – 1975 led by Agostinho Neto.
 - The nationalists in Guinea Bissau formed PAIGC in 1954 by Amilcar Cabral. The war began in 1963 – 1974.
 - The people in Mozambique formed FRELIMO in 1962 under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane and Simango. The war began in 1964 – 1975.
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- a) The Portuguese regarded the colonies as overseas provinces which sparked off the wars. This idea was declared in the 1951 Constitution of Portugal and this negated African feelings. The Africans applied violence to break the colonial bondage.
 - b) The brutality of the Portuguese led to the outbreak of the liberation wars. The Portuguese killed over 200,000 Angolans, others were terribly wounded and public flogging e.g. Agostinho Neto, dock workers were killed in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and others killed in strikes. All these sparked off armed struggle for independence.
 - c) Lack of constitutional means to achieve independence forced Africans to declare war on the Portuguese. Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau were denied political participation in parliamentary structures. This compelled Africans to resort to the liberation war.
 - d) The dictatorial policies of the Portuguese led to the wars of independence. The Portuguese suppressed the freedoms of people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, the press was censored and political parties were banned. These undemocratic activities pushed the Africans to resort to violent approaches.
 - e) The tight spy network exposed by the Portuguese police (PIDE) contributed to the war. The PIDE carried out in human acts like un warranted arrests and public humiliation such as Neto flogged. The police was authorized to kill suspects. The acts of the PIDE increased African anti-colonial sentiments leading to the war.

- f) Increased deployment of the Portuguese troops in Africa laid a foundation for the war. The number of soldiers by 1960 was increased in Angola i.e. 60,000 and 70,000 in Mozambique respectively. This made Africans also to reciprocate by forming strong armies to engage the Portuguese.
- g) The establishment of concentration camps by the Portuguese occasioned the wars. These centers were set up to contain African resistances and to deny them access to foreign assistance. Africans were tortured and others assassinated in these centers hence raising concern leading to the wars.
- h) The formation of the liberation movements by Africans in Portuguese Africa led to the armed struggles. PAIGC was formed in 1954 in Guinea Bissau, MPLA in 1956 in Angola and FRELIMO in 1962 in Mozambique. These organized the masses, united the people and declared guerilla war against the Portuguese.
- i) The desire for political independence occasioned the liberation wars. Africans developed great nationalistic sentiments that pushed them into the war. This was because of the long period of political denial hence making the war inevitable.
- j) Influence of the Marxist Ideology (Socialism) in Portuguese Africa caused the wars. This ideology called for a classless society, was against imperialism and advocated for the use of militarism against foreign domination. The communist states therefore offered support to Africans to fight the Portuguese.
- k) The influence of the independent neighboring states also contributed to the wars in Portuguese Africa. Countries like Congo Zaire, Congo Brazzaville, Guinea Conakry, Senegal, Tanzania and Malawi inspired the Portuguese colonies to raise their morale for independence. The neighboring states provided the logistical support, ie, financial, military and external bases for the wars.
- l) The role of the nationalistic leaders caused the wars. These included Augustine Neto of Angola, Amilcar Cabral in Guinea Bissau and Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique. These provided courageous and visionary leadership in the turbulent times hence making the wars inevitable.
- m) Forced labour imposed on the Africans also caused the wars. Africans were made to offer labour on public works eg roads, plantations, without payment or meager pay. This was resented by Africans leading to the war.

- n) The unfair and heavy taxation imposed on the Africans caused the liberation wars. The methods of taxation were very cruel and harsh. The defaulters were arrested and flogged in public hence sending Africans into a war mood.
- o) High levels of looming poverty among the Africans caused the war. Africans became poverty stricken due to lack of employment, low prices of agricultural produce and low wages compared to the Portuguese workers. The impoverished Africans became disgruntled to open up war against the Portuguese.
- p) Corruption of the Portuguese administrators also caused the liberation wars. The officials were too corrupt in the collection of taxes and provision of the civil services, bribes were at the highest levels. This provoked militant nationalism in Portuguese Africa.
- q) Lack of employment opportunities among the Africans contributed to the occurrence of the wars. All the existing jobs including driving, office clerks and messengers were a preserve of the White minority. Africans were meant to offer forced labour on the plantations with meager pay. This attracted resentment in all the Portuguese colonies leading to war.
- r) The inferior education system provided by the Portuguese made the wars inevitable. The education system given to Africans were not technical and intellectual to compete with the Portuguese, Africans attended separate schools of missionaries established in rural areas. This laid a foundation for the liberation wars.
- s) The racial arrogance of the Portuguese caused the liberation wars. This was packaged in the assimilation policy that forced Africans to take on their culture in totality. This policy produced a class of assimilados who accepted to drop African cultural values and were favored at the expense of the indigenas (Africans who refused to change). This created a situation of a war mood.
- t) The forced cash crop growing among Africans contributed to the liberation wars. The Portuguese forced Africans to grow crops such as cotton, coffee, and Tobacco even on the small gardens after big chunks of land had been grabbed. Africans were unable to grow food crops that led to famine and the prices for the crops grown were determined by the Portuguese. This caused discontent leading to war.
- u) The presence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in Portuguese Africa annoyed Africans to rebel. Note should be taken that Portugal was a member of NATO and allowed the countries of Britain, France, Belgium, among others set up military bases, invest in the area and also dump their goods which they charged expensively. This compelled Africans to launch war against the Portuguese colonial masters.

- v) The land alienation policy by the Portuguese caused the Liberation wars. The Portuguese steadily grabbed land from Africans and established plantations. This left Africans landless and were sent to reserves and others remained squatters on the White estates. The wars were staged in order to regain the lost land in an armed struggle.

REFERENCE QUESTIONS

1. Account for the outbreak of the Liberation war in Guinea Bissau / Angola / Mozambique.
2. Discuss the factors for the armed resistance / militant nationalism in Portuguese colonies.
3. Why did the PAIGC / FRELIMO / MPLA declare war against the Portuguese rule in 1963/1964/1961 respectively?
4. “The Portuguese mal-administration was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the Liberation wars”. Discuss.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA

These included the following;

1. The formation of Liberation movements against the Portuguese led to the independence of these countries. These movements included PAIGC set up in 1954, MPLA in 1956 and FRELIMO established in 1962. They resorted to use of military approach against the Portuguese leading to their eventual independence.
2. The effective military strategies adopted by the Liberation movements led to the success of Africans. The Liberation movements always attacked the Portuguese simultaneously in several places, they used surprise attacks and ambushes which weakened the Portuguese.
3. The Liberation Movements carried out mass mobilization and recruitment. Thousands of Africans joined the struggle, the massive recruitment strengthened the African struggles to outmatch Portuguese soldiers.
4. The role of women enlisted in the struggle led to the success of the Liberation movements. The Liberation movements recruited women in the military, others acted as nurses for the wounded soldiers, and gave espionage information (spies) during the wars.
5. The military gains scored by the Liberation Movements favored independence in Portuguese Africa. The Liberation movements of PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA gained almost a third

of their respective countries by the occurrence of the Lisbon coup of 1974. Such a situation weakened the Portuguese to grant independence.

6. The reforms instituted by the liberation movements in their respective territories enabled the success of the wars. The movements established liberated zones where the masses were involved in decision making and grass root leadership. The movements established elementary schools to provide free education and health centres were set up which won the support of the masses.
7. The continuous repressive methods of the Portuguese hardened the Africans and raised the impetus for independence. Concentration camps were set up to bundle Africans, African homes and gardens were destroyed, nationalists were tortured and killed. All these, undermined the popularity of the Portuguese.
8. The formation of the CONCP alliance by the liberation movements strengthened the African struggles. This was a composition of MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO. A combination of the liberation movements co-operated and shared ideas to weaken the Portuguese rule in Africa.
9. The simultaneous occurrence of liberation wars contributed to the success of African struggles. The Angolan war began in 1961, the war in Guinea Bissau began in 1963 and the war in Mozambique started in 1964. These wars drained Portugal financially and militarily leading to the success of the African struggles.
10. The withdrawal of NATO forces from the Portuguese colonies weakened the colonial administration. Portugal could no longer get financial and military assistance which had kept her strong against Africans. Hence making Africans succeed.
11. The Lisbon Coup of 1974 was a death blow to the Portuguese leadership in Africa. The coup led to the overthrow of a dictatorial government in Portugal and led to the emergence of a liberal leader called Antonio de Spínola who granted independence to the colonies, ie Guinea Bissau in 1974, Angola and Mozambique in 1975 respectively.
12. The collapse of the triumvirate alliance was an advantage to the Africans. This was a gang of three dictators to include Don Salazar of Portugal, Verwoerd of South Africa and the UDI government of Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia. These had agreed to suppress all African struggles. However, the death of some founder members made it incapable to continuously block African struggles.
13. The independence of the neighboring states influenced the success of the liberation wars. These included Guinea Conakry that assisted PAIGC of Guinea Bissau, Congo Brazzaville

and Congo Zaire supported MPLA of Angola while Tanzania and Zambia supported FRELIMO leading to the success of liberation movements.

14. The consolidated unity exhibited by the African liberation fighters contributed to the success of the wars. The Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau diffused ethnic rivalries and worked towards national unity. This weakened the Portuguese stay in Africa leading to independence.
15. The favorable geographical settings were an advantage to the Africans in Portuguese Africa. Guinea Bissau was covered with mangrove forests and thick Bamboo forests, Mozambique had a thick forest cover near Niassa and Ntete, Angola was advantaged with the coastline. All these, favored the movement of the Africans and were a disadvantage to the Portuguese.
16. The role of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) enabled the attainment of Portuguese in Africa. From the formation of OAU in 1963, it set up a liberation committee whose pivotal role was to grant independence to the colonized African countries. The organisation gave military and financial support to PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA and also put sanctions against Portugal to decolonize.
17. The contribution of United Nations Organisation (UNO) led to the success of the liberation wars. The UNO used the Security Council to condemn colonialism in Africa, impose both economic and political sanctions against the Portuguese and also threatened to throw out Portugal from general assemblies for its failure to decolonize. This yielded positively for the African.
18. The support from the communist world enabled the success of African independence in Portuguese Africa. The communist support came from China, USSR and Cuba. These countries gave military, logistical and financial advice which weakened the Portuguese in Africa.
19. The able and charismatic leadership rendered by the nationalists. These included Eduardo Mondlane, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau and Agostinho Neto of Angola. These leaders secured both internal and external support to sustain the wars, united people and accepted the instruments of power at independence.

THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA (1961 – 1974)

Reference Questions

1. “The MPLA was primarily responsible for the de – colonization of Angola” Discuss.
2. Examine contribution of Agostinho Neto in the liberation struggle of Angola.

3. Account for the success of the liberation war in Angola

MPLA was formed in 1956 by Illidio Tom Machedo as the first president and later Agostinho Neto who took over in 1958. Other liberation movements in Angola included National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

It should be noted that MPLA played a significant role in the liberation of Angola in the following ways.

- The movement provided the necessary leadership against the Portuguese rule in Angola. Agostinho Neto at the top of leadership, was very courageous, had a clear vision leading to the independence of Angola.
- MPLA diffused the ethnicity in Angola. It united the Mbundu, Ovimbundu and Bakongo contributing to independence.
- The MPLA established external bases in neighboring countries of Congo Zaire, Congo Brazzaville, Zambia and Namibia. The movement therefore used these bases to launch attack against the Portuguese.
- The MPLA was able to unite and coordinate the political and military wings. This led to the commitment during the struggle for independence.
- MPLA appealed to the UNO for support. The UN reciprocated by giving financial and military support, imposed sanctions on the Portuguese leading to independence.
- The MPLA won the recognition of the OAU. The OAU gave financial and military support using its liberation committee to weaken the Portuguese rule.
- MPLA solicited assisted from the communist countries like China, USSR, and Cuba. These gave financial and military support, trained the liberation fighters leading to the success of the nationalists.
- MPLA co-operated with PAIGC and FRELIMO to form CONCP Alliance. This alliance, laid strategies against the Portuguese colonial masters.
- MPLA established liberated zones in Angola which led to reforms e.g. free education, health centres. This attracted the attention and support of the local people leading to independence.

- The MPLA recruited and trained Angolans in guerilla warfare. The recruits increased activities of sabotage against the Portuguese programs and strategies.
- The movements enrolled women in the struggle for independence. The women worked as nurses, cooks and spies to the freedom fighters. This encouraged the liberation fighters to succeed.
- The MPLA organized and launched successful guerilla warfare against the Portuguese by 1963. The movement scored military gains of the largest part of the country contributing to the success of the war.
- The MPLA sensitized the masses of Angola on the evils of the Portuguese administration and benefits of the independence leading to the success of the war.
- The MPLA received instruments of power from the Portuguese in 1975 under Agostinho Neto as chief.
- The MPLA negotiated with its new socialist government in Portugal under Antonio De Spínola. This yielded positive results leading to independence in 1975.

OTHER FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF ANGOLAN LIBERATION WAR

- ✚ The continuous repressive methods of the Portuguese hardened the Africans and increased their determination for independence.
- ✚ The simultaneous occurrence of liberation wars made it impossible for the Portuguese to contain the African desire for independence i.e. 1961 in Angola, 1963 in Guinea Bissau and 1964 in Mozambique.
- ✚ The Lisbon Coup of 1974 in Portugal accelerated African independence i.e. the emergency of liberal leader Antonio De Spínola granted independence.
- ✚ The collapse of the triumvirate alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia which had strengthened the Portuguese rule in Africa.

- ✚ The independence of neighboring countries like Tanzania and Zambia for Mozambique, Congo and Zambia for Angola, Senegal and Guinea Conakry for Guinea Bissau.
- ✚ The favorable geographical settings. Mozambique had a thick forest cover near Niasa and Ntete, swamps while Angola had thick forests and swamps.

Reference Questions

1. Examine the role of Agostinho Neto in the struggle for Angolan independence
2. To what extent did Agostinho Neto contributed to the decolonization of Angola?

Preamble:

Agostinho Neto was born in 1922 to a Methodist Priest in Bengo, a small village in rural Angola.

He was a graduate of medicine in the University of Lisbon and joined the ranks of MPLA in 1958. Dr. Neto played a great role in the liberation of Angola in the following ways.

- ❖ Neto provided able and charismatic leadership during the liberation struggles. His character was composed of courage, vision and dedication hence winning the independence of Angola.
- ❖ Agostinho Neto wrote poems and articles about the suffering of the Angolans. This created awareness among the nationals.
- ❖ Neto led the Angolan delegation to Lisbon to present the Angolan grievances. This was intended to effect political reforms and independence.
- ❖ Agostinho organized demonstrations and strikes against the Portuguese imperialism. He was part of the Angola cotton worker strike in Malange.
- ❖ He represented and sought recognition from OAU. The OAU responded by giving moral, financial and military assistance to MPLA.
- ❖ He appealed to the UNO to intervene in the Angolan cause. The UNO General Assembly responded by imposing sanctions on Portugal using the Security Council.
- ❖ He diffused ethnicity and united the different tribes in Angola. These included the Bakongo, Mbundu and Ovimbundu for the national cause.

- ❖ He led the MPLA to establish the external guerilla bases in the neighboring countries e.g. Congo Zaire, Zambia and Congo Brazzaville.
- ❖ He solicited support from the communist countries like USSR, China and Cuba. This led to its getting of moral, financial and military equipment and package of training.
- ❖ He recruited and trained the Angolan masses in guerilla warfare tactics and this strengthened the liberation struggles
- ❖ He launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial rule under MPLA in 1961
- ❖ He recruited women in the military and political wings of the MPLA. These acted as Nurses, cooks and spies.
- ❖ He led MPLA to form CONCP alliance with PAIGC of Guinea Bissau and FRELIMO of Mozambique. This alliance was aimed at sharing strategies and logistics for the independence.
- ❖ He led the Angolan nationalists to a negotiation campaign with the socialist Lisbon government under Antonio De Spínola. This led to the independence on Nov, 1975.
- ❖ He received the instruments of power at independence in 1975 from the Portuguese. He established the first independent government of black majority.

SUMMARY OF THE PROBLEMS FACED BY THE ANGOLANS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Angola Liberation war began in 1961 led by Agostinho Neto of MPLA against the Portuguese colonial masters. The problems faced by the Angolans included;

- Military weaknesses of the Angolan nationalists contrary to the military might of the Portuguese.
- Micro-nationalism based on ethnicity e.g. the Bakongo against the Mbundu and Ovimbundu.
- Economic backwardness of the Angola masses.
- General illiteracy, ignorance and apathy of the Angolans.
- Power struggles among the Angolans e.g Daniel Chipenda against Agostinho Neto, Jonas Savimbi against Neto.

- The divide and rule tactics of the Portuguese ie the Ovimbundu against other tribes.
- Desire by the Portuguese to continue exploiting the Angola nationalists ie the natural resources like diamond, oil.
- The repressive policies of the PIDE police that tightly spied on the Africans and tortured them.
- The Portuguese exploitative policies of over taxation and forced labour, land grabbing.
- The brutal oppressive policies of the Portuguese ie public flogging of leaders eg Agostinho Neto in 1960.
- The racial discrimination of the Portuguese (Assimilation). This created a class of assimilados and indigenas which hampered nationalistic struggles.
- The delayed independence of neighboring countries affected Angola eg Namibia, Zimbabwe.
- Double standards of the UNO.
- The existence of the Triumvirate alliance.
- The negative effects of cold war politics that made the NATO forces to swing in Angola.
- The use of non-violent methods of demanding independence by the Angolans in early stages eg demonstration and strikes.
- The absence of capable and charismatic leaders in the initial stages of the struggles.
- The negative impact of the Catholic Church that branded the nationalists as terrorists.
- The creation of rehabilitation centres (reserves) used by the Portuguese to torture Africans and use of scorched earth policy.
- The conservative leadership of Don Salazar who refused to bend the wings of change.
- The consolidation of the NATO forces that gave support to the Portuguese ie military, financial to weaken the communist orientation.
- Limited exposure of the nationalists to the outside world, liberal and press reports were censored, banned political activism.

THE LIBERATION WAR IN GUINEA (1963-1974)

(Role of the African independence party for Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC))

Reference Questions;

1. Assess the role of the PAIGC to the liberation struggle of Guinea Bissau.
2. To what extent did the PAIGC contribute to the collapse of Portuguese rule in Guinea Bissau?
3. Discuss the contribution of PAIGC to the liberation struggle in Guinea Bissau.

Preamble;

The PAIGC was a nationalist movement formed in 1954 by Amilcar Cabral.

The intention of the movement was to achieve independence for Guinea Bissau and the islands of Cape Verde.

The roles of PAIGC included the following;

- ✓ PAIGC appealed to the urban working class, traders and primary teachers. These were a pillar for leadership and financial backup.
- ✓ PAIGC recruited freedom fighters and trained them in guerilla warfare.
- ✓ The movement established external bases in Guinea Conakry and Senegal. This enabled careful attacks against the Portuguese.
- ✓ PAIGC launched a successful armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1963 that weakened the colonial bondage.
- ✓ PAIGC organized demonstrations and strikes against the Portuguese administration. This involved the 1959 Dockers strike.
- ✓ PAIGC mobilized the peasants to render support towards independence. The party opened up bases in Balante and Fula.
- ✓ Amilcar Cabral under PAIGC provided able leadership and later Luis Cabral in 1973 after assassination of Amilcar. This later led to independence.
- ✓ PAIGC solicited for support from the communist countries. These included USSR, China, and Cuba among others. Financial and military was got to weaken the Portuguese.
- ✓ The movement established internal liberated zones in Guinea Bissau. There were provision of grassroots democracy, free education and health centres hence increasing the popularity of independence.

- ✓ PAIGC recruited women in its ranks. These were informers (spies), cooks, nurses etc. This greatly contributed to the success of independence.
- ✓ PAIGC sent the youth wing abroad for further studies in military education. Majority went to the Soviet Union and Algeria which strengthened the struggle.
- ✓ PAIGC went into alliance with other liberation movements of MPLA and FRELIMO to form CONCP. This alliance was pivotal in sharing strategies.
- ✓ The movement diffused ethnicity and united the people in Guinea Bissau. The Balante and Fula were united for a national cause of independence.
- ✓ The party took part in the negotiations with the government of Antonio De-Spinola in Portugal. This yielded independence in 1974.
- ✓ PAIGC won the support of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). OAU used its liberation committee to give financial, military and imposed sanctions on Portugal.
- ✓ The party petitioned Portuguese government to the United Nations Security Council. The sanctions were imposed on the Portuguese which quickened independence.
- ✓ PAIGC accepted and received the instruments of power in September 1974 under Louis Cabral as president

THE ROLE OF AMILCAR CABRAL IN THE STRUGGLE OF GUINEA BISSAU

Reference Questions;

1. Assess the contribution of Amilcar Cabral to the decolonization of Guinea Bissau.
2. Explain the role of Amilcar Cabral in the struggle of independence in Guinea Bissau.

Preamble;

Amilcar Cabral was an agronomist and he was born in Cape Verde, studied and worked in Lisbon and later returned to offer leadership in Guinea Bissau. He contributed to the struggle in the following ways;

- ✓ Amilcar Cabral got involved in agricultural census with the colonial government. This exposed him to the problems of his people hence condemned the Portuguese.
- ✓ Amilcar mobilized the masses to form PAIGC that launched an armed struggle in 1963 against the Portuguese imperialists.

- ✓ Amilcar established an external base for PAIGC in Guinea Conakry to coordinate the activities of Africans under the support of Sekou Toure.
- ✓ Amilcar worked with the working class and petty traders to get financial and moral support to weaken the Portuguese policies.
- ✓ Amilcar solicited for support from the communist countries like USSR, China, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia. These responded financially and militarily to strengthen African cause for independence.
- ✓ Amilcar also sent members of PAIGC youth wing to USSR for further education. These returned with more exposed technical skills to further independence cause.
- ✓ Amilcar provided able, visionary, and charismatic leadership under PAIGC. He therefore, instilled a spirit of hard work in fighting for independence.
- ✓ Amilcar Cabral enlisted women in the struggle for self-rule. These cooked food for the fighters, served as nurses and acted as spies against the Portuguese.
- ✓ He also sought recognition from the O.A.U right from 1963. The O.A.U gave financial, moral, technical and military support. It imposed **sanctions** on the Portuguese.
- ✓ Amilcar appealed for support from the UNO that responded positively. The UNO used the Security Council to condemn Portugal, recognized PAIGC as a legitimate body for the independence cause.
- ✓ Amilcar set up internal liberated zones in Guinea Bissau where reforms were instituted eg schools, health centres and grass root democracy. These won the support of the Africans.
- ✓ He united the rival tribes in Guinea Bissau such as the Balante and Fula. This became vital to dislodge the minority Portuguese by 1974.
- ✓ Amilcar went into an alliance with other Liberation movements. These included MPLA, FRELIMO to form CONCP that backed up PAIGC. This was aimed at weakening the Triumvirate alliance.
- ✓ Amilcar coordinated the military wings of PAIGC up to 1973 when he was assassinated. The cause was later furthered by his cousin, Luis Cabral to 1974 at independence celebrations.

NOTE:

Other factors for the success of the Liberation war are the same in all the Portuguese colonies.

THE LIBERATION WAR IN MOZAMBIQUE (1964 – 1975).

The role of Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO)

Reference Questions

- 1. Discuss the role of FRELIMO to the Liberation Struggle of Mozambique.**
- 2. Assess the contribution of FRELIMO in the struggle of Mozambique independence.**

PREAMBLE

FRELIMO was formed by a group of disgruntled intellectuals and politicians in 1962 in Dar-es-salaam. It was led by Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane assisted by Simango.

The roles of FRELIMO included the following;

1. FRELIMO launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1964 and this contributed to eventual independence in 1975.
2. FRELIMO set up external bases in Tanzania at Bagamoyo. The freedom fighters were allowed to train hence attacking the Portuguese.
3. FRELIMO recruited freedom fighters massively, trained them in guerrilla warfare tactics.
4. FRELIMO sensitized and mobilized the nationals who responded by giving full support to the struggle.
5. FRELIMO managed to set up internal liberated zones in Niassa and Ntete. These were used to launch attacks on the Portuguese and had reforms established.

6. FRELIMO provided able and charismatic leadership under Mondlane that worked against the Portuguese colonial bondage.
7. FRELIMO won the support of the communist countries like China, Soviet Union etc. These gave training, financial and extended educational scholarships to freedom fighters.
8. FRELIMO weakened ethnicity in Mozambique. It united the tribes of Makua, Nyanja and the famous Makonde leading to success.
9. The party appealed for assistance and recognition from the United Nations (UNO). The UN responded by condemning Portugal and imposing sanctions.
10. FRELIMO sought for support from OAU that used its Liberations Committee to support the freedom fighters.
11. FRELIMO went into the alliance with MPLA and PAIGC to form CONCP.
12. FRELIMO scored military success against the Portuguese. This included the killing of Portuguese soldiers and destruction of planes at Mueda leading to success.
13. FRELIMO recruited women in Liberation struggles. These provided espionage and served as cooks and nurses.
14. The movement held discussions with the socialist government of Antonio of Portugal, hence securing independence on 25th June 1975.
15. FRELIMO under Samora Machel received the instruments of power from the Portuguese in 1975 and set up a black led government.
16. FRELIMO established a refugee camp across River Ruvuma and this helped to contain the suffering Africans.

Other factors for the success of independence included;

- The collapse of the Triumvirate alliance.
- The geographical set up of Mozambique favoured the guerrilla warfare.
- The withdrawal of NATO forces from Mozambique weakened the Portuguese.
- The role of Liberal Portuguese who advocated for democratic governance in Africa.
- Portuguese economic collapse made it unable to sustain wars.

- The simultaneous occurrence of Liberation wars, ie Mozambique 1964, Angola 1961, and Guinea Bissau 1963.
- The Portuguese exploitative policies hardened Africans to get determined for independence.
- The role of independent neighbouring states eg Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi.
- The role of other liberation movements eg Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO) and ZANU-PF.
- The Lisbon coup of 1974 that over threw dictators like Marcel Caetano and emergence of Antonio De Spinoza.
- The role of Samora Machel and Joaquim Chissano.

THE ROLE OF EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE IN THE LIBERIAN STRUGGLE

Reference Questions

- 1. Assess the role of Eduardo Mondlane in the Liberation of Mozambique.**
- 2. Explain the contribution of Eduardo Mondlane in the decolonization of Mozambique.**
- 3. To what extent did Eduardo Mondlane contribute to the Liberation of Mozambique?**

Preamble

Eduardo Mondlane established FRELIMO in 1962 as a merger of different movements to include MANU, COREMO operating in exile.

The roles of Mondlane included;

- ❖ He formed FRELIMO in 1962 in exile in Dar-es-Salaam that helped Mozambique attain independence.
- ❖ Mondlane set up external bases in Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia and these launched attacks on the Portuguese.
- ❖ Internal bases were also established by Mondlane. These operated in Mueda where posts of military were installed by the Africans.
- ❖ Mondlane gave the needed able leadership in Mozambique. This was very critical from 1964 up to 1969 when he was assassinated.
- ❖ Eduardo launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1964.
- ❖ He mobilized and recruited the freedom fighters in Mozambique, trained them in guerrilla warfare leading to independence.
- ❖ Mondlane solicited assistance from the UNO.

- ❖ Mondlane appealed for support from the OAU.
- ❖ Mondlane united the people of Mozambique. These included tribes like Makonde, Makua, Nyanja and Tsonga.
- ❖ Eduardo mobilized the working class and the business community to render support to the cause of Mozambique independence.
- ❖ Mondlane enlisted women in the Liberation struggle.
- ❖ Mondlane held negotiations with the socialist Portuguese government of Antonio Despinola which consequently yielded independence.

CIVIL WARS IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

Civil wars were fought shortly after independence and they heightened disunity. These included;

- Angola (1975 – 2002)
- Mozambique (1977 – 1994)

THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA (1975 – 2002)

Reference Questions

1. **Explain the causes and effects of the civil war in Angola in 1975.**
2. **Account for the collapse of political peace in Angola in 1975.**
3. **Explain the factors for the collapse of national unity in Angola in 1975.**

Preamble:

Reference has to be made that as soon as Angola attained independence on 11th November 1975, the new MPLA government of Agostinho Neto and later Eduardo Dos Santos conflicted with the alliance of UNITA of Jonas Savimbi and FNLA of Holden Roberto leading to a war, i.e. civil war.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

1. The colonial history / legacy of Angola contributed to the civil war. It should be noted that the Portuguese divided the Angolans on tribal basis. These tribes included the Bakongo, Mbundu and Ovimbundu hence creating hatred and micro nationalism hence wars.
2. Inadequate preparation for independence in Angola led to the civil war. It ought to be remembered that after the 1974 Lisbon coup in Portugal, Africans in Angola hurried to take on leadership and manage sectors like Police and army without preparation.

3. The militarization of Angola inevitably caused the civil war. All the rival liberation movements had established an army to fight the Portuguese in the struggle for independence. MPLA had 1.5million troops, UNITA had 2million and FNLA had 700,000 soldiers. All these were not disarmed and put their armies to test after independence.
4. Ethnic differences in Angola caused the civil war. It is true that the country was divided along tribal lines eg the MPLA had the support of the Mbundu, UNITA had the Ovimbundu and FNLA had the Bakongo. This increased ethnic disunity leading to the war.
5. Ideological differences caused by cold war politics made the civil war in Angola inevitable. The MPLA party had the support of the communist states led by Cuba and Soviet Union. On the contrary, UNITA and FNLA had the patronage of capitalist states. This left the nationalists divided ideologically making the war unavoidable.
6. Personal ambitions of the nationalists caused the war. The power clash between MPLA of Neto failed to compromise with Roberto Holden of FNLA and Savimbi of UNITA. Militarism was the only solution to the rivaling nationalists.
7. The uncompromising character of Jonas Savimbi caused the civil war in Angola. He was power hungry, had captured some parts of Angola and accumulated wealth, rejected peace talks from the UNO and OAU, organized meetings, he said:

“ I will never rest unless I become president of Angola”.
8. The discriminative policy of Agostinho Neto caused the civil war in Angola. He was very arrogant and never allowed to share power with other parties like FNLA and UNITA, yet these played a pivotal role in weakening the Portuguese. Failure to share the power and the inclusion of the other parties in the decisions of the country caused the war.
9. Weaknesses of the OAU laid a foundation for the war. TheOAU had a policy of non interference in the affairs of member states. This made it not to intervene, other members of OAU like Mobutu of Congo supported UNITA against the MPLA of Neto. Towards independence also OAU had recognized all the parties, though later MPLA was supported by OAU hence annoying the UNITA an FNLA causing the war.

10. The failure of the NAKuru Peace accord (protocol) of 1974 worsened the political climate in Angola. This was chaired by President Arap Moi of Kenya to create a coalition government of the parties, ie MPLA, UNITA and FNLA. This didn't come to pass as all the resolutions were not respected both by the Neto and the divergent interests of UNITA under Jonas Savimbi, hence causing the civil war.
11. The natural resource endowment of Angola caused the war. Angola had minerals like diamonds and oil and each party desired to have control of the minerals eg UNITA under Savimbi controlled the diamond deposits in Kabinda which made him strong, MPLA made a controversial deal with the European mining companies not to benefit the whole country. This war was declared to compel the government of MPLA to stop the Europeans mining companies.
12. The double standards of the UNO inevitably caused the Angolan war. The UN security council condemned the civil war in Angola and wanted peace to prevail. However, other members of UNO like USA secretly supported UNITA of Savimbi by selling weapons in exchange of minerals. This left the Angolan politics divided hence the civil war.
13. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola partly caused the civil war. These had been brought to assist the MPLA to mitigate South African aggression. This made the Capitalist USA to extend assistance to UNITA hence increasing hostility leading to the civil war.
14. The failure of the Angola Peace accords of 1989 also led to the civil war. This was signed between the Russian president Gorbachiev and the American president Ronald Reagan. These invited the conflicting MPLA and UNITA on a round table to resolve the conflicts. The proposal was rejected by UNITA under Savimbi hence complicating the peace in Angola.

EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA

1. The war led to human suffering in Angola and the hopes of independence were destroyed due to misery, fear and insecurity.
2. It led to loss of lives and bodily harms like some had their parts amputated. Property was also destroyed in the country, ie homesteads and other infrastructure.
3. Agriculture was disrupted due to lack of concentration and fear, famine inevitably rocked Angola.

4. The war caused heavy government expenditure as the MPLA government spent millions on buying military hardware to sustain the war.
5. The war caused displacement of Angolans for the safety of their lives. The neighbouring countries experienced refugee crisis like Congo Zaire, Namibia.
6. Angola became a centre of cold war politics attributed to the support of super powers. UNITA had the support of the capitalists eg USA and South Africa and MPLA attracted the attention of USSR and Cuba. These became proxy wars for super powers.
7. The civil war promoted neo-colonialism in Angola. It forced Portugal to continue influencing the policies in Angola. Angola was also forced to sell her minerals, ie oil and diamonds to developed nations in exchange of military equipment.
8. The civil militarized the politics of Angola as the culture of the gun was the solution in the country. MPLA and UNITA re-armed themselves to have political power in the country.
9. The civil escalated divisions and hatred in the country. National unity was compromised and avenues to democracy were futile. The government of Dos Santos of MPLA organized the elections of 1992 and the results were rejected by UNITA, this caused more problems in the country.
10. The Angolan civil war exposed the weaknesses of the OAU and UNO in solving conflicts. Both members of OAU like Congo of Mobutu and USA of UNO ended up supporting the war than creating peace.
11. The civil war in Angola partly delayed the independence of South African states. These included South Africa and Namibia. The Apartheid government of South Africa remained in Namibia to contain the spread of communism from Angola. Also the racist regime of South Africa gave support to Savimbi of UNITA to weaken the MPLA of communist policies.
12. The Angolan civil war attracted the attention of International agencies like ICRC (International Committee of Red Cross), UNICEF, UNHCR. These extended social services and other forms of assistance eg food, medicine to the war victims.

THE CIVIL WAR IN MOZAMBIQUE 1977 – 1994

Mozambique drifted to political unrest shortly after getting independence from Portugal. The civil war between FRELIMO under Samora Machel and the RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance) under Alfonso Dhlakama

CAUSES OF THE WAR

1. The Portuguese policy of divide and rule caused the war. Tribalism was promoted and other minority tribes eg the Nyanja were against the Makonde that dominated FRELIMO. This continued even after independence.
2. The unfair representation in the new independent government caused the civil war. The FRELIMO government ignored other parties like COREMO yet these played a central role in the liberation of Mozambique. These parties of COREMO and RENAMO got disgruntled.
3. The dictatorship of Samora Machel of FRELIMO caused the war. Other political parties were banned and yet they needed to actively take part in the decision making of the country. This resulted into bloodshed organized by RENAMO against FRELIMO.
4. The uncompromising character of Samora and later Joaquim Chissano caused the war. Chissano who replaced Machel in 1986 after the assassination was very repressive, and censored the press. All these caused the war in 1977.
5. The increased militarism in the country caused the war. The war of independence made the country to have military bases, ie FRELIMO and RENAMO. These were not disbanded after independence and the culture of the gun continued in the country.
6. The ambitions and greed for power by the political leaders like Dhlakama Alfonso caused the civil war. Alfonso claimed to be representing the interests of the nationals. He used the military approach to claim the benefits from the FRELIMO led government.
7. High rate of unemployment and poverty caused the civil war. The FRELIMO did not put in place any tangible strategy to uplift the standards of living of the people. These caused frustrations among the war veterans hence the civil war.

8. Existence of micro-nationalism in Mozambique caused the war. Most tribes valued their norms, culture at the expense of national unity eg the Makonde, Nyanja, makua and all these stemmed from colonial history.
9. Ideological differences in Mozambique caused the war. FRELIMO adopted a communist policy that led to the nationalization of property in the country. Therefore, the rich citizens and RENAMO that opted for capitalism launched the civil war in the country.
10. The influence of South Africa in the affairs of Mozambique caused the war. The Apartheid regime feared communism in Mozambique and its role as a member of Frontline states that supported the ANC of South African blacks. Therefore, South Africa gave support to RENAMO in Mozambique.
11. Neo-colonialism in Mozambique caused the civil war. The Portuguese continued to influence policies in Mozambique majorly to the RENAMO rebels. The Portuguese had lost capital in the wars of independence, hence decided to establish links with the rebels in Mozambique.

Other factors;

- Weaknesses of the OAU
- The double standards of the UNO
- The influence of the civil war in Angola, ie Savimbi of UNITA shared the experiences of the war with Dhlakama Alfonso.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

1. Led to loss of lives and property ie, about 1.5 million people died in the war.
2. Resulted into economic retardation of the Mozambique economy, ie agriculture and industrialization registered a setback.
3. The war resulted into the assassination of Samora Machel in a plane crash in 1986. The blame was put on the Apartheid government in Pretoria to have master minded as it gave support to RENAMO forces.
4. Led to heavy government expenditure leading to heavy external borrowing. This increased the debt burden of Mozambique.
5. Undermined national unity in Mozambique due to neo-colonial tendencies.
6. Worsened the relationship between the government of Mozambique and the Apartheid South African government.
7. Cold war politics was promoted in Mozambique.
8. Refugee crisis increased most especially in the Southern African states.

9. International community organizations increased their assistance to Mozambique eg UNICEF, UNHCR, ICRC etc. These put strategies to end the war in 1994 after signing a cease fire, ie Chisano of FRELIMO and RENAMO.
10. The RENAMO became a legitimate political party and allowed to take part in national elections. Most soldiers of RENAMO were integrated in the national army of FRELIMO.
11. Weaknesses of the OAU and the UNO were exposed in their failure to end the crisis in Mozambique.

THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

It was formed in Lagos in Nigeria on 25th May 1975 and the treaty that established it was in Lome in Togo 1976.

It is composed of 16 member states to include; Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Gabon, Benin, Mali, Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, etc. The last country to join was Cape Verde.

It cut across the Anglophone and Francophone states.

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF ECOWAS

- To promote economic competition and integration.
- To promote viable infrastructural development mainly transport and communication.
- To promote free trade and movement of people.
- To promote agriculture through joint project between member states.
- To achieve the common market and single currency.
- To settle regional conflicts.
- To promote education.
- To establish the West African parliament.
- To promote industrial development and avoid duplication of goods and services.

ACHIEVEMENTS

- ✓ Intervened and settled regional conflicts in West Africa, ie brought peace in Liberia after the years of blood shed following the murder of Sergeant Samuel Doe, ie ensured peace and stability.
- ✓ Created a military and economic monitoring group ie, ECOMOG. This intervened in many problems in West Africa eg Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast.
- ✓ Filled the economic gap which was created after the withdrawal of the Europeans, ie colonial masters. ECOWAS provided economic assistance to the members of West Africa to alleviate economic hardships. (Funded the West African Power Pool (WAPP) eg DIAMA and **Richardtoll Dams in Senegal.**

- ✓ Promoted free movement of people through the removal of visa restrictions and passports. This created jobs, promoted cultural fusion and a sense of unity in the region.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted free trade by removing trade barriers eg tariffs, embargoes and quotas. They adopted a trade liberalization scheme that boosted economic development.
- ✓ Promoted education in West Africa. This was through students exchange schemes and this elevated the quality of education.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted co-operation in the member states. These countries worked together to address economic and social aspirations of the people in West Africa.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted Pan Africanism, ie unity, solidarity and preservation of independence. This explains the West Africans' role in cementing African unity ie Ghana, Nigeria, etc.
- ✓ ECOWAS has promoted agriculture and agro-processing industries. Agricultural production, export trade increased. This mitigated famine.
- ✓ Promoted environmental preservation by adopting a scheme in 1982 of afforestation in the Sahel region.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted infrastructural development in West Africa. It developed ports, dams, harbors, roads, railway and airports. These improved on the movement of people and commodities and enhanced socio-economic development.
- ✓ ECOWAS mobilized international aid for West African states. Countries organized both financial and military aid from European Union, ie NATO, USA and these have contributed to technical support to ECOMOG, to have a battalion to keep peace in West Africa.

FAILURES OF ECOWAS / CHALLENGES

- ❖ ECOWAS has been characterized with political instabilities in form of civil wars, internal conflicts and military coups eg Togo, Nigeria, Ivory Coast.
- ❖ The interstate conflicts have dogged the integration eg in 1984, Ghana closed her borders to the rest of the member states, Nigeria Vs Cameroon over the Bekasi Peninsular.
- ❖ There has been lack of reliable social and economic infrastructure eg the undeveloped roads, railway which hampered trade and mobility of labor.
- ❖ Over reliance on agricultural production has been a challenge of ECOWAS. Not much diversification, whose dependence comes with fluctuations ie similar crop production
- ❖ Unequal benefits from the activities of the community is a challenge. Some nations have benefited more than others eg Nigeria, Ghana compared to others.
- ❖ Tendency of Anglophone countries meddling into the activities of ECOWAS. Commonwealth organisation has tried to pull former colonies towards its policies contrary to Francophone hence affecting decisions.
- ❖ Failed to eradicate poverty in the region. Many countries in West Africa are too poor and have failed to meet the financial obligations eg Togo has always defaulted.

- ❖ There has been competition for the MNCS. This has led to provision of cheap commodities which flood the market and end up dictating the prices of goods in the region.
- ❖ The ECOWAS has failed to have a common currency. This has created a problem of exchange rates. Currencies used are pegged on the medium of exchange of the former colonial masters eg pounds hence hindering free trade.
- ❖ Failed to have common political ideologies, ie capitalism and communism / marxism. This intensified conflicts and undermined the activities of the integration.

CHALLENGES OF ECOWAS

- Vastness of the West African sub region, ie bigger nations eg Nigeria used the size to dominate the ECOWAS.
- Poverty and indebtedness of the member states.
- Civil wars eg Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- Ideological differences among the member states.
- Limited personnel in the ECOMOG force.
- Lack of a common language.
- Differences in the colonial backgrounds has affected long term decision making.
- Neo-colonial influence / interference from the West.
- Military coups.
- Falling prices of agricultural products eg rubber, cocoa weakened the economies.
- Differences in the level of development hence hampering co-operation.
- Severe drought of 1982.
- Border conflicts.
- Rise of illicit trade / smuggling across the national borders.
- Disrespect among leaders eg ECOWAS countries.
- Failure to respect ECOWAS agreements / delay to implement agreements.
- Poor infrastructure due to limited funding of infrastructural development.
- Absence of laws governing the foreign investors.
- Lack of a common currency.
- Dictatorial leadership.
- Limited commitment by members.
- Economic nationalism / protectionism among the member states.
- Competition from other regional organizations / members belong to more than one organization or divided loyalty.
- Poor quality goods, produced **can not attract competitive market.**

AFRICAN SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA

African Socialism in Tanzania was adopted through the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and implemented through the Ujamaa scheme / policy.

The Arusha Declaration was a government paper that ushered the Ujamaa policy.

The Ujamaa policy / scheme referred to the spirit of brotherhood, familyhood.

It required the majority Tanzanians to go back to the villages for effective national development.

NB: The policy was adopted by Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere in 1967 and stretched to 1985.

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF UJAMAA POLICY / AFRICAN SOCIALISM / ARUSHA DECLARATION OF 1967

1. It was aimed at creating a classless society in Tanzania (egalitarian).
2. The concept was aimed at cementing national unity in Tanzania.
3. To increase agricultural production through better use of labour.
4. It was aimed at promoting self – reliance and defend the independence of Tanzania.
5. The desire to prevent neo-colonialism or foreign influence and hegemony.
6. To mobilize masses for national defense and development.
7. The need to eradicate poverty from Tanzania.
8. Nyerere also aimed at ensuring industrial development.
9. The need to uplift the standards of living of the people.
10. To ensure food security and eradicate famine through agricultural modernization.
11. To promote equality and reduce income inequality.
12. To fight corruption in government and party officials.
13. To ensure rural development and transformation and curb Rum.
14. To create a national language and ease communication.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

- a) Account for the adoption of the African socialism in Tanzania.

Approach

- Give a viable definition
- Give the aims / objectives of socialism

- b) Describe the features of socialism in Tanzania between 1967 and 1985.

African socialism in Tanzania was also referred to as the Ujaama policy adopted during the Arusha declaration of 1967.

The features of socialism included the following;

- The state controlled the means of production and hence no individual ownership like land.
- Socialism followed a one party system, ie Tanzania African National Union (TANU) which later became to be the Chama chamapenduzi (C.C.M).
- The policy of socialism was composed of income equality and strongly castigated differentials in society.
- There was forced villagization, ie people were encouraged to go and develop the rural areas.
- The policy emphasized the revival of African cultural values in Tanzania.
- It emphasized centralized planning. The Central government of Nyerere originated all the policies and handed down to the villages.
- Socialism featured patriotism among the people of Tanzania- a virtue intended to have deep love for the nation and work towards its development.
- The policy of socialism featured the introduction of a national language Kiswahili, this forged unity and eased communication.
- The policy encouraged social justice and welfare, ie education and medical facilities in the villages.
- Socialism encouraged hard work among the Tanzanians as also people had a responsibility to work for the nation.
- The policy put more emphasis on agriculture with the intention to have adequate food to mitigate famine.
- It featured the development of small scale industries. These were majorly set up on the established farms to add value.
- Socialism emphasized self-reliance and reduce the negative effects of external borrowing associated with negative evils.
- Grass root democracy was reflected in the socialism of Tanzania. These were in form of village councils in line with the Central government requirements.
- The policy of socialism laid more emphasis on lower education, ie universal primary education.
- The policy emphasized the national defense of Tanzania through the creation of an army, ie Tanzania Peoples Defense Forces (TPDF).
- Socialism emphasized unity through the removal of classes in society which ensured consolidated development.

ACHIEVEMENTS / SUCCESSES / STRENGTHS OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA (UJAAMA / ARUSHA DECLARATION

POLITICAL

1. The policy led to the establishment of a strong national army, ie the Tanzanian Peoples' Defense Force (TPDF). This promoted order and stability in Tanzania.
2. African socialism encouraged national unity and brotherhood among the people of Tanzania. This was attributed to the collective effort of the nationals.
3. The policy gave Tanzanians a leadership code that shaped a people centred leadership. This was because of the creation of village councils and people were potential leaders of CCM.
4. Socialism in Tanzania promoted democracy of grass roots where the masses in the Ujaama villages could vote their own leaders.
5. The Ujaama policy encouraged nationalism and a spirit of patriotism among the Tanzanians. Julius Nyerere tried to instill a spirit of love for the country.
6. Socialism attempted to reduce on the levels of corruption and embezzlement in public institutions. This was through putting in place stringent measures against corruption.

ECONOMIC

7. The policy encouraged hard work in the initial stages. This tried to alleviate laziness among the Tanzanians.
8. It increased agricultural production like the maize boom of 1978. This went a long way in creating food security and increased revenue for Tanzania.
9. The policy led to the establishment of physical infrastructure like feeder roads in the Ujamaa villages. These eased marketing of agricultural products.
10. The Ujamaa policy introduced a progressive taxation system in Tanzania. This is where the high income earners were more taxed than the low income earners hence reducing conflicts in society.
11. The policy promoted tourism where foreigners (tourists) frequented Tanzania to witness an African system that challenges western capitalism.
12. Socialism led to the nationalization of the major means of production like land. Land was redistributed to the masses especially in the Ujamaa villages which encouraged higher productivity.
13. Industrialization was promoted in Tanzania. There were small scale processing and cottage industries which provided employment to Tanzania to reduce poverty levels.
14. The policy promoted self-reliance in Tanzania between 1967 and 1969. This helped to check neo-colonialism and the likely manifestations.

SOCIAL

15. The Ujamaa policy led to the emergence of urban centres. The Ujamaa villages turned into functional urbanization hence leading to provision of better social amenities.

16. The policy led to the provision of better social services like piped water, improved health services and education. This improved on the standard of living.
17. Socialism in Tanzania encouraged literacy through the provision of universal primary education and adult literacy campaigns. This literacy mainly emphasized agricultural education.
18. Ujamaa encouraged equal opportunities for all in order to reduce the gap between the “haves” and “have nots”. This limited the civil servants to one job to create room for other citizens.
19. Socialism led to the forging / creation of Kiswahili as a national language. This eased communication, promoted trade and consolidated unity in Tanzania.
20. Co-operative societies were created in Tanzania. This compelled the rural farmers to come together for resource mobilization hence increasing output.
21. The policy promoted African culture among the Ujamaa villages. This was because of the settlement of the people together and sharing ideas based on African structural set up.

SHORT COMINGS / FAILURES / WEAKNESSES OF UJAMAA

1. Ujamaa promoted single party democracy in Tanzania through Chama ChamaPenduzi (CCM). This groomed dictatorship in Tanzania and undermined the objectives of African socialism.
2. The policy failed to promote self- reliance in Tanzania. This is evidenced when Nyerere from 1971 began encouraging foreign investment in Tanzania.
3. The policy promoted economic backwardness in Tanzania. This was attributed to the unfriendly policies that the masses did not get involved in.
4. The Ujamaa policy failed to give Tanzania an independent and sustainable political system it desired. It therefore collapsed in 1985 with the demise of Nyerere from the political scene.
5. The policy did not have appeal from the majority Tanzanians. The policy was imposed on the citizens without due consultation, hence a weakness.
6. The Ujamaa policy was composed of forceful villagisation and this promoted the destruction of property.
7. The policy promoted rural-urban migration in Tanzania and its negative associated evils. The Youths who opposed the policy abandoned the Ujamaa villages in search for a better life in towns. This affected the agrarian systems that manifested famine.
8. The nationalization of land led to loss of security over land. This affected the citizens and undermined peace and increased resistance in Tanzania.

9. The system promoted some traces of capitalism, ie private ownership of property. This widened the gap between the “Haves” and “Have nots” in society and it undermined the equality in society.
10. The Ujamaa villages promoted congestion with all the associated problems like inadequate provision of social services, uncalled for diseases like Cholera and Typhoid.
11. The principle of Communism undermined the initiative to work. It therefore promoted laziness among people and the spirit of hard work was undermined.
12. The system was dominated by corruption and embezzlement of government funds. The officials of the policy became inefficient and accepted bribes and this was common among the CCM members.
13. The Ujamaa policy ignored higher education in Tanzania. Elementary education was emphasized with lower primary being favored, man power gap became so high and opened neo-colonial experts.
14. Socialism promoted neo-colonialism in Tanzania. This was attributed to excessive borrowing from the capitalist world and other foreign investors from 1975. This undermined the aims of Ujamaa.
15. The levels of industrialization remained very low in Tanzania attributed to Ujamaa policy. The policy promoted small scale and processing industries. Tanzania largely depended on the importation of manufactured goods that reduced the foreign exchange.
16. The policy promoted environmental deforestation in Tanzania. This is because large tracts of forests were cut in order to create land for agriculture and settlement. The rainfall totals reduced and climatic imbalance was witnessed.
17. The Ujamaa policy was very expensive to be sustained in Tanzania. This compelled the government of Julius Nyerere to borrow funds from International financial institutions hence making Tanzania become indebted.

REFERENCE QUESTIONS

1. Account for the adoption of the one- party system of government in Tanzania after independence. (2013).
2. Examine the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the history of Tanzania up to 1985 (2012).
3. To what extent was the “Ujamaa” policy in Tanzania successful? (2010).
4. Assess the impact of the 1967 Arusha Declaration to the people of Tanzania (2009).
5. Account for the adoption of African socialism in Tanzania after 1967 (2008).
6. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania (2000).
7. Examine / assess the achievements of the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania between 1967 – 1985.

Examine the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the history of Tanzania up to 1985.

- **Give the role / positive role of Nyerere.**
- **Give failures.**
- **Stand point.**

Nyerere was the first president of the Republic of Tanzania and led the country in 1961 to 1985.

ROLES

POLITICAL

1. Transformed Tanganyika African Association (TAA) in 1954.
2. Led Tanganyika to independence in 1961.
3. Promoted multi-racial unity between, ie Arabs and Africans.
4. Spearheaded the merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964.
5. Promoted socialism in Tanzania under the 1967 Arusha Declaration.
6. Created a People's army, ie TPDF in Tanzania.
7. Promoted mass nationalism / patriotism in Tanzania.
8. Promoted territorial sovereignty of Tanzania, ie defended the boundaries of Tanzania especially the Amin's time in Uganda.
9. Provided exemplary leadership to the people of Tanzania.
10. Maintained political stability in Tanzania.
11. Promoted egalitarianism / equality in Tanzania.

ECONOMIC ROLES / CONTRIBUTION

- Promoted agricultural modernization in Tanzania.
- Nationalized the major means of production, ie land.
- Created the Ujaama villages that promoted / boosted production.
- Created co-operative movements which eased the marketing of agricultural products.
- Promoted small scale industries, ie processing of agricultural products.
- Changed the attitude of people towards work.
- Led to infrastructural developments eg roads.
- Emphasized rural development through the Ujamaa village.
- Promoted income equality which reduced conflicts.
- Promoted self-reliance in Tanzania in the initial years of independence to reduce effects of neo-colonialism.
- Re-distributed land in Tanzania.

SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION

- Created a national language – Kiswahili which consolidated unity and trade.
- Promoted education through elementary structure of lower primary.
- Provided health services through the setting up of hospitals and other health centres.
- Provided clean water in Tanzania.
- Re-designed the education system to suit the needs of the people.

NEGATIVE CONTRIBUTION / WEAKNESSES

POLITICAL

- ❖ Promoted dictatorship through one party system, ie CCM.
- ❖ Corruption persisted.
- ❖ Failed to fight Neo- colonialism.
- ❖ Socialism failed in Tanzania.
- ❖ Conflicted with neighboring states, ie Uganda.

ECONOMIC

- ❖ Failed to increase agricultural production, ie famine struck the country in the 1970's.
- ❖ Made Tanzania to register shortage of foreign exchange due to limited exports.
- ❖ The policy of self-reliance failed under Nyerere.
- ❖ There was low industrial development or output due to the small scale industries.
- ❖ Communal farming failed.
- ❖ Nyerere mismanaged the state enterprises.
- ❖ Income inequality persisted.
- ❖ Failed to fully handle the unemployment problem.
- ❖ Farmers associations offered low prices for the produce.
- ❖ Nyerere accumulated foreign debts for Tanzania.

SOCIAL

- ❖ Wide spread poverty persisted.
- ❖ Diluted the education system.
- ❖ Detribalized Tanzania and they lost touch with their relatives.
- ❖ The Uganda villages he created led to overcrowding with associated problems.

1. Assess the contribution of African socialism to the development of Tanzania between 1967 and 1985.
2. Examine the impact of the 1967 Arusha declaration in the modernization of Tanzania.
3. To what extent did the Ujaama policy contribute to nation building in Tanzania?

Preamble

- Viable introduction
- Role of African socialism, ie political, social, and economic.
- Other factors.
- Conclude.

African socialism in Tanzania was adopted through the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and implemented through the Ujamaa scheme.

OTHER FACTORS

- Colonial legacy, ie Western policies introduced by the Germans and the colonial developments by the British.
- Good and focused leadership eg Nyerere and his successors.
- Geographical location of Tanzania, ie at the Eastern Coastline of Africa with harbors like Dar-es-salaam.
- Early contact with the people of the middle East eg Seyyid's rule at the coast eg the introduction of cloves.
- The role of Kiswahili which promoted unity and patriotism.
- Membership to the EAC and SADC.
- The sparse population of Tanzania.
- The role of the Tanzam railway.
- Communist support especially from China that aided the modernization of the harbor at Dar-es-Salaam's railway.
- Tanzanian membership to the OAU/AU eg the headquarters of the liberation committee.
- Lack of a strong dominating ethnic group thus leading to national unity and development.
- Existence of mineral resources eg Diamond at Mwadui.
- Existence of foreign investments, ie multi-national companies to increase revenue and job creation.

THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The OAU was a continental African body that was founded on 25th May 1963 at a conference in Addis Ababa by 32 independent African states.

It reconciled the Casablanca and Monrovia ideological groupings to have a common union charter.

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF OAU

- To promote African unity and solidarity.
- To defend the sovereignty of states and integrity
- To eradicate all forms of colonialism in Africa.
- To promote international co-operation.
- To promote regional economic integration.
- To coordinate and intensify cooperation of African states.
- To respect human rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human rights of 1948.

ACHIEVEMENTS / SUCCESSES OF OAU

These include;

1. The OAU achieved continental unity. This was exhibited by the one voice spoken by the member states during the summits and conventions.
2. Promoted international cooperation. This was due to the good relations between the United Nations and the European Economic Community, ie, the current European Union. This increased joint and global problem solving.
3. OAU contributed to the eradication of colonialism in Africa. This was through the Liberation Committee in Tanzania. The Committee mobilized and extended support to the Mobilization Liberation Front (FRELIMO), ANC, SWAPO which aided countries to get independence.
4. The OAU tried to solve interstate conflicts in Africa. This was through the mediation and reconciliation Commission to alleviate misunderstandings eg Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden province 1976 – 1977, Congo and Uganda, Morocco and Algeria etc.
5. Managed to expand membership from 32 in 1963 to include almost the entire continent. This was a remarkable achievement and it reprimanded states which acted contrary to the objectives such as Morocco.
6. Succeeded in condemning secessionism and balkanization of the African continent. These included the Katanga secession (1960 – 1963), Biafra in Nigeria (1967 – 1970). This consolidated the independence of African states.

7. Promoted regional economic integrations in Africa. These included the setting up of EAC in 1967, Economic Community of West African states in 1975, COMESA in 1993 and SADC in 1979.
8. Tried to settle the refugee problem in Africa. This was done through the Commission for refugees established in 1965. African states tried to settle (IDPs) in camps in conjunction with UNHCR. The OAU also set up a general fund to extend assistance, ie food, medicine and shelter.
9. Revived and preserved African culture. This was achieved through organizing African cultural festivals like in Nigeria in 1973, and others held in Egypt. The organization also encouraged games and sports through the All African games hosted in South Africa.
10. Promoted democratic governance and democracy in Africa. This was done through castigating the occurrence of coups during its tenure eg the 1965 coups in Algeria and Congo, 1971 in Uganda etc. Leaders who proved to be dictators were encouraged to institute elections and respect the rights of masses; (Nigeria under Sani Abacha, Boukassa and Mariam Mengitsu).
11. The OAU established the African Development Bank in Abidjan in Ivory Coast. This extended development loans to African states and gave the lowest interest rates in order to prevent borrowing from the Western Banks.
12. Promoted scientific research in Africa. This was through the Science and Technological Commission of OAU. The African Medical Research Fund (AMREF) worked with International organizations to eradicate diseases and encourage the use of local herbs, control diseases eg East Coast Fever, Locusts in Central Africa etc.
13. Condemned civil wars on the African continent. The OAU also tried to physically intervene in the ending of civil wars eg the 1965 – 1982 Chadi war, the OAU tried to lay strategies by condemning African countries involved and called for peace.
14. The body condemned the continuous assassination of African leaders. This had become prevalent like Sankara of Burkina Faso, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Laurent Kabila of Congo, among others.
15. The OAU called upon members to adopt or embrace the idea of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The policy emphasized neutrality during cold war politics of Super powers. Member countries were discouraged from allowing USA or USSR to set up military bases.

16. The body ensured a harmonious relationship between the Arab North and the Sub-Saharan African composed of the Blacks. This increased African benefits from the Arab League with Headquarters in Cairo. Algeria was more Pan-African than any other. (OPEC).
17. The body existed for a long period of time from 1963 – 2002. This was a remarkable achievement as it celebrated many anniversaries amidst many continental and global challenges.

FAILURES / WEAKNESSES OF OAU

1. Failed to establish a continental armed force (high command). This made it too weak to check wars and rebel activities and observing total peace at the continent remained a dream.
2. Failed to have an African parliament where continental challenges could be addressed.
3. Failed to achieve the desired United States of Africa due to intrigue and squabbles among the member states.
4. Failed to ensure complete and total decolonization of the continent. This is evident with the Western Sahara under the influence of Morocco.
5. Failed to end military coups on the continent eg 1971 and 1985 in Uganda, 1966 July and January in Nigeria, 1966 in Ghana, 1980 Liberian coup among others.
6. Failed to end the interstate conflicts eg Uganda and Tanzania, ie Amin's regime, Nigeria and Cameroon border conflicts.
7. Failed to enforce the idea of NAM and Neo-Colonialism became prevalent. This was because of the dire need for development aid and 1970 – 2002, African countries received 294 Billion Dollars. This made countries to struggle in servicing the loans.
8. Failed to do away with the dictators on the continent eg Boukassa of CAR, Amin in Uganda, Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Sani Abacha in Nigeria. This increased neo-colonialism to entrench in power, but OAU maintained the Principle of non-interference.
9. Failed to get a permanent remedy to refugee crisis. This was due to the rampant wars not addressed that made Africans migrate across the continent eg. Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Congo and Burundi. This increased suffering.
10. The OAU failed to enforce the subscription of the financial obligations. This hindered OAU to finance its set budget on the continent.
11. Failed to wipe out poverty on the continent. Africans were ranked the first in poverty in the world, majority live below one dollar a day, diseased and ignorant. The income per capita of Africa was very low.
12. Abuse of human rights remained a big challenge. These were eminent during dictatorial regimes of Amin in Uganda, Mobutu of Zaire etc, which tarnished the African continent.

13. Failed to wipe out famine. People go without meals.
14. Africa dominated by poor infrastructure, ie the Trans-Africa high way from Mombasa to Lagos failed. Slums are very common in Africa due to poverty.
15. Failed to eliminate civil wars and interstate wrangles eg Chadi, Mozambique (1977 – 1994), Sudan, Angola etc.

CHALLENGES / OBRACLES / PROBLEMS TO OAU

1. Lack of a common continental language made it difficult for the OAU to promote meaningful co-operation.
2. The frequent occurrence of military coups which undermined the work of the OAU in promoting democracy.
3. The presence of dictators in Africa like Mobutu in Congo, Bokassa of CAR, Mengitsu in Ethiopia, Amin in Uganda and Mugabe in Zimbabwe.
4. The OAU was greatly overwhelmed by the growing number of refugees. This presented a burden to the host member countries by sharing the scarce resources.
5. Poorly developed infrastructure between the member states. This limited trade and economic cooperation among the member states.
6. Interstate conflicts became a major challenge, ie Uganda vs Tanzania during Amin's era, Ethiopia and Somalia over Ogaden, Nigeria vs Cameroon.
7. The presence of neo-colonialism hence making African states to attain total decolonization.
8. The oil crisis of 1973 – 1974 drastically affected the effective operation of OAU, ie made countries to adopt unfair strategies (affected regional economic integration).
9. The failure of the member states of OAU to meet their subscriptions made the work very hard.
10. The frequent outbreak of civil wars in Africa, ie Chad, Congo, Nigeria, Angola, Somalia and Sudan.
11. General illiteracy among the masses of the OAU member states. This undermined the effort of fighting poverty, disease and ignorance.
12. Lack of an international peace keeping force of its own/army/high command. This made it impossible to intervene to solve the civil wars and other conflicts of the states.
13. Assassination of prominent African leaders like Samora Machel in 1986, Anwar Sadat in 1981, Amilcar Cabral in 1973, Chris Hani in 1993 etc.
14. Ideological differences during the cold war era. This made countries to adopt capitalism like Kenya and Tanzania communism. This affected uniformity in problem solving.
15. The geographical vastness (size) of the continent. The size of about 12 million square miles hindered the effectiveness in promoting political unity and trade in Africa.
16. The heterogeneous nature of the continent was a major obstacle. Very many races, tribes, cultural and ethnic differences. This made unity of purpose very hard.

17. The rampant outbreak of natural calamities like famine, floods and other epidemics. This compelled the UN and other organizations to take up the mantle of disaster management.
18. Colonial legacy was another obstacle to the OAU. Some African states continued to identify with the former colonial masters eg Anglophone and Francophone. This undermined decisions of African states.

Sample questions

1. Account for the formation of OAU in 1963.
2. To what extent did the OAU achieve the objectives of its founders?
3. Assess the achievements of the OAU between 1963 and 2002.
4. How successful was the organization of African unity in achieving the objectives of the founders?
5. Account for the failure of the OAU to fulfill the objectives of the founders.
6. Explain the problems / challenges of the OAU between 1963 and 2002.

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

The Egyptian revolution / coup was organized between 22nd and 23rd July 1952 by the Free Officers' Movement (F.O.M). The leaders included Abdel Gamel Nasser, Anwar Sadat and Nguib Muhammed against the despotic regime of King Farouk.

CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

The causes were political, social and economic in nature.

ECONOMIC CAUSES

1. The extravagancy of King Farouk contributed to the outbreak of 1952 revolution. The king spent a lot of tax payers' money to meet his luxurious life; he constructed mansions for women in Cairo and Alexandria. He was ever on foreign trips to European countries leading to his unpopularity by 1952.
2. King Farouk and his government was very corrupt. The king and the Wafdist party leaders were very corrupt and composed of the privileged class in Egypt. These withdrew money from the National treasury and made lavish spending. This accelerated financial bankruptcy in the country leading to the revolution.
3. Failure of King Farouk to industrialize Egypt led to the coup of 1952. The Egyptian society remained largely backward. There were very few industries established and the

country largely depended on imported goods. This resulted into unemployment, low revenue, hence the revolution.

4. Land alienation / conflicts partly caused the revolution. The largest percentage of land amounting to 87% had been grabbed by the Wafdist party and foreigners from France. This made the people (peasants) to lack agricultural land and become victims of food insecurity.
5. High levels of poverty among the Egyptians caused the revolution. This was attributed to the low levels of industrialization that made the peasants to live below the poverty line. Majority of the peasants could not afford a meal a day, pay fees for their children and access medical care hence creating a revolutionary mood.
6. Over taxation imposed on the Egyptians led to the revolution. King Farouk and his government imposed retrogressive taxes in Egypt intended to compel the poor people to work hard. However, the royal family, the Wafdist party were exempted. This made the army officers to organize a revolution in order to institute taxation reforms.
7. Massive unemployment in Egypt led to the collapse of Egyptian monarchy. The levels of unemployment had been created by the neglect of the industrial sector. Also, the Egyptians were not performing well in the agricultural sector in drought conditions given the semi-arid nature of Egypt; therefore F.O.M organized a coup against the Egyptian government.
8. High rates of inflation also caused the Egyptian revolution. The Egyptian economy was characterized by imported goods from countries experiencing inflation, hence imported inflation. High levels of corruption and extravagancy, persisted increase in prices of goods all contributed to inflation hence creating lack of trust in the government of King Farouk.
9. The continued occupation of the Suez Canal zone by foreigners led to the outbreak of the revolution. The Suez Canal was an international water way and it was used for lucrative (portable) trade between Africa and middle East. However, the taxes were collected by Britain, France and shared with the government of King Farouk. The army officers wanted to stop the economic imperialism hence a revolution.

SOCIAL CAUSES

10. The poor health conditions of the Egyptians led to the outbreak of the revolution. King Farouk failed to manage the public health; there were very few hospitals amidst very few

trained medical workers. The people of Egypt died of treatable diseases like Trachoma, Bilharzia, Dysentery, and this undermined the government of King Farouk which reduced people's life expectancy.

11. The neglect of the education system by King Farouk also caused the revolution. Egypt was characterised by high levels of illiteracy. The country had very few schools, education was very expensive and therefore the peasants would not educate their children. This made the public to get fed up with the government of King Farouk by 1952.
12. The gender inequality in Egypt caused the revolution. There were high levels of women discrimination. Women were not allowed to join politics and civil service yet they represented the highest percentage of the population. This led to wide spread discontent in society which undermined the government of King Farouk.
13. Nepotism and favoritism practiced by King Farouk led to the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy. The government of King Farouk reserved all lucrative jobs for the members of the royal family and the cabinet ministers. It is on record that Gen. Mohammad Neguib was dropped as an army commander in favour of King Farouk's cousin hence this compelled the F.O.M to organize a coup.
14. Classification in Egypt caused the revolution. King Farouk divided the Egyptian society into three classes, ie royal family at the top, foreigners, ie Turks and Britain in the second class, the business men and peasants at the bottom. This inspired Gamel Nasser and the colleagues to over throw the government.
15. The influence of the moslem brotherhood led to the downfall of King Farouk. This movement was formed by Hassan –as- Banna. He advocated for Islamic theocracy and therefore he won the support of Egyptian s leading to the collapse of King Farouk's regime.
16. Outbreak of famine caused the 1952 Egyptian revolution. This was attributed to land grabbing that left the peasants landless and Egypt experienced food shortages. The government of King Farouk attempted to import food which was highly expensive to the ordinary people, hence creating a revolutionary situation in 1952.

POLITICAL CAUSES

17. Dictatorship of King Farouk led to the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy. He led without a constitution and imposed policies on the people. He was intolerant to the members of the opposition, banned political parties which led to the collapse of the government.
18. The impact of the Palestinian war of 1947-48 led to the outbreak of the revolution. The war was between Palestine and Israel and the government of Egypt contributed an army of defense to help the people of Palestine. The army was ill equipped, used outdated weapons hence its poor performance. Therefore, the F.O.M organized a coup to discipline the government of King Farouk.
19. Egypt's failure to be active in the Arab politics led to the outbreak of the revolution. Egypt was not highly sounding in matters of the Arab League and therefore the army decided to overthrow King Farouk and make Egypt become influential in the Arab affairs.
20. The political ambitions of Gamel Nasser contributed to the outbreak of the revolution. Nasser was prompted to take over power right from childhood in secondary school. Nasser also wrote articles criticizing the government of Farouk, "The Egyptian government is dominated by corruption, Who will change it?", "Where is dignity?", "Where is Nationalism?", "Where is one that can call the activity of the youth?" this led to demonstrations which undermined the government of King Farouk.
21. Influence of World War II led to the downfall of King Farouk. This war produced a class of ex-servicemen who had military skills, the war also made Egypt to become bankrupt as King Farouk supported the British financially. The war led to inflation and poverty among Egyptians. All these contributed to the toppling of King Farouk's government.
22. Neglect of the Egyptian army by King Farouk led to the revolution. The army didn't have the required logistics in form of uniforms and army boots. The army was poorly paid, poorly accommodated and no meetings were organized to diagnose the challenges. This compelled the army officers to overthrow the government of King Farouk.
23. Foreign domination in Egypt caused the revolution. It should be noted that Egypt was granted independence in 1922. However, this remained on paper. Egypt was dominated by the British, French and the Turks who controlled the resources, eg the Suez Canal zone, therefore the army officers organized a coup.

QUESTIONS

1. Examine the causes of the 1952 Egyptian revolution. (Political, Social, and Economic)

2. To what extent was King Farouk responsible for his downfall in 1952?
3. “The collapse of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952 was inevitable.” Discuss. (Causes of the revolution).
4. “The political factors made the outbreak of the Egyptian revolution inevitable”. Discuss.

THE IMPACT OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

The effects of the revolution on the people of Egypt were political, social and economic in nature.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

1. The status of women was improved in Egypt. These were employed as teachers, factory workers, accountants to earn money. The killing of girls in Egypt was banned. Women became cabinet ministers in the government of Gamel Nasser and many acquired university education.
2. Nasser introduced health reforms. This was accompanied by free medical services, the number of doctors and nurses increased hospitals, clinics and dispensaries were set up and this increased the life expectancy of the Nationals.
3. Improved on the education sector. This was done by establishment of primary, secondary and universities. Nasser banned the moslem and non moslem courts in Egypt. All cases were referred to the secular government court in an attempt to unite administration and promote justice.
4. Nasser also fought poverty by encouraging family planning. Large families were not encouraged and Egyptians were limited to three children and other children were to be taxed hence promoting the welfare.
5. Nasser encouraged the establishment of low cost houses in Egypt. The revolutionary government set up houses in Cairo, Alexandria, in order to cater for their standards of living.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

6. The Egyptian revolution led to the formation of state controlled co-operatives. These were intended to provide modern agricultural services, cheap transport, fertilizers and machinery, hence leading to agricultural modernization.
7. There was improvement in the taxation system in Egypt. The revolutionary government introduced the progressive taxation system where the Egyptians were taxed according to their income. This was contrary to the retrogressive taxes imposed on the poor people.
8. Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This had been occupied by the British, the French and the Israelites hence creating employment opportunities, leading to increased revenue and making Egypt get full independence.
9. The revolution led to the setting up of industries in Egypt. The government of Gamel-Nasser came up with a five year development plan of 1960 – 1965 leading to the establishment of manufacturing industries like steel products, tractors, fertilizers in Cairo, and Alexandria.
10. The government of Nasser promoted the tourism sector in Egypt. This targeted the Middle East, European countries using the Suez Canal zone as the short cut.
11. The government of Gamel-Nasser carried out land reclamation in Egypt. This was done through irrigation process in the desert areas of the Western parts of Egypt, ie Al-Qatara.
12. The government of Gamel-Nasser carried out land reforms in Egypt. The land which had been grabbed from the Fellaheens (Peasants) by the royal family and the Wafdist party was re-distributed among the peasants, hence reducing the land pressure.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

13. The revolution led to the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy. The government of King Farouk was defeated on the 26th of July 1952 and was forced to abdicate his throne and went to exile in Europe. This led to the establishment of the Republican government in Egypt.
14. The Free- officers' movement established a revolutionary command council in Egypt. This was the executive arm of the government under Nguib from 1952 – 1954 which was removed by Gamel Nasser.
15. Gamel Nasser drafted a democratic constitution in 1956. This led to the establishment of parliamentary democracy regulating the freedoms of the people.

16. Gamel Nasser promoted Arab unity in Egypt and abroad. Nasser made Egypt to join the union of the Magreb region, ie Tunisia and Algeria hence consolidating close allies.
17. Nasser fought against the corrupt leaders in Egypt. It is true that the government of King Farouk was dominated by rampant corruption. However, Nasser arrested and tried the corrupt people though many were pardoned to promote reconciliation.
18. The political prisoners were freed by the government of Gamel Nasser and this promoted justice and equality in the society.
19. The revolutionary government led to the establishment of a strong army in Egypt. The army was fully trained equipped using the appropriate weapons in the Soviet Union (USSR).

NEGATIVE IMPACTS

20. The government was dominated by inflation. This was attributed to the increased development projects which undermined the value of national currency and led to increase in the prices of essential goods.
21. The government was dominated by financial bankruptcy. This was due to increased external borrowing that made Egypt to be highly indebted to USA and Britain.
22. There was massive loss of lives and property due to Egypt's involvement in numerous wars eg the Suez Canal crisis of 1956, 6 days war of 1967 between Egypt and Israel.
23. Unemployment persisted in Egypt due to failure to create more jobs to match with the increasing population.
24. Egypt experienced unfavorable balance of payments. This was attributed to the poor progress in the export trade and high expenditure on imported goods.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

25. The government failed to reduce poverty among the people of Egypt. This therefore made the social, economic welfare of the people to remain low.

26. The government of Nasser failed to achieve total food security in the country. This made the country to resort to the purchase of American wheat and meat, imported rice to sustain the population.
27. Women emancipation was not fully achieved. Very few women were absorbed in the political circle; there were pockets of women segregation in Egypt.
28. The government ban on the Moslem brotherhood in Egypt intensified the terrorist activities in the country.
29. The education system in Egypt led to overcrowding in classes due to the free education provided to the children. This watered down the quality of education.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

30. The revolution paved way for the dictatorial and authoritative regime of Gamel Nasser.
31. Political activity among the civilians was suppressed and this led to the suffocation of people's rights and freedom.
32. The aggressive foreign policies of Gamel Nasser made Egypt to get more enemies eg Israel and this resulted into numerous wars between Egypt and Israel in Gaza province.
33. Nasser's socialist party failed by 1970 when he began cooperating with the capitalist bloc.

QUESTIONS:

1. Examine the consequences of the 1952 Egyptian revolution.
2. Assess the impact of the Egyptian revolution on Egypt.
3. How successful was Gamel Nasser's domestic policy?
4. Assess the achievements of Gamel Nasser in Egypt between 1954 – 1970

THE IMPACT / ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION TO THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

To what extent did the Egyptian Revolution influence the growth of African nationalism?

The Egyptian revolution took place in 1952, organized by the free officers movement led by Gamel Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat against the puppet regime of King Farouk.

To a greater extent, the Egyptian revolution contributed to the growth of African nationalism in the following ways;

1. The revolution led to the establishment of Radio Cairo. The radio was used to spread anti-colonial propaganda in Africa. This was used by the Mau-Mau fighters in Kenya to run a Kiswahili program against the British.
2. The Egyptian revolution served as an eye opener to dictatorial regime in Africa. It began with the destruction of the Egyptian monarchy and it spread across the continent targeting colonial masters.
3. The Egyptian revolution under Gamel Nasser extended the education scholarships to African students. This helped African nationalists from other countries to enroll in Egyptian universities. This in turn helped to fill up the man power gaps in Africa after the departure of colonialists.
4. The Egyptian revolution militarized African struggles for independence. Egypt under Gamel Nasser gave military and financial assistance to African countries like Kenya under the Mau-Mau, Algeria under Ben Bella leading to African independence.
5. Gamel allowed the nationalists to establish military external bases in Cairo. This included the FLN in Algeria formed in 1954. Gadafi had F.U.O training in Egypt.
6. The Egyptian revolution gave political asylum/protection to African nationalists. These included Ignatius Kangave Musaazi from Uganda, Patrice Lumumba from Congo. This helped their countries to destroy the colonial powers using Egypt as a coordinating centre.
7. Egypt under Gamel Nasser changed the attitude of the Arab North. It is historically true that Arabs had been associated with slave trade and therefore the countries south of the Sahara looked at Arabs as enemies. Therefore, Gamel Nasser united the African continent for the sake of independence.

8. Gamel Nasser of Egypt contributed to the formation of OAU in 1963. This was a result of the reconciliation of the Monrovia and Casablanca grouping in Addis Ababa. The OAU gave financial and military support to African countries.
9. The Egyptian revolution under Gamel Nasser encouraged the revival of African cultural values. This was done through encouraging African countries to practice local languages like Arabic, Kiswahili, Hausa etc, which brought unity among the people.
10. Gamel Nasser of Egypt encouraged African countries to nationalize foreign property. This began with the nationalization of the Suez Canal in Egypt 1956 that chased the British from the country. Other countries were encouraged to do the same for example Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Idi Amin Dada of Uganda and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.
11. Gamel Nasser of Egypt encouraged socialist policies. Socialist countries particularly USSR gave Nasser military and financial support to solve its external problems after the removal of IMF / W.B loan. Therefore, Nasser encouraged other countries to solicit support from the socialist countries, eg Mozambique, Angola, and Algeria.
12. Gamel Nasser under Egypt influenced African countries to adopt Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Nasser was part of the Bandung conference organized in 1955 that advocated for independent African ideologies, promoted Afro-Asian solidarity that made Asian countries to support Africans to get independence.
13. Revolutionary Egypt helped to destroy the British and French empires. It is on record that Gamel Nasser gave the Algerians support in 1954 making them get independence in 1962 leading to the rise of African Nationalism.

GAMEL NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICY (1954 – 1970)

Gamel was one of the free Officers Movement that overthrew the puppet regime of King Farouk in 1952. He was first the prime minister of Egypt and later became president in 1954 after the overthrow of Muhammad Neguib.

AIMS OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- ✓ To achieve total decolonization of the African continent.
- ✓ To destroy the state of Israel.
- ✓ To promote pan-Arabism
- ✓ To dominate world affairs.

SUCSESSES OF NASSER’S FOREIGN POLICIES

- ❖ Nasser successfully sent expatriates to African countries to help fill the man power gap after the departure of colonial masters. These expatriates included teachers, engineers, and doctors, for example in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.
- ❖ Nasser promoted the use of African languages on the continent. This included Kiswahili, Arabic, Amhara, Hausa among others hence easing communication.
- ❖ Nasser succeeded in destabilizing the state of Israel. This was done through sponsoring the fierce fadeyeen commandos who destroyed the state of Televiv and bombarded areas in the country.
- ❖ Nasser succeeded in providing scholarships to African students. The African nationalists from Algeria, Congo Zaire and other Arab states were allowed to study from Egyptian universities i.e. Cairo and Alexandria. This helped to create a class of elites to destroy the colonial bondage in Africa.
- ❖ Gamel Nasser provided propaganda support to African nationalists. Nasser gave moral, military and financial support to FLN of Algeria, the mau mau of Kenya leading to independence.
- ❖ Nasser influenced the over flow of pro – western leaders in Africa and Middle East. This included the over throw of King Idris of Libya by Muammar Gaddafi, the prime minister of Iraq.
- ❖ Gamel Nasser gave moral and diplomatic support to Tunisia and Morocco against the French rule which led to the twin independence of these countries in 1956.
- ❖ Nasser fully supported and promoted Pan Arabism. It is on record that Nasser made Egypt to be the headquarters of the Arab League and proceeded to establish the United Arab Republic i.e. Egypt and Syria in 1958.
- ❖ Gamel Nasser was one of the founder members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. This was done through the reconciliation of the Casablanca and Monrovia groupings leading to the total unity of Africans.
- ❖ Nasser succeeded in promoting the Non – Aligned Movement (NAM) adopted in 1955 in Bandung. This was a conference organized by the Asian leaders i.e. Nehru of India and Surkano of Indonesia. The policy promoted positive neutrality in Africa and Afro – Asian Solidarity.

- ❖ Nasser promoted research in the African past. He encouraged the writing and the reconstruction of African history leading to the promotion of African cultural values.
- ❖ Nasser bridged the gap between the Arab North and Negro Africans. This changed the attitude of the blacks towards the Arabs hence a success.

FAILURES OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- Nasser promoted conflicts among Arab states and these included Morocco and Algeria. In this conflict, Nasser sided with Algeria leading to political instabilities in North Africa.
- Nasser frustrated the formation of the United States of Africa (USA). This had been proposed by Kwame Nkrumah to bring the continent together under one leadership.
- Nasser failed to maintain the United Arab Republic with Syria. Syria seceded and broke away in 1961 due to Nasser's foreign policies.
- Nasser failed to maintain and stick to the policy of Non – Aligned Movement adopted in 1955. The policy demanded that African countries Egypt inclusive do not follow socialism and capitalism however, Nasser got financial aid from USSR and Czechoslovakia to construct the Aswan High dam.
- Nasser lost many provinces of Egypt to other countries. These included the West bank of Jordan, the Goran heights, the eastern parts of Suez Canal, the Sinai province during six days war of 1969 with Israel.
- Gamel Nasser promoted political instabilities in Yemen and some parts of Saudi Arabia hence undermining the principles of Pan Arabism.

Reference Questions

1. How successful was Gamel Abdel Nasser's foreign policy between 1954 and 1970?
2. To what extent was Gamel Nasser's foreign policy successful between 1954 and 1970?

Approach

- A brief background of Gamel Nasser
- State the aims of the foreign policies

- A clear stand point
- Successes verses failures

THE NATIONALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL JULY 1956.

The Nationalization of the Suez Canal referred to the transfer of the ownership, control, management and financing of the Suez Canal into the hands of the Egyptian government. It took place in July 1956.

REASONS FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL

- The failure of the British to respect the 1936 Anglo – Egyptian agreement. It should be recalled that the British entered an agreement to construct the canal and upon completion, the British were to take 40% and Egyptian economy was to take 60% however, this was not respected hence the nationalization.
- The strong anti – colonial feelings of Nasser contributed to the nationalization of the canal. This is evidenced when Nasser gave military and financial support to the Africans in Kenya against British and the FLN of Algeria against French.
- Nasser’s recognition of the Bandung conference contributed to the nationalization of the canal. The conference emphasized positive neutrality of Africans against colonial masters i.e. capitalism which was being preached by the British hence the nationalization policy.
- The need to provide employment opportunities and generation of revenue compelled Nasser to nationalize the canal. Nasser reasoned that the expulsion of the British workers would create employment opportunities to the Egyptians, Egypt would be able to across the canal leading to nationalization.
- Nasser’s arms deals with Czechoslovakia contributed to the nationalization policy. Czech Republic supported the policy of communism which had been embraced by Nasser which contradicted with capitalism. This inevitably caused the nationalization policy.
- The withdrawal of the offer of the financial assistance for the construction of the Aswan High Dam made nationalization inevitable. Egypt under Nasser had applied for a financial loan in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. However, this had been blocked by USA and British hence the nationalization of the Canal to generate the funds to construct the dam.

- Nasser's wish to establish his superiority in Egypt and in the Middle East led to the nationalization policy. It should be noted that Nasser attempted to establish the Arab League i.e. the composition of Arab countries in Africa and the Middle East and to sustain this program required money hence the nationalization principle.
- Nasser nationalized the Canal for personal reasons and prestige. It ought to be noted that Nasser wanted to consolidate his power by generating money from the Canal Zone hence nationalization policy.
- The need to increase the amount of the irrigable land in Egypt made nationalization inevitable. There was need to generate water from the Suez zone, Red sea and Mediterrean sea hence the nationalization of the canal to ensure food security.
- The impact of the Constantinople Convention made the nationalization policy inevitable. Articles in the convention emphasized the respect or property of independent countries and therefore Gamel Nasser based on the convention to nationalize the canal.
- Egypt's military skills in Africa contributed to the nationalization of the canal. It ought to be noted that Gamel Nasser had established a strong army which he used to support African nationalists. This military strength gave Nasser confidence to nationalize the canal.

Reference questions

Account for the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956.

THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS OCTOBER 1956

Qns

1. Account for the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956
2. Examine the causes and effects of 1956 Suez Canal Crisis
3. To what extent was the tripartite alliance responsible for the Suez Canal Crisis in 1956?
4. Assess the impact of the Suez Canal War in 1956.
5. To what extent was Gamel Abdel Nasser responsible for the outbreak of the 1956 Suez Canal Crisis?
6. Why was the Suez Canal nationalized in 1956
7. Explain the causes and effects of the Suez Canal nationalization.

It was a conflict that took place in 1956 when Britain, France and Israel conspired to attack and overthrow Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt who had nationalized the Suez Canal [It was an imperialistic and aggressive war on the side of allied powers and a war of a liberation war for Egypt]

CAUSES

- Israel attacked Egypt on 29th October 1956 and occupied the Sinai Peninsula marking the beginning of the crisis so the crisis was due to the following factors;
- Nasser support to Fedeyean commandos against Israel caused the canal crisis. So between 1954 and 55, Nasser organized the Fedeyean guerillas and carried out sabotage acts on important installations in Israel and destroyed property and killed people. This provoked Israel and attacked Egypt in 1956 and the city of Telviv was left in shambles.
- The British and French secret assurance of support to Israel caused the canal crisis. This assurance made Israel courageous and convinced her to occupy the Sinai Peninsula on 29th October 1956. This compelled Nasser to respond militarily and on 5th November 1956, the Anglo- French forces intervened to assist Israel against Egypt. This escalated the attack into a full scale crisis.
- Nasser's closure of the gulf of Aquaba led to the Suez Canal Crisis. The Gulf was the only direct route for Israel. Its blockade disorganized Israel's trade and commercial activities. This provoked Israel to attack Egypt in order to reopen the gulf of Aquaba
- Nasser's consistent demand that British should remove her military base from the Suez Canal zone as provided for in 1954 Anglo – Egyptian agreement caused the crisis. However, the

British were not set to leave the Canal Zone for strategic military interests. This provoked anti-Nasser reactions in form of Anglo-French attack.

- The Nationalization of the Suez Canal resulted into the canal crisis of 1956. Nasser took over control of the Suez Canal activities to the annoyance of Britain and France. The nationalization threatened Anglo French economic interests, for the Suez Canal was the shortest route for Britain and France to the oil producing states of the Persian Gulf. Therefore Britain and France were not prepared to give up control of the canal of Egypt. This resulted into the canal crisis.
- Nasser's rejection of the free users Association of the Suez Canal caused the Suez Canal Saga. Britain and France suggested the formation of the association to protect their interests in the Canal Zone, but Nasser rejected it for fear of losing revenue. This made France and Britain to decide that Nasser should be overthrown at all costs for free use of canal services.
- Nasser's financial, military and moral support to the national liberation front (FLN) of Algeria provoked France to conspire with Britain and Israel to cause the Suez Canal Crisis. When Nasser started giving support to FLN freedom fighters in the war of independence, France felt antagonized and plotted to overthrow Nasser, in order to continue perpetuating their colonialism in Algeria.
- Nasser's strong support for anti – British rebels in Cyprus and in the Mau Mau activists in Kenya caused the Suez Canal Crisis. Nasser used Radio Cairo to propagate anti-colonial propaganda of the Mau – Mau, supplied war logistics to the Mau Mau rebels in Cyprus, etc. this threatened British Colonial interests and angered her to the extent of conspiring against Nasser's government.
- Nasser's anti-British influence in Jordan resulted into the canal crisis. Nasser persuaded King Hussein of Jordan to expel his British Chief of Staff. This incited anti-Nasser reaction from the British causing the Suez Canal Crisis.
- Nasser's opposition to the Baghdad pact of 1955 caused the canal crisis. This pact was an anti soviet military alliance of Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. This was a threat to (NATO's) NATO's strategic interests in the Middle East during the cold war period, thus the capitalist countries reacted by invading Egypt.
- Nasser's recognition of the communist regime of Mao – tse – Tung in Peking and the denouncement of the Western backed government Nationalist government of Chiang Kai

Sheik on the Island of Taiwan resulted into the crisis. This was seen as a gesture of defiance against the capitalists thus prompting them to ally against Nasser's government.

- Nasser's arms deal with the communist (Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) for Russian bombers and tanks caused the crisis. Nasser also invited the soviet experts to train Egyptian soldiers. This military advance of Egypt within the communists angered the western powers making them conspire against Nasser's government.
- The influence of the Bandung conference of 1955 on Nasser caused the Canal crisis. Nasser as a delegate to the Bandung conference came back and called for total eradication of all forms of colonialism, he was inspired to nationalize the Suez Canal which was the last part of British colonialism thus Britain teamed up with France and Israel to fight the government of Nasser.
- The withdrawal of financial assistance meant for the construction of Aswan High dam which was of the centre stage of economic development of Egypt caused the canal crisis. Britain and U.S.A withheld substantial loan amounts meant for the dam construction and left Nasser with no option but nationalizing the Suez Canal to get revenue from the Canal to construct the Aswan High Dam.
- Nasser's desire to fix Egypt's economic problems led to the care crisis in 1956, Egypt's rights to 15% of the net profit from the Suez Canal as rent for the territory was sold away by the British and the French thus millions of pounds flowed to Britain and France without a single penny going into Egypt's treasury. This did not please the people of Egypt forcing them to nationalize the Suez Canal to end economic hemorrhage/plunder. However, this provoked Anglo France attack of Egypt.
- Nasser's Pan Africanist nationalism caused the canal crisis.
- Nasser organized the Fedeyean commandos to carryout raids in Israel in 1954-55 which angered Israel to invade Egypt in 1956. Further Nasser's recognition of Palestine and opposition to the existence of Israel as a state caused the canal crisis.
- "Gamel Abdel Nasser was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the tripartite aggression of Egypt." Discuss (Role of Nasser & Others).
- His domestic reforms which have socialistic in nature

- His recognition of Palestine and opposition of Israel as a state
- Nasser's attendance of the Bandung Conference of 1955
- Nasser's rejection of the free users association
- Nasser's support to the Fedeyean commandos
- Nasser's September 1955 arms deal with communist (CZech Rep)
- Nasser's anti-British influence in the Arab states e.g. Jordan
- Nasser's financial and military support to FLN of Ben Bella
- Nasser's Pan-Africanist Nationalism
- Nasser's opposition to the Baghdad pact of 1955
- Nasser's anti-British rebels support in Cyprus
- His recognition of Mao – tse – Tung communist regime
- Nasser's desire to fix Egypt's economic problems
- Nasser's blockade of the Gulf of Aquaba
- Nationalization of the Suez Canal by Nasser

Other factors

The British violation of the 1936 Anglo – Egyptian treaty which required them to leave Egypt in 1956 after 20 years

- Britain's fear to lose 40% revenue that it was getting from the canal
- The British and the French secret assurance of support to Israel
- Britain and U.S.A's withdraw of millions of dollars loan which had promised to Egypt for the Aswan High Dam Project
- The strategic location of the canal to all parties i.e. France and Britain, Israel and Egypt.
- Israel's desire to expand her imperial ambitions to Africa/desire to spread the Zionist ideology
- Anti – British feelings in Egypt by the Egyptians by 1956/Desire for full independence
- Israel's attack on Egypt's territory i.e. Sinai Peninsula on 29th October 1956

IMPACT OF THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS

The Suez Canal war was a military conflict between Egypt on the one side against Israel, Britain and France on the other side in 1956.

POSITIVE IMPACT ON EGYPT

Egypt registered a diplomatic victory over the British, French and Israel. The Anglo- French invasion of Egypt evoked strong condemnation from the international opinion expressed from the UN support of Nasser even from their ally of U.S.A.

- Egypt's self rule became more meaningful. The Anglo-French troops were forced to withdraw from Egypt thus complete independence was realized.
- Nasser became a celebrated hero in the Middle East States and Egypt itself. Nasser's portraits were placed on streets many streets, were named after Nasser and Nasser's portraits became a household property.
- Egypt gained full control of the canal. Under international pressure, the Anglo French troops were forced to withdraw leaving the canal in the hands of Egypt. The canal was well managed under Egyptian managers, traffic increased, generated a lot of employment and revenue.
- Egyptian nationalism was strengthened as people united behind Nasser to get rid of foreign rule.
- Nationalization policy was intensified. Nasser was incited to takeover British and French property in Egypt as compensation for Anglo-French subversion [imperialistic tendencies].
- It laid a foundation for the success of the Aswan High Dam Project. It was constructed using Revenue generated from the canal with some support from U.S.R. this made Egypt the first African country to put radical socialist policies into practice.
- Socialism was spread in Egypt which implied more aid from the socialist countries e.g. U.S.S.R, China, Czech Republic.
- There was efficient administration of the canal after the war. This was in the hands of Egyptian engineers.
- It led to the opening of the Gulf of Aquaba which benefited Israel. She regained entrance and exit for her trade and tried to improve the strained relationship.

- It laid a foundation for aid to other nationalists like Ben Bella, (Ahmed) from Nasser and this catapulted the quick self determination from the French in 1962.
- Egyptian diplomatic victory during the canal war inspired nationalism elsewhere e.g. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco [Twin independence in 1956].
- It enabled the U.N to register an achievement. It condemned the Anglo French invasion of Egypt and called for their withdraw by stationing the UN security council to take charge.
- It resulted into the promotion of Pan – Arabism, i.e. creation of the United Arab Republic (Egypt plus (+) Syria) in 1958 [UAR].
- Afro Asian states turned to the East as an ally in fighting colonialism. They solicited for support from the communist bloc e.g. U.S.S.R, China, and Czech Republic etc.
- Inspired political development in Francophone states. In 1958, the fourth Republic of France was overthrown by Charles de Gaulle and immediately organized a referendum for the Africans to decide/determine their political future [De Gaulle referendum that made Sekou Toure to vote for [NO] that deliberately destroyed the French federation .
- The spirit of NAM was strengthened. Nasser was established as one of the defenders and leaders of NAM, convincing African countries to adopt the principles of NAM that emphasized the positive neutrality on the continent and adoption of independent ideology.
- The resignation of the British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and three members of his cabinet led to the freezing of British and French military equipments which were channeled to the liberation movements. Large consignments of arms and ammunitions especially rifles got from the withdrawing Anglo – French forces were sent to African Guerilla fighters.

NEGATIVE IMPACT

- There was massive destruction of life and property for example in the Sinai battle alone 3,000 soldiers were killed and vast quantities of equipment lost to Israel.
- Egypt was forced to withdraw from Sinai and Gaza and was taken over by Israel and even the military post at sharm- As-Shail in Southern Sinai was taken over. However, Israel later withdrew
- Egypt suffered military humiliation; Egyptian soldiers were badly beaten and defeated.
- Refugee crisis in the Canal Zone was witnessed and this led to increased misery and suffering

- There was reduction in revenue to Egypt or traffic was diverted to the cape and this was attributed to the wars that Nasser fought and lowered the morale of investors.
- Increased hostility between Egypt and Israel leading to the 1967 six day war, in which Egypt lost more territories.
- NAM principles were undermined by Nasser's adoption of socialism, principles of neutrality were abandoned and this affected the credibility of African complete independence from the colonial hegemony.
- Led to suffocation of Israel's trade in Africa and the Middle East. This was because she had tampered with Egypt under Nasser who was seen as a focal point/figure of nationalism
- NATO members were divided especially those who blamed Britain and France e.g. U.S.A identified with Nasser and blamed the Anglo – French attack of Egypt and also compelled France to withdraw temporarily from NATO in 1966.
- Led to the Oil crisis in the world which resulted into collapse of world economies and overthrow of many African governments ie between 1960s and 1970s, it also affected regional bodies as Arab countries cut off relations with western allies ie EAC collapsed in 1977.
- Intensified cold war politics in Africa and this partly delayed the attainment of independence of African countries like Portuguese colonies and South Africa.

THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC)

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

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

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF EAC

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

ACHIEVEMENTS OF E.A.C

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

- The body established a common market in the region that in turn promoted regional economic development.
- The EAC established common services in the region. Tanzania became the headquarters of the harbors cooperation in Dar –es – Salaam and headquarters of community at Arusha, Uganda the East African Posts and telecommunications and EADB in Kampala, Kenya had the East African Airways and railways in Nairobi hence decentralization promoted.
- The body ensured and promoted regional unity and cooperation among member states. This guaranteed uniform problem solving in East Africa than what existed in the East African federation.
- Diplomatic relations were equally promoted in the region member states occasionally met to address their regional problems.
- The body promoted employment opportunities in the corporations set up like the railway, EADB, East African harbors, the EALA, the EAA that raised the standard of living of the people.
- The EAC harmonized trade and commerce in its initial stages. This was done through the reduction of the trade barriers among the three states.
- The EAC promoted industrialization in the region. These included the circle and plain aluminium sheets, radio assembly and manufactures of motor – vehicle tyres and tubes in Tanzania, Kenya produced bulbs. These generated local revenue and employment provision.
- The body established the East African Development Bank (EADB) that promoted balanced development. The bank extended loans to member states for setting up projects, provided technical assistance and solicited for financial support from international organizations.
- The EAC promoted the easy mobility of East African citizens and goods. The corporations established encouraged people to work freely in the three countries e.g. the Railways, Airways, industries, EAA, the Bank among others.

- The community promoted the spirit of Pan African. The Movement advocated for regional integrity and this was enshrined in EAC and problems were uniformly solved.
- The EAC opened room for the incorporation and inclusion of other states to broaden its market like Malawi, Burundi and Rwanda
- The EAC promoted specialization among member states. This was reflected in the projects set up like the industries of fertilizers in Uganda, Electric bulbs in Kenya Airways in Kenya and even the agriculturally based projects e.g. sisal for Tanzania, pyrethrum in Kenya and coffee in Uganda.
- The EAC linked the three countries to the world economic systems or organizations. These included E.E.C, U.N.O for purposes of comparison and effective implementation and realization of the set objectives.
- The body established infrastructure in the region these included the East African railways, Airlines, roads to promote development as precursors to harness the resources.
- The body also streamlined education in the region that increased the literacy rate. Regional universities were set up e.g. Makerere University in Uganda, Dar – es – Salaam University and Kenyatta University in Kenya. This allowed all people in the region to acquire education in all without restrictions. Also examination boards e.g. EAEC to regulate performance.
- The EAC tried to harmonize the currency exchange in the region and all were using the shillings. The level of exchange was checked in the initial stages that limited the conflicts.
- The body established the East African court of appeal and councils of tribunals. These helped to check on the excesses of the leaders and promote the proper operation of the organization. (pertaining industrial disputes related to staff)
- The body too promoted the setting up of the East African legislative Assembly. This was composed of the chairperson, the general secretary, ministers from the partner states.
- Research was promoted in East Africa through the EAC. This was a branch of the council of tribunals that was in charge of finance, communications, common market and planning and coordinated networks from Arusha.
- The body tried to unify the fiscal policy in East Africa. This was done by the uniform customs duties and regulations between the member states.

FAILURES / WEAKNESSES / CHALLENGES BY 1977

- Failure of the relations among the heads of state e.g. Amin conflicted with Nyerere due to the 1971 coup and Nyerere vowed never to sit with Amin on the same table.
- The EAA- the top body of heads of states failed to meet with the rise of Amin.
- The member states failed to respect the principle of regional economic cooperation and adopted protectionism i.e. not allowing other goods to flow from other countries.
- The member states failed to expand the membership and yet this had been proposed.
- The EAC leadership failed to control the bickering among the heads of states e.g. Amin, Nyerere and Kenyatta.
- Failure to control neo – colonialism
- Failure to ensure even and balanced distribution of the benefits e.g. Kenya was progressing at a faster rate.
- Failure to punish and reprimand members who failed to pay up their subscriptions e.g. Uganda and Tanzania.
- Economic nationalism and duplication of industries e.g. Uganda had to specialize in sugar industry, but Kenya also started, other countries like Uganda and Tanzania began producing tyres and set up plants meant for Kenya, lack of harmony in tax policies by 1974 etc.
- Failure to control corruption in the set up corporations.
- Member states failed to establish a uniform currency. There was nationalization of the currencies and it presented a problem to members in different countries to purchase products due to failure to accept money as legal tenders
- Failure to control individualism and prestige of heads of state regarding appointments. Squabbles came up over appointments and expulsions of Kenyans from Tanzania. This made projects to break up e.g. in 1976, Airways in each country, all wanted to own a bank, university and railway than sharing.
- Failed to stop misunderstandings over the transport sector. This made Tanzania in 1973 to manage its railway system. Kenya was blamed for developing road transport to weaken railway and Tanzania thought of the Tazara railway.

Questions

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

Approach

- Brief introduction i.e. year, members involved
 - Aims outlined
 - Clear stand point
 - Achievements Vs failures.
-
4. To what extent did the economic factors lead to the collapse of the East African Community by 1977?
 - Brief introduction
 - Role of economic factors
 - Other factors
 - Stand point needed.
- Points to consider (economic)
- Duplication of industries
 - Trade diversion – trading with other countries outside the EAC i.e. Tanzania with USA.
 - Trade protectionism or economic nationalism i.e. Tanzania and Uganda levying higher taxes on Kenya goods to protect their infant industries.
 - Small membership that narrowed the market and financial obligations to fund projects e.g. EADB
 - Consumption of poor quality products, expensively mostly from Kenya.
 - Lack of a common and accepted currency. This made life hard for non – citizens in the different countries to make transactions.
 - Financial corruption reflected in the set up corporations affected the smooth running of EAC.
 - Unequal distribution of the economic benefits among the member states e.g. Kenya developed largely faster than all which angered other parties.

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

Other factors include

- The weaknesses of OAU – continental body that would prevail over the bickering
- Border conflicts i.e. Amin around the Kagera region and Kisumu, Tanzania closed border in 1976 to deny Kenya imports
- Ideological differences among the members i.e. Tanzania had adopted socialism that demanded collective ownership of resources i.e. state control etc.
Kenya was mixed, but majorly capitalized.
- Personal rivalry between the heads of state ie Amin Vs Nyerere and Nyerere vowed not to sit with a buffoon, blood stained Amin and EAA not to convene.
- The 1971 coup in Uganda / the rise of Amin to power i.e. no back ground to EAC, refused to pay subscription, expelled the Asians, workers of the community etc.
- Selfish national interests among the member countries and members employed – no interest of the EAC at heart.
- Lack of good will from the citizens / personalization of the EAC by the leaders like Jomo Kenyatta given the level of development, Nyerere did not want to be opposed.
- Political immorality, Amin -Nyerere referred to each other as woman to marry, Nyerere referred to Amin as an illiterate and buffoon and Kenyatta was called a political prostitute hence tearing the EAC.
- Lack of prior experience by the founder members. This was the 1st regional organization and leaders did not have any experience of running such a bigger project.

- Language barrier - Kenya and Tanzania felt comfortable with Kiswahili which disadvantaged Uganda.

Question

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

Points to consider

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

Others

- Ideological differences i.e. Uganda and Kenya capitalists Vs Tanzania which was socialist
- Personalization of community decisions e.g. Tanzania under Nyerere

- No prior knowledge and experience by the members.
- Limited membership or narrow market
- Failure to involve members in the operations from all countries
- Duplication of industries and services by Kenya.
- Trade diversion
- Unbalanced benefits
- Completion of the Tazara railway
- Financial hardships or lack of adequate funds due to limited reserves in EADB
- Economic nationalism or protectionism
- Weaknesses of OAU
- International interference e.g. European Economic community
- Language barrier
- Lack of a regionally accepted currency that limited transactions etc.

Question

Restoration of Ethiopian independence from Italy in 1941

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

Factors include

- The formation of the black lions movement
- The application of the guerilla tactics against the Italians
- The brutality imposed on Ethiopians by Italians increased anger e.g. the 1937 Graziani Massacres, execution of Bishop Petros in 1938 etc
- The determination of the Ethiopians to get rid of Italians
- The able leadership provided by RAS Imru
- Role of the Orthodox church that was patriotic vehemently opposed Italians
- Tactical escape of Emperor Haille Sellassie to exile in England turned out to be a blessing in disguise.
- Italy's blunder of joining world war II on the side of Germany annoyed Britain

- Massive assistance rendered to Ethiopia from fellow African countries e.g. Nigeria, Sierra – Leone, Ghana, Kenya
 - The role of the Rastafarian movement
 - Assistance from the gallant veterans of Adowa battle e.g. Ras Mulugeta, Zeraï Deress etc
 - The role of the WASU from West Africa that was violent against imperialism in Africa.
 - The home geographical advantage enjoyed by Ethiopians i.e. mountains were unfamiliar to Italians
 - Numerical strength of the Ethiopians compared to the Italians
 - Hostile press attacks against Italian rule in Ethiopia world wide
 - The wide spread black demonstrations against Italian rule in Ethiopia
 - The strong sense of unity and patriotism displayed by Ethiopians against Italians after the 1935 invasion
 - Role of various anti – colonial movements e.g. the IASB, IAFE, Abyssinian association, Pan African Federation (PAF)
 - Commitment of the educated (Elites) and the blacks in the diaspora to the cause of Ethiopia e.g. Ras Makonnen from Guyana, George Padmore from Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Support from Britain and France against Italy (Br through Sudan and Kenya)
- The international sympathy extended to Ethiopia when the emperor selassie fled to exile

THE CONCEPT OF NON – ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)

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

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

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

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

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF NAM

Reference question

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

The aims of non – aligned movement included the following:

1. To maintain world peace by promoting non – violent means and reject the use of force.
2. To support self determination and national independence in the 3rd world, reject all forms of imperialism.
3. To safeguard the sovereignty of the member states against the domination by the upper powers i.e. encouraging the independence of the non – aligned nations from cold war politics.
4. To discourage military alliances and push for the disarmament of the superpowers to decelerate world conflicts.
5. To promote economic independence of the member states.
6. The desire to encourage active participation of non – aligned states 3rd world in the international affairs especially in the UN without coercion i.e. domination of the great powers of NATO.
7. To strengthen the UNO towards effective performance in its endeavors of decolonization and peace preservation globally.
8. To enhance socio – economic development and restructuring of international economic systems.

9. To promote the south - south cooperation i.e. the cooperation among the 3rd world nations with mutual understanding and tolerance.
10. To ensure the peaceful co – existence among all nations of the world i.e. democratize international relations.
11. The desire to reject all forms of racial discrimination like apartheid and Zionism (Israel related movement)
12. To encourage the respect for human rights as contained in the universal declaration of human rights charter of UN adopted in 1948.
13. To ensure the peaceful resolution of disputes in the world without resorting to wars that had shattered world economies.
14. To oppose and castigate in union the stationing of military bases in the foreign countries. This had been done by the members of NATO having satellites in African countries (information gathering gadgets).

SUCSESSES / ACHIEVEMENTS OF NAM

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

wars of USA and USSR, the NAM also led to the collapse of the Berlin wall and re – unified Germany leading to peace.

5. The NAM advocated for the reformation of the United Nations hence making it more effective. NAM openly criticized and structures of the UN – structure and power dynamics. The security council of the United Nations was highly criticized of being undemocratic and asked the UN to reshape its structures to promote international democracy.
6. NAM contributed for the respect of small states in the world. The weight of small states was increased not to be dominated by the super powers. This completed USA to work with the NAM member countries to fight terrorism in the world and kept peace in Yugoslavia, Somalia etc.
7. Non – alignment has promoted unity and cooperation among member states. This ensured the south – south cooperation of the 3rd world nations. This ensured a united front of member states to have a stronger voice in the UN – general assembly to reduce the dominance of the super powers.
8. NAM was instrumental in the promotion of Afro – Asian solidarity. The mutual cooperation between Africans and Asians became official at the Bandung conference. The idea of solidarity was further propagated to the subsequent conferences like the Belgrade of 1961 and 1979 Lusaka conference.
9. The non – alignment policy promoted economic relations among states. The NAM nations have extended financial and technical assistance to member states. The NAM powers like India, Indonesia, UAE, Saudi Arabia provided funds and technical expertise to the projects in weaker states e.g. Angola, Uganda and Tanzania. The movement boosted confidence among the weaker states to distance themselves from the super powers.
10. The NAM led to the establishment of the south – south commission in 1988. The commission was formed to address the economic backwardness of the weaker nations of the world. NAM collaborated with other organizations like the group of 1977 to promote dialogue and cooperation among the 3rd world.
11. The non – alignment condemned imperialism and encouraged friendly relations of all nations. The movement has greatly condemned imperialist attacks, acts of aggression and

- other injustices of the big states against the small states. The NAM condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1981 and also condemned the unhealthy and senseless assassination of Muammar Gadhafi in 2011.
12. The NAM contributed to the development of African nationalism. The members of NAM used the platform of UN to voice out anti – colonial sentiments against imperialism. It demanded the intervention of the UN to impose sanctions of colonial masters, made Africans to become recommitted to independence.
 13. Non – alignment condemned racial discrimination and dominance in the world. The spirit of the movement fought the racist apartheid policy in South Africa and the UDI government of southern Rhodesia. Member states extended military and financial support to the blacks to fight the whites. The movement also pressurized the UN to intervene in the Palestinian question against Zionist Israel.
 14. NAM has attempted to intervene in the conflict among member states. It condemned the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and mediated in the Pakistan conflict. The members tried to arbitrate in the Sudan conflict that ended the conflict that started in 1955. This finally led to the independence of South Sudan in 2011.
 15. The non – aligned nations have tried to promote the respect of human rights. This has been done in line with the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) of the UN that advocated for equality of people. The policy also condemned the aggression of the powerful nations and promoted justice and respect and cultural diversity. (Cross – cultural management)
 16. Members of the non – aligned movement have continuously emphasized democracy and establishment of peoples’ governments. It condemned dictatorial regimes of Idi Amin in Uganda, Saddam regime in Iraq among others. The movement calls for the peaceful handover of power through constitutional and democratic means. The NAM nations have collectively stood against coups and unlawful takeover of governments.
 17. The NAM members have exercised freedom of action while dealing with great powers. This was exhibited by Libya against NATO invasion in 2011. Egypt exercised the same and nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This was done after USA and UK withdrew the economic aid to enable Nasser to complete the Aswan project.

WEAKNESSES / FAILURES OF NAM

1. The movement has failed to solve interstate conflicts among the non – aligned nations. Conflicts and misunderstandings have existed between India and Pakistan, Iraq and Kuwait, Uganda and Sudan, the Congo question which caused tension between Uganda, the Kabila government and Rwanda.
2. The NAM failed in its attempt to maintain political stability and security of its member states. Many military coups and civil wars have existed in African states like Congo, Uganda, Sudan, CAR, Asian countries like Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Afghanistan. This affected peace in these nations rendering the movement ineffective.
3. Nam has failed to develop into a body that can threaten the world power blocks. The eastern and western blocs have continued to exist even after the cold war politics leading to a new trend of imperialism. It is true the NAM is a big organization of next to UN, but it has been undermined by the power blocks and it has remained inferior in international conventions.
4. The NAM failed to uphold the principle of “Positive neutrality”. The member states have ended up identifying with foreign ideologies of capitalism and communism. This has perpetuated neo – colonialism undermining the independence of the states.
5. The NAM has failed to prevent ideological conflicts among the member states, conflicts have occurred among members. The bigger nations have undermined the proceedings forwarded by non – aligned members for the weaker states. This has affected the process of finding a common approach to the problems of the world and hindering solidarity.
6. The movement has failed in its endeavors to improve on the living conditions of the people of its member states. Majority of the non – aligned member states have been increasingly affected by the high levels of ignorance, disease, poverty, starvation and other socio - economic problems.
7. NAM has failed to stop the intervention of western international NGOs. This has opened gates to increased domination and exploitation of the non – aligned states. The poorest nations of the world according to the UNDP and HDI that reflect poverty index are members of NAM.
8. The movement has failed to check on personal conflicts among the heads of states. The evidence was in 1969, Fidel Castro of Cuba organized the Havana conference of NAM and was ignored by other member states. Conflicts existed between the Sultan Hassan of

Morocco and Ben Ali of Tunisia, Joseph Kabila of DR. Congo and Paul Kagame of Rwanda among others.

9. The NAM has failed to condemn militarization of the great powers in the non – aligned countries. The major world powers have since 1990s acted aggressively on NAM nations e.g. France tested its nuclear bomb in the Sahara, US bombardment of Benghezi in Libya in the 1980s, NAM members only verbally condemned without practical solutions. Also this militarism was extended in Libya in 2011 by the NATO – explosions that saw the death of Gadhafi.
10. Non aligned members have failed to prevent the influence of western cultures. The native cultural heritage has been eroded by western imperialism leading to dubious western acts like homosexuality and gay – marriage, money has been poured in NAM countries to promote such acts due to economic desperation.
11. Some member states of NAM have allowed the bigger powers to establish military bases in their territories. These include Pakistan, Egypt, Kenya, CAR, Iraq among others. This has undermined the sovereign integrity that the movement desired to promote.
12. Non – aligned states have become breeding grounds for the terrorist activities in the world hence a failure. Terrorism has been harbored, organised and unleashed using the aligned states like Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. Osama Bin Laden - the leader of the Al – Qaeda was assassinated in Pakistan which is a strong supporter of NAM. (This followed the September 2011 attack on USA of the trade centre.

PROBLEMS OR CHALLENGES OF NAM

1. Persistent poverty and economic backwardness
2. Ideological differences creating mistrust among members
3. Neo colonialism
4. Political instabilities hindering progress
5. The end of cold war that left the movement with no enemy to fight.
6. Lack of a proper definition of NAM – Surkano looked at it as containing cold war Vs Nyerere for self determination of weaker nations, variance affected decisions.
7. Foreign supervision and patronage by great powers i.e. Cuba used USSR, Kenya with USA.

8. NAM states are affiliated to other groups or organizations e.g. OAU, AU, OPEC, regional bodies ECOWAS, Arab league, this create conflicting loyalty.
9. The persistent interstate conflicts create disunity and disharmony
10. The death of core members like Nkrumah, Nehru and leaving active politics, Nasser died in 1970. The new generation leaders lack initial vision
11. Other member states are either driven by personal or national interests e.g. Nasser joined to promote Pan Arabism, Yugoslavia joined to reduce the cold war tension and promote country security etc.

Wide operation area of NAM. The members of the South included Asian, African, South America and parts of North America i.e. the Caribbean / West Indies.