

History

for Secondary Schools

Student's Book Form Four



Tanzania Institute of Education



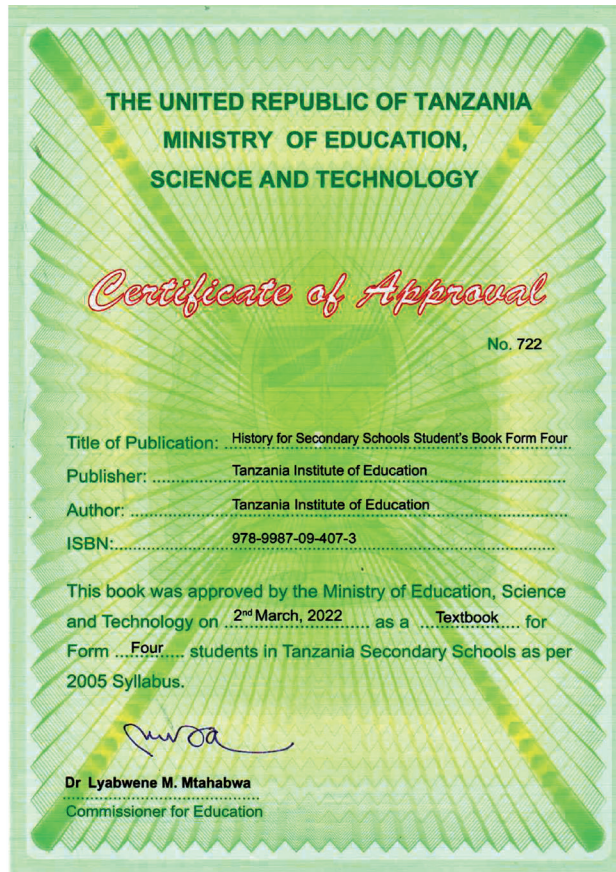
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Tanzania Institute of Education

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Tanzania Institute of Education
P.O. Box 35094
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Mobile numbers: +255 735 041 168/735 041 170

E-Mail: director.general@tie.go.tz

Website: www.tie.go.tz

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Table of contents

List of Figures.....	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Preface.....	viii
Chapter One: Crises in the world capitalist system	1
Background to the world capitalist crises	1
The First World War (1914 - 1918).....	2
The Great Economic Depression (1929 - 1933)	10
The Second World War (1939 - 1945)	14
Revision exercise 1	19
Chapter Two: Nationalism and the struggle for independence in Africa.....	20
African nationalism.....	20
The origins of nationalism in Africa	21
The rise of social and welfare associations.....	24
The rise of religious protest movements.....	28
The rise of mass nationalism and political parties in Africa.....	31
The rise and formation of political parties in Africa.....	35
Revision exercise 2	38
Chapter Three: Decolonisation of Africa.....	39
Background to the decolonisation of Africa	39
Forms of decolonisation in Africa.....	40
Decolonisation through peaceful means	40
Decolonisation through armed struggle	51
Decolonisation through revolutions	62
The role of women in the liberation struggles in Africa	67

Revision exercise 3	69
Chapter Four: Changes in political, social and economic policies in Africa after independence	70
Background to post-colonial changes in political, social and economic policies	70
Political, ideological and administrative systems in Africa after independence.....	71
The economic situation in Africa after independence.....	78
Social policy changes in Africa after independence	87
Changes in educational policies in Africa.....	88
Changes in health services after independence.....	91
Water and housing services in Africa after independence	93
Revision exercise 4	96
Chapter Five: The national military and legal institutions in Africa after independence	97
Background to African national military	97
Functions of the national military institutions	98
National legal institutions	101
Revision exercise 5	103
Chapter Six: Forces hindering development in independent African states	104
Internal forces hindering development in Africa	104
External forces hindering development in Africa	109
Revision exercise 6	113
Chapter Seven: Africa in continental, regional and international affairs	114
The African Union and the quest for continental co-operation.....	114
Principles of the AU	116

African regional co-operation	124
The East African Community	125
The revival of the East African Community	129
The Southern African Development Community (SADC)	132
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	135
Africa's participation in international affairs	139
Revision exercise 7	146
Glossary	147
Bibliography	149

List of Figures

1.1	European military alliances during the First World War.....	5
1.2	Mandate territories after the First World War	9
1.3	African Soldiers serving during the Second World War	18
2.1	TAA members	25
3.1	Julius Kambarage Nyerere.....	41
3.2	Milton Obote.....	46
3.3	Kwame Nkrumah	48
3.4	Ian Smith.....	52
3.5	Jomo Kenyatta	55
3.6	Followers of Robert Mugabe celebrating the independence of Zimbabwe	58
3.7	Agostinho Neto	60
3.8	Bibi Titi Mohammed addressing a political rally	67
3.9	Mabel Dove Danquah	68
4.1	Tanzanian peasants working on Ujamaa co-operative farm	80
4.2	General Tyre Factory in Arusha	82
4.3	Railway line from Tanzania to Zambia (TAZARA)	84
4.4	Nyerere bridge in Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania	85
7.1	Some of the leaders of the OAU member states	115
7.2	EAC member states.....	130
7.3	ECOWAS and SADC member countries.....	138

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Writers: Dr Joyce Kahembe & Mr Gwido M. Kalobona (TIE)

Editors: Dr Albertus K. Onyiego & Dr Salvatory S. Nyanto (UDSM),
Mr Hemed K. Mdee (MNMA) & Dr Kelvin M. Lukanga
(UDSM-Language)

Designer: Ms Rehema H. Maganga (TIE)

Cartographer: Ms Olipa S. Mwakimi

Coordinator: Mr Gwido M. Kalobona

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Dr Aneth A. Komba
Director General
Tanzania Institute of Education

Preface

This textbook, *History for Secondary Schools*, is written specifically for Form Four students in the United Republic of Tanzania. It is written in accordance with the 2005 History Syllabus for Ordinary Secondary Education Form I-IV, issued by the then Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

The book consists of seven chapters, namely Crises in the world capitalist system; Nationalism and the struggle for independence in Africa; Decolonisation of Africa; Political, social and economic policies in Africa after independence; The national military and legal institutions in Africa after independence; Forces hindering development in independent African states; and Africa in continental, regional and international affairs.

Each chapter contains illustrations, activities and exercises. You are encouraged to do all the activities and exercises, as well as other assignments that your teacher will provide. Doing so will enable you to develop the intended competencies.

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Chapter One

Crises in the world capitalist system

Introduction

The crises in the world capitalist system were mainly caused by contradictions within the capitalist system itself and the desire of European capitalist nations to extend their influence beyond their boundaries in order to establish new areas for getting markets and raw materials needed to feed European industrial development. This chapter examines how contradictions within the capitalist system caused the First World War, the Great Economic Depression and the Second World War. It also explores the factors which contributed to the spread of capitalist crises in various parts of the world. The chapter analyses the effects of the crises on the social, political and economic development of the African continent. The competencies developed will enable you to comprehend the origin, spread and impact of crises of capitalism in Africa and the Western world as a whole.



Reflection questions

- What are the causes of contradictions within the world capitalist system?
- How did the contradictions within the world capitalist system cause the First World War, the Great Economic Depression and the Second World War?
- How did the capitalist crises affect the social, political and economic systems of Africa?

Background to the world capitalist crises

The world capitalist crises were essentially caused by the capitalist system itself. The development of capitalism from competitive to monopoly stage led to the emergence of various crises in the world capitalist system. Such crises included

stiff competition for industrial raw materials and markets, overproduction and under-consumption of industrial goods and the rise of working class movements. Consequently, internal markets were flooded with the European industrial goods. Warehouses for European goods became full and some of the goods were thrown into the seas and oceans. Businesses collapsed because of the fall of profits, since the capitalists could not make the large profits they had earlier expected to make. The general fall of profits instigated desire among the European capitalist nations to cross their boundaries in order to establish markets for their goods, obtain cheap industrial raw materials and to make further investments in other parts of the world. Hence, in the attempt to solve these problems, the European capitalist nations rushed to capture new spheres of influence within and outside European borders. Eventually, these struggles led to the emergence of the First World War (1914-1918), the Great Economic Depression (1929-1933) and the Second World War (1939-1945). The three major crises in the world capitalist system started in Europe and America, but they later spread to other parts of the world, including Africa.

The First World War (1914 - 1918)

The First World War was an imperialist war that involved the major capitalist powers in the world. The war involved two major military camps, namely the Tripple Alliance and the Tripple Entente. Tripple Alliance comprised of Germany, Austria-Hungary (sometimes referred to as Austro-Hungary) and Italy while Tripple Entente comprised of France, Britain and Russia. This war began in August 1914, after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria.

Causes of the First World War

The First World War was caused by long-term and short-term causes. The long-term causes included nationalism, imperialism, militarism and secret agreements, while the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand was the short-term or immediate cause of the war.

Long-term causes

Imperialist activities in Africa and the Far East created grounds for the outbreak of the First World War. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 solved some of the conflicts among the European nations over the spheres of influence, but other grievances remained unresolved. The capitalist nations struggled for more investment opportunities and strategic areas. Before the First World War, Africa

and some parts of Asia were points of confrontation among European powers. This resulted into further hostilities that led to the outbreak of the war. The critical points in Africa that heightened tension among the European powers and stimulated the outbreak of the First World War included the Fashoda incidence of 1898 between the British and French in Sudan and the Anglo-Boer confrontation of 1899-1902 in South Africa. The Moroccan crisis of 1905 and 1911 also contributed to the long-term conflict between France and Germany.

Furthermore, the colonial boundaries created during the Berlin Conference culminated into disputes as there were no clear demarcations from the interior to the coastal areas. This basically gave any colonial power with a coastal territory the right to claim political influence over an indefinite amount of an inland territory. Such claims could further complicate the already tense relations among the European imperialist powers.

Although the Berlin Conference legitimised the occupation and colonisation of the African continent, Germany and Britain had opposing views on the scope of the Principle of Effective Occupation. For example, Britain viewed Germany as a new competitor in Africa that would likely gain new possessions, apart from the territories that she had already acquired. The new possessions acquired by the Germans were purportedly more valuable than those under the British. Germany believed that no colonial power should have legal right to a territory, unless the state exercised effective political control over it. This embarrassed Britain and France. For example, Britain aspired to maintain her territorial occupation in Africa by minimising responsibilities and administrative costs. Thus, the increase in Germany's colonial possessions in Africa magnified tension among the European imperialist powers. Britain and France feared that Germany's presence in Africa could force them to surrender their colonial possessions. Such demands for the re-division of the colonies among European imperialist powers, created fear and tension ultimately culminating into the First World War.

The European nations also intended to use the First World War as a means of acquiring and annexing new territories. They rushed to get new territories in order to promote their economic interest and expand their national influence beyond the European boundaries. For example, Germany wanted to use the war to annex colonies from Great Britain and France. It also wanted to annex colonies such

as Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic province from Russia. Despite her economic and naval hegemony, Britain feared that the rise of Germany as an economic and naval power would endanger her position as a super power. Britain also wanted to annex Mesopotamia and Palestine from the Ottoman Empire and secure Egypt to consolidate her naval supremacy and safeguard her overseas markets in India. By contrast, Russia wanted to seize Turkey, the Black Sea, Constantinople Strait to the Black Sea and Galicia, which was part of Austria. France intended to grab from Germany the Saar Basin and the iron-and-coal-rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which had been conquered by Germany during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871.

Militarism and secret alliances among the European powers was another factor that insitigated the outbreak of the First World War. The military alliances among the European powers sparked tension and fear for the outburst of the imperialist war. For example, the defeat of France by Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, caused France to lose Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. That situation made Germany fear that France might forge a military alliance with Britain in order to revenge. The imminent fear made Germany conclude a dual military alliance with Austria-Hungary in 1879. Italy joined the Alliance in 1882, thereby making it a Triple Alliance (see Figure 1.1).

Militarism forced France, Britain and Russia to form their own military alliance called the Triple Entente in 1907. The common factor for the formation of military alliances was the desire to uphold imperialist gains against members of the opposite camp. The military alliances became more heavily armed and mutually antagonistic as they pursued their territorial ambitions. The formation of the alliances resulted in aggressiveness as some European powers felt more superior than the others. Although these alliances were formed to strengthen security, they caused tension and fear in Europe and the world at large. The existence of the two antagonistic military camps caused recurrent conflicts among the powers involved. Eventually, the situation went out of control, leading to the outbreak of the First World War.

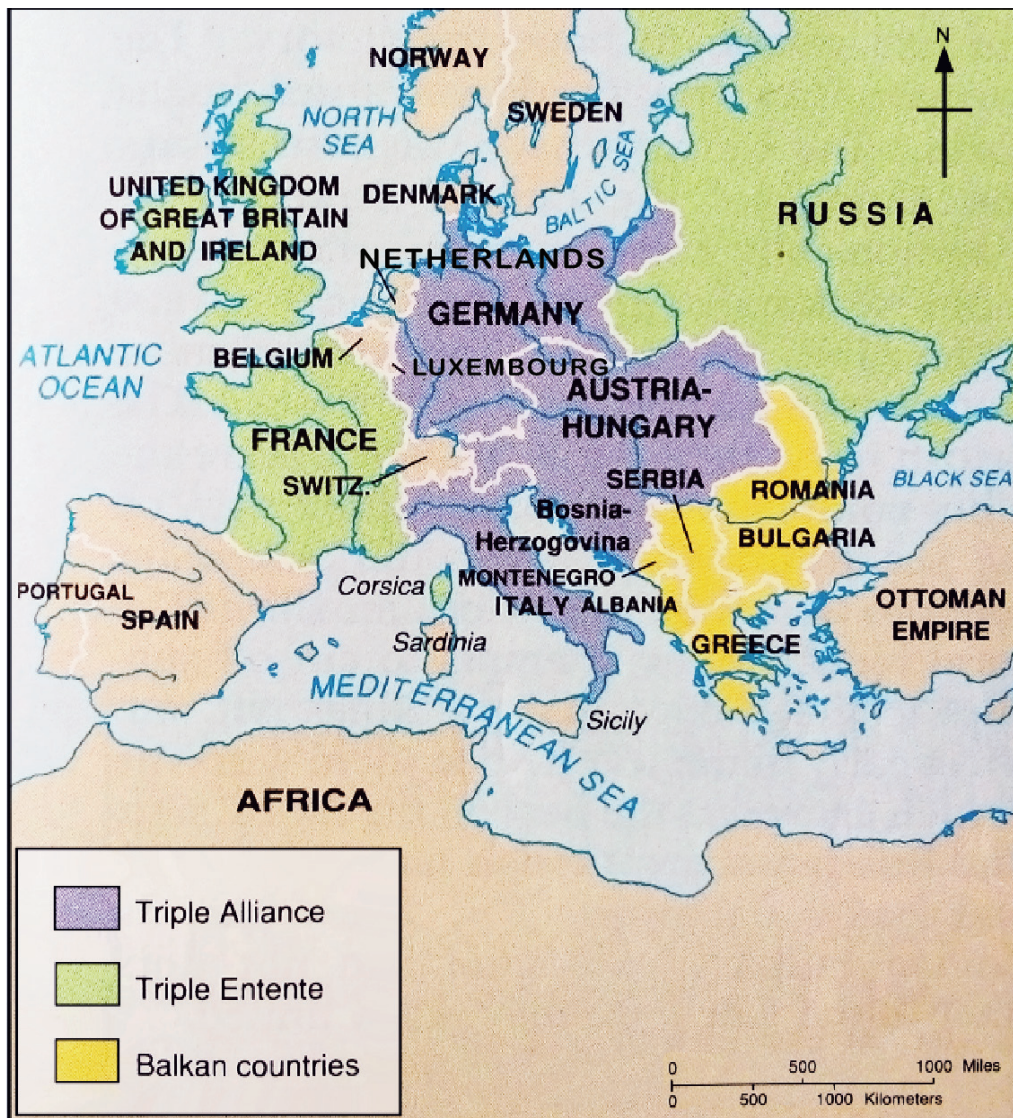


Figure 1.1: *European military alliances during the First World War*

Source: Adapted from Leinwand (1990)

Another cause of the First World War was the rise of the nationalist movements in Europe, especially in the Balkan region including Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Bulgaria, Greece and Romania. These countries had religious and cultural diversity as they were inhabited by both Christians and Muslims. Some of them were under the rule of the Austria-Hungary Empire while others were under the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. By the early 1900, the people in those countries had formed the Balkan League in order to free themselves from the yoke of

foreign domination. In their struggle for independence, they got support from the European countries, which belonged to the two rival military alliances. The quest for independence in the Balkan region was characterised by military competition which, in turn, stimulated the outbreak of the First World War.

The first Balkan war was fought in 1912 whereby Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro defeated the Ottoman Empire. In the second Balkan war of 1913, Serbia and Greece turned against Bulgaria and defeated it. While the Balkan wars were underway, Russia supported the Serbians against the Austria-Hungarian Empire. Austria-Hungary on her part worked hard to end the military power of Serbia but the Serbians did not surrender. Instead, they formed a secret movement called the Black Hand to fight against the Austria-Hungarian intrusion.



Activity 1.1

Historians agree that the First World War emanated from the long-term causes. In groups, conduct a library search on how militarism, imperialism and nationalism caused the First World War.

Short-term (immediate) cause

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie Chotek of Austria-Hungary prompted the eruption of the First World War. The Archduke and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo in Bosnia on 28th June 1914. The assassination was agitated by the desire of Bosnia and other Balkan states to achieve freedom from Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. Following the assassination, Serbia was given three ultimatums. First, she was ordered to stop encouraging nationalist propaganda against Austria-Hungary. Secondly, she was ordered to allow Austrian officials and police into Serbia to help crush revolutionary movements. Thirdly, she was ordered to dismiss and punish all those who were involved in the murder of the Archduke and to prevent the crossing of arms and explosives from the Bosnian border. The Serbians accepted all the conditions, but did not let Austrian officials and police into their country. That refusal angered Austria-Hungary, thereby attacking Serbia on 28th July 1914.

The spread of the First World War

The attack on Serbia prompted Russia to join the war in support of Serbia against Austria- Hungary. Germany told Russia to pull out its forces but Russia refused. On 1st August 1914, Germany declared war on Russia. Britain and France warned Germany to pull out its troops from the war. Germany, however, refused. On 3rd August 1914, Germany declared war on France. On 5th August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany, leading to the outbreak of the First World War. The United State of America (USA) joined the First World War in 1917 and declared war on Germany. Initially USA adopted isolation policy, which considered the First World War as a distant quarrel that had nothing to do with her. Following Germany's submarine attack on passenger and merchant ships in 1917, USA declared war against Germany. By entering the war, the USA caused the war to spread to the western hemisphere.

The spread of the war worldwide was influenced by the military alliances (the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente). Through these alliances, the conflicting nations used propaganda to influence people's thinking and shape public opinion on the war.

The participation of the European colonies precipitated the rapid spread of the war in the world. Eventually, the war involved the European nations together with their colonies within and outside Europe. These colonies became satellite states of the European powers during the war operations. With the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, all the African colonies were involved in the war. They fought for their respective colonial masters. Some Asian, Caribbean and Pacific nations that were under colonial domination were also drawn into the war.

The advancement of military technology during the early decades of the twentieth century contributed to the spread of the First World War in various parts of the world. During that time, the Europeans and Americans witnessed a rapid development of military technology, especially in the manufacturing of modern and sophisticated war weapons, machines, and equipment. The making of bombs and missiles facilitated distant war operations.

Effects of the First World War on Africa

After a long fight among the warring nations, Germany and her allies were finally defeated. Consequently, the former German colonies such as Togo, Cameroon, South West Africa (Namibia) and German East Africa (Tanganyika, Rwanda

and Burundi), were handed over to new colonial masters (see Figure 1.2). Togo was given to France, while Cameroon was shared between France and Britain. Namibia was handed over to South Africa. German East Africa was partitioned into Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi. Tanganyika was handed over to Britain, while Rwanda and Burundi became Belgian colonies. Therefore, these colonies became mandate territories under the League of Nations, which was formed in 1919.

The First World War caused depopulation, as many Africans lost their lives during the war operations. The Africans died because the war was fought on the African soil and some of the Africans participated in the battlefield. Other people died of influenza, typhoid, cerebral meningitis, malaria and dysentery. These diseases spread due to the movement of people especially soldiers. Overall, about one million people in East Africa, especially in Tanganyika, died during the war.

Intensive exploitation of African resources in the post-war period was another effect of the First World War. The European powers alienated more land and increased forced labour, taxation and livestock confiscation in order to meet the cost of the war. These measures were aimed at forcing Africans to work in different colonial projects such as mining and cash crop production. The colonial governments reduced expenditure on important social services such as education and health care to recover the economic and social losses incurred during the war. For example, school enrolment declined drastically in various African colonies because it had no immediate impact on the colonial economy.

There was also a changing pattern of colonial production in Africa during the First World War in Africa. For example, the German colonial state insisted on the production of various goods such as rubber, tyres, benzene, ropes, alcohol, jam, boots and cigarettes. These goods had to be produced and consumed within the German colonies because importation of goods from Germany was impossible because of the war.

The First World War also resulted in starvation, misery and hunger in many parts of Africa. After the war, the entire economy was geared towards peasant crop production. Given the priorities of the war, grain and cattle were forcibly taken from the African peasants to feed soldiers and porters. This caused an acute shortage of food among the African people.

All over Africa, the First World War led to the collapse of infrastructure such as railways, roads and buildings. For example, in Tanganyika, the British destroyed the German army stores which had been left behind during the war.

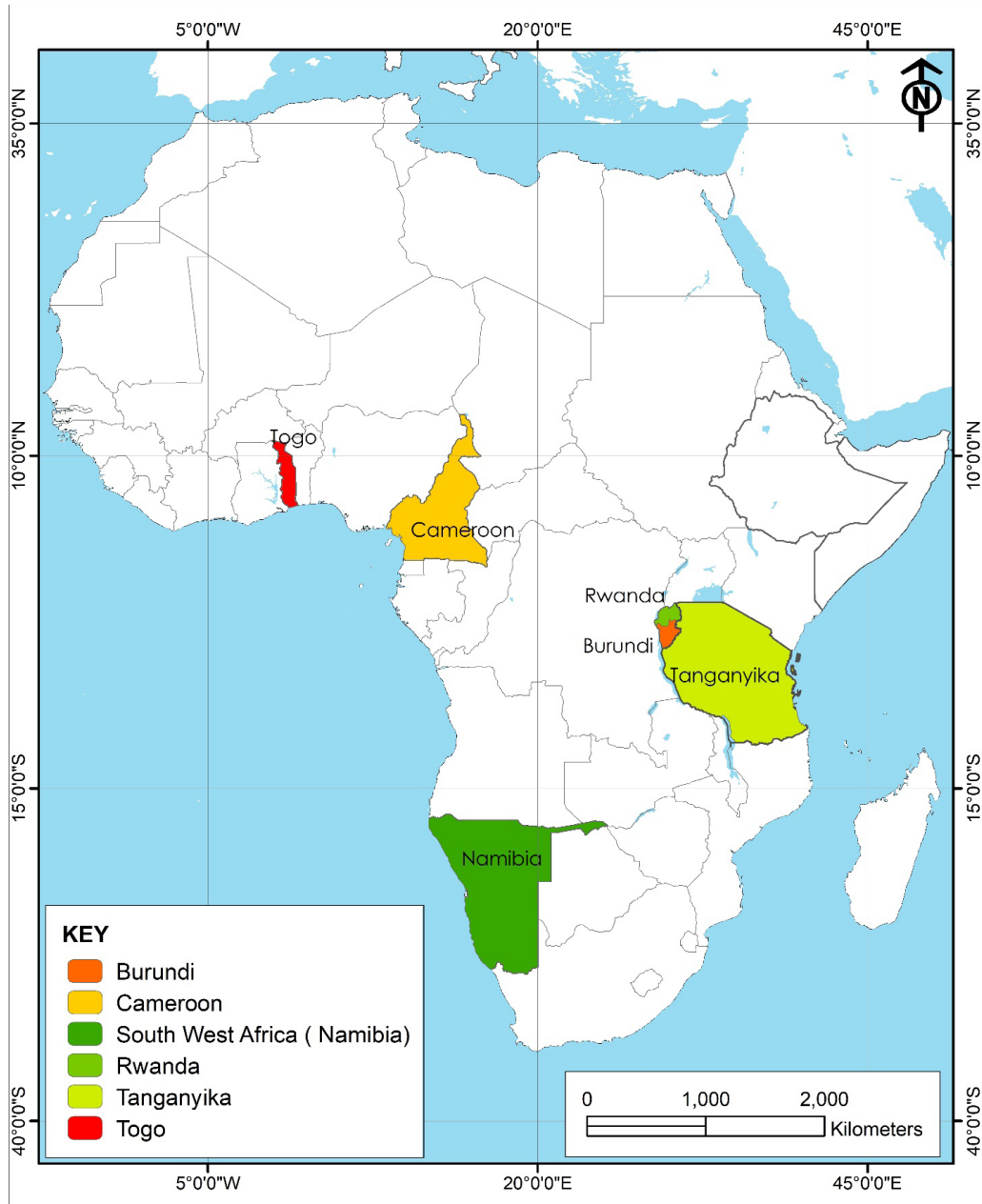


Figure 1.2: Mandate territories after the First World War

Exercise 1.1

Answer the following questions:

1. Explain how the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism led to the emergence of the crises in the world capitalist system.
2. (a) What is European nationalism?
(b) Briefly explain how European nationalism led to the outbreak of the First World War.

The Great Economic Depression (1929-1933)

The Great Economic Depression was a complete and prolonged economic decline, which started in the USA and affected the whole world from 1929 to 1933. The depression reached its peak in 1933 after touching almost every sector of the economy, namely banks, insurance companies, agriculture, industry, trade and transport. The depression had its origins in the aftermath of the First World War. The end of the war in 1918 had left Europe in great economic hardship. The USA, which had not been adversely affected by the war, enjoyed a period of great economic prosperity. It invested heavily in industries to increase production and supply of goods to the nations, which had been adversely affected by the war. American banks generated money, which attracted borrowers. Governments in Europe borrowed money from such banks. American agriculture and industry prospered and the selling of shares at the Stock Exchange Market increased tremendously. The USA loaned European governments and adopted protectionist policies in order to limit the flow of goods from Europe to America so as to protect her domestic markets and industries.

Causes of the Great Economic Depression

The Great Economic Depression which started in Europe and America was caused by multiple causes. The first cause was overproduction of industrial and agricultural goods. The period from 1920 to 1926 witnessed an increase in agricultural and industrial production in the USA. This situation had been encouraged by increased mechanisation in production and the desire for profit maximisation. As a result, by 1929, the American farmers and industrialists had realised greater production than the market demanded, thus leading to the decline in prices. The decline in prices was largely due to the failure to sell goods to the

markets. This failure implies that the Americans could no longer make profit. As they failed to produce for quick profit, they laid off their workers. The workers who had been laid off failed to buy goods and life became unbearable, thus giving rise to the Great Economic Depression.

The second cause was unequal distribution of income in the USA. The fall in demand was partly due to unequal distribution of income among the American people. Many people lost interest in buying new consumer goods, while others could not afford them. Statistics show that, in 1928, 60% of American families earned less than \$ 2000 a year, which was very low. The distribution of income in the hands of the public to sustain the national economy was uneven, this caused the loss of profit.

The aftermath of the First World War constitutes an important factor for the Great Economic Depression. The war had destroyed infrastructure, industries, farms and social services such as hospitals and schools. But the USA was not affected by the war because she played the role of producer and supplier of firearms, food and other items, which she sold to the fighting European nations. Germany, on the other hand, was among the European countries, which were badly hit by the Great Economic Depression. Inflation was very high in Germany and the level of industrial production was very low, causing unemployment and reduced purchasing power among the people. The situation worsened after the USA had decided to stop giving loans to Germany. All this further exacerbated the economic performance, leading to the Great Economic Depression.

The Americans' purchase of shares in companies to make quick profits also resulted in the Great Economic Depression. Prices of shares rose between 1926 and 1929 because Americans were buying many shares in order to sell them and make quick profits. This caused the supply of shares to be higher than their demand. This, in turn, caused the prices of shares to fall and unfortunate investors had to accept whatever they could get. Shares were no longer sold dearly. The worst day for the New York Stock Exchange was 24th October 1929, the "Black Thursday", when millions of shares were sold at a throwaway price.

The introduction of the tariff barrier system in the USA escalated the Great Economic Depression. The American government did that to protect its industries

and domestic markets against competition with foreign imports from Europe. That system, affected America's foreign trade as foreign goods were kept out of the American market. It also prevented businessmen in Europe from making the much-needed profits from trade with the USA. The European nations responded to the system by introducing similar tariff barriers against American goods. So, American businessmen found it difficult to sell their goods abroad.

In brief the capitalist economy periodically faces a cycle of crises because there is no central planning of what to produce, how to produce, how much to produce and when to produce. Planning of production, distribution and consumption of goods is made by an individual capitalist with no central coordination. This explains why the USSR (as a socialist state) was the only country in the world that was not affected by the Great Economic Depression.

The spread of the Great Economic Depression

There were two reasons for the spread of the Great Economic Depression to various parts of the world. The first reason was the introduction of the tariff barriers between Europe and the USA. The European nations depended heavily on loans from the USA. When the USA was hit by the depression, American banks stopped lending money to European businessmen. This affected not only millions of investors in Europe, but also overseas trade between the USA and Europe. The outcome was the spread of the depression from the USA to Europe.

The second reason was the existence of colonies in Africa and Asia which were also affected by the depression. The depression affected the colonies because their economies were integrated to the world capitalist system. Hence, the centralisation of economies was achieved through the unified taxation system, policies and enforcement mechanisms that were adopted to stimulate production for export. The outcome of such centralisation was that colonies became part of global capitalist economies. Therefore, any crises that affected the global economy would inevitably affect the colonial economies.

Effects of the Great Economic Depression on Africa

The Great Economic Depression had certain socio-economic effects on African societies. The colonial powers intensified the exploitation of the colonies more than ever before in order to recover their declining economies. In so doing, they

increased taxation to raise revenue and the British colonial government forced African peasants to increase the production of the needed commodities. For example, it introduced the “Grow More Cash Crops” campaigns in Tanganyika. The campaigns made African peasants produce more cash crops to meet the demand of the colonial economy, while at the same time the colonial governments cut down the prices of cash crops to maximise profits. The result was an increase of poverty among the peasants because they were intensively exploited. The campaigns also affected the production of subsistence crops.

The socio-economic hardships that Africans experienced during the Great Economic Depression culminated in the emergence of co-operative unions and social welfare associations. Those organisations demanded better working conditions and fair prices for peasants’ crops. Examples of such associations included the Kilimanjaro Native Planters’ Association, the Ngoni-Matengo Native Co-operative Union in Ruvuma, the Mwakaleli African Growers’ Association, the Usambara Native Growers Association, and the Bugufi Growers Association in Ngara. Similar associations were formed in other African countries, including in Kenya, where the Kikuyu Association was formed. Later, these attempts laid a foundation for the rise of nationalism, which gained speed after the Second World War. The fall of the prices of agricultural crops in some cases, made Africans go on strike, withhold their crops and form peasants’ protest movements.

Another effect of the Great Economic Depression was the fall of wages, especially the wages of migrant labourers, dockworkers and railway workers. The outcome of this was the occurrence of strikes and riots among African workers. For example, the dockworkers in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam went on strike in 1938. In the commercial sector, the total value of the export-import trade of each colony drastically declined because the colonial governments lacked money to support various economic projects in their colonies.

Finally, there was a general decline in the living standards of Africans owing to increased taxation. African adult males spent days hiding for the fear of harassment caused by the ruthless methods of tax collection adopted by the colonial state.



Activity 1.2

Conduct a library and online search on the Great Economic Depression (1929-1933). Then write a summary in your exercise book of how overproduction, the introduction of the tariff system and the buying of shares in companies caused the Great Economic Depression.

The Second World War (1939-1945)

The outbreak of the Second World War, which began in 1939, was in many ways a continuation of the First World War of 1914-1918. The Second World War involved the Allied Powers and the Axis Powers. Germany was determined to regain her colonies. In 1933, Adolf Hitler came into power and initiated Germany's expansionist policies. The appeasement policy adopted by Britain and France prevented them from checking Germany's aggressive behaviour in the early days. Germany's unchecked expansionist policies increased tension among the European powers. Her invasion of Poland on 1st September 1939 resulted in the outbreak of the Second World War.

Causes of the Second World War

The events which caused the Second World War began soon after the First World War. By 1939, such events had reached critical point and they were almost irreversible. The signs of the outbreak of the Second World War were evident. Germany rejected the terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty and adopted a political philosophy based on extreme nationalism and rearmament. The Versailles Peace Treaty was signed by Britain, France and the USA in Versailles France in 1919 as a permanent solution for world peace, order and justice. Unfortunately, the terms appeared unfair to Germany. One of the terms ordered Germany to surrender all her colonies to Britain, France, Belgium and South Africa. The size of her army was limited to 100,000 soldiers only. She was not allowed to possess tanks, heavy artillery, military aircraft, warships and poison gases. Germany's naval army was banned to use the submarine and was allowed to have only six old battle ships. Germany was ordered to surrender to France the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine that were conquered during the Franco-Prussian war. The loss of these areas also meant a reduction of her population, wealth and power. Finally, she was ordered to pay war reparation amounting to US\$ 6.5 million (£ 6.6 million). Such terms instigated many woes among the Germans so they started looking

for strong leaders who could subvert the Versailles Peace Treaty. In 1933, Adolf Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany and denounced those conditions.

The ambitious and aggressive behaviour of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini of Italy caused the Second World War. Before becoming Chancellor, Hitler had just organised a military coup to overthrow the Weimar government. The Germans disliked that government because it had accepted the terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Thus, in 1923, Hitler unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the Weimar government; as a result, he was arrested and jailed. While in jail he wrote a book entitled *MEIN KAMPF* (my own struggle). In this book, he wrote that the Germans had suffered for three reasons: unfair terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty, France's hatred against Germany and the presence of Jews in Germany, who held many posts at the expense of unemployed Germans. In 1934, Hitler began campaigns aimed at restoring Germany to a place where it had been in 1913. He began to snatch territories from the neighbouring countries. He invaded Czechoslovakia and Austria in 1938. His invasion of Poland in 1939 sparked off the Second World War.

The military alliances for security and protection also stimulated the war. Britain, France, Yugoslavia and Poland formed a secret military alliance to check the aggression of Germany. In 1936, Hitler and Benito Mussolini formed a military alliance called the Berlin-Rome Axis. Japan joined it in 1939, making the alliance change to the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. The formation of these military alliances built the confidence of the antagonistic blocs, which created tension and eventually led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Excessive nationalism which rose in Germany, Italy and Japan was another factor that caused the Second World War. Such nationalist spirit fostered the development of imperialist expansion. The three nations combined their efforts to grab new lands. Germany invaded and occupied some parts of Czechoslovakia and Austria. Japan invaded and occupied Manchuria in China. Italy invaded and colonised Ethiopia. These invasions caused political tensions among the imperialist powers and triggered the outbreak of the Second World War.

The Second World War was also caused by the Spanish civil war of 1936-1939. It involved the socialist government supported by the USSR against dictator General Franco Francisco, who was supported by Hitler and Mussolini. Germany and Italy used the war to test their newly discovered weapons. As a result Germany

and Italy became confident of the efficiency of their weapons, especially the warplanes, *luftwaffe* and tanks “panzers”. The war also brought Germany and Italy close to each other and later paved the way for the formation of the Berlin-Rome Axis before Japan joined them to make it Berlin - Rome -Tokyo Axis.

The weaknesses of the League of Nations were also responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. The League of Nations failed to prevent the growing militarism and armament of Germany, Japan and Italy. It failed to use its political power to act against aggressors.

The effects of the Great Economic Depression also contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War. The problems caused by the Great Economic Depression became an added burden on Germany, which was also facing unfair terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919. The economic problems pertaining to the Great Economic Depression created instability in some European countries. Such events prompted the rise of dictators across Europe including Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini who initiated the Second World War.

The last cause of the Second World War was the appeasement policy, adopted by France and Britain towards Germany and Italy. The two countries did not oppose Hitler and Mussolini. Thus, when Hitler invaded Poland on 1st September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3rd September 1939, because Poland was their ally. This declaration marked the beginning of the Second World War.

Effects of the Second World War on Africa

This time again, Africans were drawn into the war which was of no interest to them. Many young Africans were conscripted into the colonial armies and fought for their colonial masters (see Figure 1.3). During the war, many of them died because the majority of them were poorly armed and grossly inexperienced. The Second World War exposed the myth of white superiority, which was rooted on racial ideology manifested by Europeans in the colonies. During the war, African soldiers witnessed the defeat of their colonial masters. They also saw the dirty, illiterate, and drunken behaviours as well as other weaknesses of the Europeans. Thus, the Africans developed a more realistic picture of European life.

Economic changes were introduced in all African countries to address the problems caused by the war. Africans experienced intensified exploitation and oppression. The colonialists established marketing boards in Eastern, Central and Western Africa to organise African production for export. They also imposed price control. Although cash crops fetched higher prices in Europe, African producers sold their crops at lower prices.

The colonialists also encouraged agricultural schemes to produce cash crops and intensify the exploitation of migrant labourers. Some of the agricultural schemes in Tanganyika included the Nachingwea, Urambo and Kongwa groundnut schemes. These schemes sought to maximise colonial production to revamp the war-torn economy of the colonial powers.

The commercial and military demands of the Second World War made the European powers to build physical infrastructure to the scale that had not been witnessed before. For example, in British West Africa, ports such as Freetown and Lagos were built. The British built Accra Airport in Ghana and it became the main terminus for transporting troops. The construction of harbours, ports and airports caused rural-urban migration as people were looking for employment opportunities in towns.

There were also major transformations that were reflected in the colonial policies. For example, the British introduced Colonial Development and Welfare Acts in 1940s. From these Acts, significant changes took place in the provision of education, health care, water and housing services. In education, secondary education was expanded. University colleges were established in some African colonies. For example, Makerere University in Uganda was established in 1949.

The United Nations Organization replaced the League of Nations in 1945. The UN Decolonisation Committee encouraged Africans to seek for the decolonisation of their countries. All the mandate colonies, which were formerly under the League of Nations, became trusteeship territories under the United Nations' Trusteeship Council. Generally, the Second World War created contradictions which, in turn, facilitated Africans in their struggle for political independence. In short, the Second World War arose the wind of change in Africa popularly known as mass nationalism.



Figure 1.3: *African soldiers serving during the Second World War*

Source: <https://www.dw.com/en/africas-forgotten-world-war-ii-veterans/a-53358115>



Activity 1.3

In groups of five:

- (a) design a time chart of the major historical events presented in this chapter;
- (b) present your time chart in class; and
- (c) under the help of your teacher, vote for the best time chart.

Exercise 1.2

Answer the following questions:

1. Analyse the factors that led the Second World War to spread world wide
2. To what extent did the Great Economic Depression affect the African colonies?
3. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Mandate territories
 - (b) Balkan War
 - (c) European nationalism
 - (d) World capitalist crises

Revision exercise 1

Answer the following questions:

1. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) the First World War
 - (b) the Great Economic Depression
 - (c) the Second World War
2. To what extent did the unfair terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 contribute to the outbreak of the Second World War?
3. In what ways did the Great Economic Depression affect the people of Tanganyika?
4. Appraise the role of the military alliances in the outbreak of the First and the Second World Wars.
5. With examples, explain the measures taken by the European imperialist powers to recover from the effects of the Great Economic Depression and the Second World War.
6. How did the First World War affect African colonies?
7. Explain how the Second World War led to the intensification of exploitation in Africa.
8. Examine the contribution of the Second World War to the nationalist struggles in African colonies.
9. Assess the effects of the Great Economic Depression on the East African colonies.
10. Analyse the short-term and long-term causes of the First World War.

Chapter Two

Nationalism and the struggle for independence in Africa

Introduction

The struggle for independence in Africa was caused by the evils of colonialism. The colonialists destroyed and transformed the African economy, political system, social structure and identity. The Africans who had been living freely in their own territories before colonialism were forced to accept foreign domination. They did not welcome colonialism with open arms. They resisted colonial rule because they wanted to maintain their own autonomy, economy, culture, identity and social-political values. This chapter examines the origins and development of nationalist movements in Africa and their contribution to the attainment of African independence. The competencies developed will enable you to value and safeguard our national independence.



Reflection questions

- (a) What were the evils of colonial rule to the Africans?
- (b) Did Africans need to get rid of colonial rule?
- (c) How did the nationalist movements contribute to economic and political development in Africa?
- (d) How can we safeguard our national independence in the face of neo-colonial manipulation?

African nationalism

Nationalism is a sense of awareness among the people of a certain nation to defend their own identity, sovereignty and self-determination against foreign rule and domination. African nationalism was the struggle against European colonial domination. It was also Africans' desire for self-governance. In Africa, nationalist movements started soon after colonial invasion. The Africans resisted

colonial intrusion in order to protect their political and economic sovereignty. Such movements gained momentum after the Second World War. The nationalist movements which took place after the Second World War are also referred to as mass nationalism because they were more extensive in scope and better organised than the previous movements.

The origins of nationalism in Africa

The origins of the nationalist movements in Africa can be traced back to the era of resistance against colonialism when societies, individually or collectively, opposed colonial intrusion, oppression and exploitation of Africans and their resources. Africans fought wars of resistance in order to restore their lost freedom and autonomy. Examples of African resistance were:

- (a) the Mandinka resistance of 1882-1898 under Samori Toure against the French in West Africa;
- (b) the Hehe resistance of 1891-1898 under Mkwawa, the Nyamwezi resistance of 1892-1894 under Isike, the coastal resistance of 1888 under Abushiri and Bwana Heri and the Yao resistance of the 1890s under Mchemba. These wars of resistance were fought against the Germans in mainland Tanzania;
- (c) the Nandi resistance of 1890-1906 under Koitalel arap Samoei against the British in Kenya;
- (d) the Bunyoro resistance of 1893 under Omukama Kabalega against the British in Uganda.
- (e) the Shona and Ndebele resistance of 1896-1897 against the British in Zimbabwe;
- (f) the Nama and Herero resistance of 1904-1907 under Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maherero against the Germans in Namibia; and
- (g) the Ethiopian resistance of 1935-1936 under King Menelik II against the Italians;

The African resistance against colonial invasions in their territories marked the beginning of the nationalist movements in Africa. Resistance against colonialism took different forms such as passive, collaborative and active resistance. Passive resistance involved non-violent protest against colonial rule. It included peaceful demonstrations, boycotts, hunger strikes and refusal to comply with the law or order issued by the colonial governments. Collaborative resistance entailed

making friendship with the colonialists to fight against rival African chiefs. This method was mainly adopted by weak societies, who collaborated with colonialists to fight against the strong ones. Active resistance took place in the form of violent protests or physical fight against colonial injustices. The specific form of resistance depended on the nature of colonial invasion, the organisation of the society concerned and the intensity of colonial exploitation.

Causes of the early forms of nationalism before 1945

Africans organised nationalist movements against colonial rule for the following reasons:

- (a) forced labour: Africans worked on colonial plantations, mines and other projects for low wages. Such wages were meant to meet their needs and to pay the taxes imposed by the colonialists;
- (b) land alienation: this deprived Africans of their arable land and limited their chances to participate in agricultural production;
- (c) introduction of European goods: this destroyed local industries and technologies;
- (d) imposition of heavy taxes (i.e. head and hut taxes): this was intended to force Africans to work for low wages on colonial economic projects such as plantations and mining;
- (e) loss of control over trade (i.e. local and long-distance trade): colonial restrictions and the introduction of European goods undermined local industries and limited the African participation in trading activities;
- (f) colonial oppression and injustices: these took the form of long working hours, low wages, poor-working conditions, discrimination in social service provision (i.e. health and education) and heavy punishment;
- (g) racism and segregation against Africans; and
- (h) destruction of African traditional values: this was the result of the introduction of foreign culture and values (i.e. language, education and dressing style).

Importance of the early forms of nationalism to the struggle for independence

African resistance was organised to gain political sovereignty and to fight against colonial traditions, values and norms, which undermined African culture. Although

Africans were defeated, they symbolised unity in their struggle for freedom. The movements mobilised a large number of people from different political units and ethnic groups. Generally, African resistance aroused consciousness of the masses so that they could express their grievances and demand for independence. African resistance was important in the struggle for independence because it led to:

- (a) increased awareness among Africans against the colonial exploitation of African wealth and resources;
- (b) unity among different African ethnic groups to fight against colonial intrusion; and
- (c) the removal of fear and inferiority complex among Africans so that they could liberate themselves from colonial domination and exploitation;

Africans organised early nationalist movements to attain their freedom. They raised African consciousness and the belief in unity as the only way to end the social, economic and political evils of colonialism. The early nationalist movements were aimed at safeguarding the sovereignty of the African people. These movements continued even after the establishment of colonial rule. The Africans unwillingly surrendered, but they did not accept to be under foreign rule. They waited for the right time and strong leaders who could help them to destroy colonialism. Meanwhile, the African continued to mobilise themselves and adopted different strategies that would help them to keep the nationalist spirit alive.



Activity 2.1

Conduct a library and online search on the early nationalist movements and answer the following questions:

- (a) how did the early nationalist movements contribute to the struggle for independence in Africa?
- (b) what lessons can today's African leaders learn from the early nationalist leaders?

The rise of social and welfare associations

Social and welfare associations were peasants and worker's interest groups formed by Africans to protest against colonial exploitation and oppression. Africans formed these associations during the colonial period to demand and defend their needs and rights. There were different forms of social and welfare associations formed during the colonial rule. Some were created by rural peasants, urban dwellers and civil servants. Such associations did not directly demand political independence. However, their grievances formed the basis for political activity. Some of the social and welfare associations established were:

- (a) skilled and unskilled workers' associations. These associations were mainly formed to unite workers to present their demand for higher wages, equal pay for workers with similar qualifications and better social services like houses, health and education. They included the Tanganyika Territory African Civil Servants Association (TTACSA). It was formed in 1922 by Martin Kayamba to demand more rights and better treatment for the African workers under British colonial rule. The other popular association was the African Association (AA) which was formed in Dar es Salaam in 1929. Between 1934 and 1936, the African Association expanded by opening branches in Zanzibar and Dodoma. In 1948, it split into two and changed its name to Tanganyika African Association (TAA) and Zanzibar African Association (ZAA) (see Figure 2.1). In addition to TTACSA, TAA and ZAA, there were other associations including African Labour Union, which was formed by dockworkers in Dar es Salaam, the African Government Employees' Association, Teachers' Association, the Association of Cooks and Domestic Servants in Dar es Salaam and the Usangi Sports and Welfare Club. There were similar associations in other parts of Africa, including the Mine Workers Union in Northern Rhodesia (present day Zambia), the North Kavirondo Central Association in Kenya and the National Congress of British West Africa that united Africans in the British colonies of West Africa. Ghanaian elites formed their association in 1920 to demand increased representation in various state organs, especially in the legislative council;



Figure 2.1: TAA members

Source: Adopted from the Institute of Curriculum Development (1988)

- (b) African traders, including petty traders in urban areas, addressed their grievances including discrimination against unequal consideration in the provision of loans and other facilities between Africans and the people of other races; and
- (c) peasant co-operative societies were formed to represent peasants who grew similar crops. Example of peasant cooperative societies was the Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association in Tanganyika. The association was formed by the Chagga coffee growers in 1925 under the leadership of Joseph Merinyo to demand a fair price. The association also fought against land alienation. Other peasant associations formed in Tanganyika included the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU), the Mwakaleli African Growers' Association in Mbeya, the Usambara Native Growers' Association (1931), the Bugufi Growers' Associations in Ngara and the Ngaka Coffee Society in Umatengo. Similar associations were also formed in Kenya, Uganda and the rest of Africa. In Kenya, peasant associations included the Kikuyu Association, which was formed in 1920 under the leadership of Chief Koinange and the Ukamba Members' Association. Both associations had the objective of protecting peasant land against settler expropriation. In Uganda, the Bataka Association was formed in 1921, with land alienation as its major

grievance. In Ghana, the Gold Coast Aborigines was formed to fight against the laws that had been enacted to exploit the African land. By and large, the associations formed in Africa defended the needs of farmers such as high prices for agricultural products, land alienation and forced labour.



Activity 2.2

Conduct a library and online search on other social and welfare associations formed during the colonial rule in Africa. Write short notes on their formation and achievements.

Reasons for the rise of social and welfare associations

The reasons for the rise of the social and welfare associations in Africa were:

- (a) inspiration from African soldiers who returned from the First World War. The soldiers had been exposed to the experiences of other nations in terms of social, political and economic demands against colonialism as they fought outside the continent. When they returned home, they raised the awareness of other Africans on the importance of social and welfare associations in the process of expressing their grievances;
- (b) the role of elites, especially those trained by the colonialists in Europe. Although African elites were trained so that they could work for the colonialists, they used their exposure to raise the awareness of their fellow Africans on how to fight against colonial rule;
- (c) increased colonial exploitation of human and natural resources. The First World War left the European nations under severe economic conditions. So, they intensified colonial exploitation to compensate for the resources lost during the war; and
- (d) increased awareness of African urban dwellers on the evils of colonialism. They started forming social and welfare associations on the basis of their places of origin, religion and work. Later on, these associations grew bigger and become more influential.

The contribution of social and welfare associations to the rise of mass nationalism

Below is the contribution of the social and welfare associations to the rise of mass nationalism in Africa:

- (a) they helped to keep African politics alive, since some of them drew members from different ethnic groups and religious affiliations. These associations discouraged ethnic and religious sentiments among their members and by so doing, they brought together various groups of people with similar interests;
- (b) they built offices and political infrastructures, which were used by the nationalist leaders during the struggle for independence;
- (c) Africans transformed some of the social and welfare associations into political parties during the struggle for independence. For example, Tanganyika African Association was transformed into Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954;
- (d) the existence of these associations put the colonial state under pressure, thus forcing it to reduce mistreatment of the Africans; and
- (e) they prepared people, who later led the struggle for independence. The leaders raised the political awareness of other people on the need for unity and mass movements to achieve independence. For example, Jomo Kenyatta, a member of the Kikuyu Central Association, led the mass political movement that led to the achievement of Kenya's independence in 1963.

Generally, the African social and welfare associations played an important role in providing education and raising consciousness among Africans about the need for freedom. They promoted unity among ethnic groups and, over time, increased Africans' demands, which were beyond the interests of ethnic groups. They also produced leaders who actively participated in the struggle for independence after 1945. Finally, the associations provided a framework through which different ethnic groups met and discussed methods of fighting against the evils of colonialism. In brief, the social and welfare associations laid the foundation for the formation of mass political parties between the 1940s and 1970s.

Weaknesses of the social and welfare associations

Despite their strengths, the social and welfare associations had some weaknesses:

- (a) they were small groups, mainly formed along the lines of ethnic groups or

- regions. Although they forced the colonial state to work on their demands, most of their grievances appeared to be ethnic-based;
- (b) They suffered from the threats of colonial governments. Most of the Africans could not join these associations fearing colonial brutality and harassment. The colonial governments undermined these association by imprisoning their leaders. For example, in Kenya, Harry Thuku, the leader of the Kikuyu Central Association, was arrested for leading the association;
 - (c) they faced financial problems because their members made low contributions due to low amount of income they earned; and
 - (d) they had inadequately skilled and knowledgeable leaders for managing these associations. This caused difficulty in organising and mobilising members

The rise of religious protest movements

Religious protest movements were organised by Africans to fight against colonial mistreatment, oppression and humiliation. These movements took the form of church protests. Africans split or broke away from the churches established by white missionaries to form independent churches.

Causes of religious protest movements in Africa

The introduction of Christianity in Africa destroyed African religious identity and culture. Some African religious leaders organised religious movements to resist Christianity because it was seen as a destructive agent of colonialism. European church leaders demanded that African Christian converts abandon their customary practices and adopt European ones, instead. They also attacked African traditional practices such as polygamy, circumcision of women and payment of dowry. Africans wanted to maintain their religions, culture and social values, and hence they organised religious movements to rebel against European religious practices.

Religious protest movements also rose because of mistreatment of Africans by European missionaries. Although missionaries preached equality, in reality they exploited, segregated, oppressed and humiliated Africans. They were seen as agents and perpetrators of colonialism because some of them signed land agreements which resulted in land alienation and the exploitation of African wealth. The missionaries also supported the colonial policy of taxation and forced

labour. They failed to attack racial segregation in the provision of social services such as education and health services. This made people devalue Christianity and consider missionaries as exploiters of African wealth. As such, European churches were regarded as agents of colonialism.

Because Africans had a negative perception on Christian missionaries, they later opened their own independent churches, which incorporated some of the European church practices and some of the African customs and practices. In East Africa, most of the independent churches were established in Kenya and Uganda. In Tanganyika, independent churches did not have much influence because Christianity was not strong. Some of the independent African churches formed were:

- (a) in Kenya, the Independent Church which was formed by Daudi Maina in 1922. Other churches included the Gikuyu Orthodox Church and the People of God. Several independent churches were formed in the Nyanza region. One of such churches was the Religion of Spirit Church, which allowed its members to practise polygamy. Its members dressed in traditional clothes. The Church banned its members from smoking and drinking alcohol;
- (b) in Uganda, the most prominent independent church was the Abamalaki. Its founder was called Malaki. He quoted from the Old Testament in support of polygamy and gained the support of a Baganda agent called Semei Kakunguru;
- (c) most independent churches entered in Tanganyika from Nyasaland (Malawi). Examples of these churches included the African National Church, the Church of God and the Watch Tower Church;
- (d) in Nyasaland (Malawi), important independent churches included the Providence Industrial Mission Church founded by John Chilembwe, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society founded by Eliot Kamwana and Charles Domingo in 1906;
- (e) in South Africa, Nehemiah Tile founded the Thembu National Church in 1884. Mangena M. Mokone formed the Independent Ethiopian Church. By 1913, there were 30 different Independent Ethiopian churches in South Africa; and
- (f) in Zambia, there was the Lumpa Church established in 1953 under Lenshina Mulenga.

The contribution of religious protest movements

The religious protest movements had the following contributions. They paved the way for Africans to occupy higher ranks in the churches. Initially Africans were only placed in the lower positions in the missionary churches; they were either Bible school teachers or catechists. Nevertheless, they contributed towards the attainment of independence, especially after 1945. For example, they:

- (a) led to the establishment of independent schools. The schools were managed by Africans and increased the enrolment of African children. The children were taught about African wealth, culture, customs and the evils of colonialism. Those who graduated from these schools became strong political activists who initiated the struggle for independence. The education provided in such schools provided effective leadership skills during the struggle for political independence. Their leaders supported the formation of political parties. They worked with other groups of Africans to fight for independence;
- (b) made critical reforms in education. The schools opened by independent churches were not affiliated with colonial schools. They taught Africans about the evil deeds of the colonialists; and
- (c) helped to raise awareness among Africans through demonstrations, strikes and boycotts against colonialism. These movements helped to reveal the evils of European customs and practices which missionaries and colonial officials used to discriminate against Africans. Such evil practices included separate provision of social services, forced labour, forced cultivation of cash crops, taxation and land alienation. In so doing, they promoted unity among Africans during the struggle for independence.

Weaknesses of the religious protest movements

Despite their strength and contribution to the struggle for independence, independent churches had weak foundations:

- (a) most of them hoped to end the evils of the European churches using the same Bible;
- (b) they did not have adequately trained staff, who could lead their churches effectively. Most of the leaders were ex-missionaries and graduates who had little Western education. Lack of education affected the management and administration of these movements;
- (c) the main source of funds for these movements were contributions from the church members, who also had financial difficulties as their main source of

income was the low wages paid by the colonial governments. As such, they had difficulties in managing their movements;

- (d) African independent church members quarrelled over leadership positions and recognition; and
- (e) there was also competition between the independent churches and the missionary churches for converts. The latter got many followers as more Africans joined their churches than they did for the independent churches. Africans were more attracted to the missionary churches than African churches because the former provided assistance and gifts like clothes and shoes. The missionaries used these tactics to prevent the African independent churches from getting followers. To some extent, these weaknesses weakened the religious protest movements. Yet, the religious protest movements made a great contribution to the struggle for independence.

Exercise 2.1

Answer the following questions:

1. Briefly explain the origins of nationalism in Africa.
2. To what extent did religious protest movements influence nationalist struggles in Africa?

The rise of mass nationalism and political parties in Africa

In Africa, mass nationalism started after the Second World War. It marked the beginning of official anti-colonial movements, which resulted in the attainment of political independence. These movements are referred to as mass nationalism because they focused on the formation of nation-wide political parties, which mobilised peasants, workers, businessmen and the general population to fight for independence. Unlike the movements of the pre-Second World War era, the nationalist movements were well organised by African leaders like Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. They also covered the entire nations as they opened many branches in rural and urban areas. Mass nationalism was motivated by both internal and external factors, unlike the movements of the pre-Second World War era, which were motivated by internal forces only. Generally, mass nationalism was characterised by the participation of the masses in the demand for independence.



Activity 2.3

Conduct a library or online study on the first generation of African leaders and answer the following questions:

- (a) write a brief paragraph on the role played by each leader in the nationalist movements.
- (b) what lessons can today's African leaders learn from the first generation of African leaders?

Reasons for the rise of mass nationalism in Africa

After 1945, the nationalist struggles took on the form of mass struggles. There were internal and external factors that gave birth to African mass nationalism. Internal factors are those generated within African societies, while external factors refer to those related to the external environment.

Internal factors for the rise of mass nationalism in Africa after 1945

Immediately after the Second World War, Africans gained momentum to demand self-determination. This was a result of intensive exploitation of African resources. The colonialists intensified exploitation in their colonies after the Second World War in order to compensate for the resources lost during the war. In rural areas, the colonial state intensified the exploitation and oppression of peasants by forcing them to grow more cash crops and sell them at low price. In Tanganyika, the colonial state adopted a series of measures between the 1930s and 1940s to intensify the exploitation of resources and labour.

Some of the measures were very new to African peasants. They included adoption of the terracing method to prevent soil erosion, afforestation, destocking and the provision of cattle dipping services. The colonial state also introduced agricultural schemes such as the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme and the Mlalo Rehabilitation Scheme. The two schemes adopted the terracing method of farming. Consequently, the schemes sparked widespread of anti-colonial sentiments in the colonies. All these actions were perceived by Africans as exploitation of their resources and interference in their subsistence economy. As a result of intensified exploitation, Africans formed peasant cooperative unions, especially in rural areas, to protect their interests and welfare. In some instances, they used the associations formed

by the colonialists to speed up production and marketing of cash crops. They also used such associations to sensitise peasants about the quest for freedom.

Other grievances, which forced Africans to start mass nationalism, included the discriminative systems of colonial administration such as the indirect rule system, the assimilation policy and association policy. The use of African chiefs in the administration of British colonies made African chiefs think that political power had not slipped from their hands. As a result, many chiefs defended colonialism. Thus, Africans who had gained political consciousness attacked such chiefs and demanded total independence.

Educated Africans who had studied abroad like Julius K. Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah played a great role in facilitating mass nationalism in Africa. They formed and led political parties, which not only challenged the colonial state but also mobilised Africans to fight for their independence.

In addition to African elites, social welfare associations like the Kikuyu Central Association in Kenya and the Tanganyika Territory Civil Service Association (TTCSA) contributed to the rise of mass nationalism. Their demand for conducive working conditions and higher wages increased pressure on the colonialists to consider giving independence to Africans.

The contribution of the mass media to the rise of mass nationalism in Africa cannot be ignored. The nationalist leaders used newspapers as platforms for communicating the message about independence to the people in urban and rural areas. They included *Sauti ya TANU in Tanganyika*, and *the Pilot* and *the Comet in Nigeria*.

External factors for the rise of mass nationalism in Africa after 1945

There were also external factors that contributed to the rise of mass nationalism in Africa, including African soldiers who returned from the First and Second World Wars. In the battlefield, African soldiers had noticed how Europeans killed each other. They saw European soldiers crying and suffering as a consequence of wounds and injuries. They also realised that the Europeans were fighting to defend the sovereignty and interests of their respective nations. These war experiences made them believe that Europeans were as weak as other races. After the war,

some of the ex-soldiers joined hands with the nationalists in the struggle for independence.

The Pan-African conference held in 1945 in Manchester contributed to the rise of mass nationalism in Africa. The conference condemned the exploitation of African wealth and oppression. Among the African elites who attended the conference were Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Nnandi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi. When they returned to Africa, they organised and led political movements against colonialism.

The United Nations, which replaced the League of Nations, played an important role in the struggle for independence. Through the UN, African and Asian countries opposed colonialism and demanded self-governance.

The independence of India and Pakistan also acted as an external factor for Africans to demand their independence. India and Pakistan gained independence from Britain in 1947 and 1948, respectively. The independence of Burma in 1948 also encouraged African nationalists to intensify their nationalist campaigns against colonial rule.

The Bandung conference of 17th April 1955, which Asian and African nations like Ghana, Nigeria, Libya and Egypt attended, also led to the rise of nationalism in Africa. Participants discussed their problems, including colonialism and economic backwardness. The conference motivated African countries to organise mass nationalism in their countries.

Furthermore, the role of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) with its communist movements consolidated nationalistic movements in Africa. The USSR provided moral and material support for the anti-colonial struggle in Africa, including supporting freedom fighters in Angola and Namibia to fight against the colonial regimes. Through the Marshal Plan and the Open-Door Policy of 1948, the USA played an important role in the rise of mass nationalism in Africa. The Second World War had no adverse effects on the USA because it was not fought on her soil. Instead, the USA participated in the war as the chief supplier of war materials. These factors made her become the leading capitalist nation. She began to advocate for the decolonisation of Africa in order to have as many supporters of capitalism as possible. In addition, the independence of African nations would enable the USA to get markets for her finished goods.



Activity 2.4

In a group, search for information from a library or other sources on the factors for the rise of mass nationalism in Africa and then answer the following questions:

- (a) do you think mass nationalism would not have started if there were no internal factors?
- (b) wouldn't mass nationalism be possible without external factors?

The rise and formation of political parties in Africa

The rise and formation of political parties was led by African elites in collaboration with other African leaders, who headed social welfare associations and religious movements. After 1945, most of the associations and welfare organisations became political parties. In Tanzania, Tanganyika African Association (TAA) changed into Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). In addition to the the associations which had turned into political parties, new political parties emerged, including the People's Movement for Liberation in Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in Angola, and African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress (PAC) in South Africa. Other political parties were South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, Mozambique Liberation Front, known in the Portuguese language as *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO) in Mozambique, Kenya African National Union (KANU) in Kenya and Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in Uganda, just to mention a few. These parties headed the mass nationalist movements in their respective countries towards independence. .



Activity 2.5

Conduct a library and online search for other political parties formed during the struggle for independence in African countries. Write short notes on their formation and contribution to independence in Africa.

The contribution of political parties to independence in Africa

Political parties united Africans, instilled a sense of patriotism in them and made them conscious of their grievances. They often mobilised Africans to demand independence through rallies, propaganda, newspapers, strikes and boycotts. For example, the CCP of Ghana encouraged Ghanaians to oppose the colonialists. TANU used newspapers such as *Sauti ya TANU* to encourage many people to join it. The two political parties also used women and youths to mobilise the masses to fight against colonialism.

Weaknesses of African political parties

Despite the remarkable contribution of political parties to the attainment of independence in Africa, the political parties had the following weaknesses:

- (a) lack of reliable communication networks for transmitting information from one place to another in order to facilitate political activities;
- (b) ethnic and regional sentiments. Some countries experienced competition between political parties based on ethnicity and regionalism. For example, in Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda, the politics based on ethnicity and regionalism hindered unity among Africans in their struggle for independence; and
- (c) some political parties were formed to meet the interests of a few elites. For instance, in Uganda the Uganda National Congress (UNC) was formed to meet the interests of non-Baganda people against Kabaka Yekka of Buganda. In Tanganyika, ethnic or religious ties to politics were not strong, but some parties were based on ethnic and religious affiliations. For example, the Chagga under Joseph Merinyo formed their own political party, which called for sovereignty among the Chagga of Kilimanjaro. Similarly, Muslims formed the All Muslims National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT) that wanted to delay the independence of Tanganyika until all Muslims had equal educational opportunities with Christians. The British colonial officials also encouraged European settlers and African chiefs to form the United Tanganyika Party in 1956. In consequence, the politics based on race, regionalism and ethnicity slowed down the campaigns for political independence.



Activity 2.6

In a group, conduct a library and online search on nationalist activities in Africa and answer the following questions:

- (a) did the nationalist movements in Africa bring about total independence?
- (b) if not, how can total liberation be achieved in Africa?

Challenges that faced the political parties during nationalism

The political parties faced financial problems because of the inability of their members to contribute the money required for doing various political activities. The colonialists imposed some restrictions on political parties, making it difficult for them to realise their goals. For example, the British colonial government restricted government workers from joining TANU. The colonial state imprisoned leaders to weaken political parties during the struggle for independence. In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah was imprisoned and in South Africa Nelson Mandela was jailed for 27 years. In some African colonies, political parties were not allowed, for example in Mozambique.

Exercise 2.2

Answer the following questions:

1. (a) What is mass nationalism?
(b) Analyse the reasons for the rise of mass nationalism in Africa.
2. Explain the challenges that faced political parties during nationalist struggles in Africa.

Revision exercise 2

Answer the following questions:

1. Discuss the contribution of social welfare associations and independent churches to the struggle for independence in Africa.
2. Write short notes on each of the following:
 - (a) Social welfare associations
 - (b) Religious protests movements
 - (c) Mass nationalism
3. What were the characteristics of African nationalism before 1945 and what factors changed it after 1945?
4. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of political parties during the struggle for independence in Africa.
5. Appraise the role of African elites in championing the struggle for independence in Africa.
6. Analyse the internal and external factors for the rise of mass nationalism in Africa
7. How different were the nationalist struggles of the post-Second World War from those of the pre-Second World War?
8. Examine the challenges encountered by African nationalists during mass nationalism.
9. Show how colonial exploitation triggered nationalist feelings among Africans.
10. Explain the role of African political parties in the struggle for independence.
11. Show how African political leaders contributed to mass nationalism.

Chapter Three

Decolonisation of Africa

Introduction

Historians agree that various factors contributed to the decolonisation of Africa between the 1950s and 1970s. The decolonisation process took different forms whereby settler-dominated colonies gained independence through armed struggle, while peasant-dominated colonies gained independence through peaceful means. This chapter is about the decolonisation of Africa. It focuses on the forms of decolonisation and their contribution to the attainment of independence in specific parts of Africa. The competencies developed will enable you to value, appreciate and safeguard the independence we have today.



Reflection questions

- (a) Why do you think the decolonisation process was necessary in African countries?
- (b) Do you think the European countries agreed to leave African states willingly?

Background to the decolonisation of Africa

Decolonisation is a process whereby colonies sought to free themselves from colonial domination. During that period the African people organised protest movements against the colonial powers in order to regain their lost freedom and sovereignty. The period between the 1950s and 1970s witnessed many African states gaining independence from the European colonial powers. Nevertheless, the African people devised various strategies of decolonisation, depending on the nature of the colony and the mode of colonial administration. While some Africans employed peaceful means, others used either armed struggle or revolutionary means. In the colonies where the colonialists had not invested heavily in infrastructure or

agriculture, the attainment of independence through peaceful means was possible. However, in the Portuguese colonies, independence had to be gained through armed struggle because the Portuguese had invested heavily in those colonies and regarded them as part of Portugal. Similarly, in settler-dominated colonies, Africans gained independence through armed struggle because the settlers and the colonial state were unwilling to hand over their investments to Africans.

Some colonies were trusteeship territories, implying that they were under the protection and supervision of the United Nations until they were ready for self-rule. In most cases, the possibilities of granting independence to trusteeship colonies through peaceful means were higher than to the other colonies. The willingness of a colonial master to grant independence also determined the form of decolonisation adopted. Some of the colonialists were reluctant to grant independence, thus making the colonised adopt armed struggle or a revolution to gain independence. Other conditions which determined the form of decolonisation included the role of mass media, elites, political parties and the nature of the colonial governors. African political leaders from different states communicated and sometimes supported each other financially.

Forms of decolonisation in Africa

Decolonisation through peaceful means

Decolonisation through peaceful means implies that the colonial authorities were willing to hold dialogue with African nationalist leaders on how independence could be granted to the respective African colonies. The dialogue centred, among other things, on amendment of the colonial constitutions. Because this form of decolonisation involved intensive negotiations between the colonialists and African nationalists, misunderstandings between the two parties were inevitable.

Most of the colonies that gained independence through peaceful means had few European settlers. Thus, the colonial state had relatively little to lose in terms of foreign investments. For the case of Tanganyika, there were minimal ethnic and religious differences that would cause internal disputes or disunity among the local population during the struggle for independence. It was, therefore, easy to unite the people and organise mass movement.

It was also easy to gain independence in colonies where political parties lacked serious opposition. Some of the colonies which achieved political independence

through peaceful means were Tanganyika, Ghana, Uganda and Zambia. In Tanganyika, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was a major political party, although there were other political parties which challenged it such as United Tanganyika Party (UTP) and All Muslim National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT). These political parties were not as strong as TANU. So, unlike KANU of Kenya, which faced opposition from other parties, TANU operated without significant hindrances. In countries where there were strong and charismatic leaders with a high level of patriotism, independence was also gained through peaceful means. For example, Tanganyika and Ghana gained independence through peaceful means because J. K. Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah were strong and charismatic leaders. These nationalist leaders used persuasion and diplomacy to make the British grant independence to their respective countries peacefully.

African nations which gained independence through peaceful means

Tanganyika

Tanganyika had different conditions which made her gain independence through peaceful means. Historically, Tanganyika was first colonised by Germany from 1890s to 1910s. German colonisation officially ended in 1919 following Germany's defeat during the First World War. The League of Nations entrusted Britain to administer Tanganyika as a mandate territory. Hence Britain became the second colonial power to colonise Tanganyika. In 1945, Tanganyika was transformed into the UN trusteeship territory following

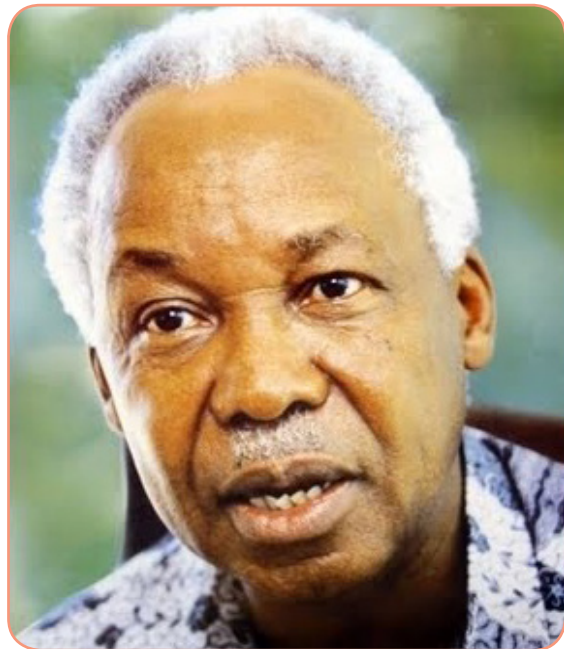


Figure 3.1: Julius Kambarage Nyerere

Source: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/former-tanzanian-president-julius-nyerere>

the formation of the United Nations Organization (UNO). Mwalimu Nyerere's strong leadership was also an important factor for Tanganyika's independence (see Figure 3.1). When he became the chairperson of TANU in 1954, he mobilised people to support TANU. Along with the other TANU leaders, Nyerere educated

the people on the importance of unity. He also attacked ethnicity, racialism and religious differences among the people. Consequently, a number of trade unions such as the Domestic Servants' Union (DSU), the Tanganyika African Government Servants' Association (TAGSA), the Commercial Employees' Association (CEA) and the Railway African Union (RAU) supported TANU's campaigns for independence. Trade unions were united into one strong labour union called the Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL) in 1955.

The *Mau Mau* experience in Kenya also scared the British who, in turn, hastened to grant Tanganyika its independence. They feared that they might have to deal with a similar violent movement in Tanganyika. It was because of this fear that, in 1958, Britain appointed Sir Richard Turnbull as governor, who worked together with TANU leaders, especially Nyerere, to prepare Tanganyika for independence. Nevertheless, the support from the governor and trade unions did not mean that TANU encountered no opposition. In 1956, the colonial governor supported the few European settlers and African chiefs to form the United Tanganyika Party (UTP), which opposed TANU, especially in Tanga and Dar es Salaam. Opposition also came from the African National Congress of Zuberi Mutemvu, who had defected from TANU and formed his own political party in 1958.

The contribution of TANU to the decolonisation of Tanganyika

Although the majority of the Africans supported TANU, the process was not smooth. In 1954, the colonial authorities banned TANU leaders from holding campaigns for independence throughout the territory. TANU was also banned from opening branches and recruiting new members in the countryside. The colonial state stopped all African civil servants from participating in TANU's activities. The above obstacles forced Nyerere to present the case to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee in New York, USA, in 1954. Japhet Kirilo also asked the UN Decolonisation Committee to intervene in the Meru land case. In response to Nyerere's and Kirilo's speeches, the UN Decolonisation Committee sent a special commission to Tanganyika. The commission recommended that the British colonial state in Tanganyika should stop immediately taking the land of the Meru people. TANU was also allowed to hold campaigns for independence. The campaigns went hand in hand with the opening of new branches in the territory. Thus, between 1954 and 1958 Nyerere frequently visited the UN Decolonisation Committee, seeking support for Tanganyika's independence struggle.

Furthermore, TANU encouraged and provided political direction to the trade union movements against colonialism. A number of trade unions such as Domestic Servants' Union (DSU), Tanganyika African Government Servants' Association (TAGSA), Commercial Employees' Association (CEA) and the Railway African Union (RAU) formed one strong labour union called the Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL) in 1955 under Rashid Mfaume Kawawa as its first secretary. The support from the trade unions simplified TANU's quest for independence.

TANU took over all TAA branches and most of TAA members joined the party. TANU capitalised on workers' and peasants' grievances to gain more membership. The nationalist leaders pointed out the evils of the colonial system to encourage more people to join the party in its struggle for independence. For example, TANU's support for the Meru land case won the support of co-operative unions such as the Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions and the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Unions. Ultimately, a considerable number of peasants joined TANU, hoping that the party would be an important platform for solving various challenges, besides being a platform for independence struggle.

The TANU Youth League also proved a useful tool in organising meetings and propagating the message of *Uhuru* in both urban and rural areas. TANU's major slogans were *Uhuru na Umoja* and *Uhuru na Kazi*. The use of newspapers such as *Sauti ya TANU* to spread the message of decolonisation and the importance of unity helped to build national unity and the development of mass nationalist movements in Tanganyika. At the international level, TANU capitalised on Tanganyika's Trusteeship status. The party frequently appealed to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee to win international support.

The use of Kiswahili as a lingua franca during TANU's campaigns for independence also facilitated the decolonisation process in Tanganyika. The language was largely understood and spoken by many ethnic groups in the rural and urban areas. It helped TANU leaders to send the message about independence very easily and they did not need to have interpreters. TANU impressed the people from all sections by supporting their grievances against the colonial government such as cattle tax, terracing and destocking. It also discouraged politics based on racialism. As a result, the membership of TANU became open to Asians and Europeans as well. The coming of Sir Richard Turnbull as the new

British governor of Tanganyika in 1958 also contributed to the success of TANU. Turnbull called for general elections in 1958. At its conference held in Tabora in 1958, TANU agreed to take part in the elections. During the elections, all TANU-sponsored candidates won, irrespective of their racial origins.

Obstacles faced by TANU and its leaders during the decolonisation process

The colonial government used delaying tactics in allowing TANU to open branches all over the country. The colonial state also introduced some voting qualifications to discourage Africans from participating in the elections. Imprisonment of high-ranking leaders weakened the decolonisation movement in Tanganyika. For example, Nyerere himself was threatened with a six-month prison sentence or a fine worth 3000/= shillings when he refused to address the Queen of the United Kingdom as “Our Queen” in 1958. The supporters of TANU contributed money to save Nyerere from imprisonment. TANU faced financial constraints as its leaders depended mainly on the charity of people. Yet, the colonial government forbade civil servants to support TANU. The government also prohibited civil servants to provide financial contributions to the party. Moreover, Tanganyika territory was large and its transport infrastructure was chaotic. This obstacle sometimes prevented TANU leaders from visiting the entire territory during the campaigns for independence. TANU also faced opposition from AMNUT, UTP and ANC, whose campaigns weakened the nationalist movements in Tanganyika. The colonial government prevented civil servants from joining TANU, thus depriving them an opportunity to involve themselves in the nationalist movement. Despite the challenges encountered, Tanganyika gained independence from Britain on 9th December 1961.



Activity 3.1

Conduct a library research on the role of TANU in the decolonisation process of Tanganyika. Then write:

- (a) short notes on TANU’s contribution to the independence of Tanganyika;
- (b) lessons that the current political parties can learn from TANU; and
- (c) short notes on the obstacles that TANU encountered in its campaigns for independence.

Uganda

Uganda is another country which gained independence through peaceful means, in 1962. However, the road to independence in Uganda was not as smooth as it was in Tanganyika. To some extent, regional and ethnic politics delayed the decolonisation process. For example, the region of Buganda was an obstacle to the nationalist movement because its people wanted Buganda to be granted its own sovereign authority outside the Uganda protectorate.

Soon after British had entered Uganda, they turned it into a protectorate because management of a large monarchy within the framework of a unitary state had always been a problem. The Uganda protectorate was characterised by direct British control in the centre, with some degree of indirect rule at the regional levels. This was inevitable because of the presence of a strong monarchy in Uganda. Indirect rule was used to overshadow colonial evils by including African rulers into the colonial system. For example, by the early 1950s, the colonial state had introduced some locally elected Africans into the national legislative council. The state also introduced ministers in 1953 to facilitate exploitation. This system hindered the decolonisation process in Uganda.

Some of Uganda's political parties emerged to impede independence rather than assist winning it. The diverse groups in Uganda contributed significantly to delaying the attainment of independence. Milton Obote from northern Uganda formed an alliance of non-Baganda politicians called the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in 1960. The UPC was dominated by politicians who wanted to rectify what they saw as inequality that favoured Buganda. This drew substantial support for the UPC from outside Buganda. However, the UPC remained a loose alliance of interest groups, but Obote showed great skill at turning it into a common platform based on a federal formula. The colonial government encouraged the coalitions of local and regional interest groups to form political parties so as to divide and rule the people, and to weaken Africans' quest for independence. Thus, the colonialists used delaying tactics to weaken the decolonisation process.

Unlike Tanganyika and Kenya, Uganda had no problem of white settlers who monopolised the cash crop economy. It was, therefore, easy for the colonial government to grant independence when the people of Uganda demanded it. Uganda's leaders also played an important role in organising and uniting the

people during the decolonisation process. For example, Obote's charismatic speeches helped his party to win almost every local election. His speeches also paved the way for the UPC's control over the district councils and legislatures outside Buganda.

The UPC had a more nationalist outlook because it drew support from all over Uganda than the Democratic Party (DP), which was only based in Buganda. The 1961 general election involved many political parties, including the UPC and DP. The DP won the election and Benedict Kiwanuka became the leader of the legislative council. Milton Obote and his UPC became an opposition wing even though his party had a more nationalistic outlook than the DP.

In September 1961, a constitutional conference was held in London. Prominent political groups were represented, including the Kabaka's government. It was agreed that a national assembly representing all the political parties in Uganda should be established. It was also agreed that an executive Prime Minister would be the head of independent Uganda and that Buganda would cooperate with the Uganda state. Buganda would continue to send 21 members selected by the *Lukiko* to the National Assembly.

The above political developments greatly scared the members of the *Lukiko*. Their fear was that they could be swept aside by the powerful nationalist forces. They could not rely on the DP and were openly hostile to the UPC. They wanted a political party which would serve the interests of the Buganda Kabakashi. As a result, they formed the Kabaka Yekka (Kabaka only) party. Before the general elections of 1962, Milton Obote agreed to work with Kabaka Yekka against the DP. As a result of this arrangement, the UPC and Kabaka Yekka defeated the DP in the elections. The *Lukiko* nominated members of the National Assembly, who were in favour of the UPC government. On this basis, the UPC won most of the seats and led Uganda to

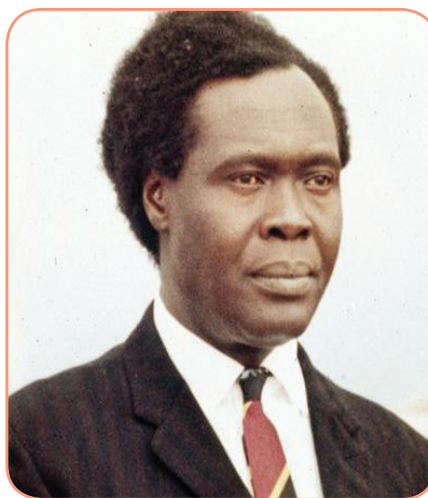


Figure 3.2: Milton Obote

Source: <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/apolo-milton-obote>

independence on 9th December 1962. Milton Obote became the Prime Minister of independent Uganda (see Figure 3.2). The Kabaka assumed the titular post of President of Uganda in 1963 and Sir Wilberforce Nadiope, the Chief of Busoga, was elected as vice- president.

Obstacles faced by the Ugandan leaders during the decolonisation process

The colonial state exiled political leaders to weaken the decolonisation process in Uganda. For instance, Kabaka Edward Mutesa was exiled to Britain in 1953 when he rejected the colonial demands. Buganda protested the act of exiling Kabaka, leading to the Kabaka crisis of 1953. He was freed in 1955, but his power had been highly reduced. Misunderstandings between traditional and nationalist elements within the party also reduced political power. Thus, Milton Obote and Abu Mayanja, who had been leading the nationalist wing, formed the Uganda People's Congress, while Benedict Kiwanuka founded the Democratic Party.

Ethnicity also hindered the decolonisation process in Uganda. Political parties, including the Democratic Party, entertained politics rooted in ethnic divisions. It wanted to perpetuate Buganda's interests within a wider nationalist framework. Its members thought that Buganda could still maintain its hegemony in Uganda, if the Baganda leaders were at the helm of the nationalist struggle for independence. With this in mind, the DP maintained its links with Buganda traditional institutions such as the *Lukiko* and Kabaka. Within Buganda, there were also divisions between those who wanted the Kabaka to remain a dominant monarch and those who wanted to join with the rest of Uganda to create a modern secular state. The split resulted in the creation of two dominant Buganda-based parties, Kabaka Yekka (Kabaka only) and the Democratic Party (DP). The bitterness between these two parties was extremely intense, especially as the first elections for the post-colonial parliament approached. Specifically, the Kabaka disliked the DP's leader, Benedicto Kiwanuka.

Ghana

Like Tanganyika and Uganda, Ghana gained independence through peaceful means. The struggle for mass political independence in Ghana started mainly after 1945, and in 1957 the country gained her political independence. Important political parties, which actively participated in the decolonisation process, were the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), which was formed in 1947 by J. B.

Danquah and the Congress People's Party (CPP), which was formed in 1949 by Kwame Nkrumah. The third party was the Northern People's Party, which was formed in 1954.

The attainment of independence in Ghana was facilitated by the nationalistic and charismatic leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. The UGCC and CPP exerted much pressure on the colonial government, urging it to establish constitutional talks, which would enable Ghana to gain its political independence. Eventually, in 1948 the British introduced the courtesy constitution, which provided eight (out of the 11 seats) seats in the cabinet for Africans. It also provided more seats for Africans in the legislative council. Kwame Nkrumah became popular and many Africans began to support his political party.

Nkrumah capitalised on the youth who, in turn, conducted nation-wide strikes against the constitution. He established a newspaper called the Accra Evening News, which he used to spread the campaigns of the CPP. He organised mass rallies, urging the British colonial government to grant Ghana its political independence. His philosophy was based on the principle of Positive Action. This put emphasis on non-violence and non-cooperation.

CPP pressure caused the British colonial government to introduce more constitutional changes in favour of the people of Ghana. The new general elections took place in 1951 and CPP won 33 seats against 3 of the UGCC. The elections were held while Kwame Nkrumah was in jail. With the victory of the CPP, he was released from jail so that he could form a government in 1952. He became the first Prime Minister. In the 1956 general elections, the CPP won 71 seats and the UGCC won 33 seats. This victory enabled Kwame Nkrumah to become the new head of the government of Ghana. On 6th March 1957, Ghana became independent and Nkrumah became the first Prime Minister (see Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3: Kwame Nkrumah

Source: <https://www.africaportal.org/features/kwame-nkrumah-afecta-and-africa-we-want/>



Activity 3.2

Write short biographies of the following post-colonial African leaders:

- (a) Julius Kambarage Nyerere
- (b) Milton Obote
- (c) Kwame Nkrumah

Obstacles faced by the Ghanaian leaders during the decolonisation process

Ghanaian nationalists won their independence in a largely peaceful, democratic and constitutional process. Yet there are a number of obstacles which were encountered by the nationalist leaders including brutal response of the colonial government against protest movements taking place in Ghana (Gold coast). For example in 1948, the British used brutal force to end political protests in Accra. The British colonial officials also arrested key political leaders, including the top six leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). In 1950 Kwame Nkrumah was arrested when he initiated a campaign of strikes and boycott designed to force British government to accept immediate self-government. He was sentenced to three years in jail. When Nkrumah was released from jail, he formed a new nationalist party known as Convention Peoples Party (CPP). This party was more radical and it gained popular support from the African masses in Ghana.

The nationalist leaders in Ghana also faced strong opposition from the regionally based party known as the National Liberation Movement (NLM) founded by the Asante people in 1954. The Asante people opposed Nkrumah and southern Fante people, who dominated coastal towns and the government. They did not have trust in Nkrumah and the Fante people. Notwithstanding those challenges, the ideas of Kwame Nkrumah and the decolonisation process in Ghana became an inspiration for the other nationalist leaders in various parts of Africa.

Ghana hosted the Pan-African Congress in Accra in 1958 and Kwame Nkrumah argued that the independence of Ghana was meaningless until all Africans had become independent. This statement gave confidence to other African nationalist leaders. Kwame Nkrumah was a model of an effective leader. He said “Africa Must Unite” to eradicate all forms of exploitation, oppression and humiliation.

His call was heeded by many African nationalist leaders like Sekou Toure of Guinea and others. He offered moral and material support to freedom fighters. He also fought against new forms of colonialism by urging African leaders not to become the puppets of European governments.



Activity 3.3

Draw a sketch map of Africa and on it indicate all African countries which gained political independence through peaceful means.

Problems experienced during the struggle for independence by peaceful means

Although some African countries gained independence by peaceful means, it was not an easy task. The colonial bureaucracy was a stumbling block during the registration and operations of the nationalist political parties. The state enacted and amended the regulations governing the operation of political parties in order to control their activities and weaken their influence to the mass. These regulations were unjust and therefore prevented further development of political parties. There were also delaying tactics in registering new branches of political parties in order to contain their influence. In some cases, the colonial government repressed or banned political activities, and jailed, sometimes exiled, political leaders. In other places, the colonial government created or sponsored political parties like United Tanganyika Party (UTP) in Tanganyika to weaken strong nationalist parties. The colonial government also closed party branches and banned their activities to weaken campaigns for independence.

The colonial policy of divide and rule was used to weaken unity during the decolonisation process. The colonialists favoured some ethnic groups against others. In this way, it reduced the possibility for alliances and unification among ethnic groups. For example, Governor Twining attempted to create divisions between traditional rulers and members of the nationalist movement in Tanganyika. Similarly, the missionaries under Church Missionary Society (CMS) barred their followers from involving themselves in active politics, thus affecting the members of political parties who were Christians.

Colonial restrictions against civil servant was another challenge in the struggle for independence in Africa as party leadership dependent on educated Africans.

Most of educated Africans were employed by colonial states as civil servants. Nevertheless the colonial government prohibited civil servants from joining politics. Hence it was a big challenge to these educated Africans either to leave posts in the governments to join political movements or to continue working under the colonial governments. Furthermore, poor transport and communication infrastructures made it particularly difficult for the nationalist leaders to mobilise the masses from different places to join the nationalist movements. Some roads were impassable during the rainy season, thus making campaigns for nationalism extremely difficult. Lack of political awareness among the masses constrained nationalism as most Africans were peasants who lived in rural areas and who did not know the objectives of the political parties. Their financial assistance to political parties was very minimal.

Exercise 3.1

Answer the following questions:

1. Briefly examine the factors that enabled Ghana to attain her independence through peaceful means.
2. With examples, explain the factors that determined the form of decolonisation in Africa.
3. Assess the role of TANU in the nationalist struggles in Tanganyika.

Decolonisation through armed struggle

In Africa, decolonisation through armed struggle involved direct military confrontations between the European colonisers and African freedom fighters. In other words, independence was attained through bloodshed. In some colonies, African freedom fighters were forced to take arms because the colonial authorities refused to grant the colonies political independence. Although these countries used armed struggle as the last resort, they initially organised political parties. African nationalists realised that, in order for their struggle to be successful, it was necessary to have a national organisation. The political parties that had been formed were national in outlook and operation. They also sought alliances with other people from within and outside Africa, for moral and material support. Above all, they stated that independence was better for the future of their nations than their own individual lives. They were, therefore, ready to lose their lives for the sake of the common good.

In most cases, the colonies which adopted armed struggle had many settlers and heavy foreign investments which they could not afford to lose. Examples of settler-dominated colonies were Mozambique and Angola. Portugal considered her colonies as her overseas provinces. She did not want to grant them independence because she wanted to preserve her interests, especially raw materials and markets. European settlers believed that their interests could not remain safe if the government was in the hands of the Africans. To that effect, the settlers opposed the granting of independence to Africans. The settlers did not hesitate to seize power, as they did in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Ian Smith declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 (see Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4: Ian Smith

Source: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ian-Smith>

The cold war, which began after the Second World War, had a far-reaching impact on the decolonisation of Africa. Both the USA and the USSR campaigned for the decolonisation of Africa to spread their political ideologies. The USSR provided moral and military support to liberate Africans from colonialism. She knew that the decolonisation process would provide new opportunities to spread socialism. The support from the USA and the USSR also increased the Africans' intention to use armed struggle. Each of the two nations supported the decolonisation process in Africa but for different interests.

The Manchester Conference of 1945 also had some influence on the use of armed struggle in the colonies where constitutional means had failed. The main purpose of the conference was to liberate Africans from colonialism by whatever means, peaceful or violent. The conference provided Africans with the courage to use force, especially in the colonies where the colonialists were reluctant to grant independence. Pan-Africanism resulted in the emergence of the front-line states, which provided military and manpower support to the anti-colonial struggle in Southern Africa. The front-line states included Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique.

The war veterans of the Second World War played a major role in the use of armed struggle whenever constitutional means had failed. African soldiers came back with awareness and military skills, which they had acquired during the war. Their skills encouraged many nationalists to apply force to overthrow the colonialists, who did not want to grant independence to Africans. The failure of peaceful means of liberation made the use of armed struggle inevitable.

The reluctance of some colonial powers, Portugal and Britain in particular, to grant independence to settler-dominated colonies prompted the use of armed force. To some extent, such unwillingness inspired the spirit of patriotism and self-confidence among the African freedom fighters. The Europeans who believed that the freedom fighters would not defeat them were ultimately defeated and forced to grant independence to the African people.

In spite of their strength, the freedom fighters were scared and banned by colonial governments from participating in politics. For example, Robert Mugabe of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Samora Machel of Mozambique, were arrested and jailed. Others like Edwardo Mondlane of Mozambique and Steve Biko of South Africa were assassinated. Repressive laws reinforced all these acts of violence and intimidation.

Countries which gained independence through armed struggle

Kenya

Kenya gained independence from Britain through armed struggle. Kenya had associations which were formed along ethnic lines to demand African rights such as higher wages, reduced taxation and land. They included the Kikuyu Association (KA), which was officially recognised as an ethnic body with Harry Thuku as its secretary. Other associations were the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) and the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), which unified the Kikuyu into one polity led by Joseph Keng'ethe and Joseph Kariuki. The decolonisation process in Kenya began with the formation of Kenya African Union (KAU) in 1944 under Eliud Mathu. KAU asked the colonial government to increase African representation in the legislative council. Although the British colonial officials responded by appointing African representatives, they banned KAU because it demanded African majority in the legislative council.

The Devonshire White Paper, which was passed in 1923, also had some influence on the development of armed struggle in Kenya. The paper came out as a result of the grievances of Indians, who demanded land in the highlands. It stipulated that the Kenya highlands were primarily the White man's land. Africans were made to believe that the Devonshire White Paper was a genuine attempt by the colonialists to grant them political concessions. However, that never happened. Instead, the colonial state increased land alienation and tightened its grip on political freedom in Kenya.

Africans especially the Kikuyu had a strong feeling, that the settlers had taken too much land. When the British colonial state banned KAU in 1944, the Kikuyu and other ethnic groups got angry about it. The Kikuyu, who consisted of a few educated people, landless people (land squatters) and the soldiers who had fought in Ethiopia, Burma and India united and started a movement called Mau Mau. Members of this movement blocked roads, cut telephone wires, destroyed machinery and white-owned property, and killed a few White settlers and a few Africans who supported them. The movement started in 1952 and, by 1956, it had begun to decline. Responding to the crisis, the British colonial state declared a state of emergency in Kenya in 1952. Political organisations were banned and their leaders were arrested, including Jomo Kenyatta. He was tried and found guilty, and sentenced to seven years in prison in 1953. He remained in prison until 1959.

Mau Mau fighters waged a successful guerrilla war against the British troops known as the King's African Rifles (KAR). The colonial state suspected every African, including the police and civil servants. The KAR forces carried out acts of violence against the African masses. These included wholesale massacres, burning villages and bombing forests suspected of harbouring the fighters. In 1954, all the Kikuyu in Nairobi were rounded up and sent to detention camps. The Mau Mau leaders such as Waruhiu Itote (General China) and Dedan Kimathi were also captured in 1954 and 1956, respectively. The fighting gradually subsided and the state of emergency was lifted in 1960.



Activity 3.4

Conduct a library research on the *Mau Mau* movement in Kenya. Then write short notes on the rise of *Mau Mau* and its influence on the decolonisation of Kenya and other British colonies.

Although the British saw the *Mau Mau* movement as evil, it played a significant role in expressing the grievances of the people of Kenya. As a result, the new governors who were sent to Kenya quickly introduced constitutional changes aimed at preparing Kenyans for independence. For example, the law banning political activities was lifted. Kenyans were now allowed to form political parties. Settlers formed their own political party known as the Kenya National Party (KNP) in 1959. In 1960, two more political parties were formed: the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The former was dominated by the Kikuyu and Luo, and the latter was formed by Daniel Arap Moi and Ronald Ngala to countercheck the dominance of Kenyan politics by the Kikuyu and the Luo.

At a constitutional conference held in Lancaster, Britain, in 1961 KANU and KADU representatives met and resolved their differences. KADU stood for regionalism and called for the formation of a federal government. In the end, they resolved their differences and agreed to share power in the government. General elections were set to take place in May 1963. KANU won the elections and Kenyatta became the first Prime Minister. KANU won 91 seats and KADU 47 seats. On 12th December 1963, Kenya gained independence under Jomo Kenyatta as its first President (see Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.5: Jomo Kenyatta

Source: <https://aaregistry.org/story/kenyas-first-president-jomo-kenyatta/>

Armed struggle in Zimbabwe

Originally, Zimbabwe was colonised by the British through the British South Africa Company. Headed by Cecil Rhodes, the company encouraged the settlement of the White settlers in Zimbabwe. The company ruled Zimbabwe from the 1880s until its collapse in 1922. Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing British colony in October 1923. The European settlers used their authority to

consolidate themselves against the Africans. In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act was passed, dividing rural land along racial lines. The arable land was given to the settlers first and then the remaining land could be owned by Africans. With this Act, 50 per cent of the land was owned by a few white settlers and only 29.8 per cent was owned by the majority Africans.

In 1934, the regime passed the Industrial Conciliation Act to protect the interests of white workers. Among other things, the law prevented Africans from bargaining with their employers. In 1934, the settlers formed their own political party called United Party. The regime revised the Industrial Conciliation Act to ban Africans from participating in skilled labour. Discrimination was also persistent; the whites who had qualifications similar to those of Africans received higher wages. Colonial injustices and racial oppression created hatred among Africans, leading to riots and resistance against the whites.

In 1955, the Africans living in Bulawayo formed the African National Congress (ANC). In the same year, the City Youth League (CYL) was formed in Salisbury, now Harare. The CYL was later renamed the African National Youth League. The Africans realised the limitations of regional organisations. They felt that, in order for the struggle to be successful, it was necessary to have a national organisation. As a result, the ANC and ANYL united to form the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) in 1957. Joshua Nkomo became its president. In 1959, the settler government banned the SRANC and hundreds of its followers were arrested. This was followed by a number of repressive laws aimed at stopping African nationalism. The laws were enacted between 1959 and 1960.

They included the Native Affairs Amendment Act, the Unlawful Organisation Act, the Preventive Detention Act, the Emergency Power Act and the Law and Order Act. These repressive laws prompted Africans to protest. Violence reigned between June and October 1960, and many African nationalists were imprisoned. The Africans changed their tactics in response to the repressive laws and to the nature of the colonial state. In 1960, they formed the National Democratic Party (NDP), which replaced the SRANC. Joshua Nkomo was elected its president. The NDP began to negotiate with Britain, instead of the settlers. In 1961, Britain called a constitutional conference to discuss the conflicts of interest between the settlers and Africans; the NDP was invited to the conference. The constitution which was produced gave Africans 15 seats in parliament. The remaining 50 seats were to be contested by both Africans and whites.

The above political developments caused divisions within the NDP. Some members of the NDP accepted the constitution, while others rejected it. The proposed constitution was to be ratified through a referendum. If it passed the colony could be under the settlers' rule. These implications forced Nkomo to reverse his earlier stand. The NDP called for a boycott of the referendum so the Africans rejected the constitution. However, the settlers still wanted their independence. So they, banned the NDP. Angered by this action, some of the NDP members like Michael Mawema broke off from the NDP and formed the Zimbabwe Nationalist Party (ZNP). The idea of armed struggle was hatched by the ZNP, because it was seen as the only alternative.

The remaining leaders of the ZNP formed the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) under Joshua Nkomo. In September 1962, ZAPU, too, was banned. After this ban, Nkomo decided to operate from outside the colony. His decision, however, split ZAPU, leading to the formation of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in 1963. Ndabaningi Sithole became its president. However, in 1964 ZANU was also banned. It was in 1964 that ZANU launched its first armed struggle. The party was soon joined by ZAPU. The settlers, under Ian Smith, passed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965. This step further angered the Zimbabweans, leading to the intensification of armed struggle. Although the United Kingdom saw the act as rebellion, they did not abolish it. The white minority government declared Zimbabwe a Republic in 1970. That decision resulted in a series of civil wars with Joshua Nkomo under ZAPU and Robert Mugabe under ZANU. The governments of Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania and China backed the initiatives of the two parties.

Progress towards a resolution of the conflict in Zimbabwe began with the formation of the Patriotic Front party in 1976. The party represented an alliance of ZANU and ZAPU, which was jointly led by Joshua Nkomo (ZAPU's former president) and Robert Mugabe, an important leader in ZANU. The founding of a single party created unity and strengthened representation of the interests of the nationalists in their negotiations with the British and white minority. At the Geneva conference of 1976, however, the whites were not willing to accept Zimbabweans' terms for the negotiation of peace. The failure of the negotiation resulted in guerrilla warfare between 1977 and 1978 because Nkomo and Mugabe felt that was the only means of making the whites understand the seriousness of

their demands. Nevertheless, neither the Africans nor the white minority ever achieved a clear-cut military victory. The conflict was finally resolved at the Lancaster House Conference in England in 1979. It was agreed that free elections would be held, all the parties would be allowed to participate in the elections and all people would vote. In 1980, Zimbabwe was granted its independence under Robert Mugabe of ZANU as the Prime Minister after winning most of the votes (see Figure 3.6). In 1987, Mugabe became the President of Zimbabwe.



Figure 3.6: *Followers of Robert Mugabe celebrating the independence of Zimbabwe*

Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2008/apr/02/robert-mugabe-zimbabwe>

Angola and Mozambique

Mozambique and Angola were among the colonies which had been under Portuguese rule for many centuries. Mass nationalism, which prompted the Africans in the two colonies to resort to armed struggle, began in the 1950s. The factors which made these countries adopt armed struggle were the same as those which had made the Africans in the British and French colonies struggle for political independence. Nevertheless, there was something unique in these countries compared to the British and French colonies. While Britain and France started granting their colonies independence in the 1960s, Portugal did not do so.

One might ask why the Portuguese did not want to grant independence to their colonies. First, the Portuguese believed in their military ability, so they believed that the Africans could not defeat them. Secondly, they believed that the people of Angola and Mozambique could not unite against them, since the Africans in the two colonies were greatly disunited. Thirdly, the Portuguese believed they could get military support from the European intergovernmental military alliance known as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Portugal as a member of the organisation, believed that NATO could support her militarily against any nationalist uprisings in her colonies.

All in all, the African nationalists in the two colonies believed that the struggle for independence was irreversible. Hence, they formed mass political parties, which operated in exile. In Mozambique, the freedom fighters formed the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in 1962. In the same year, FRELIMO launched its first military operation inside Mozambique. By 1968, FRELIMO was in full control of the Niassa Province. In the same year, the Mozambique freedom fighters held a congress in Mtwara under Eduardo Mondlane. In Tanzania, FRELIMO was given a rear base in Nachingwea in Lindi, which helped the people of Mozambique to end their differences and promote unity. By 1972, FRELIMO was controlling over 92% of the whole of Mozambique. In September 1974, Portugal agreed to hold talks with FRELIMO. The Portuguese had realised that they could not win the war against FRELIMO. Talks were held in Lusaka, Zambia, and Portugal agreed to grant independence to Mozambique on 15th June 1975. FRELIMO formed a transitional government, which had six ministers and Samora Moises Machel as the first President of Mozambique.

In Angola, armed struggle was established by three strong movements. The first was the Party for a United Struggle for Africans of Angola (PLUA), which was formed in 1953. The second was the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (MINA), which was formed in 1955. In 1956, PLUA and MINA, united to form the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The third movement was called the Union of the People of Northern Angola (PMNA), which was formed in 1957. Other political parties formed in the 1960s included The Democratic Party of Angola (DPA) which was formed in 1962 and

the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) under Jonas Savimbi; which was formed in 1966.

The existence of these different movements delayed the independence of Angola. The most rival ones became MPLA and UNITA. The United Nations, the OAU and the Communist bloc supported MPLA, while NATO members supported UNITA. MPLA, UNITA and FNLA conducted military operations against the Portuguese garrisons. The three movements held talks about the possibilities of uniting the parties into one strong movement. In December 1972, they established the supreme council for the liberation of Angola. The important nationalist leaders who attended include Augustinho Neto (MPLA), Holden Roberto (FNLA) and Jonas Savimbi (UNITA). In July 1974, the MPLA and FNLA adopted a common front. They agreed to co-operate in their effort to struggle for independence. On 11th November 1975, Angola became politically independent under MPLA with Agostinho Neto as the first President (see Figure 3.7). Nevertheless, the people of Angola did not enjoy their independence because, with support from NATO, Jonas Savimbi waged persistent civil war on the MPLA government.



Figure 3.7: Agostinho Neto

Source: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/agostinho-neto.html>

Problems experienced during the struggle for independence through armed struggle

Although some African countries struggled to achieve independence through constitutional means, this method proved failure. Africans were not allowed to register political parties and, in some instances, the regulations governing the operation of political parties were amended frequently to weaken political parties' activities. Oftenly, the colonial government repressed African nationalists, banned political activities, jailed and exiled some political leaders. For example, the Portuguese refused completely to let Africans form political parties in the two colonies. As a result, all political parties had to operate from exile. The African freedom fighters in Zimbabwe were also banned to participate in politics. An example is Robert Mugabe of ZANU who was imprisoned for ten years between

1964 and 1974. Also, ZAPU was banned in September 1962 and Nkomo decided to operate from outside the colony.

Disunity was another obstacle. While Mozambique had one strong movement, the situation was different in Angola and Zimbabwe. There were three different political parties in Angola (MPLA, FNLA and UNITA) and two political parties in Zimbabwe (ZAPU and ZANU). This situation split Africans along ethnic lines. The freedom fighters also had a great problem of leadership. The majority of them were not trained in public administration and financial management. They also faced financial constraints as they mostly depended on the contributions from the front-line states, which did not have enough financial resources either.

The colonial government prohibited civil servants from joining politics. This restriction caused financial constraints because most of the other party members were peasants who had low earnings. Lack of political awareness among the masses was also an obstacle as most Africans were in rural areas, did not know the objectives of the political parties and their financial assistance to the parties was very minimal.

Limited military skills and training. Most of the freedom fighters in these colonies had no sufficient military training and they mainly consisted of militia groups that were half-trained. As such, they could not fight effectively against the well-trained professional soldiers from Europe who were highly skilled militarily.

The contribution of armed struggle to African independence

Despite the challenges, armed struggle contributed to African independence. Armed struggle made the colonialists surrender, and, subsequently, granted independence to Africans. Armed struggle restored African dignity and ended the exploitation of African resources.

Exercise 3.2

Answer the following questions:

1. Draw a sketch map of Africa and on it indicate all countries which attained independence through armed struggle.
2. Why did Angola and Mozambique attain their independence through armed struggle?

Decolonisation through revolutions

Revolution refers to a complete overthrow of an established government or political system. It is a situation where by the majority or a group of people decide to overthrow or replace a minority government that subordinates, exploits and dominates the majority. This replacement aims at effecting political, economic and social transformations in the society.

In Africa, decolonisation through revolution occurred in a situation where colonial government handed over to a puppet or minority regime that was not ruling according to the wishes of the majority. The Africans were forced to overthrow such regimes and replaced them with popular governments. In Africa, decolonisation through revolution was experienced in Egypt in 1952 and Zanzibar in 1964. Decolonisation through revolutions meant overthrowing dominant regimes and their governments.

The Case Study of Zanzibar

The Zanzibar Revolution involved overthrowing the Sultan of Zanzibar and his Arab government. Zanzibar was an ethnically diverse state consisting of a number of islands of the East African coast. There were historical economic inequalities that characterised the Zanzibar society. Arabs owned land, Indians controlled finance, Europeans controlled trade and Africans were predominantly labourers. Africans mainly made a living by selling their labour to the landlords and were subjected to extreme exploitation by the Arabs. Economic inequalities increased grievances among the majority Africans in Zanzibar after the Second World War.

The formation of political parties in Zanzibar

Africans formed political parties because there was a need to mobilise themselves against the feudal Arabs and the British. The political parties formed include

Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) in 1955 which represented mainly the Arabs, Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in 1957 after the merger of two ethnic associations: the African Association and the Shirazi Association under Amani A. Karume. Other political parties were Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party (ZPPP) formed in 1959 and UMMA party in 1963. Political parties established newspapers for the purpose of mobilising the mass against colonial rule. ASP owned newspapers such as *Mkombozi*, *Sauti ya Afro-Shirazi Party* and *Afrika Kwetu*. They were launched in the 1950s. ASP struggled against Africans' intimidation by ZNP. The coalition of African Association (AA) and the Shirazi Association enabled ASP to win a sweeping victory in the elections which were held in September 1957. ASP also initiated and encouraged the formation of co-operative shops, which led to the closure of over 300 Arab shops by the end of 1958.

The British called LEGCO elections once again on 1st January 1961. The contending parties were ASP, ZNP and ZPPP. The results were ten, nine and three seats to ASP, ZNP and ZPPP respectively. However, two ZPPP members crossed the floor. One joined ASP and the other ZNP, thus making the two parties almost equal in parliamentary strength. ZNP, ZPPP and ASP were asked to form a coalition government, as they waited for the elections which were to be held in June 1961. The June 1961 elections were rigged and fighting broke out all over the country. It involved ASP, on the one hand, and ZNP and ZPPP, which were being backed up by the colonial government, on the other. ASP won 10 seats, while ZPPP and ZNP together won 13 seats. Therefore, ZPPP and ZNP formed a government with Mohammed Shamte as Prime Minister. ASP demanded that the June 1961 election results be nullified. They mounted protests and produced evidence to prove that the elections had been not fairly conducted.

Elections were called again for the fourth time in July 1963. The colonial state subdivided the election constituencies in a way that favoured ZNP and ZPPP. The results indicated how determined British imperialism was to install puppets in power. ASP polled 87,082 votes (54.2% of the electorate), but won only 13 seats. ZNP and ZPPP together polled 47,950 votes (45.79% of the electorate), but won 18 seats in the legislative council. Zanzibar became independent on 10th December 1963 with Mohammed Shamte as Prime Minister and the Sultan as the Head of State. This was the culmination of efforts by the British to transfer power to their fellow colonialists, the rich Arabs led by the Sultan.

Under such frustrating circumstances, ASP had only one way through which to restore political justice to the majority that is, seizing political power through revolution.

Causes of the Zanzibar Revolution

The emergence of Zanzibar revolution was influenced by several causes. One of the fundamental cause was economic grievances. There was a long-standing economic inequality among the people living in Zanzibar. Since the early-19th century, all the wealthiest and most privileged islanders were Arabs or South Asians including the Indians. Africans were conscious of the scorn directed at them by the Arabs and Asians living in Zanzibar. Therefore, Zanzibar revolution was regarded as a means to bring economic equality in the island of Zanzibar.

Another cause of Zanzibar revolution was social grievances through racial discrimination. British deliberately intensified and shaped existing racial differences. British perpetuated a racial paradigm that tended to identify the people of Zanzibar by race, and therefore race denoted function. European exercised top managerial and administrative tasks, Arabs were landowners, Indians were merchants, and the Africans were at the bottom working as laborers and few of them were given lower positions.

The colonial government provided the Arab community with educational opportunities and encouraged Arabs to become part of the colonial bureaucracy and later leaders of the post-colonial state. Colonial education policy in Zanzibar prepared the Arabs for the managerial and leadership skills, Indians for entrepreneurial and business skills while the Africans for the manual labour. The education system introduced by the British directly perpetuated class and racial inequalities as it provided state-assisted education effectively only to the sons of privileged classes. Hence, the revolution was an attempt to abolish segregation and discrimination policies in Zanzibar.

Political grievances was another cause for the occurrence of Zanzibar revolution. The British colonial administration considered Zanzibar an Arab state. The major plan of the British in the years leading up to independence was to establish an Arab constitutional monarchy. By adopting different strategies, British policy helped the Arabs maintain their domination into the post-second world war period. The British helped ensure that the Africans would not gain equal political opportunity with the Arabs.

African representation in the legislative council was poor. The colonial Legislative Council consisted, before 1946, of only three racial groups; Europeans, Arabs and Indians. Even after 1946 African representation was kept small. The British colonial government emphasized that this situation was unlikely to change in the near future. This situation set a ground for the occurrence of revolution

The colonial government support of political parties that could ensure the continuation of safeguarding their interests during post-independence. By the early 1960s, most Africans who included Shirazi, descendants of freed slaves, and mainlanders alike, deeply resented the privileged economic, social, and political status of the Arabs and Asians. Setting aside their differences, the Africans on Zanzibar Island joined together to form the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in 1957 to oppose the Arab-dominated Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP). ZNP was significantly favoured and supported by the colonial regime.

Africans staged revolution to fight against the divide and rule policy adopted by the British and the Sultan. On the one hand, the British divided Africans into two main groups of Shirazi and the Mainlanders. On the other hand, the Sultan advised Arabs to ally themselves with the Shirazi, labelled as the “indigenous people” of Zanzibar. Uniting the African population in Zanzibar was therefore one of the basic agenda and a central theme in the ASP. Because the constitutional procedures were hijacked by the British and sultan government, revolution became the only way to achieve its objective.

Racial inequality and the British policy of considering Zanzibar as an Arab state and thereby transferring the power to the Arab minority during the post-independence era resulted to the outbreak of the revolution. The outbreak of the Revolution was the culmination of a people’s struggle against more than two centuries of aggression and oppression by foreigners, by slave traders, by Omani colonialism, and by seventy years of British colonialism.

Generally, the poor Arabs and Shirazi formed the UMMA party led by Abdulrahman Babu to fight for their rights. The party had a Marxist orientation and was soon banned by the Sultan. It merged with ASP, thus reinforcing the ongoing plans to overthrow the Sultan’s government. On 12th January 1964, ASP and John Okello from northern Uganda, an ASP member who had settled in Zanzibar since 1952 while working as a painter, mobilised between 600 and 800 revolutionaries on the main island of Unguja (Zanzibar Island). With the aid of some ex-policemen,

the revolutionaries attacked Unguja's police stations, police armouries and the radio station. The country was renamed the People's Republic of Zanzibar and Pemba after the revolution. The new government's first acts were to permanently banish the Sultan and to ban ZNP and ZPPP. Though the post-revolution violence did not spread to Pemba, by 3rd February Zanzibar was returning to normal and Karume had been widely accepted by the people as their president.

Challenges that occurred during the Revolution

Division approaches adopted by ZNP against the ASP leaders and members. ZNP lost the elections and unsuccessfully tried to divide ASP by persuading some of ASP's leaders to join it. Another action taken by ZNP members was to blackmail their tenants who formed the backbone of ASP. In some instances, Africans were evicted from their plots of land by their Arab landlords. The imperialists prevented ASP's unity. Shirazi members of ASP were encouraged to break away on the pretext that the party was dominated by Africans from the mainland. It was under these circumstances that Mohammed Shamte broke away from ASP and, under the patronage of the colonial state, formed the Zanzibar-Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) in December 1959.

The British and Arabs were also unwilling to grant independence because they wanted to dominate Zanzibar. They used the state apparatus to suppress the nationalist movements in Zanzibar. More importantly, the nationalist leaders had no reliable source of funds to meet their expenditure as most of Africans were poor.

Weaknesses of decolonisation through the revolution

Although Zanzibar attained her independence through the revolution, some people were unwilling to join the movement because of insecurity and a low level of consciousness, patriotism and political awareness. Some people did not participate in the revolution because they feared that they might be punished by the colonial government. Lack of clear political structures for organising the people was another weakness of this political movement. Most of the political parties did not have branches in the rural areas, which would have been used to create awareness and mobilise the masses; most of the nationalist activities were centred in the urban areas. There was also low-level political awareness. Most people in Africa were not educated and lacked political awareness. This was a problem, since most of the indigenous Africans did not know the significance of the struggle.

Contribution of the revolution to the decolonisation of Africa

Despite its weaknesses, the revolution enabled Africans to overthrow the colonial regime from power. The revolutionary government introduced a nation-building programme to rid Africans from the social and economic inequalities, to uphold African dignity, to bring about African independence, to restore Africans' rights, and to promote unity and solidarity among Africans.

The role of women in the liberation struggles in Africa

African women, both educated and non-educated, participated in the nationalist struggles in their countries. They organised nationalist activities by convincing people to join political parties, selling membership cards, organising political movements and raising money for political parties. In Zanzibar, Siti binti Saad used taarab music to conscientise African people against British colonial domination. In Tanganyika, Bibi Titi Mohamed (see Figure 3.8) led the Tanganyika National African Union Women's wing; she travelled throughout the country to persuade people to join the nationalist activities. In the northern part of Tanganyika, Lucy Lameck mobilised people to join the political movements.



Figure 3.8: Bibi Titi Mohammed addressing a political rally

Source: <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/bibi-titi-mohammed-tanzanias-unsung-heroine-of-uhuru>

In Ghana, the attainment of independence was partly the result of women's efforts as they participated in coordinating political activities. Some of the

educated women worked as writers, journalists and editors for liberation newspapers. Mabel Dove Danquah (see Figure 3.9) was chief editor of the *Accra Evening newspaper*. She used her profession to challenge and oppose the evils of colonialism. In the market places, women shared the message of independence; this increased solidarity and unity, and finally led to the attainment of independence.



Figure 3.9: Mabel Dove Danquah

Source: <https://peoplepill.com/people/mabel-dove-danquah>

In the countries where independence was gained through armed struggle, women were recruited as guerrilla fighters. They also carried out other activities, for example cooking food and spreading the liberation message. In Mozambique, teenage girls and young women were recruited as guerrilla fighters. Likewise, in Kenya women supported the Mau Mau war of liberation. They took part in the activities from 1953 to 1955. In the forest camps, they also cooked, collected firewood, cleaned and provided other services to the male fighters. In Zimbabwe, women contributed a great deal to the struggle for independence. Women were active participants in the guerrilla warfare. They were also essential to the survival of the troops because they prepared food for the freedom fighters and provided them with clothing. Their duties received recognition and women earned praise.



Activity 3.5

Draw a line graph to present the major historical events mentioned in this chapter.

Exercise 3.3

Answer the following questions:

1. Elaborate the positive changes brought about by the Zanzibar Revolution to the people of Zanzibar.
2. With examples, explain the role of women in the liberation struggles in Africa.
3. Analyse the problems experienced during the struggle for independence through revolutionary means.

Revision exercise 3

Answer the following questions:

1. Why is 1945 considered to be a turning point in the development of mass nationalism in Africa?
2. Why did Tanganyika gain independence earlier than Kenya and Uganda?
3. What were the internal problems that the people of Zimbabwe faced during the struggle for independence?
4. Explain the causes of the *Mau Mau* war in Kenya and its effects to the East African countries in relation to the struggle for independence.
5. Explain why mass nationalism took long time to emerge in Uganda?
6. Examine the factors that determined the forms of decolonisation adopted by the Africans.
7. Analyse the causes and effects of the Zanzibar Revolution.
8. Explain the factors that delayed the attainment of independence in the settler colonies.
9. Assess the conditions that facilitated the attainment of independence through peaceful means in Ghana and Tanganyika.
10. Analyse the problems which the people of Zanzibar faced during the struggle against colonial rule.

Chapter Four

Changes in political, social and economic policies in Africa after independence

Introduction

Many countries in Africa achieved their independence in 1960s. Thereafter, a process of economic reconstruction began. In short, post-colonial African governments sought to overturn the negative legacy of the several decades of colonial rule and regain confidence and respect as independent people. In this chapter, you will examine the efforts made by Africans to bring about political, social and economic development after independence. The competencies developed will enable you to preserve, value, safeguard and honour the political, social and economic development attained by African countries after their independence.



Reflection questions

- (a) Do you think the social, political and economic changes that happened after independence were necessary?
- (b) What should African countries do to achieve true and sustainable changes in the political, social and economic spheres?

Background to post-colonial changes in political, social and economic policies

African countries found themselves in need of political, social and economic changes soon after achieving political independence. Africa needed changes because of many challenges that resulted from several decades of colonial domination. For instance, African countries inherited weak economies, which were characterised by the sale of primary commodities. The colonial exploitative system made people suffer from abject poverty. There was also regional imbalance and uneven development in many African countries. There were regions that

developed more than others. In such regions, colonialists had built infrastructure such as railways, roads, schools, health centres and dispensaries. These services were established because the colonialists had certain interests in those regions. On contrary, the less productive regions were almost entirely neglected. The provision of colonial education was also characterised by inequalities. The majority of African girls from peasant families were denied the right to education, while the sons and daughters of local chiefs were given this service.

Independent African countries also inherited military, legal, political and cultural institutions, which needed reforms. Many government leaders, both local and regional, had to change to reflect the new demands. In many African countries the administration of public institutions changed from the hands of European to the hands of Africans. This was called Africanisation of public institutions. Laws and other legal procedures had to be changed to suit the post-colonial situation. Equality before the law was maintained and favouritism based on colour, education or race was abolished. Many oppressive laws that subjected Africans to servitude and exploitation were reviewed.

In some African countries, this process went fast. In Tanzania for example, many changes in government and political institutions took place soon after independence. For instance, after 1961, Tanganyika continued to be under the British monarch but from 9th December 1962, it became a republic. Being a republic, Tanganyika became a sovereign state under the leadership of a president. This transition of power from colonial to post-colonial rulers was largely smooth. In the former Portuguese colonies, such transitions were complicated. For instance, Angola achieved independence in 1975 but the country plunged into civil war because the colonial regime did not provide a smooth transfer of power. As a result, the civil war destroyed Angola for many years. In Zanzibar, the British gave political power to the minority Arabs in 1963. Consequently, that led to a revolution in 1964.

Political, ideological and administrative systems in Africa after independence

Independent African countries inherited political parties with different ideologies. Some of the parties were organised along religious, social class, regional or ethnic lines. In Tanganyika, there were Tanganyika African National Union

(TANU), which was a political party with the largest number of members, United Tanganyika Party (UTP), supported by European settlers and African chiefs, and African National Congress (ANC), headed by Zuberi Mtemvu. In Uganda there were Uganda People's Congress (UPC), which had the largest number of members, and the Democratic Party (DP) of the Baganda. In Ghana there were United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), led by J. B. Danquah, and the Convention People's Party (CPP), led by Kwame Nkrumah. In Kenya there were Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The former was dominated by the Kikuyu and the Luo, and the latter was formed by Daniel Arap Moi and Ronald Ngala to countercheck the Kikuyu and Luo's dominance in the politics of Kenya. Likewise, in Zimbabwe there were Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which was led by Joshua Nkomo, and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which was formed by Ndabaningi Sithole.

These political parties had different ideologies and historical background. Some of them were influenced by colonialists and were formed to delay and weaken nationalist movements in their countries. The administrative systems left behind by the colonialists were highly centralised. Thus, they hindered development in the periphery. Furthermore, there was no clear ideology, which governed African countries. Instead, there were capitalist and socialist ideologies competing with each other, thus making the establishment of a clear ideology necessary. It was also necessary to change the administrative system.



Activity 4.1

Conduct a library study on any four political parties formed in post-colonial period. Write short notes on how such political parties were formed and their roles in the politics of a given country.

Many political parties in post-colonial Africa were organised along regional and ethnic lines. After independence, many African countries resorted to a single-party system to avoid civil war and enhance national unity. The parties that had fought for independence were allowed to continue operating, but they were charged with the task of building the new nations by uniting various ethnic groups in their

countries. The parties mandated to form the government were given power and responsibility of building the respective African nations. The state apparatus such as the army, police, prisons and judiciary were also formed to enforce law and order. The single-party system was introduced in the newly independent African countries to prevent imperialist influence on politics and power transfer.

In Tanganyika and Kenya, for example, the single-party system was introduced in 1965. These changes went hand in hand with some constitutional reforms, which abolished multiparty politics. Some of the reasons which made African leaders to introduce the one-party system were to reduce parliamentary opposition and consolidate unity among people, since some of the political parties had elements of ethnic or religious intolerance. It also aimed at promoting national cohesion and harmony.

Although the changes of political ideology were influenced by external forces such as the socialist forces under USSR, many African countries joined the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The countries which were part of the Non-Aligned Movement did not align themselves with any of the two ideological blocs (capitalism and socialism). This was done so that they could be neutral in the global political relations. They believed that the use of a different ideology might help to stabilise their countries politically and to improve their economic situation. For example, Tanzania, Ghana, Uganda and Zambia adopted some form of African socialism, which was known by different names: such as *Ujamaa* in Tanzania and Humanism in Zambia. The latter was based on traditional Christianity. Kaunda established a humanistic society in Zambia. Thus, in Zambia humanity was considered first, regardless of one's race and ethnic group. The African socialist ideology encompassed traditional, communal ideologies and values, which insisted on collective ownership of the means of production, unity and equality among people. Generally, these countries advocated socialism. Emphasis was put on collective ownership of the major means of production and social solidarity as a basis of humanism. Some of the African leaders who adopted the socialist ideology were Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea and Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria.

African socialism was adopted to end social and economic inequalities, and to bring about equality and unity among Africans. It was also adopted as a means of getting rid of capitalism, which was viewed as a system of exploiting the masses by the few rich people. Kenya, Nigeria and Ivory Coast adopted liberal democracy with some capitalist elements. Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique adopted Afro-Marxism.

The change from colonial to African administration was meant to Africanise the development process and agenda. However, the changes made were mainly focused on transferring political power to African rulers, rather than changing the structure of the former colonial administration. In other words, the emphasis on administrative changes was for Africanising administration by replacing European officials with African officials, but the administrative structures were more or less like the colonial ones. Likewise, the centralised and authoritarian nature of the administrative system of the colonial era persisted. The centralised system of government helped to oversee and control expenditures. However, in some instances, the centralised system of government hindered the attainment of development. The capitalist system was embraced by many African governments. These changes were accompanied by constitutional amendments geared to strengthen the pillars of the African governments including the executive, legislative and judicial systems.



Activity 4.2

Conduct a library or online study on the political and administrative changes made in Tanzania and then answer the following questions:

- (a) what do you think is the role of the existing political and administrative structure in Tanzania in overseeing social and economic development?
- (b) has the introduction of multiparty politics in Tanzania brought any social, political and economic development? Justify your response.

Some African countries had to use revolutions to establish majority rule. For instance, the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution brought about true political independence in Zanzibar. The revolution was inevitable, since the British had handed over political power to the Arab minority in December 1963. With that revolution, the

Africans in Zanzibar wanted to transfer power from the minority to the majority. Some African states united to safeguard their political independence and sovereignty. The union of Tanganyika with Zanzibar was a good example. This union was aimed at uniting the two states and safeguarding their independence and sovereignty. The union aimed at preventing foreign influence on internal affairs. TANU and ASP were merged to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in 1977.

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 was another attempt to abolish the capitalist tendencies and the colonial ideology in Tanzania. Through this declaration, all the major means of production were nationalised and put under the government. Equality was emphasised. President Milton Obote of Uganda established the Common Man's Charter on 8th October 1969 in an attempt to build unity among Ugandans and to transfer power to the people. The Charter abolished chiefdoms throughout Uganda. It also intended to be the basis for future economic, political and social development so that Uganda could be transformed into a socialist state.

Political education was made compulsory from primary school to the university. This was done not only to make Tanzanians value their unity and be loyal to their government and the ruling party, but also to strengthen solidarity, the national ideology, patriotism and cohesion.

Conditions that necessitated changing the political, ideological and administrative systems

Changing the political, ideological and administrative systems in independent African states was inevitable. The administrative structures inherited from the colonial regimes did not treat people equally. The forces of neo-colonialism had also started to surface in countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Togo. In some African countries, colonialists used puppets to assassinate strong and patriotic leaders. For example, Patrice Lumumba and Silvanus Olympio were brutally murdered. The imperialist nations thought that such leaders could not allow them to continue exploiting resources in their countries. These prompted many African Heads of States and Governments to make several changes in the political, ideological and administrative systems.

Some of the political parties inherited were supported by the majority of people, while others were class, regional and ethnic based. There were also political

parties which were planted by the colonialists. For example, in Tanganyika there was the United Tanganyika Party (UTP), which was planted by the colonialists to weaken TANU's efforts to struggle for independence. Such political parties also existed in other countries like Angola, Mozambique, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Hence, it was necessary to change political systems in order to contain unnecessary opposition from other political parties and to weaken the puppets of the former colonial regimes. It was thought that the single-party system would best contain the problems created by the puppets by dealing with any loopholes which the former colonial powers might use to weaken the newly independent African countries. The countries were expected to have peace and political stability in order to attain national development. At the time, the multiparty system was regarded as a destabilising factor against African unity, which would cause civil wars



Activity 4.3

Conduct a class debate on the topic: A single-party system is better than the multiparty system in Tanzania.

Challenges to the political, ideological and administrative changes

Despite the changes that were made in post-colonial Africa, some African states have continued to face challenges which lead to political instability in various parts of the continent. Civil wars have been a major challenge in Africa. For example, the civil war in Uganda which began in the 1970s and ended in 1986 when President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni came to power is a case in point. Another civil war involved the Hutu and the Tutsi in Rwanda. The prolonged antagonism between the Hutu and the Tutsi resulted in the 1994 genocide, which caused the death of many people. Similarly, countries like Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia and Eritrea are facing this problem. Several coups d'état occurred in the African countries such as Nigeria, Sudan, Libya, Liberia and Guinea. The *coup d'état* resulted in the overthrow of the governments.

Neo-colonial influences and conditions have hindered the process of making changes to the political, ideology and administrative systems in Africa. Some leaders developed interests similar to those of the colonialists; hence, independence simply removed the colonial rulers, but they continued to operate indirectly in the newly independent

African states. Some of the African leaders established links with the former colonial masters, thereby becoming puppets. This hindered the introduction of the new political, ideological and administrative systems that would work for the interest of Africans. In some countries, power fell in the hands of agents of imperialism. Hence, the fate of the African masses continued to be decided by the wishes of the imperialist powers through their African agents. As a result, the masses were denied the right to participate in economic, political and administrative activities. Other African countries like Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Uganda experienced disunity among the ethnic groups that had technically been created by the former colonialists in their own interest.

Impact of the changes in political, ideological and administrative systems in Africa

Despite the above challenges, many changes in the government promoted political stability in some of the African countries that gained political independence in the 1960s. After the establishment of the new political ideology and administrative systems, democracy and general involvement of indigenous African people in governance have considerably improved. The changes that were made generally brought about unity and solidarity among the people in African countries. African leaders had their confidence enhanced and thus they secured room to negotiate over trade and various issues with the foreign development partners and donor countries through mutual agreements. They could also co-operate with any nation of their choice with no restriction from their former colonial masters.

On the other hand, the changes reduced discrimination and improved equality in terms of ownership of the means of production among African people contrary to the situation that prevailed in the colonial era. However, the change of the political systems in Africa continued until the 1990s when African countries were externally forced to re-introduce the multiparty system as a result of global political and economic changes. Most significantly, the end of Cold War politics as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union, intensified pressure on African countries to change their political institutions.

The economic situation in Africa after independence

The post-colonial African states experienced economic challenges. Most of them had inherited dependent and monocultural cash-crop economy from the

colonialists. This type of economy favoured the colonialists at the expense of Africans. The colonialists created a dependent economy in Africa so as to extend their exploitative tentacles into the newly independent African states. For example, through monocultural economy Africans continued to produce agricultural products and minerals to feed the European industries and, in turn, imported manufactured goods. In such a situation, Africans produced what they did not consume such as raw materials like sisal, tobacco, minerals and coffee and consumed what they did not produce. Therefore, the inherited economic system was generally dependent on the capitalist economy; thus, European countries could still exploit African resources through reduction of prices of the raw materials they bought from Africa and by raising prices of their industrial products.

Weak and underdeveloped industrial sector was a dominant feature of the early post-colonial African economy. Most of the industries established focused on processing and manufacturing of simple tools like hoes and machetes. There was also inadequate infrastructure; the infrastructure available was unevenly located. Roads and railway lines were constructed in places where the colonialists established their economic activities to link the raw material-producing areas to the harbours and labour reserve areas. Furthermore, uneven regional economic development was another typical feature of post-colonial economy in Africa. There were some regions, which were economically more developed than others. Similarly, the growing socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor characterised African countries after independence. Most of the people were peasants who depended on a subsistence economy and, therefore, could not sustain their livelihood because of exploitation and the colonial economic system. Changes in economic development policies and strategies were inevitable, if the newly independent African countries were to develop. This was the justification for diversifying the economy.

Strategies used to make economic changes in Africa

The first step taken to change the economic system in Africa was to increase production. Nation-building campaigns were introduced in most African countries. Examples were the feed yourself campaign in Ghana, which

encouraged small-scale farmers to increase food production. Other campaigns were *Harambee* in Kenya and the Self-Reliance policy introduced in Tanzania in 1967. Self-Reliance was introduced to make Tanzanians self-reliant and to build their capacity to solve their individual and national challenges. Ujamaa villages were introduced through the villagilisation policy. For example, *Vijiji vya Ujamaa* and *Vijiji vya Maendeleo* were introduced in Mainland Tanzania in the period from 1974 to 1982 as part of a large-scale resettlement programme. These programmes facilitated the provision of important social services and agricultural infrastructure. These steps went hand in hand with political declarations such as *Nguvu Kazi* to develop the national economy. Agriculture was declared the backbone of the national economy in many African countries (see Figure 4.1).

Different schemes were established such as Chilalu Agricultural Development Unit (CADU) in Ethiopia, Lilongwe Land Development Programme (LLDP) in Malawi, the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) in Kenya and the Intensive Development Zone (IDZ) in Zambia. Agricultural and livestock development policies were also introduced for the same reason. Kwame Nkrumah's government established state farms to produce cocoa for export using tractors from the communist countries. These economic development projects aimed at fighting poverty, ignorance and diseases in Africa. Three- and Five-Year National Economic Development Plans were introduced in Tanzania for the same purpose. The first Three-Year Development Plan started from 1961 to 1964, and the first Five-Year Development Plan started from 1964 to 1969. These economic development plans also focused on promoting the national and individual economies and eradicating social inequality between the rich and the poor. These plans further insisted on sustainable use of the national resources like land, human labour and good policies to bring about economic development and to safeguard national independence and sovereignty.



Figure 4.1: *Tanzanian peasants working on Ujamaa co-operative farm*

Source: <https://unitedrepublicoftanzania.com/history-of-tanzania/mwalimu-julius-kambarage-nyerere/ujamaa-ideologies-practices-villages-and-more/>



Activity 4.4

In pairs, conduct a library research on any of the economic campaigns in post-colonial Tanzania and assess their contributions to the country's economic development from 1961 to 2020. Present and discuss your findings in your class.

Nationalisation was also adopted in some countries to enable African masses to have full control of the major means of production. Tanzania introduced the Arusha Declaration in 1967 in an attempt to address injustice in land ownership as many Africans had lost their land to the white settlers during colonialism. It was also intended to control the state-run economy and to nationalise major means of production so that they could be controlled by peasants and workers through their state. Although Kenya did not encourage the nationalisation of the major means of production, the government took some of businesses and farms from the Asians and Europeans and gave them to the Africans. Such changes were intended to

address economic exploitation by providing equal job opportunities to Africans because they had for a long time been reserved for whites and Asians. In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah emphasised on the socialist approach in the effort to grow the economy so that the Ghanaians could participate in economic production.



Activity 4.5

- (a) Conduct a library search on the Arusha Declaration. Then, evaluate its effectiveness in facilitating political, social and economic development in Tanzania.
- (b) How could we safeguard our natural resources against neo-colonial exploitation?

Another economic strategy adopted by independent African states was the development of industrial sector. The colonial de-industrialisation policy had adverse effects on African industrial development. Under colonialism, African local industries were destroyed so that the colonies could provide raw materials to European industries. Though the colonial regimes attempted some industrialisation after the Second War they were limited to import substitution and processing industries. But such industrial policies were limited and greater emphasis was put on African dependent economy. Import-substitution industries were introduced to reduce dependence on manufactured goods imported from the former colonial powers. African nations introduced policies and strategies so that governments could control the existing industries for the benefit of the African people. For example, some African countries nationalised food-processing industries. They also ensured that Africans were the majority shareholders.

Local industries like textile industries were established in Tanzania. Such industries included Musoma Textile Industry (MUTEX) and Mwanza Textile Industry (MWATEX). Others were Cigarette Company Limited (TCC), which was established in 1961 as East African Tobacco Industry. It later became Tanzania Cigarette Company and was nationalised in 1975. Wazo Hill Cement Company was established in 1966 to produce and sell cement. The government also set up a Motor Corporation (TAMCO) in Kibaha and General Tyre Factory in Arusha. TAMCO dealt with the assembling of Scania vehicles and General Tyre Factory produced tyres, as Figure 4.2 shows. Similar industries were opened in other African countries.

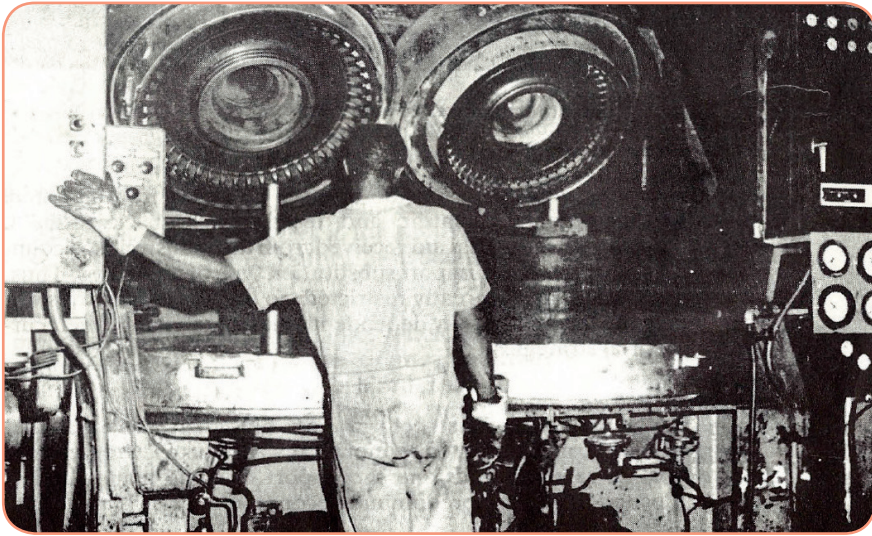


Figure 4.2: General Tyre Factory in Arusha

Source: Adopted from the Institute of Curriculum Development (1988)

Most of the newly established industries were owned and controlled by the state. However, the post-colonial industrial strategy faced certain problems. For instance, most of the industrial goods were mainly consumer-processed goods such as canned food, soft drinks and beer. All the essential industrial goods needed by the majority of people continued to be imported. Machinery and manufactured raw materials also continued to be imported. This made African countries go on importing machines and spare parts to maintain the processing industries. Therefore, changes made in the industrial sector simply maintained and expanded the pre-existing processing industries, rather than introducing new heavy industries. Even where new industries were established, they mostly produced items like tyres, batteries and beer. However, the newly independent African states opened some basic industries such as iron, steel and machine manufacturing industries.



Activity 4.6

In groups:

- critically explore the effectiveness of the industries established soon after independence to facilitate economic development in Tanzania; and
- suggest ways in which Tanzania could sustainably develop her industrial sector.

Hydroelectric power plants such as Nyumba ya Mungu and Mtera were built to ensure reliable and affordable power supply in the country. Electricity was necessary for industrial development and for domestic use.

Other attempts to foster economic development involved the establishment of regional economic integration. Thus, different economic communities were established for co-operation purposes in the commercial, industrial, transport and communication sectors. Such communities help African states to establish friendly and mutual relations among themselves, and address domestic problems without foreign influence. Examples of the established economic communities are the following:

- (a) the current East African Community (EAC) owes its origin to the East African Governors' conference held in 1923 when the Colonial Governors from Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda met to co-ordinate matters of common interest in their colonies. In June 1967, the Presidents of the three East African countries (Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda) established the EAC, which collapsed in 1977. It was the political, economic and social conflicts among the member states that caused the demise of the EAC. However, EAC was revived in 1999 and now it consists of South Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi, besides the original three members. The current EAC is aimed at facilitating joint economic development among the member states. For instance, the EAC is charged with the task of promoting free trade among the partner states, ensuring free movement of people in the region and providing services such as transport.
- (b) the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). This community focuses on joint social and economic activities done in West African countries. It promotes trade, security and neighbourliness among West African countries.
- (c) the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which was established in 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia. In 1992, it was transformed into Southern African Development Community (SADC). This regional community promotes socio-economic development and security of the countries in Southern Africa.
- (d) the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which was formed in 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and became the African Union (AU) in 2002. This organisation was formed to facilitate the development of African countries politically, socially and economically.

These co-operations have always facilitated the construction of infrastructure such as tarmac roads, railway lines, pipelines, telecommunication systems and harbours. An example is TAZARA, which links Tanzania with Zambia (See Figure 4.3)

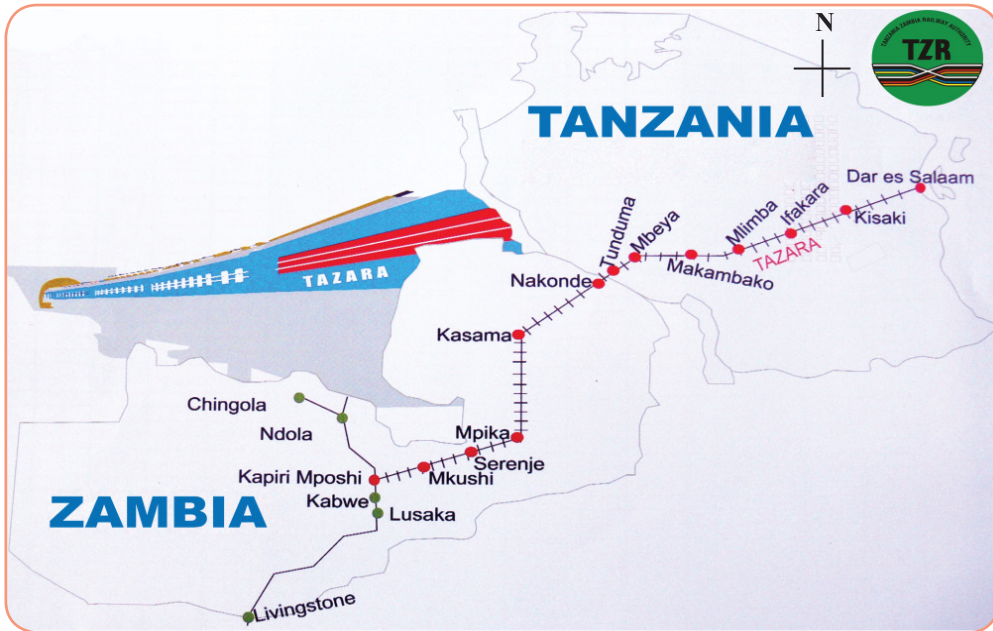


Figure 4.3: Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA)

Source: <https://www.tanzaniainvest.com/transport/tazara-receives-4-new-locomotives-and-18-wagons>

Tarmac roads were constructed to connect African countries, for example the road that runs from Isaka (inland port) in Shinyanga-Tanzania via Kigali-Rwanda to Bujumbura-Burundi. Another example was the construction of the TAZAMA oil pipeline from Tanzania to Zambia. The landlocked countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Zambia have been benefiting from the harbours found in other African countries. Therefore, the improvement of infrastructure within and between African countries have promoted economic development in Africa (see Figure 4.4).

The African Development Bank (ADB) was established to promote and facilitate economic activities in Africa. The ADB provides loans to African countries for the commercial, industrial and agricultural sectors in an attempt to solve the economic challenges facing African countries. Tanzania benefits from the ADB. Other countries that enjoy a financial assistance include Ghana, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Senegal. Aviation infrastructure like airports

was built and expanded in many African countries to facilitate air transport. Julius Nyerere International Airport and Kilimanjaro International Airport in Tanzania are cases in point.



Figure 4.4: Nyerere Bridge in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Source: <https://www.istockphoto.com/photos/tanzania-bridge>



Activity 4.7

In groups, explore the patterns of infrastructure built in the post-colonial African countries. Critically examine their effectiveness in people's and national economic development.

Exercise 4.1

Answer the following questions:

1. Analyse the conditions that led to changes in ideological, political and administrative systems in Africa.
2. Appraise the economic development strategies adopted in Africa after independence.

Strengths and challenges of the economic policies adopted in Africa

Post-colonial economic policies have facilitated fast economic growth in some African countries. They have, considerably, reduced the level of poverty in various countries. The construction of infrastructure and hydroelectric power stations have promoted socio-economic development at the national and individual levels. Socio-economic growth in Africa has also increased foreign investment that has created more employment opportunities for the African people. Though important changes were made in the economic policies, the changes varied considerably from one country to another.

However, the attempts to strengthen African economies to some extent were stagnated by the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the 1980s. African countries were obliged to adhere to the hard conditionalities attached to the SAPs. The implementation of SAPs was a turning point for African economies from the mid-1980s to the present. SAPs conditions brought fundamental changes which largely affected African economic structure. These changes destroyed the African developing economies through the introduction of free market economy that led to massive importation of foreign manufactured goods. The imported goods were cheaper than those produced in Africa. Hence, the destruction of African economies was inevitable as Africa's industries totally suffocated because they could not compete with foreign imported goods. Though African governments tried to control the quantity of imported products by increasing the tariffs levied on imported goods, the competition on the market favoured the imperialists.

Most African countries had inadequate financial resources for implementing the economic projects initiated such as those in the agricultural, transport and communication sectors. Thus, they depended on aid and loans from the world financial institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with high interest rates. Such loans placed heavy burdens on individual countries, which failed to support various development projects.

The adoption of self-reliance and less dependence on overseas aid brought about economic growth in the agricultural and industrial sectors. This partly prevented unnecessary loss of natural resources. Nevertheless, owing to the inadequacy of self-sufficient industries, the economies of African countries still depend on foreign countries, which make it difficult to end neo-colonialism.

Land ownership is still a challenge as only few rich people own large tracks of land in countries like Kenya at the expense of the majority. Some of the rich people are Africans who were able to purchase the land and farms from white settlers. Therefore, black capitalist farmers replaced the former white capitalist farmers. This has denied the majority of Africans access to land. Because of this situation, inequality among African indigenous people is continually escalating.

Social policy changes in Africa after independence

Social policy changes were made to ensure availability and accessibility of services like education, health care, clean water and electricity in Africa. This was done to improve the quality of services and to reduce illiteracy in the newly independent African countries.

Reasons for changing social policies in Africa after independence

Independent African countries inherited most of the colonial structures for providing social services which did not favour Africans. For example, only few Africans accessed primary education and the majority did not have it. Despite denying Africans the rights to education, the colonial education itself was not intended to address African problems in general.

Even those who received education could not get into the higher levels. Only a few went beyond the two years of basic education, which focused on reading, writing and arithmetic. The education received could not help them to sustain African life. Schools were very few and unevenly distributed in many countries. There was also racial discrimination in schools. Europeans received the highest quality education, followed by Asians and finally Africans.

At independence, all African states inherited a chaotic system of electricity, water and housing services. There was uneven distribution of these services between urban and rural areas. The rural population hardly had any access to electricity, clean water and decent houses. Few people in urban areas had electricity, clean water and good houses. Health services were also very poor, with rural areas suffering more. Whenever these services were available in rural areas, they were very scarce and unevenly distributed. The people in rural areas lived in abject poverty and had to walk long distances to access clean water for their livestock and other domestic uses.

There were few health centres in the colonies and some of them had inadequate facilities. For example, they lacked medicine, syringes and other medical equipment. Most health centres had shortage of medicine and medical equipment. People suffered from diseases such as bilharzias, malaria, typhoid, polio, measles and cholera. There were also high infant mortality rates owing to the lack of good maternal health services.

Changes in educational policies in Africa

Changing the policies was necessary for empowering human resources in Africa. New education policies aimed at improving people's knowledge, skills and competencies. With quality education, Africans were expected to fight effectively against poverty, disease and ignorance. Education was a tool for creating equity and equality among people in African societies. Education was also regarded as a tool for eliminating intellectual arrogance that made some educated Africans look down upon others.

Though African countries had different educational policies, but common goals were quality education and access to education for all. Immediately after independence African countries put much emphasis on increasing access to formal education. This went hand in hand with the establishment of new primary schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities, and the rehabilitation of old educational infrastructure to accommodate more learners. In 1978 primary education was made compulsory to all Tanzanian children. Many other efforts were made to train enough teachers so that they could carry forward the development agenda.

Different laws were enacted to foster educational development in Africa. For example, Tanzania introduced the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Act of 1974 which made the "Musoma Resolution". As a result of these steps, school fees were abolished and primary and secondary school education was made free to all Tanzanian children. This increased access to education. In Kenya there were similar programmes such as Harambee and Self-effort programmes. These programmes helped to increase access to education for Kenyans.

Emphasis was also put on changing the curriculum to suit the African context. Many African countries reviewed their curricula after independence to do away

with the Eurocentric views which had been imposed on them. Instead, emphasis was put on embracing Africanism. For example, Tanzania incorporated the indigenous social values and patterns of African life into the national curriculum in 1967. These changes went hand in hand with the incorporation of individual and national needs into the curriculum.

Another attempt taken was to remove racial discrimination in schools. Education Act No. 37, of 1962 was introduced to remove social inequalities and any other form of discrimination in education. The law was a replacement of the 1927 Education Ordinance Act, which propagated social inequalities and discrimination in education during the colonial era.

Furthermore, colonial education managers were replaced by African ones. The Ministry of National Education was introduced and given authority to manage all educational activities. In Tanzania, for example, the Education Act of 1969 was enacted so as to establish the Ministry of National Education. As a result, all educational issues were put under government organs such as the inspectorate, curriculum and assessment unit. Similar changes were made in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia, just to mention a few. Under the 1969 Education Act, all schools, both public and private, were required to use the same curriculum and students sat for national examinations after completing each cycle for certification and placement purposes. Despite all these initiatives, nothing new was created in the educational sector; as the colonial tendencies, system and structure were maintained.

Kiswahili as the national language was made the medium of instruction for primary education in Tanzania. English remained the medium of instruction in secondary education and higher learning institutions. This was done to partly Africanise education so as to simplify communication at the primary school level. Adult education programmes were introduced all over the country to educate illiterate adults. They were taught writing, reading and arithmetic. Different radio programmes were also introduced for providing education to them.

Achievements of post-colonial educational changes

The educational programmes and strategies employed helped to expand primary, secondary and higher learning institutions. For example, by 1980 Tanzania had already enrolled 3,361,228 pupils for primary education, 67,396 students for secondary education and 7,468 students for tertiary education. Likewise, more

people were enrolled in primary and secondary schools in Uganda and Kenya. Various groups of people in Tanzania, including the marginalised, began to send their children to school, especially after the nationalisation of private schools in 1967.

These policy changes have also increased the number of schools at both primary and secondary education. Universities were established after tertiary education in Africa. For example, the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Makerere University in Uganda and the University of Nairobi in Kenya. By the 1980s, the changes had produced educators and experts in different fields such as medicine, engineering, accounts, law and economics. Illiteracy levels or rates were greatly reduced.



Activity 4.8

In groups:

- (a) use Tanzania as a case study to examine the educational changes made in Africa;
- (b) evaluate the effects of the changes; and
- (c) suggest other measures that should be taken to achieve further educational development in Tanzania.

Weaknesses of the changes in educational policies

After independence, changes in African educational policies focused on overhauling the inherited colonial education structures and legacies through reviewing and restructuring the entire education system. Since the entire educational structures, patterns, traditions and mode of teaching remained the same as they were during the colonial era, changes were important so as to meet the needs of the independent African countries.

Though many people had access to education, not all could be absorbed into formal education system. There were shortages of teachers as well as teaching and learning facilities like books, libraries and laboratories. The use of English in secondary schools as a medium of instruction become a great challenge to most African students because they did not have a good foundation in the language.

Moreover, several educational programmes and infrastructural facilities in African countries were stagnated by internal and external political and economic crises. For example, the oil crisis which was caused by the World Economic Depression towards the end of the 1980s largely hindered the success of the newly established education policies in Africa. This economic upheaval forced African countries, including Tanzania, to adopt the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s which, in turn, escalated Africans' dependence on the capitalist nations.



Activity 4.9

In pairs, conduct a library and online search on the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and then:

- (a) critically, examine the effects of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on the provision of education, using Tanzania as a case study; and
- (b) suggest other measures that should be taken to achieve further educational development in Tanzania.

The adoption of the SAPs created an opportunity for the private sector to invest in education. This led to the re-introduction of school fees. Many parents could not afford the school fees because of severe poverty. The effects of these economic upheavals are still manifested in the contemporary African education systems. Yet, African governments have been working hard to establish well-furnished schools with adequate and quality teachers.

Changes in health services after independence

Improvement of the quality of health services was necessary for creating a healthy society that could constantly be involved in day-to-day economic production activities. African leaders retained the health centres left behind by the colonialists. However, more efforts were made to improve them to meet the needs of the society. More dispensaries were opened, especially in the rural areas. District and regional hospitals, as well as referral hospitals were also opened. Private companies, individuals, religious organisations and voluntary groups also participated in the provision of health services.

The provision of health services focused more on preventive measures rather than on curative ones. Different campaigns to prevent diseases such as sanitation campaigns were introduced to counteract the spread of diseases in Tanzania. There were also several campaigns to eradicate pandemic diseases. For example, the Tanzanian government provided vaccines to eradicate polios and measles. The training of more medical doctors and nurses was given a high priority so as to increase their number. The other target was to rehabilitate, improve and construct several infrastructural facilities to provide health services to mothers and children, services which the colonial governments did not provide throughout the colonial era. The aim was to reduce mother-infant mortality rates.

More funds were allocated to the sector to improve the quality of health services. Thus, improvement of the quality of infrastructure was made through repairs, while the provision of human resources and medicines in government hospitals and dispensaries was intended to improve people's health standards in Africa. The post-independence health services were also characterised by equal rights among people, regardless of their races and social status, that is, they were accessible to all people in rural and urban areas.



Activity 4.10

In groups, conduct a library and online search on changes in health service policies and campaigns in Africa after independence and then:

- critically, examine the effects of the changes and campaigns to date in Africa using Tanzania as a case study; and
- suggest other measures that should be taken to improve the quality of health services in Tanzania.

Strengths of the changes in health services

The changes led to a decrease in the number of risky, long-term diseases such as measles, leprosy and small pox among children. Mother and Child Health clinics were established in every regional and district government hospital. This, in turn, led to the reduction of mortality rates among children, expectant mothers and lactating mothers.

Challenges of changes in health services

Apart from the strengths, there were also challenges in the provision of health services. Lack and shortage of funds for purchasing medical equipment and hiring skilled personnel made it difficult to improve the quality of health services. As a result, people received low-quality health services. There was uneven distribution of health service centres. Although African leaders intended to improve the quality of rural health centres, they did not provide quality health services. Malnutrition among young children in rural and urban areas still affects people because sufficient education concerning the health of children has not been provided.

Water and housing services in Africa after independence

The policy on water and housing services was aimed at improving people's living standards, both in rural and urban areas. The newly independent African countries introduced water service programmes such as tap water and bore holes or wells in rural areas so that people would not walk long distances and spend many hours in search of water. For example, in the Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974), the government of Tanzania adopted the villagelisation programme to improve the quality of social services such as water and housing.

The government and TANU leaders encouraged people to move to collective villages so that social services could be provided to them with less difficulty and low Cost. This included access to clean water, electricity and other social services such as educational and health services. Another strategy deployed was to encourage the establishment of self-help schemes to make the rural population dig water wells, water channels and small dams, and build modern houses. In Kenya, for example, such self-help schemes were called *Harambee*.

People were mobilised to build modern houses. Mass education was given to them on the importance of building modern houses. One of the important arguments was that a modern house would help to contain some communicable diseases. For example, people were told that a house with poor ventilation and sanitary facilities would cause diseases such as tuberculosis and spinal cerebral meningitis. In Tanzania, the government established a national bank known as

Tanzania Housing Bank, which provided loans to those who wanted to build modern houses. In various parts of the country, people built houses using clay bricks. The government encouraged the people in the rural areas to roof their houses with corrugated iron sheets. At the same time, in places like Dar es Salaam the government built houses for its civil servants, for example in Magomeni and Kinondoni.

The construction of modern houses was also aimed at improving African people's living standards. National housing schemes in towns such as Harare-Zimbabwe, Mombasa-Kenya and Dar es Salaam-Tanzania, were introduced. The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar erected several buildings for the homeless. Though short-lived, the attempt showed that the governments were concerned about the welfare of the poor. Apart from all developments slums increased in cities such as Kibera in Nairobi, Soweto in Johannesburg and Manzese in Dar es Salaam.

Results of the changes in housing and water services

Many African governments succeeded in changing people's traditional attitude and taboos and taught them about the importance of living in modern houses. They were motivated to drink clean and safe water to contain water-borne diseases. By the 1980s, over 45% of Tanzanians had abandoned thatched houses and were living in houses roofed with corrugated iron sheets.

Although the self-help schemes received little help from the central government, the rural population built water wells, boreholes and water channels. By 1973, about 2.04 million people had access to tap water. This helped to control some communicable "water" diseases. The housing schemes led to urban development and the creation of modern residential areas in towns and rural areas.



Activity 4.11

In groups, conduct a library and online search on housing and water policy changes and campaigns in Africa after independence and then:

- (a) critically, examine the effects of the changes and campaigns in Africa using Tanzania as a case study; and
- (b) suggest other measures that should be taken to improve housing and provision of water in Tanzania. Present your suggestions in writing.

Challenges of changes in housing and water services

The governments could not meet the need for modern houses by all people due to financial constraints. Building materials such as cement, corrugated iron sheets and ceiling boards were very expensive. The pilot water projects implemented by the central government in Tanzania collapsed due to the people's negative attitude towards the self-help schemes. They did not want to dig water wells or channels in their villages. In some cases, some of the completed water projects did not last long because villagers stole water pumps or water pipes and stopcocks. Those which survived did not last long, either because there was no money for buying new water pumps and pipes when they developed some mechanical faults.

Most construction projects were centrally planned by the government and handed over to villagers after being completed. Those at the grass-roots level were not involved in the process; thus, they could not have a sense of ownership. Most social service provision facilities were destroyed by villagers. For example, most of the Ujamaa villages that had pipe water in the 1970s and 1980s look as if they have never had such a service before. The government did not provide funds for rehabilitating the projects that had been destroyed.

The ever-increasing population in urban areas posed a great challenge to the provision of social services. For example, the migration of people from rural to urban areas caused a crisis in the provision of water services in towns. The colonial piped-water services were meant to serve 10,000 to 100,000 people but, by the time Tanganyika gained independence, the services were not being provided properly. Today, many African cities like Dar es Salaam in Tanzania

have over five million people and the number is growing very fast. Therefore, the quest to expand housing and water services should be constant, if the country is to raise the standard of living among its citizens.

Exercise 4.2

Answer the following questions:

1. Examine the reasons that led to changes in social policies in Africa after independence.
2. To what extent did changes in social policies in Africa after independence improve the living conditions of the people.

Revision exercise 4

Answer the following questions:

1. Assess the contribution of the changes in political, ideological and administrative systems to the development of the newly independent African states.
2. Explain the reasons behind the political, ideological and administrative changes after independence in Africa.
3. Assess the strengths, weaknesses and contribution of the newly created political, ideological and administrative systems in independent African states.
4. Explain the features of social services in African states after independence.
5. Analyse the objectives of education in Africa after independence.
6. Appraise the features of health services in Africa after independence.
7. Show how the villagisation policy improved the provision of social services after independence.
8. Examine the effects of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on African socio-economic development.
9. Appraise the pattern of housing in Africa after independence.
10. Assess the strength in the expansion of education in Tanzania after independence.

Chapter Five

The national military and legal institutions in Africa after independence

Introduction

The post-independence era was marked by intense efforts to consolidate national unity and to attain rapid social, political, ideological and economic development. To ensure social, economic and political stability, African states established the national military and legal institutions. In this chapter, you will learn about the initiatives taken by African states to change the colonial military and legal institutions, which they had inherited from the colonial governments, to meet the African needs. The strength and weaknesses of the newly established military and legal institutions will be discussed as well. The competencies developed will enable you to value, respect and appreciate the role of the national military and legal institutions in promoting peace and stability.



Reflection questions

Do you think there was a need to establish new military and legal institutions after independence?

Background to African national military

Post-colonial African states inherited the colonial military. For example in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda there was the King's African Rifles (KAR), which was under the British. Establishing the national military was necessary for safeguarding the African interests. However, the colonial military system and structures were not significantly changed. Instead, the military institution was Africanised through the adoption of new names. As a result, the changes made maintained and preserved most of the functions, structure and values of the colonial military. For example, Tanzania inherited the colonial national armies, the police, the prisons and the paramilitary forces.

However, changes were made and the objective was to make the military national in outlook. This could make Africans develop trust and positive attitude towards their military institutions and thereby promote their ideological and material interests. Many post-independence African leaders opted for socialist ideology as a path towards socio-economic and political development. Another objective of the post-colonial military institutions was to end exploitative and oppressive practices which characterised the military during the colonial era. Thus, new training programmes were introduced within and outside the country. Before attending training, prospective soldiers had to learn social values and the national military ideology. Some soldiers were sent to European, American and Asian countries like Russia, China, Cuba, Britain and Israel for further training to strengthen their skills and knowledge.

The new military was aimed at achieving specific purposes in Tanzania. Institutions such as the National Service and Militia Unit helped to strengthen the national security system in the country and to safeguard the regime. There was also some fear that the European imperialists would collude with some African soldiers to overthrow the newly independent governments, as it happened in Egypt (1952), Sudan (1958) and Dahomey and Benin (1963). The national military was also necessary for reviving African culture that had been destroyed by the colonial governments.

Functions of the national military institutions

Below are the functions of the national military institutions in Tanzania.

Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF)

The Tanzania People's Defence Forces was established in 1964. The President of the United Republic of Tanzania is the Commander-in-Chief of TPDF and all armed forces in the country. TPDF has specialised sections, namely the Air Force, the Navy and the Infantry Unit. These units have the task of protecting the country from external enemies. The TPDF also reinforces the Police in maintaining law and order in the country. Furthermore, it provides assistance in times of national emergencies and is involved in international peace-keeping missions.

The Air Force provides security and defence to the country's airspace against external invasion. It performs this function in partnership with the Airport Authority. Moreover, the TPDF contributed to the struggle and achievement of independence of other African countries. For example, this army was involved

in the armed struggle for the independence of countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

The TPDF has also been actively involved in the provision of services during natural hazards such as the construction of bridges when the old ones have been swept away by floods. It also assists in evacuating civilians in times of calamities such as severe floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions or fire outbreaks.

The Police

Unlike the TPDF, the Police Force did not undergo major transformation after independence. Tanzania inherited the Police Force from the British colonial government. The Police Force performs various functions such as maintaining law and order, as well as providing internal security to people and their property. It also co-operates with the International Police (Interpol) in dealing with international crimes. The Police Force carries out its duties under the Ministry of Home Affairs. It prevents crime, arrest criminals and detain some of them where necessary. Finally, the traffic police officers inspect motor vehicles and ensure safety on roads. They also ensure road users properly observe the rules and regulations.

The Prisons

Tanzania also inherited the Prison structure from the British colonial government. Yet a new policy to guide prison administration was introduced. This policy focused on utilising prison labour on a nation-building and revenue-earning activities. Through the Africanisation campaign, Africans were recruited as prison officers. The prisons accommodate criminals whose cases have been heard and judged in the courts of law. The prisons also help in rehabilitating people with deviant behaviour.

Strength of the national military institutions

Tanzania national military institutions have been active in defending national peace and security. Tanzania is bordering eight neighbouring countries. Some of these countries are characterised by political conflicts and frequent civil wars. Nevertheless, because of efficient methods and technology adopted by national military in defending the state, Tanzania has continued to be a safe and stable country across Eastern and Central Africa. To a greater extent, the Tanzania military institutions have helped to promote the national socio-economic development by providing assistance to various government institutions and citizens. Tanzanian troops also participated in the national liberation struggles

of Southern African countries. Internationally, the Tanzania military forces participated in peace keeping missions in various countries under the umbrella of the Commonwealth, African Union and the United Nations. For example, they helped in peace keeping missions in Rwanda, Burundi, Congo (DRC), Ivory Coast and the Central African Republic. In 1978 and 1979, the TPDF contained Amin's provocations. Amin wanted to annex the Kagera Region from Tanzania so as to make it part of Uganda.



Activity 5.1

In groups, critically explore the structure and organisation of the military institutions in Tanzania and then attempt the following questions:

- (a) assess the functions of the military institutions in Tanzania; and
- (b) evaluate the support that the Tanzania Police Forces provides to maintain law and order in the country.

Weaknesses of the national military institutions

The newly established national military institutions in Africa suffered from nepotism. These institutions inherited the seeds of ethnic bias sown by colonialists. In most independent African states, recruitment and training of people in the armed forces involved all ethnic groups, but promotion to higher ranks was sometimes done along ethnic lines. The officers who occupied higher ranks in the military, police and prisons to a large extent belonged to the same ethnic groups as the national leaders. Such ethnic linkages cause negative image of the national military institutions. In the end, such African states produced dictatorial governments. For example in some African countries, more than three quarters of the army, police and prison often came from the ethnic group of the incumbent president.

In some parts of African, nepotism caused discontent among soldiers, who eventually organised military coups. Most of the military leaders who took over the governments used violence. This was one of the factors for the frequent occurrence of military coups in several independent African states. Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso and Mauritania experienced frequent coups, because of different reasons including corruption, bad governance and economic collapse.

The African military institutions had inadequate financial resources. As a result, they lacked important supplies like uniform, arsenals and food. This situation made some African countries seek military assistance from developed countries such as the USA, Britain, Germany, the USSR and France. This dependence destabilised the military institutions and deformed their outlook. The Francophone countries in West Africa still depend on the French military whenever there are civil unrests. The French military presence in Mali and Niger is a case in point of deformed military structures.



Activity 5.2

In groups, conduct a library and online study on the functions of the military and the challenges it faces in maintaining the security and stability of the country. Present your findings in class.

Exercise 5.1

Answer the following questions:

1. Explain the objectives of establishing national military institutions in Africa after independence.
2. Assess the strength of national military institutions in Africa after independence.

National legal institutions

The national legal institutions are instruments of law. They include the Special Constitutional Court, the Court of Appeal, the High Court, Resident Magistrate's Court, the District Court, and the Primary Court.

The primary objective of the legal institutions is to ensure that there is law and order in the country. They enforce law not only to the citizens but also on government leaders so that they can discharge their functions fairly and responsibly. The major function of the legal institutions is to promote justice, and protect the rights of each individual citizen. The legal institutions encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of information on law and other legal issues.

Strengths of the national legal institutions

The national legal institutions respect and work together with local and traditional African institutions that have been offering legal services. Since independence, the national legal institutions have resolved conflicts in various societies. For example, local councils have handled several land conflicts and disputes. Legal institutions have been providing services to all citizens regardless of their races, socio-political affiliations or one's economic status. Contrastively, the colonial legal institutions offered services on the basis of people's race, religion, gender and economic status. The national legal institutions have been successful in protecting national constitutions by making citizens respect them through coercive apparatus like the police and prisons.



Activity 5.3

In groups, critically explore the structure and functions of the legal institutions in Tanzania and then:

- (a) discuss the functions of the legal institutions in the country; and
- (b) suggest measures that should be taken to improve the functioning of the legal institutions in the country.

Weaknesses of the national legal institutions

Despite the achievements made by the national legal institutions in independent African states, such institutions have a number of weaknesses, including lack of cooperation with other state machineries. Although legal institutions are regarded as independent entities, they face constant interface from other state organs during the execution of their functions. Such interference affects the efficiency of the legal institutions in dealing with cases. Inadequate funds prevent them from making follow-ups and conducting proper, in-depth investigations of cases. Most citizens have little knowledge of legal matters, something that affects the legal institutions. In addition limited personnel in the legal institutions impaired the provision of services to the people.



Activity 5.4

In groups, visit any nearby legal institution and then:

- (a) interview legal officers on the functioning and the challenges facing their legal practices; and
- (b) present your findings in class.

Exercise 5.2

Answer the following questions:

1. Analyse the objectives of establishing national legal institutions in post-independence African states.
2. Suggest measures that should be made to improve the functioning of the legal institutions in Africa.

Revision exercise 5

Answer the following questions:

1. Critically examine the similarities and differences in military and legal institutions between the colonial states and the independent African states.
2. Evaluate the functioning of the national military and legal institutions in post-independence African countries.
3. Elaborate the weaknesses of the inherited colonial military institutions.
4. Analyse the strengths and weaknesses of the national military and legal institutions in post-independence Tanzania.
5. Suggest measures and changes that should be made to improve the functioning of the military and legal institutions in Tanzania.
6. Analyse the objectives of establishing the national military and legal institutions in post-independence Tanzania.
7. Assess the effectiveness of the national military and legal institutions in post-independence Tanzania.

Chapter Six

Forces hindering development in independent African states

Introduction

Since independence, African states have been experiencing social, political and economic problems. Some of these problems are rooted in the colonial past and others originate from within the African continent itself. This chapter examines the forces hindering development in independent African states and the measures taken to deal with them. The competencies developed will enable you to value and appreciate the measures taken by African leaders to address problems in their countries.



Reflection questions

- Why have African governments failed to achieve socio-economic and political development although they have formulated different plans and policies?
- What should African countries do to achieve sustainable social, political and economic development?

African countries made an effort to solve the social, political and economic problems inherited from colonialism. Major policy reforms were made in the social, political and economic sectors. Yet, there are still problems that hinder the achievement of desired development in these countries. Some of the problems resulted from the weaknesses of African policies and their enforcement mechanisms, but others originated from external factors.

Internal forces hindering development in Africa

The adoption of single-party system caused the occurrence of upheavals in many African states during the 1960s and 1970s. Democratic rule was in dilemma as many citizens lost the freedom of expression. During parliamentary sessions,

some governments did not accept criticism for the evils committed by their officials. Following the adoption of a single-party system, some presidents accumulated so much power that they even abused it. Those who criticised the governments were sometimes secretly killed, imprisoned, forced into exile or disappeared without trace. In some African countries there were some people who were allegedly killed due to political oppression. Dictatorship and lack of rule of law caused military coups.

Ideological differences also caused disunity among the independent African states. For example, during the 1970s, Kenya and Tanzania developed unhealthy political and economic relations owing to ideological differences. While Tanzania adopted the policy of socialism and self-reliance, Kenya was predominantly oriented along capitalist lines. In 1977, the two countries closed their borders, something that spearheaded the collapse of the former East African Community, which had been formed in 1967. The collapse of the EAC greatly affected the economic development of the East African countries.

Military coups were equally responsible for hindering development in many African states. A good example was the military coup, which took place in Uganda in 1971 when General Idi Amin overthrew the civilian government under Milton Obote. After the coup, Obote and most of his followers took refuge in Tanzania. President Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who was Obote's ardent friend, refused to recognise the military regime in Kampala. This complicated situation stimulated conflict throughout Africa as the Heads of States found themselves divided on the Ugandan issue. Uganda sent two delegates to the 1971 OAU conference held in Addis Ababa. One delegate from Kampala represented Idi Amin and the other from Dar es Salaam represented Milton Obote.

Julius Nyerere could not tolerate Amin's delegate. He boycotted the conference and refused to sit at the same table with Idi Amin. Enmity between the two African leaders culminated in a six-month war, from September 1978 to February 1979. Apart from the loss of lives and property, the war adversely affected economic development in the two nations. Tanzania lost a large amount of money in the operations of the war. This large amount of money could have been invested in various production projects in the interest of the country and the East African region at large.

Another problem of post-colonial Africa is related to the building of social cohesion of a given nation. Some African states gained political independence,

while their social cohesion and harmony were a bit complicated. A good example was Rwanda, which gained her political independence on 1st July 1962, but without strong unity among the people. Ethnic feelings in Rwanda and Burundi were so strong that neither the Tutsi nor the Hutu were willing to share political power. In the subsequent years, Rwanda and Burundi produced many refugees, following frequent civil wars. Tanzania has been receiving refugees from the two countries, which is a big social, political and economic burden. Much money, which could have been used for economic development, has been spent accommodating refugees.

Civil wars have also, greatly hindered development in some African countries. The major causes of civil wars included power struggles among the military, religious and ethnic leaders. Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sierra Leone are good examples of countries which have been affected by civil wars. So much money has been wasted in the Somalian civil war. For example, the United Nations alone has spent a total of \$ 1.6 billion in an attempt to end the wars. That money could have been used to promote economic development not only in Somalia but also in other parts of Africa.

Furthermore, some African countries have not achieved sustainable development because of prolonged drought. Ethiopia is a good example of a country where drought has been causing famine, which affects many people, especially children. In 1985 alone, between 17 and 24 people died every day in Ethiopia. Some of those who survived the effects of drought became refugees. The number of Ethiopian refugees increased from 5,000 people in 1984 to 35,000 people in 1985. In general, about 8 million people became victims of drought in Ethiopia and about 1 million people starved to death. Drought also occurred in Tanzania in 1974, forcing the government to spend much money on food.

Another threat to the well-being of the African people is the problem of diseases such as malaria, diarrhoea, anaemia, cancer, HIV/AIDS, ebola and respiratory infections, including pneumonia and tuberculosis. There are other diseases which are associated with malnutrition, especially among children under the age of five years. Such diseases have affected many African countries and hindered their development. For example, malaria is the number one killer-disease on the continent. A report by the World Health Organisation (WHO), in 2000 shows

that malaria kills one person every 5 minutes. This causes African governments to spend much money combating the disease and its effects. HIV/AIDS also spreads very fast among the people aged between 15 and 55, which is the most productive age. From the first case of HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s, the treatment of this disease has cost African governments large sums of money and part of that money comes in the form of loans which have to be paid with high interests. COVID-19 which emerged in Africa in 2019, has forced African governments to spend extra sum of money combating the disease. All these diseases delay and hinder national development in many ways.

Corruption and bribery have been a major challenge to development in many African countries. Some African leaders are corrupt and sometimes come to power through corruption. Some of them engage in corruption because they are competing for power, prestige and money. The African continent has produced many corrupt leaders across time and space. Many sources mention Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko of the former Republic of Zaire, Marcias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea and Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic as examples. Those were the leading corrupt African leaders in the 1970s and 1980s. The most corrupt African leader in the 1990s was Sani Abacha of Nigeria. Abacha is said to have spent billion of dollars from government coffers on his own spending. The acts of corruption impede the development of Africa because large sum of money intended for development are embezzled and diverted into personal use.

Brain drain is another problem hindering independent African states. Africa has been, and still is, losing her intellectuals and other highly-trained people who leave the continent for greener pastures overseas. Problems such as low pay, suppression from politicians, limited freedom of expression and poverty have made such skilled manpower leave their countries. These people could have been used in planning and stimulating development in their countries, if they had stayed. As a result, Africa is short of intellectuals and trained people to spearhead social, political and economic development of the continent.

Shortage of teaching personnel and educational infrastructure is another problem in post-colonial Africa. After independence, African countries tried to change their educational systems. In the case of Tanzania, such changes included the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in the 1970s. In the 1980s and

1990s, the educational system was liberalised and cost-sharing was introduced. This period saw an increase in the number of students enrolled in secondary schools, colleges and universities with less regard to the quality of education provided. Likewise, in the first decade of the 2000s, the government expanded secondary education through the establishment of schools in every ward and sometimes at the village level. However, this development has produced other challenges, which are yet to be solved, like shortage of teachers (especially science teachers), laboratories, school furniture and the necessary teaching materials and equipment. In 2016, the government re-introduced free education in primary and secondary schools, thereby raising pupil enrolment and further exacerbating the shortage of classrooms, furniture and office spaces for teachers.

Ineffective leadership is also a major problem in achieving development plans and goals. Some African leaders lack the qualities of good leadership; as a result, they spend so much energy suppressing opposition political parties, which challenge their views and point out their weaknesses. Ineffective leadership prompted the removal of President Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia from power through revolution on 14th January 2011. President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was also removed from power on 13th February 2011 and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was removed from office through a palace coup in 2017. Incompetent African leaders created bottlenecks to frustrate skilled workers and the masses at large. Some African leaders are only interested in fame and prestige. They misuse their managerial powers and authorities prescribed in the codes of conduct. Such leaders do not bother about the problems of poor remuneration among workers, corruption, inflation and embezzlement of public funds.

Ethnicity has been one of the major problems hindering development in Africa. This problem is so critical that countries like Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Angola and Uganda have never enjoyed national solidarity and social cohesion. The Angolan civil war, which lasted for 26 years, had some ethnic connotations. Most MPLA supporters were the Mbundu, those of UNITA were the Ovimbundu and supporters of FNLA were the Bakongo.

Exercise 6.1

Answer the following questions:

1. Analyse social problems hindering development in post-independent African states.
2. Show how corruption has been a major obstacle to development in post-independent African states.

External forces hindering development in Africa

Neo-colonialism has adversely affected African development. Western nations have been directly, or through their puppets, causing conflicts in Africa. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) have also been used to destroy the economies of African countries through loans they provide under difficult conditionalities. Foreign investments have similarly been used as an avenue for looting African wealth and resources. Neo-colonial relations are also manifested through price control at the world market. For the most part, African countries have become receivers of prices, while developed countries set the prices. Thus, it is evident that the external world has contributed to the impoverishment of Africa.

Measures taken to address the above problems

Efforts have been made to address the problems that hinder development in Africa. Some of the efforts are common throughout Africa, but others are unique to particular countries, depending on the nature, scope and intensity of the problems. African leaders have been pressing for co-operation with other nations, a move that has helped to solve some of the problems. For example, between 1970 and 1982, African countries were receiving large amount of money in the form of soft loans and financial aid from Western Europe.

As a result, the European nations established an organisation called Official Development Assistance (ODA) to coordinate such financial support and to ensure that African countries received aid from recognised agencies, as opposed to individual volunteers. The financial assistance received from Europe enabled African countries to build universities, national hospitals, tarmac roads, hydro-electric power plants, dams, conference halls and modern hotels. For instance, for many years Tanzania received financial support from Norway under the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) to improve roads, research and training its citizen in different educational fields.

Furthermore, African leaders have been working closely with various specialised agencies affiliated to the United Nations to solve their development-related problems. For example, in times of food shortages and famine, African countries have worked with the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM) to ensure that they receive food assistance on time. African leaders have also approached the United Nations General Assembly to persuade leaders of the developed nations to introduce fair economic policies that can help Africa solve its economic problems. For example, in the mid-1980s, the United Nations General Assembly formed a special commission chaired by the former West Germany Chancellor, Willy Brandt, to look into various economic problems in Africa and suggest the way forward. Although the recommendations of the Brandt Commission were not fully implemented by the Western nations, the report gave some glimpses into the problems affecting Africa, their causes and possible solutions.

In October 2001, African leaders launched the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). That move was seen as one of the steps towards solving the seemingly unending social, political and economic problems, which have been facing the continent for years. Under this initiative, a key strategy for achieving sustainable development in the 21st century was outlined. NEPAD provided impetus for Africa's development by linking gaps in priority sectors so that African countries could catch up with the developed nations. The priority sectors included infrastructure, water and sanitation, information and communication technology (ICT), human resource development and economic development.

African statesmen have been using African Union conferences to discuss possible ways of solving common development problems. During the 2000 summit, African leaders acknowledged that the situation on the continent had been worsened by religious and electoral conflicts. They singled out Somalia as a dangerous state owing to the problems of terrorism and piracy.



Activity 6.1

- Conduct a debate in class on the following contention: "Africans can solve their own problems better than the foreigners".
- Summarise the points raised in the debate.

Positive outcomes of the measures taken to address problems in Africa

The measures taken to some extent have helped African states to improve their economic performance and the welfare of their people, including peasants in different parts of the continent. In Ghana, for example, the economic and structural changes introduced, have increased the production of cocoa and giving greater benefits to peasants. There have also been gains in the business sector following improvement of the trading environment. Involvement of the local people in the internal and external trade has increased both personal and national wealth.

The measures taken to address the problems has resulted in a massive inflow of foreign aid and foreign investment from developed countries. The measures taken to combat corruption and the emphasis placed on good governance have helped to stimulate further investment in Africa. Foreign aid and investment have helped to address problems related to health, education, electricity, water and physical infrastructure.

Adoption of the multiparty system in the 1990s has contributed to the expansion of democracy on the continent. This transformation has opened the door for African states to hold democratic elections and has improved the image of the continent as a favourable destination for capital investment. Moreover, African countries have made significant progress in terms of policy harmonisation and most of them now believe in market-oriented economic policies. Most African states have also liberalised their economies and exchange controls, thereby improving their overall macro-economic performance and reducing budget deficits.

The challenges that still face Africa

Despite the measures taken to solve political conflicts and civil wars, African countries still experience political instability. As indicated previously, some of the problems have their roots in ethnic consciousness, religious differences and imperialist machinations. Countries like Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Nigeria have experienced such a chaotic and precarious political atmosphere. Some of the conflicts experienced in African states emanate from imperialist motives of the developed nations. For example, the Western powers have intensified political conflicts and civil wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo in order to exploit its mineral resources. A similar scenario happened in Libya when they plotted the assassination of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, mainly due to imperialist motive of exploiting oil reserves from Libya.

The introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the 1980s and 1990s affected Africa's social, political and economic policies in different ways. For example, a provision pertaining to privatisation and reduction of spending on basic services such as education, health care, water and electricity caused the collapse of important services in Africa. The adoption of cost-sharing in education and other services made it difficult for the majority to access the services; this caused further impoverishment of the African people. Many people, especially those in the rural areas, could not afford basic services because of financial constraints. The implication of all this is that African leaders lost political legitimacy before their people and some of them were voted out of power during political elections.

The lesson we learn from the history of SAPs-induced measures that were initially perceived as solutions to the social and economic problems of Africa is that they created more problems. These measures opened the door for direct foreign investment in Africa, and exposed African economies to the control of donor countries and their multinational companies. Some of the companies looted African mineral resources through dubious contracts they signed with corrupt African leaders. Similarly, trade liberalisation reduced the role of marketing boards in dealing with peasants' welfare; that role was, instead, played by private companies, which reduced the prices of cash crops, thereby increasing poverty among Africans.



Activity 6.2

In a group, conduct a library and online search on the political conflicts experienced by post-independent African states and then:

- (a) identify countries that have commonly experienced such a precarious political atmosphere;
- (b) examine the causes of political conflicts in post-independent African states; and
- (c) suggest the measures that should be taken to end political conflicts in post-independent African states

Exercise 6.2

Answer the following questions:

1. Suggest the measures that can be taken by post-independent African leaders to deal with the challenges of development.
2. (a) What were the structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)?
(b) Assess the weaknesses of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs).

Revision exercise 6

Answer the following questions:

1. Analyse the strength and weaknesses of the measures taken to address development problems in Africa.
2. Examine the main barriers to social, political and economic development in Africa after independence.
3. Propose ways that could be used to mitigate the problems hindering development in Africa.
4. Examine the problems facing African countries that are rooted in the colonial past.
5. Assess various steps taken to address development problems in Africa.
6. Examine the internal and external forces that hindered development in Africa after independence
7. Explain the efforts made by independent African states to deal with the challenges of development soon after the attainment of political independence.
8. Account for political instability in African states after independence.

Chapter Seven

Africa in continental, regional and international affairs

Introduction

Participation in continental, regional and international affairs is among the strategies adopted by African states in order to address their social, political and economic problems. The areas of co-operation include trade, industry, agriculture, research as well as science and technology. This chapter explores Africa's participation in continental, regional and international affairs, and examines the impact of that participation on social, political and economic development of African states. Furthermore, the chapter assesses the achievements and problems resulting from Africa's participation in international affairs. The competencies developed will enable you to appreciate and honour the participation of African states in continental, regional and international affairs to achieve Africans' welfare and sustainable development.



Reflection questions

- (a) What are the benefits of Africa's participation in continental, regional and international affairs?
- (b) How does Tanzania benefit from continental, regional and international engagements?
- (c) What is the impact of continental, regional and international co-operation on individual African states?

The African Union and the quest for continental co-operation

Continental co-operation is the coming together of nations within a particular continent in order to achieve economic, social and political development. One of the strategies adopted by African countries for this purpose is continental engagement through the African Union (AU), formerly the Organisation of

African Unity (OAU). The OAU was established on 25th May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The pioneering leaders included President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Four decades later, during the OAU summit held in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa, the OAU was reorganised and the name was changed to the African Union (AU). The decision to establish the AU reflected African leaders' desire to achieve rapid and greater development. There was also a need to re-focus attention for African liberation because all African countries had gained their political independence. Thus, the AU focuses on increased co-operation among the member states to achieve Africa's economic growth and development. Figure 7.1 shows some of the leaders of the OAU members states.



Figure 7.1: *Some of the leaders of the OAU members states*

Source: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/organisation-african-unity-oau>

When the former organisation (OAU) was established, its major objectives were to promote unity and solidarity among the member states; to coordinate and intensify co-operation among African states; to make efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa; to settle disputes involving African states across the continent; and to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all African states. The other objectives of the OAU were to promote political and economic co-operation among independent African states; to speed up the decolonisation of the rest of Africa; to promote international co-operation in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and to uphold the principle of non-interference with the internal

affairs of the member states. The OAU recognised the sovereignty and equality of all African states and supported the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Africa's relations with the rest of the world. Most of these objectives were later adopted by the AU. However, the AU puts more emphasis on achieving greater unity and solidarity among African states and African peoples at large, with a view to increasing economic development. It is expected that economic development will help to solve most of the problems facing African countries.

Principles of the AU

The African Heads of States set up principles for mutual co-operation, which are willingly accepted by the member states before joining the Union. The principles include sovereign legality of all the member states, non-interference with the internal affairs of the member states, peaceful resolution of conflicts, condemnation of political assassinations, promotion of gender equality, condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of governments, and respect for democratic principles and the rule of law.

The activities of the AU are carried out through several decision-making organs and bodies such as the Assembly of the Heads of States, the Executive Council, the Permanent Representatives Committee, the Specialised Technical Committee, the Peace and Security Council and the African Union Commission. The AU also works with organs that handle judicial and legal matters as well as human rights issues such as the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, the African Court, the Commission on International Law, financial institutions and other advisory bodies.

Strategies for achieving its aims

The AU uses different strategies to achieve its aims. For instance, it uses the Agenda 2063 as a strategic framework for achieving Africa's long-term socio-economic and integrative transformation. This Agenda was formally adopted in 2013 as a roadmap for Africa's sustainable development and will remain in place over the next 50 years. The Agenda 2063 anticipates conflict reduction, increased peace, renewed economic growth as well as social progress. The Agenda also emphasises the need for people-centred development, gender equality, youth empowerment, increased globalisation and a revolution in Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Therefore, unity and solidarity among

African people is of paramount importance. These values are considered to be important tools for social and political empowerment, and for reckoning with the common AU Agenda. It is also anticipated that African unity and solidarity will enhance collaboration on economic development and investment opportunities in the common areas of co-operation such as agro-business, infrastructure, health, education and trade.

The other strategy for facilitating economic development in Africa involves the promotion of common policies on trade and foreign relations. To that end, the AU has developed continental frameworks and flagship projects. Such frameworks and projects are for adding value to African commodities, reducing and removing barriers to intra-African trade, and creating a larger market for African goods and services. These changes are for making economic transformation so as to attract economic investments, expand employment opportunities, enhance food security and promote the competitiveness of African industrial products. These initiatives will help to ensure better management of African natural resources and to promote industrialisation in Africa.

Furthermore, the member states signed a landmark agreement in March 2018, namely the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA). The agreement requires the member states to remove tariffs on 90% of goods in order to boost free trade and services in Africa. This initiative was taken for the purpose of making Africa the largest free trade area in the world, with a large number of consumers and high Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Under the same agreement, African countries are required to develop effective policies and strategies for export of commodities, and to identify opportunities for industrialisation and economic diversification so as to boost intra-African trade.

African leaders have shown commitment in industrialising the continent, both in the short-term and the long-term periods. The industrialisation efforts are operationalised in collaboration with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and other development partners. Through such collaborations, the AU developed a strategy for implementing the industrial programme, trade, agriculture and energy resources. The idea was to stimulate production in these sectors and promote infrastructural and technological development. Similarly, through the African Union Development Agency and New Partnership for Africa's Development (AUDA - NEPAD), the AU established centres of excellence to

build the capacity of African scientists, engineers and researchers. The intention was to enable them to work more intensively on artificial intelligence and quantum computing in order to accelerate the structural transformation of African economies. These interventions were made to create space and opportunities for entrepreneurship and economic development.

At the global level, the AU influenced the international community through the United Nations agencies like the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the World Health Organisation (WHO). The significance of this was to enhance the development human resources, increase in economic productivity and improvement of the livelihoods and welfare of African people. To achieve these, the international agencies have to work closely with the relevant regional and national organisations.

Bearing in mind that the largest part of the African population is employed in the agricultural sector, the AU insists on empowering rural communities so as to bring about agricultural transformation in rural areas. This is done by giving incentives to peasants and farmers, as well as establishing agricultural infrastructure that can transform rural economies. For instance, in 2003, African leaders committed themselves to driving agricultural transformation through the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP). This commitment was renewed in 2014.

With support from the AUDA-NEPAD, individual African states and regional economic communities have domesticated the CAADP framework to realise Africa's agricultural transformation. Modern technologies have also been integrated in the agricultural sector to increase production. For example, in Sudan, satellite images are currently used to gather information on crop performance and the images are shared with farmers through their mobile phones. Similarly, the drone technology is currently used to map out areas for potential rice cultivation in Nigeria. The improvement of the agricultural sector in Africa is further realised through the development and implementation of industrial policy for small-scale and rural industries.

In addition, the AU works to facilitate access to affordable and sustainable energy. Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, has the lowest energy access rates in the world. In some areas people totally lack electricity for domestic use and industrial development. Therefore, it is clear that poor access to energy is

a major constraint on economic growth and sustainable development on the continent. Through regional organisations and governments, the AU encourages the utilisation of solar and biomass energy so that more people can have access to clean energy. Technological advancement in renewable energy, especially solar power, is expanding rapidly in East and West Africa, thus serving rural and urban populations in the relevant countries.

The other role played by the AU in enhancing investment and economic development is coordination and mobilisation of capital. In this regard, financial institutions such as the African Development Bank (ADB), the African Central Bank (ACB) and the African Investment Bank (AIB) have been established. These banks support the economic initiatives of the African countries by providing them with funds in the form of loans and grants for the development of agricultural production, science and technology, transport and education. The AU also mobilises its member states to create regional economic blocs in order to support their social, political and economic activities within their regions. Such blocs include the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Apart from dealing with economic development, the AU also deals with conflict settlement within and between the member states through its Conflicts Resolution Committee. The member states are obliged to safeguard the independence of Africa by observing the principles of justice, mutual respect and good neighbourliness. Frequent meetings and inter-state visits are encouraged to promote friendship among African countries.



Activity 7.1

In groups, conduct a library and online search on African regional blocs and then:

- (a) examine the benefits that Tanzania gets from being a member of the AU; and
- (b) suggest measures that should be taken so that Tanzania can benefit more from its membership of the AU.

Achievements of the AU

The AU provides an opportunity for African nations to speak with one voice on international issues. Through its various organs and agencies, African heads of states get the opportunity to discuss various problems facing the continent and work out solutions for the benefit of all.

The removal of trade barriers in Africa has helped to fix fragmented regional economies that for a long time positioned Africa as a supplier of raw materials in exchange for manufactured goods from industrialised countries. This situation made the continent's share in the global trade rather insignificant. The removal of trade barriers has promoted industrialisation in Africa and helped to grow the economy. Increased industrialisation in African countries helps to add value to export products, hence increasing the price of products and profit margins.

The AU works in collaboration with the United Nations and its agencies like the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) to offer material and psychological support to the refugees from various countries, which have been facing civil wars. Such countries include the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia and the Central African Republic. The refugees are given accommodation, curative and preventive medicine, education for their children and, in some cases, temporary employment to enable them to meet some of their basic needs while living outside their countries.

The AU has also played an enormous role in conflict resolution in various member states, including Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and the Anjouan Island in the Republic of Comoro. Sometimes, the AU is forced to deploy armed troops from the member states and conduct military operations in order to maintain peace and order in different parts of the continent. For example, Kenyan troops were sent to Somalia to fight the Al-shabab terrorist group. The troops worked under the supervision and close monitoring of the AU.

The AU human development programmes have led to improved health and educational services in different parts of Africa. Significant improvements in public health have led to a substantial decline in maternal and child mortality rates, and the incidence of chronic malnutrition among children under five years of

age has been reduced. African countries are making good progress in preventing childhood illness, mortality and communicable diseases. Although HIV/AIDS and malaria continue to have detrimental effects on development, treatment options are improving and are widely available in different African countries. The AU also encourages African countries to conduct research on potential drugs that can cure or increase immunity against HIV/AIDS.

The AU encourages African countries to improve their educational systems and raise access to high quality education. Illiteracy rates have been reduced in African countries partly because of the encouragement from the AU. The number of children enrolled in educational institutions has increased tremendously. The gender gap in literacy is shrinking, mainly because of massive improvements in gender equality in school enrolment. In fact, Africa is currently leading in some aspects of gender balance, including an increased number of parliamentary seats for women in countries such as Rwanda. Women workers are enjoying greater freedom at workplaces. Many people have begun to recognise the need for women's participation in many aspects of socio-economic life because women play a great role in family affairs. Life expectancy in many parts of Africa is constantly rising.

Through the AU, African leaders have been attending meetings, workshops and forums, thereby improving their capacity to manage and solve political conflicts. Furthermore, the AU promotes international friendships within the continent, through joint activities and programmes in social and economic sectors. The member states also gain new information and ideas that help them to solve common problems in agriculture, industry and health sector. Such initiatives have helped to reduce the number of people living in extreme poverty.

With regard to the financial sector, the African Development Bank (ADB) and other financial institutions support African development projects. This support is given in the form of soft loans with low interest rates and easy borrowing conditions. Such loans have been invested in different development projects across the continent.

The AU plays an important role in settling post-election disputes. For example, during the 2007 general election in Kenya, violence erupted, prompting the AU

to send to the country a team of prominent leaders such as Kofi Annan, Benjamin Mkapa, John Kufuor and Graca Machel to assist in conflict resolution. Likewise, during the post-election disputes and violence in Zimbabwe in 2008, the AU played a mediating role, which resulted in the creation of a coalition government in which Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai shared political power to end the dispute. The AU also intervened during the 2011 post-election disputes in Ivory Coast, where the former president, Laurent Gbagbo, had been defeated during the election, but had refused to accept the results and wanted to remain in power. The AU intervened and demanded Gbagbo to accept the defeat and hand over power to Alassane Ouattara, who had won the election.

One of the major achievements of the AU was the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) in 2004, which consists of elected members representing each of the AU member states. The PAP functions as an oversight body with advisory and consultative powers. The initial headquarters of the PAP were located in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, but were later moved to Midrand, South Africa.

Problems facing the AU

The problem of political boundaries, which were created during the partition of Africa, remains one of the major challenges in Africa. The partition of Africa was done during the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 without Africans' consent. In drawing boundaries, the imperialists did not pay attention to particular ethnic groupings, languages and cultural proximity of the people on either side of the borders. As a result, people who speak the same language and practise the same culture were split into more than one country. For example, the Somali-speaking people were split into three countries, namely Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia, with sheer disregard to their cultural and blood relations. This decision has caused conflicts over boundaries between the neighbouring African states. For example, after Somalia had gained her political independence in 1960, Somalia authorities started to claim that the land occupied by the Somali-speaking people in Ethiopia and Kenya belonged to Somalia. Such claims eventually resulted in border conflicts and at different times Somalia clashed with Ethiopia and Kenya.

Also, ideological differences among African countries challenged the functioning of the AU. Some African countries believed in socialism and others in capitalism. Sometimes such differences made it difficult for the AU member states to have

a common agenda and thus weakened the collective efforts to achieve the AU's objectives.

The AU's strategies and initiatives suffered inadequacy of funds to meet the target. The AU's main source of income are contributions from the member states in the form of membership fees. However, some of the member states do not pay their membership fees or pay them very late. As a result, they accumulate huge arrears, making it difficult for the organisation to discharge some of its core functions and responsibilities.

Neo-colonialism interferes with the functioning of the AU in many ways, particularly by imposing capitalist interests on some African states. For example, the former French colonies have continued to maintain close links with their former colonial master. France built military bases in some of those countries, including the Central African Republic during the reign of Emperor Bokassa. Likewise, in collaboration with Britain, France, Belgium and the USA maintained Joseph Mobutu of Zaire, irrespective of Mobutu's corrupt behaviour, simply because he allowed them to exploit Zaire's natural resources for their own benefit.

Another problem relates to the nature of the organisation itself. The AU membership is not compulsory to all African states. It is a voluntary organisation and not a sovereign entity. In addition, the AU does not have the power to impose and enforce its decisions and policies on the member states. The implication of all this is that each state has the liberty to join or not to join the AU. Under certain circumstances, some countries may join the AU where necessary, but may withdraw their membership when they feel that their interests are being jeopardised.

Some of the AU member states are members of other regional groupings whose interests conflict with those of the AU. For example, countries like Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan and Somalia, which are members of the Arab League, tend to co-operate more with the Arab countries in the Middle East than with their fellow African states south of the Sahara. The only exception was President Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, who worked very closely with all African leaders, including those from sub-Saharan Africa. Such discriminatory behaviours among African states affect the smooth functioning of the AU.

Different African countries such as Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Chad, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, Sudan and Uganda have experienced civil wars, which have made it difficult for them to promote and maintain peace and security. In certain parts of the continent, civil wars have disrupted harmonious relations between neighbouring countries hence adversely affecting economic development in such countries.

The other problem facing the AU is that some African leaders are involved in immoral practices such as corruption, maladministration, nepotism and mismanagement of public funds. All these affect the credibility of the AU, since the same leaders are part of its decision makers. The leaders under this category include the former president of Central African Republic Jean-Bedel Bokassa and the former president of Zaire (DRC), Joseph Mobutu, whose leadership styles discouraged good governance, which is one of the core objectives of the AU.

The prevalence of epidemics and major diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria is also a major challenge to the AU. These diseases kill the continent's productive labour force, including skilled workers who would have been utilised by the AU to develop such economic sectors as industry, fishing, tourism and agriculture. So much money is spent in preventing and curing such diseases, instead of being invested in economic and other development projects.

Exercise 7.1

Answer the following questions:

1. Assess the achievements resulting from continental co-operation.
2. Examine the major obstacles to continental co-operation.

African regional co-operation

The idea of establishing African regional co-operation was conceived by the AU, formerly OAU, to address social, political and economic problems facing the newly independent African states. Thus, regional organisations centred in specific geographical areas such as East Africa, Southern Africa and West Africa were formed. Some of these organisations were formed to replace colonial

organisations. A good example is the East African Community (EAC), which was rooted in British-formed organisations. These included the East African Governors Conference (1923), the East African High Commission (1948) and the East African Common Services Organisation (1961).

The East African Community

The East African Community (EAC) was formed in 1967 with its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. This community consisted of three East African countries: Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. The EAC membership was voluntary and each member state had to be part of the East African region.

The EAC was formed to promote economic co-operation among the member states. Furthermore, the formation of the community was intended to strengthen social and political ties between the member states, which would enable them to achieve balanced economic growth. In realising the above objectives, agricultural products were declared tariff-free within the region and the currency of each state was valid throughout the East African Community. The implication of the latter agreement was that the currencies of the three member states would be exchanged at the same rate within the region. However, supplemental charges were imposed on some industrial goods for a certain period.

Various institutions were established to ensure proper functioning of the community. The most important ones included the East African Authority, which was the community's supreme organ consisting of the three Heads of States. Another institution was the East African Legislative Assembly, whose main function was to make laws concerning the common services provided by the community. Also, there was a common market tribunal. The EAC had different councils such as finance, communication, common market, economic, consultative and planning, research and social councils. The functions of each council were coordinated by the Central Secretariat in Arusha. The other major organ of the EAC was the Court of Appeal for East Africa, whose function was to hear appeals from the courts in each member state.

To enhance co-operation and growth within the region, the East African Development Bank was established. The member states benefited from the bank through financial loans and technical assistance. Such assistance helped them

to stimulate agricultural and industrial production, as well as trade and social development.

Different research organs were also established to promote social and economic development. The organs included the East African Natural Resources Research Council, which coordinated research on fresh water fisheries (Jinja), marine fisheries (Zanzibar), and agriculture and forestry (Nairobi). The East African Research Council also supervised research activities on medical problems such as leprosy, tuberculosis and sleeping sickness (Nairobi). The East African Tax Board worked hand in hand with the East African Customs and Excise Department to make sure that the tax system was uniform in the three member states. The board also offered advice and assistance on matters related to tax. The East African Literature Bureau, based in Nairobi, was responsible for promoting the production and sale of books. Other remaining services were provided at the community's headquarters in Arusha.

Achievements of the EAC

The East African Community managed to address some of the problems that the East African Common Services Organisation had failed to address. Through its various activities, the EAC promoted the people's standard of living by creating employment opportunities and establishing important services through its facilities, institutions and corporations. The role of the EAC was better acknowledged after its collapse in 1977. The community became important source of employment among the member states and it stimulated the provision of various socio-economic and diplomatic services.

In order to appreciate the role of the EAC, one has to understand some of the major contributions of the community to the livelihoods of the people of East Africa. For example, the East African Development Bank sponsored six projects worth \$1.2 million, which facilitated the establishment of new industries in the member states. The industries included the aluminium corrugated iron sheets industry (ALAF), a radio assembling industry and a motor vehicle tyre and tube industry in Tanzania; a bicycle and chemical fertilizer industry in Uganda; and an electric industry in Kenya. These industries provided permanent and temporary employment to the people of East Africa.

The EAC facilitated smooth movement of people and goods in the region and this, in turn, stimulated the growth of trade and commerce. Such interactions also facilitated the development of good relations and co-operation among the citizens of the member states. With the collapse of the EAC in 1977, each country imposed border controls against people from the other East African countries and the movement of goods within the region became increasingly difficult.

Furthermore, the EAC established common ventures in the areas of education, research, science and technology. For example, the formation of common policies in the field of higher education was facilitated by the Inter-University Council for East Africa (IUCEA). Likewise, scientific institutions engaged in interdisciplinary research, especially in the Lake Victoria Basin. The best example in this case is the Lake Victoria Research Initiative (VicRes). In addition, the students of higher learning institutions in the region could study in any of the EAC member states by paying reasonable fees. Therefore, the EAC stimulated the spread of knowledge and skills, as well as economic and technological expertise. This is because the civil society, farmers and other groups interacted and exchanged ideas freely. All these had far-reaching impact on the development of the member states.

Problems and the collapse of the EAC in 1977

Although the EAC registered some notable achievements, it also faced problems which led to its collapse in 1977. Most of the problems resulted from the dissatisfaction among the member states with the nature of its operation. For example, the community did not have technical mechanisms in dealing with unequal distribution of benefits among the member states.

The transfer tax, which was set to protect industries and give room for Uganda and Tanzania to build their own industries, could not be implemented. The member states did not abide by the conditions of the transfer tax. As a result, the duplication of industries and competition in industrial production continued as usual. For example, each of the three countries established steel mill industries. Such duplicity partly contributed to the collapse of the EAC because the industrial sector in Tanzania and Uganda could never enjoy the economies of scale resulting from their membership in the East African Common Market.

There were other differences in the monetary policies of the EAC member states. The differences included inequality in the purchasing policy and differences in the number of restrictions imposed on imports. Kenya, which had many industries, benefited very much from this situation because it exported large quantities of industrial products to Tanzania and Uganda at the expense of the industries in the two countries. In addition, Kenyans developed prejudices towards the industrial goods produced in Tanzania and Uganda, so they largely bought the goods produced in their own country.

The East African Development Bank did not function as expected. The bank did not provide enough funds for establishing new industries in Tanzania and Uganda so that the two countries could meet their industrial needs as well. This was partly due to the political disturbances which existed in Uganda from 1971 to 1977 when the community collapsed. The East African Development Bank was negatively affected by this situation, since it could no longer act as a catalyst for complementary industrial development in an environment characterised by political turmoil.

Apart from economic effects, Idi Amin's seizure of power became an obstacle to the future prospects of the EAC. Julius K. Nyerere, who was the chairperson of the EAC during Amin's seizure of power, refused to recognise Amin. Nyerere refused to sit at the same table with Amin to discuss matters concerning the community. Such personal clashes greatly undermined the future prospects of the EAC and the balance of power within the region drastically deteriorated. Because of the conflict between Nyerere and Amin, no meeting was convened to discuss issues of the community and a few months after the collapse of the community, Amin invaded Tanzania. In response, Tanzania declared war on Uganda and the war ended with the defeat of Idi Amin in 1979.

The growing ideological differences between Kenya, which was pro-capitalism, and Tanzania, which was pro-socialism, played a major role in weakening the EAC. Such ideological differences caused tensions that prevented Kenya and Tanzania from co-operating well. In 1975, Tanzania and Kenya began to nationalise the assets of the EAC which were located within the two countries. Kenya nationalised East African Airways Corporation and transformed it into Kenya Airways Corporation. Tanzania responded by nationalising assets of the East African Railways and Harbours Corporations and formed its own Tanzania Railways and Harbours Corporations. Each country established its national Posts

and Telecommunications Corporation. They did the same with respect to other services that were under direct control of the EAC. Finally, each country called back its nationals who were working for the EAC and employed them in the newly established corporations.



Activity 7.2

In groups, conduct a library and online search on the formation and collapse of the former EAC and then:

- (a) evaluate the functioning of the new EAC; and
- (b) assess the benefits of the EAC to Tanzania.

Suggest measures that should be taken to address the negative effects of the EAC on Tanzania.

The revival of the East African Community

The efforts to revive the East African Community started in 1993. On 30th November 1993, the presidents of Tanzania (Ali Hassan Mwinyi), Kenya (Daniel Arap Moi) and Uganda (Yoweri Kaguta Museveni) met in Arusha and signed treaty that revived the EAC. This treaty allowed free movement of people, goods, capital and services such as transport, communication, security, education, science and research, among the original three member states. The EAC was revived so that it could promote regional trade.

Following the end of presidential term of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi in 1995, his successor, President Benjamin William Mkapa, joined hands with Moi and Museveni in the efforts to revive the EAC. In March 1996, the three Heads of States inaugurated the EAC's Secretariat. They also established the Permanent Commission whose members were appointed from the three states and told them to work on the structure of the EAC. On 29th April 1997, the commission was charged with the task of collecting views from various stakeholders on the structure and date of the official re-launch of the East African Community. This task was done over a period of three years.

These efforts culminated in the re-establishment of the East African Community, whose treaty was signed on 30th November 1999. The EAC began on 7th July

2000 following ratification of its treaty by the three original member states. The Republics of Burundi and Rwanda acceded to the EAC Treaty on 18th June 2007 and became full members of the community with effect from 1st July 2007. South Sudan became the sixth member of this community in early 2016 (see Figure 7.2).



Figure 7.2: EAC member states

The objectives of the new EAC are not different from those of the former one, although they have been adjusted so that the community can focus more on the changes that had occurred within the region after the collapse of the former EAC in 1977. Thus, the new EAC was formed with a view to promote peace, security and stability among the member states. The other aim was to promote economic development and higher standards of living for the people. The EAC also aims at promoting a common market within the community and to facilitate the development of East African industries in order to help them compete with other industries in Africa and outside Africa.

Benefits of the EAC to member states

The formation of the new EAC has facilitated free movement of people within the region without many restrictions at the borders. This has stimulated the growth of trade among the member states and the exchange of goods and services. The common market promotes different sectors such as agriculture and tourism. The EAC has also increased employment opportunities and created a forum for collective security among the East African countries. Co-operation in handling crime through Interpol and the exchange of criminals for legal action has reduced crime and enmity among the member states. Furthermore, the EAC member states co-operate in several other areas, including disaster management, transport, health services and education.



Activity 7.3

In groups, conduct a library and online search on the new East African Community and then:

- (a) examine its benefits to Tanzania; and
- (b) suggest ways through which Tanzania can benefit more from the EAC.

Challenges facing the new EAC

Despite the benefits noted, the EAC faces several challenges in pursuing its objectives. Political instability is still a challenge in the community as some of the countries in the region experience political conflicts resulting from internal political problems. The post-election violence in Kenya in 2007 and the civil wars in Burundi and South Sudan are among the major political disputes observed in the region since the revival of the EAC two decades ago.

The absence of common currency causes challenges because each state uses its own currency in trade, thus complicating commercial transactions. The use of different currencies disrupts the flow of trade and causes financial instability.

Lack of highly skilled and qualified manpower for establishing big projects like the construction of bridges and roads affects the EAC's capacity to implement the projects. The EAC member states are sometimes forced to hire qualified personnel from outside East Africa. The use of expatriates increases the cost of constructing projects, thus forcing the member states to seek loans from developed countries, under difficult conditions.

Robbery and terrorism like the presence of Al-Shabab in Somalia who repeatedly attack Kenya causing insecurity among the member states. Similarly, the occurrence of natural disasters in East Africa like floods, drought and famine affects the attainment of the EAC objectives. The money allocated to development projects is sometimes used to deal with disasters, rather than implementing the projects. The outbreak of pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and Covid-19 has also been a major impediment to the regional economy and people's livelihood. The outbreak of Covid-19, for instance, resulted in lockdowns in Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda. This has largely reduced trade volumes among the member states.

Exercise 7.2

Answer the following questions:

1. Draw a sketch map of East Africa and on it indicate the East African Community member countries.
2. Why did the East African Community collapsed in 1977?
3. Suggest the measures that can be taken by East African leaders to deal with the challenges facing the East African Community.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC)

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was formerly known as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). It was established in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1980. However, in 1992, the Heads of States in the region agreed to transform the SADCC into the Southern African

Development Community (SADC), with a focus on economic integration and development. SADC consists of fifteen countries located in the southern part of Africa (see Figure 7.3). These are Angola, Botswana, Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Eswatini, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Comoros.

Because all countries in Southern African have already gained their political independence, SADC focuses more on fostering economic development among the member states. Thus, the objectives of SADC, as stated in Article 5 of the SADC Treaty (1992), are to achieve development and economic growth, to alleviate poverty, to enhance the standard and quality of life of the people in Southern Africa and to support the socially-disadvantaged groups through regional integration. In pursuing these objectives, SADC promotes self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance and inter-dependence among the member states. Regarding economic development, SADC focuses on the promotion and maximisation of production, employment and effective utilisation of resources in the region.

SADC strives to strengthen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affiliation of the people in the region. Gender mainstreaming has been given high priority among the member states, besides common political values, systems and institutions, in order to maintain peace and security in the region.



Activity 7.4

In groups, conduct a library and online search on Southern African Development Community (SADC) and then:

- (a) examine its benefits to Tanzania; and
- (b) suggest ways through which Tanzania can benefit more from SADC.

Achievements of SADC

With exception of few cases, the region has enjoyed unparalleled peace, political stability and security since the formation of SADC. The principles and guidelines governing democratic elections have also boosted the image of the region

and reduced conflicts before, during and after elections. Political stability has facilitated economic investments in the member states.

The community has formulated a programme of action harmonising all issues of sectoral and cross-sectoral nature so as to achieve its objectives. The programme is key in promoting deeper integration of SADC into the world economy, promoting balanced and equitable development, eradicating poverty and promoting gender equality. SADC member states have also made significant progress in policy harmonisation. Since its formation, SADC has developed many policies and all the countries in the region have adopted market-oriented economic policies. Most of the member states have liberalised their economies, brought down budget deficits and improved overall macro-economic policies.

SADC has also formed different social, political and economic protocols to enhance the welfare of the people in the member countries. Among the protocols which have been signed are the protocol on combating illicit drugs of 1999, the protocol on education and training of 2000, the protocol on trade of 2000, the protocol on wildlife and conservation of 2003, and the protocol on health services of 2004.

Challenges facing SADC

Despite the achievements explained earlier, SADC faces some challenges, making it difficult to achieve some of its objectives. Some of its members belong to other organisations with the same economic targets as SADC. This hinders the development of the community since member countries face the challenge of having divided loyalty as well as commitments to different organisations in which they belong.

The adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programmes in the 1980s and 1990s affected economic development in Africa as majority of countries liberalised trade. The free market economy has contributed to the collapse of industries and has increased unemployment. The private sector has not been very active because state control did not allow the private sector to have access to finance and other banking services so that it could be properly organised. These economic challenges have undermined the functioning of SADC goals.

Food security is one of the major concerns in the region. Environmental disasters such as drought and floods have been affecting the entire region, destroying crops and livestock, and thereby driving up the prices of grain, leaving millions of people hungry. According to the UN's World Food Programme, the region experienced massive crop failures during 1997/8, largely as a result of *El Nino*-induced floods. This caused the member states to appeal to international humanitarian agencies for immediate and short-term support to avert starvation. SADC member states use the funds allocated to economic projects to ensure food security in the region.

Political instability has also affected the achievement of the objectives of the community. Some of the member states have faced riots and boycotts caused by political problems. Most of the misunderstandings happen during elections because of power struggles. Some African leaders have not implemented the democratic principles. This has further complicated the political situation in the region. Political instability has sometimes resulted in *coups d'état* among the member states. For example, the palace *coup d'état* which occurred in Zimbabwe and led to the overthrow of Robert Mugabe in 2017.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established to foster co-operation among the West African states. ECOWAS was established on 28th May 1975, after the treaty had been signed in Lagos, Nigeria. The community has fifteen member states (see Figure 7.3) and is charged with the task of promoting economic development in the West African region. Its member states are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo. Its headquarters are in Lagos, Nigeria.

Like members of the other communities on the continent, ECOWAS member states envisage higher economic development and unity among themselves. To achieve economic and industrial development, they have set up a custom union. Industrial development is coordinated to prevent duplication of resources and capital. Funds for stimulating economic development are solicited regularly to finance viable economic projects. There are joint agricultural projects implemented by the member states to boost economic development in the region

especially in marketing, research and food processing. Collective bargaining involving foreign investment and project financing is done with the industrialised world to facilitate economic growth in the region. Visas and other restrictions have been abolished to promote easy movement of people, goods and capital within the region, with a view of strengthening socio-economic unity among the member states.

Achievements of ECOWAS

ECOWAS has promoted peace and co-operation in West Africa, thus enhancing the carrying out of joint projects. The best example are the joint projects implemented by Nigeria and Niger under the supervision of the Nigeria-Niger Joint Commission (NNJC). Furthermore, the community mobilises funds from internal and external sources for financing and improving agriculture, transport, industries, telecommunications and other sectors. In 1990 ECOWAS established a military force known as the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). This force has helped to deal with militant groups which have overthrown civilian governments, including the group that overthrew the governments in Sierra Leone in the 1990s.

Problems facing ECOWAS

Economic differences among the member states pose a big challenge to the proper functioning of ECOWAS. Some of the member states, for example Ivory Coast, Senegal and Nigeria, are more developed than the other states in the region.

ECOWAS suffers from financial difficulties because some of its member states do not pay their annual contributions as agreed, thereby affecting the implementation of the community's plans. Insufficient funds for implementing various projects sometimes forces ECOWAS to seek loans from developed countries under difficult conditions. Such loans lead to the accumulation of debts, further hindering the implementation of various development projects. The conditions associated with the provision of these loans are detrimental to the objectives of ECOWAS.

Many ECOWAS member states are still dependent on developed nations and their domestic economies are externally oriented. This means that they produce raw materials for the industrialised nations and import expensive industrial

goods. This is a big challenge to ECOWAS because the common market it sought to establish cannot be established. Moreover, poor infrastructure such as the absence of quality roads, harbours and airports hinders the exchange of goods and services within the region.

Lack of a common language is a major impediment to smooth communication in the community. West African states were dominated by different colonial masters, particularly the British and the French. For that matter, the states that were colonised by the British speak English while those which were colonised by the French speak French. This linguistic disparity poses difficulties, thus affecting a smooth exchange of goods and services.

Neo-colonialism also hinders proper functioning of ECOWAS. For example, France has been influencing her former colonies to give each other trading privileges without extending them to the other ECOWAS member states, especially the former British colonies such as Nigeria. Furthermore, cross-border terrorism and robbery have created insecurity in the region, causing delays and even abolition of projects in some areas.

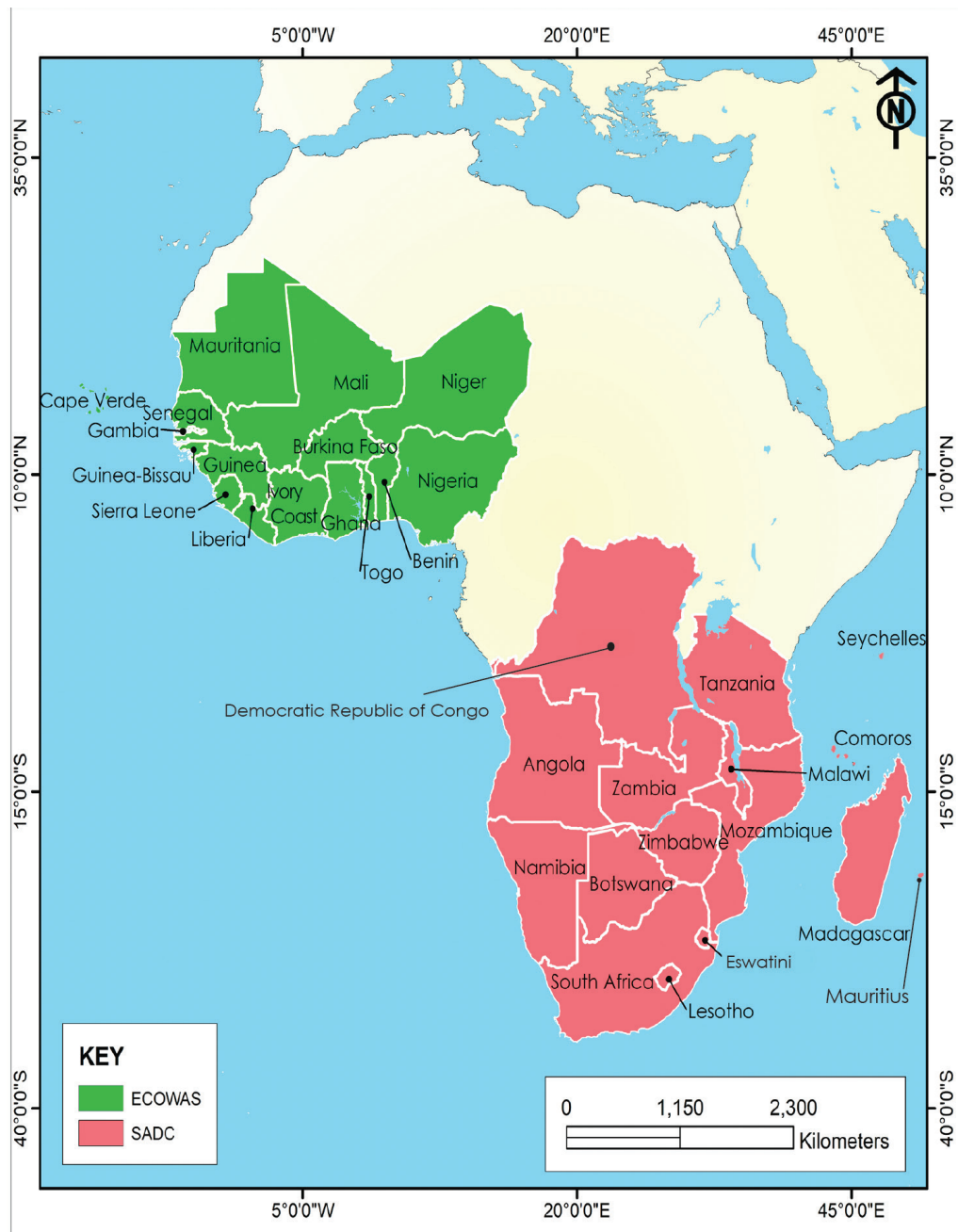


Figure 7.3 : ECOWAS and SADC member states

Africa's participation in international affairs

African countries also participate in international affairs for social, political and economic reasons. They participate in the areas of climate change, world trade, migration, security, terrorism and disease control through the United Nations and its agencies.

The United Nations

The United Nations Organisation, commonly abbreviated as the UNO or UN, is an international organisation formed in 1945, after the Second World War. Its headquarters are in New York, in the United States of America.

Objectives of the United Nations

The UN was established to promote and guarantee peace and security worldwide. It provides a special forum whereby inter-state conflicts are amicably discussed and resolved. The UN was also established to promote justice, democracy and the independence of all nations.

The UN pursues its objectives through its principal organs. These include the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Organisation, the International Court of Justice and the Trusteeship Council. It also functions through its agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF discharges various functions in pursuing the UN's mission to promote and regulate international trade, promote monetary co-operation and stabilise currencies. It also provides financial assistance to various nations in the world in the form of short- and long-term loans and subsidies. Furthermore, the IMF sponsors some socio-economic projects in various nations.

Another agency of the UN is the World Bank (WB), which is also known as the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Its main functions are to explore local conditions, offer planning assistance and fund some development projects in various nations. The World Bank is an important source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries. The headquarters of the World Bank are in Washington DC, in the United States of America.



Activity 7.5

In pairs, conduct a library and online search on the activities of International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Africa. Then:

- (a) evaluate the effects of their activities on Africa's social, political and economic development; and
- (b) suggest measures that Africa should take in working with the IMF and the World Bank so as to have a sustainable economic development.

The UN has another agency which deals with health issues. It is known as the World Health Organisation (WHO). Its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. This agency is responsible for promoting human health and preventing the outbreak of diseases. It also helps different nations to improve their public health services by planning and coordinating international efforts. For example, the WHO has been assisting the world in fighting diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. Recently, the WHO paid great attention to Covid-19 and its effects in the world. The WHO co-operates with governments and other health organisations in collecting information on epidemics, developing international quarantine regulations and standardising medical drugs, vaccines and forms of treatment. It also administers the international sanitary regulations governing land, sea and air traffic. In short, the WHO acts as the world-clearing house with respect to medical and scientific information on diseases.

The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) is another important UN agency. Its headquarters are in Rome, Italy. This agency is responsible for promoting agricultural activities in the world. It mainly seeks to increase production on farms and in forests and fisheries, and to improve the distribution of food services in the world. The agency also provides assistance to governments and nations to improve nutrition.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is an agency dealing with issues pertaining to refugees. It has a recourse to the former United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which was formed by the League of Nations. The UNHCR's main concern are refugees' welfare. Thus, it provides support to refugees, for example, distributing tents, blankets,

food and cooking utensils to war victims. This organisation co-operates with the Red Cross in protecting and preventing the abuse of human rights among women and children refugees. It also promotes international agreements on the legal status of refugees and protects their rights. Finally, it coordinates the works of governments in receiving and accommodating refugees.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is also an agency of the UN. Its headquarters are in New York, USA. It is concerned with children's welfare, particularly with nutrition and health. This agency fights childhood diseases and helps governments to ensure food security for children and malnourished pregnant and lactating women. It has also set up centres for providing care and support to children and mothers to promote their health and security.

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is a specialised agency of the UN. Its headquarters are in Paris, France. UNESCO promotes international co-operation in education, science and culture. Thus, it supports research and various activities related to education by providing expertise and fostering partnerships to strengthen national education leadership and the capacity of countries to provide quality education.

Another UN agency is the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. The agency was established to take care of the interests of government, employers and workers together. Its major functions include setting labour standards, developing labour policies and promoting decent work for all people.



Activity 7.6

- (a) Hold a debate on the advantages and disadvantages of the UN Security Council, UNHCR, UNESCO, WHO and ILO with respect to Africa.
- (b) Summarise the points generated in your exercise book.

Benefits that Africa gets from the UN

As members of the UN, African states get various benefits from the UN itself and its agencies. Through its Trusteeship Council, the UN facilitated the independence of Tanganyika, Cameroon, Togo, Namibia, Rwanda and Burundi. The UN agencies worked with the freedom fighters in these countries so that the countries could gain independence. Through the Trusteeship Council, the UN set up special commissions which prepared constitutions and prepared Angola, Mozambique, Morocco, Namibia and Zimbabwe for independence. It supervised the general elections in those countries so that they could gain independence on time.

Through its agencies, the UN plays a great role in resolving conflicts in Africa. For example, it participated in the resolution of civil wars in Angola and Mozambique in the 1990s. Soon after independence, Angola and Mozambique faced political problems. In the case of Angola, UNITA, which was under Jonas Savimbi, was supported by South Africa and the USA, while MPLA was supported by the Soviet Union. The USA and the Western European nations were supporting political rivals in Mozambique so that the FRELIMO government could be overthrown. The UN stepped in and facilitated the holding of democratic elections in Angola in 1992 and Mozambique in 1994.

In other instances, the UN was compelled to send peacekeeping forces to the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia to maintain peace and bring civil wars to an end. Although the UN troops have not succeeded in bringing about peace in the two countries, the act of sending troops to the African states is a clear indication that the UN promotes peace. The UN also played a great role in ending civil wars in Rwanda through the war crimes tribunal which was set up in Arusha, Tanzania.

Over time, the UN and its agencies have conducted technical and scientific studies on Africa. The studies and reports written have helped to get a comprehensive picture of Africa's level of development as well as the existing challenges and problems. The reports are helpful in formulating plans for settling social, political and economic problems in Africa.

The UN's agencies such as UNESCO, FAO, WHO, UNHCR and UNICEF have, on different occasions and at different times, used their financial and human resources to combat illiteracy, epidemics, famine and other socio-economic problems in Africa. For example, UNICEF has funded various health and medical programmes to promote the African child-mother health. In addition, it has educated the masses on the importance of vaccines, adequate nutrition, safe water, family planning, basic sanitation and prevention of diseases. It has also co-operated with the WHO in controlling and preventing dangerous diseases on the continent such as influenza, small pox, tetanus, tuberculosis, leprosy, malaria and cerebral meningitis. Tanzania has been one of the beneficiaries of the UNICEF and WHO programmes. UNESCO sponsored a project of writing the General History of Africa. Phase one of this project resulted in writing and publishing eight volumes.

In collaboration with FAO, the UN has established the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). The IFAD's target is to help African states to increase food production and to improve nutritional levels by funding small-scale farmers on the continent and encouraging them to grow more food crops.

UNESCO has funded many African states so that they can review their educational curricula. It has offered guidance to African education experts in choosing topics and syllabi relevant to African realities and needs. In addition, it has funded the production of textbooks, the training of staff and higher education. Finally, it has organised various conferences with ministers of education from each African state in order to discuss the achievements, challenges and prospects of the development of education on the continent. UNESCO has been collaborating with the UNHCR and UNICEF in the provision of education in refugee camps.

FAO and UNICEF have at different times co-operated in providing food to millions of malnourished mothers and children, both citizens and refugees, in Niger, Djibouti, Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia, Mali and many other African countries. In Tanzania, FAO has been funding Non-Government Organisations such as Dogo Dogo Center, Save the Children, Under the Same Sun, Child in the Sun and Tanzania Gender Network Programme (TGNP), which have been taking care of street children, orphans and women's affairs.



Activity 7.7

- (a) Conduct a debate in your class with two sides, opposing and supporting sides, on the contention “UN agencies intend to solve Africa’s social, political and economic problems, rather than pursuing their own interests.”
- (b) Summarise the points raised during the debate.

Problems resulting from Africa’s participation in the UN

Despite the UN’s benefits to Africa, there are problems resulting from Africa’s participation in the UN. Some of the decisions taken by the UN and its agencies have negatively affected Africa and its people. The following examples suffice to give us the real picture of the problems that Africa has been facing because of the wrong decisions taken, either directly or indirectly, by the UN and its agencies. For many years, the UN has been blessing unfair policies of the IMF and the World Bank that are imposed on Africa. These agencies provide loans with difficult conditions, thus hindering the development of Africa. The Structural Adjustment Programmes, which were introduced in Africa, have adversely affected the economies of the African countries. Other policies with negative effects include the devaluation of African currencies, cost-sharing in health and educational services, and permission given to foreign investors to take away unconditionally all the profits they make in Africa.

The UN lacks instruments of coercion, especially an army; therefore, it is unable to end civil wars in certain African states. The UN relies on troops provided by willing member states. Such troops are usually dispatched after persuasion and pressure from the international community. As a result, countries like Burundi, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo have experienced political instability. Sometimes in the past, OAU and the UN had poor relations over the objectives, scope and functions of the Economic Commission for Africa. African leaders complained about the procedure followed in the recruitment of ECA’s staff and its policy formulation. For many years, the Europeans had occupied all the planning and executive posts on the commission. As a result, ECA could not discharge its duties fairly because its policies were controlled from outside Africa.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank contributed much to the economic crises which faced Africa between the 1970s and 1980s. These UN agencies denied support to countries which did not conform with the UN's economic conditions leading to the deterioration of Africa's trade in the world. For example, Tanzania under Julius Nyerere, Guinea under Ahmed Sekou Toure, Angola under Augustino Neto, Ethiopia under Mengistu Haile Mariam and Mozambique under Samora Machel were denied financial assistance because they had chosen socialism as the ideological compass for guiding their national economic plans. Several times, Nyerere was told to change his socialist philosophy so that he could secure financial and technical assistance from the UN agencies.

Some of the UN agencies also refused to finance OAU's activities related to the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. As a result, some African nations developed suspicion and mistrust, and accused the capitalist nations of Western Europe and the USA of using the UN as a tool for implementing their neo-colonial policies.

In 1994, the UN did very little to end the genocide in Rwanda, which began following the death of President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda. About one million people, the majority of whom were Tutsi and a few moderate Hutu, were killed. The UN also proved very weak when it failed to end the political turmoil in the former Zaire (now DRC) in 1997/1998. The presence of the Rwandan-Hutu refugees in eastern Zaire worried President Paul Kagame of Rwanda and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. Therefore, Rwanda and Uganda backed Laurent Kabila to overthrow President Joseph Mobutu. Kabila's troops allied with the forces of Rwanda and Uganda and in the course of the war many Hutu people were killed.

In the early 2000s, the African Union accused the capitalist nations of using the UN through the International Court of Arbitration to issue a summon demanding the arrest of President Al Bashir of Sudan. In June 2011, the UN's Security Council asked the NATO forces to go to Libya to protect the lives of Libyans, who were protesting against the government of Muammar Gaddafi. Instead of doing so, the forces joined hands with the rebels who were fighting against Gaddafi's government to remove Gaddafi from power. The forces killed Gaddafi on 20th November 2011. The AU became furious about the incidence, but since African states are not relatively powerful they recognised the revolutionary government.

Exercise 7.3

Answer the following questions:

1. Explain the achievements and challenges facing ECOWAS.
2. What are the prospects of Africa's participation in international affairs?

Revision Exercise 7

Answer the following questions:

1. Describe the undemocratic practices of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in relation to African nations.
2. To what extent did the capitalist and socialist ideologies stimulate the Cold War in Africa?
3. "The UN was an effective instrument in fighting against colonialism and imperialism in Africa." Refute or support this argument by giving vivid examples from either Tanganyika, Namibia or South Africa.
4. Elaborate the main hurdles facing the AU and suggest the ways to overcome them.
5. What are the prospects of the new East African Community?
6. Account for the social, political and economic benefits that African states get from their membership in the UN.
7. Explain the achievements and challenges facing SADC.
8. Explain how Tanzania has benefited from the new East African Community.
9. Analyse the objectives of building continental co-operation.
10. Assess the benefits accrued from Africa's participation in international affairs.

Glossary

Assassination	a sudden killing, especially of a prominent political figure
Africanisation	a process of defining or asserting African identity or culture
Alliance	a formal agreement between two or more nations to co-operate for specific purposes
Appeasement	the act of giving the opposing side in a war an advantage that they have demanded in order to prevent further disagreement
Appendage	something that is joined or connected with something larger
Arbitration	the settling of differences between parties by persons chosen by them
Balkan	the countries of South Eastern Europe
Blockade	an act or means of sealing off a place to prevent goods or people from entering or leaving
Capitalism	an economic and ideological system in which countries' trade and industries are controlled by the private sector for profit, rather than by the state
Climax	the most intense or exciting point of something
Conciliation	the act of bringing two opposing sides together so that they reach a compromise
Condemnation	the act of saying that something or someone is very bad
Confiscation	the act of taking or seizing someone's property with authority
Co-operation	the act of working together for a common purpose or benefit
Domination	the exercise of power or influence over someone or something

Economic Integration	trade agreements or relations among nations that include elimination of trade barriers
Entente	a friendly understanding or informal alliance between states or factions
Embezzle	to secretly take money that is in your care to organisation or business you work for
Excise	a tax levied on certain goods and commodities produced or sold within a country and on licenses granted for certain activities
Favouritism	the practise of giving unfair preferential treatment to one person or group at the expense of another
Ideology	a body of doctrines, myths and beliefs that guides an individual, a social movement, an institution or a large community
Imperialism	a policy of extending countries' power or influence through colonisation or use of military force
Impoverishment	the condition of being or becoming very poor or the act of making some one very poor
Inception	the establishment or starting point of an institution or activity
Incumbent	the person or a group that currently holds a set of responsibilities in office
Intimidation	the act of attempting to force or deter action by inducing fear
Mandate	a commission from the League of Nations to a member state to administer a territory
Mediation	a process of resolving conflict between two parties with the help of neutral or impartial person
Missile	an object which is forcibly propelled at a target, either by hand or from a mechanical weapon
Monopoly	exclusive possession or control of the supply or trade in a commodity or service

Nationalise	the process of transforming privately-owned assets into public assets
Nepotism	the practice among those in power of favouring friends or relatives by giving them positions
Predisposition	the tendency to suffer from a particular attitude or act in a particular way
Prospect	a way of looking ahead and expecting good things
Remuneration	an amount of money paid to someone for the work that person has done
Resolution	the act of solving or ending a problem or difficulty
Scorn	the feeling that someone or something does not deserve respect
Servitude	the state of being a slave or completely subject to someone more powerful
Solidarity	the unity or agreement of individuals, especially individuals with a common interest
Sovereignty	the power of a country to control its own government
Stumbling block	something which prevents action or an agreement
Submarine	warship with streamlined hull designed to completely submerge in the sea for a long period, equipped with periscope and typically armed with missiles
Titular	holding or constituting a purely formal position or title without any real authority
Treaty	a formally concluded or ratified agreement between states
Tyrannical	the state of exercising political power in a cruel or arbitrary way
Upheaval	a big challenge which causes a lot of troubles, confusion and worry

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