



## GLORISO EXAMINATIONS BOARD (GEB) – KAMPALA

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### S.4 HISTORY AND POLITICAL EDUCATION NOTES 2025

#### **THEME: INTERACTION WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD**

#### **TOPIC 01: LESSONS FROM WORLD ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION**

##### **Key words**

Capitalism

Communism

Socialism

Conglomerate

Cold war

Collectivization

Nationalization

Globalization

##### **Learning outcomes**

By the end of this topic/chapter, learners should be able to;

- a. Understand the background for the growth of capitalism and socialism
- b. Know some world states that have used the above ideologies to excel
- c. Appreciate the journey of Singapore's economic transformation from 3<sup>rd</sup> world to 1<sup>st</sup> world.
- d. Understand the history for economic development of Japan, Singapore and Korea.
- e. Understand the history for economic development of South Korea.
- f. Appreciate the contribution of South Korea, Japan and Singapore.

## **The background for the growth of capitalism and socialism.**

**Capitalism** is an economic system based on the private individual ownership of the means/factors of production such as capital, labor, land and entrepreneurship.

This means that private individuals own the resources, materials, facilities and the tools that are used in production with a view of earning maximum profits out of it.

**NOTE;** Means of production refers to the physical and nonphysical resources [skills, expertise, knowledge etc] used to produce goods and services in an economic system. This includes tools machinery, land, and other factors of production that contribute to creation of products

On the other hand with state capitalism there is some degree of government ownership of means production

The growth of capitalism can be traced from the medieval age (middle age) when the feudal societies were predominately agricultural economies.

During this period peasants were forced to work in exchange for the right to have shelter and a small strip of land to cultivate.

**NB** Capitalism emerged in North Western Europe especially Britain and Netherlands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

As industries emerged, the craftsmen and their families controlled the production of goods.

They aimed at eliminating competition through limiting production beyond a given point or hire more than the agreed number of employees.

There were numerous restrictions to control the regional markets and ensure others remained relatively closed, Production aimed at meeting immediate local needs.

The industrial revolution led to a number of new inventions and transformed the primitive factory system from human labor to the use of machines.

This led to an increase in the levels of production of goods and services.

The industrial revolution created capitalists who dominated the economies of many countries.

The industrial revolution brought many sweeping economic and social changes.

The more factory owners became wealthy, many workers lived in increasing poverty working for longer hours under difficult conditions and sometimes dangerous conditions which created a lot of misery and suffering.

This created a belief that relief would come from the establishment of **socialism**.

Modern capitalism was born in the industrial revolution in Great Britain at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and was spread throughout Western Europe and European offshoots.

Examples of countries that have successfully used capitalism include; USA, Canada, Germany, South Africa, UK.

In East Africa Uganda, Kenya adopted capitalism while Tanzania adopted socialism, later in 1980s Tanzania shifted to capitalism.

**NOTE;** in capitalism there are two classes that's business owners motivated by profits and workers motivated by wages.

## **Socialism**

Socialism is an economic system in which the government/state owns most means of production like capital, land, etc.

Socialism can also be referred to as an economic system in which government takes full control of goods and services and their production.

This economic system focuses on benefiting the whole society as opposed to capitalism which aims at benefiting the individual.

However in some socialist states some degree of private capitalism is allowed.

With socialism all legal production and decisions are made by government with individuals dependent on the state for means of livelihood such as food, health care and education.

Socialism began as a reaction to the excesses of capitalism and massive wealth enjoyed by the propertied classes against the miserable conditions of workers.

Socialism emerged as a response to the expanding capitalist system. It presented an alternative system to improve the conditions of working class and also creating a more equal society.

Socialism emphasized public ownership of the means of production as opposed to private ownership.

The origin of socialism can be traced as far as the ancient Greek times in the writings of Greek philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and the British Thomas More who drew an imaginary island where money had been abolished and people lived and worked communally.

It was later advanced by Henri De Saint Simon along with Robert Owen of Great Britain.

Socialism later expanded to China, North Korea, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Vietnam.

The fundamental view in socialism is that people, society and the universe are equal, the socialists hate private ownership of property.

Examples of states that have used socialism to excel include; Russia, Cuba, China, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, etc.

## **Characteristics/features of capitalism**

- It is characterized by private ownership of the means of production
- It is characterized by the use of the price mechanism to allocate resources between competing uses.
- It is characterized by investment of money to make profits.
- It is characterized by capital accumulation where production is for profits.
- It is also characterized by commodity production, i.e. production for exchange on market to maximize exchange value instead of use value.
- It is characterized by freedom of capitalists to act in their self-interest in managing their business and investments.
- Competition is yet another feature of capitalism, this comes as a result of more than one producer selling similar products to the same consumers.
- It is characterized by existence of social classes. In a capitalist economy, the society is normally divided into two social classes, i.e. the “haves” and the “have not’s”.
- It is characterized by consumer sovereignty. In capitalist economies, a consumer is the king, the whole production works according to the directions of the consumer.
- Etc.

## Characteristics/features of socialism

- It is characterized by public ownership of factors of production and distribution.
- It is characterized by price mechanism, the pricing process does not work freely but works under the control and regulation of the central authority.
- Socialist economies put more emphasis on society needs than on individual needs.
- Equality is the hallmark and the basis of socialism, it aims at securing economic equality for all.
- It is characterized by the abolition of private enterprises, it aims at transforming the private enterprise into public and collective enterprise.
- Etc.

## Comparing capitalism and socialism.

**A table showing the differences between capitalism and socialism.**

| Capitalism                                | Socialism                              |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Private ownership of means of production. | State ownership of means of production |
| Predominance of private sector            | Predominance of public sector          |
| Decisive role of market                   | Decisive role planning                 |
| Profit induced business                   | Production guided by social benefit    |
| Exploitation of labour                    | Abolition of exploitation of labour    |
| Restricted role of government.            | Dominant role of government.           |

**Capitalist states have tended to grow faster than their socialist counterparts. This is why many countries have abandoned socialism and adopted capitalism e.g. Tanzania, Senegal etc.**

## Cold war politics

Cold war was a conflict of ideology between socialism/communism on the one hand and capitalism on the other.

The conflict of ideology was between the United States of America and Soviet Union and their respective allies that broke out after WWI. It did not involve the use of weapons but was mainly based on political and economic propaganda.

It lasted from 1947 to 1991 over which they held economic and ideological influence over the world.

## Contribution of cold war in world politics

- The tension between the powers led to acquisition of atomic weapons by America as the Soviet Union took control of Eastern Europe causing US suspicions.
- Cold war politics led to the spread of socialism and capitalism in the world
- The cold war saw the powers competing for loyalty of newly independent nations to fall on their side and providing the military and economic support to each other.
- It led to the formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which championed capitalism
- It led to the rise of democracy leading to election of democratic government in the world.
- It led to the formation of Warsaw pact which championed communism.
- It led to production of anticommunist movies in USA in a bid to de campaign communism by the capitalists.

- It led to USA supporting dictatorial regimes in countries that had embraced communism like Vietnam under Gen Ho Chi Minh.
- It led to the outbreak of the civil wars such as the Korean War of 1950 to 53 and Vietnam War 1955 to 75.
- It facilitated the end of racial inequalities in the world especially in Europe and America where communism was agitating for equality for all.
- It delayed decolonization of some African states as some were still dependent on capitalists and socialists.
- It contributed to technological advancement as the great powers as they competed to control space. This resulted to the manufacture of robots, radar system.
- It increased terrorism activities in Africa as terrorists were funded by either capitalists or socialists.
- Etc.

#### **Table showing the countries, their cities and location/continent**

| <b>Countries</b> | <b>Capital cities</b> | <b>Location/continent</b> |
|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Singapore        | Singapore             | South East Asia           |
| Japan            | Tokyo                 | North East Asia           |
| South Korea      | Seoul                 | North East Asia           |

#### **The origin of Singapore**

The city state of Singapore was an underdeveloped country in the 1960s. It is a small country with few natural resources but is one of the world's fastest growing economies.

The origin of Singapore dates back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century when sir Thomas Stamford Raffles negotiated a treaty with the Johor Sultanate that allowed the British to start a trading port on the island of Singapore.

This treaty led to the establishment of the British colony of Singapore in 1819.

However between 1942 and 1945 Singapore was conquered by Japan during WWII. When the war ended the British took back the control of the island of Singapore but with less control.

In 1963 Singapore merged with Malaya to form Malaysia. However because of increasing social and political unrests between the Singapore's government and the Malaysia's government, Singapore was expelled from Malaysia.

As a result, two years later Singapore became an independent republic on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1965 with Yusof Bin Ishak as the first president and Lee Kuan Yew as the first prime minister.

#### **The economic history of Singapore.**

Singapore emerged from being a tropical backwater and grew into one of Asia's wealthiest nations in less than 30 years.

It's now one of the four Asian tigers who include; South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.

Between the early 1960s and 1990s they underwent a rapid industrialization and maintained exceptionally high growth rates of more than 7% a year.

In the 1960s, Singapore was known for its opium dens, gang ridden streets, prostitutes, slums and racial tensions. However today it's known for its high tech industries, comfortable lifestyle and high speed internet.

The road to development in Singapore started with sweatshops that produced garments and shoes and light assembly plants that produced toys and cheap electronics.

By 1970 Singapore started investing heavily in public health which led to increasing Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Modern Singapore was founded as a trading port of the British East Indian Company (BEICo) in 1819 and it achieved its initial economic success as an entrepot because of the island's strategic location, a harbour and a free port status.

### **Reasons for the economic transformation of Singapore.**

- The establishment of naval base by the British after WWI which led to the construction of naval weaponry industries that had a high demand by the start of WWII.
- The establishment of processing industries for primary goods mainly rubber and tin by the colonialists which offered employment and provided a basis upon which future industrialization was built.
- The foreign policy undertaken after 1968 that attracted a number of investors especially from USA, China and Japan.
- The strong leadership of Lee Kuan Yew who ordered an increase of 20% in the wages of all workers which reduced on labour strikes.
- The ideology of central development planning that led to the elimination of labour intensive to high technology industries and services attracted foreign investors.
- Singapore was originally an entrepot where goods were Trans shipped and sometimes processed or manufactured in the area and then shipped to different destinations.
- The government established many state enterprises as part of the economic development strategy to ensure economic and political survival.
- Singapore's success in attracting investment relied on huge investments in specialized physical infrastructure and generous tax incentives to attract capital.
- The government accessed funds for infrastructural development through using government imposed savings rather than borrowing or printing money.
- Etc.

### **The strategies used by Singapore to attain its economic development/causes of rapid economic growth of Singapore.**

- The Deepened and diversified international connections to multinational institutions in order to promote trade and investment.
- Role of education that provided deep skills to the people which enabled them to startup businesses.
- It built strong digital capabilities to be able to develop new technologies
- The developed vibrant and connected city of opportunities through developing infrastructures in Singapore to ease movement of people and cargo.

- The developed and implemented industrial transformations to ensure various strategies are implemented coherently.
- Singapore made partnerships with developed nations to enable growth and innovation through revision of the taxation system and regulations to match with those of developed nations.
- Ensuring security and stability of the state, Singapore developed a military capability to stave off external threats.
- Promotion of unity and cohesion characterized by the adoption of a common language.
- Accountability and transparency was also one of the strategies. The Singapore government looked at corruption as a core problem and any level of corruption was not tolerated.
- The good leadership of Lee Kuan Yee who brought the CPIB-Corrupt Practice Investigation Bureau which instilled stiff penalties for corruption.
- The use of modern information technology developed by the west such as electronic platforms to minimize cash transactions between citizens and government.
- The development of ports and harbours as well as airports. The port of Singapore is a major global maritime hub and an important revenue source for the country.
- Economic diversification with strategic industries. Singapore's economy doesn't depend on one or two industries instead it has diversified and allowed other economic activities.
- Unity in diversity
- Hospitable population
- Etc.

#### **Problems faced by Singapore as an industrialized nation.**

- Low fertility rates, the biggest part of the population is aged which has brought about a stagnant workforce and weak productivity.
- Competition from the neighboring countries
- Inequality
- Singapore majorly depended on cheap labour force which resulted in low productivity
- Shortage of capital due to limited capital inflow
- Failure of the government to embrace high tech innovation in the early years of independence
- Limited land since the country is small
- Limited natural resources
- Rising costs of raw materials
- Internal ethnic strife
- Wide spread poverty
- Departure of the British in the early 1960s which created a vacuum of skilled workers
- Etc.

#### **Key historical industries in Singapore**

Singapore has a number of key industries which have enabled her to attain economic growth.

#### **A case study; the petroleum industry in Singapore.**

The petroleum industry dates back to 1891. The government owned Singapore National Oil Corporation (SNOC) is in charge of the governance of the country's oil industry and protecting it.

It is also known as the "the undisputed oil hub" in Asia and the industry responsible for five percent of the country's GDP.

Many well established petroleum businesses such as Exxon Mobile and Lanxess are based in Singapore due to country's safe investment environment and ideal trading location.

### **Factors for the growth of the petroleum industry in Singapore.**

- The establishment of the petro-chemical complex at Jurong which provided skilled workers
- The establishment of chemical process technology center Jurong Island with live kerosene splinter.
- The creation of the institute of chemical and engineering sciences (ICES) which conducts exploratory research and process development.
- The country's stellar track record of intellectual property to develop the industries
- Etc.

### **Contributions of leaders to economic development of Singapore**

Various leaders have played different roles in laying several strategies leading to economic development.

Such leaders included; Lee Kuan Yew, Yusof Ishak, Benjamin Sheares, Wee Kim Wee, Davan Nair, Tony Tan, Halimah Yacob, etc.

The past leaders of Singapore have made it to be labelled a "free enterprise economy".

#### **Yusof Ishak 1910-1970**

He was born in 1910 in Perak Malaysia

He received his primary education at Victoria Bridge School and secondary education at Raffles Institution.

He was appointed the head of state in May 1959 after the elections organized and won by the people's Action party where he was a member.

He became the first president of Singapore after being granted independence in 1965.

He was committed to promoting multi racialism and reached out to all people in Singapore.

He was committed to bring honor and prestige to Singapore on an international level.

#### **The regime of Lee Kuan Yew.**

He was a prime minister from 1959-1980 and was one of the founding members of the People's Action Party.

He transformed the country from a 3<sup>rd</sup> world country to a 1<sup>st</sup> world country with in a single generation.

He oversaw Singapore transformation from a British crown colony with a natural deep harbour into a developed country with a high income economy.

He championed a highly effective and anticorruption government and civil service.

He championed the use of English as a language of communication to integrate its immigrant society and facilitate trade.

He promoted security and stability of the state.

He encouraged unity of all people in Singapore by promoting the use of English

He discouraged corruption, he established the Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau (CPIB) to curb corruption in the country.

Etc.



**Qtn. Which strategies should Uganda adopt from Singapore to achieve its economic development.**

### **History of South Korea**

South Korea is located on the Eastern edge of Eurasia between China and Japan. It is an East Asian nation on the southern half of the Korean peninsula and shares one of the world's most heavily militarized borders with North Korea.

South Korea got her independence in 1945 from Japan and on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1948, the republic of Korea was officially established to a new era of independent democratic nation on the Korean peninsula.

However, the cold war confrontation between the super powers resulted in the division of the peninsular into two halves i.e. North Korea and South Korea.

At independence in 1948, South Korea was an impoverished, predominately agricultural state and most of the processing industries and electrical power plants were in North Korea.

In 1950, North Korea attacked South Korea in a bid to unify the whole Korean peninsula and bring it under a single administration led by North Korea.

However, the war ended in 1953 with the establishment of a demilitarized zone between the two nations.

### **The history for economic development of South Korea.**

South Korea is one of the most highly regarded countries in the world when it comes to economic growth and development.

The economy accounts for about 2% of world's GDP.

In the 1950s South Korean had an underdeveloped, agricultural economy depended heavily on foreign aid.

In early 1960s the military took over government and laid foundation for economic development of South Korea.

The military leadership was committed to economic development that later resulted in what became known as the "miracle on the Han River"

South Korea was transformed into an industrial powerhouse with highly skilled labour force.

The economic development of South Korea came in a phased approach of

Import substitution,

Export orientation and

Development of heavy and chemical industries

### **Import substitution 1953-1961**

This was a carefully constructed strategy for economic development, it aimed at protecting consumer industries such as food processing, textile and items such as toothpaste and soap.

South Korea's exports in this period consisted mainly of small amounts of Tungsten, rice, seaweed, iron and graphite.

This policy led to the growth of powerful businessmen and development of big corporations owned by families.

It however failed and led to the overthrow of Syngman Rhee the civilian president by the military government of Park Chung Hee.

It's noted that under Syngman Rhee, education opportunities were greatly expanded.

Korea under the Japanese colonial rule had modern education system introduced.

However there were limited opportunities for Koreans particularly at the secondary and university levels.

The introduction of higher education provided more opportunities and greater political awakening among the young.

### **Export orientation 1962-1972**

The military leaders took over power with little political and administrative experience and lacking a developmental program. Therefore they turned to the economists and planners for guidance.

In 1961, the economic planning Board was established and a program of rapid industrialization based on exports was launched.

The Park Chung Hee military government gave priority to economic development focusing on a combination of state planning and private entrepreneurship.

At first he tried to fight corruption and punish businessmen close to the previous government.

Park's policies encouraged private entrepreneurs. Businesses were given powerful incentives to export.

They received preferential treatment in obtaining low interest bank loans, import privileges, permission to borrow from foreign sources and tax benefits.

The government encouraged private borrowing of funds from abroad.

Loans were issued to exporters by foreign banks under state guarantees and by the state through rationalized banks.

The government encouraged exports and injected funds into industries in form of subsidies.

The taxes and restrictions on the import of intermediate goods to be used to produce export products were removed to enable existing industries to get raw materials.

In order to get more funds, the government of Park turned to financial negotiations with other countries and normalized relations with Japan, as a result South Korea got funds in form of loans from Japan and compensation for the damages suffered during the colonial era.

During negotiations also the government acquired funding from other countries.

### **The development of heavy and chemical industry 1973-1979**

The new economic strategy of diversification in production and trade proved successful in the 1970s.

The government made a bold move to expand South Korea's heavy and chemical industries. It invested in steel, machinery, shipbuilding, electronics, chemicals and nonferrous metals.

The government constructed refineries for zinc and copper and modern shipbuilding facilities.

South Korea begun exporting automobiles to a few market and sought to better prepare South Korea for competition in the world market and facilitate domestic production of weapons.

The growth oriented economic strategy, emphasizing exports produced a shortage of domestic consumer goods. It was worsened by increasing demand as a result of rising wages and advance in living standards.

**Causes of rapid growth of South Korea/ the strategies used by South Korea to attain economic growth.**

- The 1950-53 Korean War led to a slow economic recovery in the years that followed, after the war South Korea begun restoring its economy.
- South Korea carried out a policy of import substitution from 1953 to 1961, i.e. it replaced imports with local production to reduce the outflow of foreign currency.
- The government south under president Park Chung introduced a five year development plan which was launched in 1962.
- The government stressed basic materials such as iron and steel, petrochemical, shipbuilding and refined oil.
- The government also provided heavy capital investment to industries propelling South Korea on its path to rapid industrialization.
- The government of Park Chung reorganized banking system by nationalizing the commercial banks in South Korea and this gave it an upper hand over the control of credits.
- The promotion of technical skills of the South Koreans. The state created a number of centers to promote research and dissemination of technical knowledge to business community.
- The enactment of foreign capital inducement act in 1966 by Park's government that exempted foreign companies from income taxes, provided tax holidays and streamlined the process of investment in the country.
- The opening of the country to foreign markets and globalization which led to increased competitiveness of Korean industries.
- The adoption of export orientation from 1962-72 opened South Korea to massive economic development.
- South Korea also created an easy and favorable environment for starting up business and enforce contracts which encouraged investment, production, communication and economic growth.
- Technology development. South Korea put extra attention to technology and innovation to promote growth.
- The government also spent her largest share of its income on research and development to develop core technologies in order to attain self-reliance in areas like semiconductors and telecommunication.
- The development of heavy and chemical industries that provided employment opportunities to a number of South Koreans and this created a large source of revenue to the government.
- Etc.

**Qtn. Which strategies should Uganda adopt from Singapore to achieve its economic development?**

**History of industrial development in South Korea.**

South Korea is one of the countries that excelled in industrial development and innovation.

Since South Korea recovered from the Asian financial crisis she has experienced steady progress in her economic growth rate.

She has become one of the most industrialized countries not only in Asia but in the whole world.

Among the biggest industries are; shipbuilding industry at Ulsan, Automobile such as Hyundai, KIA, and Renault, among others.

South Korea is one of the leading producers of electronics and semiconductors.

### **A case study of an electronics industry in South Korea.**

Korea's electronics industry is perhaps one of the best known industry around the world.

South Korea began to nurture electronics as an export oriented strategic industry by drafting five year electronics industry promotion plan in December 1966.

The major electronics industry in South Korea include; Samsung, LG electronics, Toshiba, Hisense, Hitachi and Video-con.

The major electronic products form south Korea include Visual and audio products like TVs, laptops, speakers, radios, home appliances etc.

### **Factors for the growth of the electronics industry in South Korea.**

- The enactment of the 1969 electronics industry promotion law that provided a legal basis and action plan for large scale establishment and promotion of electronic industries in South Korea.
- The restrictions on the inflow of foreign imports in the early stages of electronics industry development by the South Korean Government.
- Provision of incentives to the investors to produce and export electronics products and compete favorably both in the domestic and global markets.
- The establishment of partnership with foreign companies but without losing their ownership.
- The establishment of Gumi industrial estate at Gyeongsang province in 1973 exclusively for electronics and allied industries attracted the starting up of major electronics industries.
- The role of prominate leaders for example Park Chung Hee, Kim Dae Jung among others who provided good leadership and allocated more resources to the development of industries in South Korea.
- Etc.

### **Similarities and differences between strategies used by Singapore and South Korea.**

| <b>Similarities</b>                                                                      | <b>Differences</b>                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Both countries looked at international relationship as a major driver of economic growth | The Koreans introduced a five year development plan while Singapore carried out their policies at once.                                                  |
| The two industries established institutions that were to equip skills to people          | The Singapore government integrated the foreigners in her economy while the Korean government just invited foreigners to set up international companies. |
| They both relied on technological research as a driver of economic development           | The Singaporeans absorbed English as a mode of communication while the Koreans                                                                           |

|                                                                                                                         |                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                         | maintained their language and both became successful economies. |
| They both set up policies aimed at achieving industrial transformation as a means of attaining economic growth.<br>Etc. | Etc.                                                            |

### **Role of leaders in the economic development of South Korea.**

Since independence in 1948, South Korea has been governed by various leaders. Many of them have played important roles towards economic development of South Korea.

These included; Syngman Rhee, Yun Bo Seon, Park Chung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, Kim Dae Jung, Roh Moo Hyn and incumbent Moon Jae in.

### **Contributions of Park Chung Hee**

- He shifted South Korea's focus to export oriented industrialization
- He brought in 24 hour provision of electricity for homes and businesses who were previously provided with five hours
- He initiated a five year plan in 1967 to boost South Korea's industrial sector
- He helped local industries with loans with low interest rates.
- He also discouraged corruption, he launched an anti-corruption campaign in South Korea to investigate on those suspected of being corrupt.
- He signed diplomatic relations with other countries like Japan, through this Japan gave loans to South Korea government.
- He expanded the education sector of South Korea which provided the economy with skilled labor force. The enrollment in primary increased three times in size hence increasing the rate of literacy in Uganda.
- He also carried out land reforms in 1950 which limited property holdings to 7.3 acres.
- He also adopted nationalization of key sectors of the economy for example banking sector, and others.
- Etc.

### **The history of Japan**

Japan is an island country covering over 3000km along East Asia's pacific coast.

It was founded by migrants from mainland Asia, it consists of over 6852 islands of which there are five main islands namely; Hokkaido, Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku and Okinawa.

Japan was first ruled by Emperor assisted by the Samurai warriors who put up different strategies to achieve economic development starting from the Edo period because the pre-conditions for later industrialization and modernization were created internally during that period.

### **The history of rapid industrial development in Japan.**

Japan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a weak agricultural, backward country with low technology. However, she was exposed to the influences of the powerful western industrial ideas that she used to struggle to industrialize and later succeeded.

The start of modern economic growth in the 1860s closely connected with the opening of japan to the rest of the world.

The economic development of Japan is traced in Tokugawa period. Ieyasu Tokugawa was a national leader who emerged after many civil wars towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The Tokugawa dynasty reigned Japan for more than 250 years, they ruled Japan under a feudal system.

It had a caste system and local lords. This social structure had far reaching influences on the economic development of Japan.

The reign of Tokugawa ended in 1868 and was replaced by the Meiji era.

The Meiji era came up with many reforms that paved way for the industrialization.

### **Causes of rapid industrial development in Japan.**

- The policy of setting up import substitution industries and private entrepreneurship adopted by the Meiji government played a crucial role in the economic growth of Japan.
- The adoption of the Chinese education system of Confucianism which called for central government control of education, giving the government an opportunity to direct education resources to the training of human resource.
- Japan's interaction with the western world in the 19<sup>th</sup> century paved way for industrialization. Japan got exposed to the western ideas of processing goods and the Japan government embraced the ideas.
- The establishment of western style of parliament and constitution also led to industrialization. It was of importance for the Japanese to be equally treated by the west in terms of trade.
- The adoption of western technology through hiring of foreign experts and advisors to train the Japanese how to handle and operate western technology.
- The privatization policy carried out by the Japanese also led to industrialization growth. It involved selling of government owned enterprises to private investors.
- The impacts of world war I. during this war, Japan was cut off from western world giving her a chance to progress in processing and manufacturing industries since the Japanese market had been abandoned by the western powers.
- The Korean war of 1950-53 led to economic growth of Japan. This was because when the war broke out in Korea, America gave industrial contracts to Japan like repairing and making spare parts to American military vehicles in Korea which she used to expand her industrial sector.
- The setting up of loans which were given to investors through the ministry of international trade and industry (MITI). In this case banks were allowed to give loans to industrialists basing on the face value of the company.
- The promotion of accumulation of "surplus in savings" among Japanese led to high speed private industrial development.
- The introduction of compulsory education by the Meiji government in 1879 was an essential factor for economic growth of Japan.
- The construction of powerful military forces which created a large quantities of weapon and ammunition. This strengthened Japanese military enough to pursue its foreign policy.
- The abolition of caste system in Japan by the Meiji government which led to the establishment of a strong central authority.
- The availability of skilled labour force in Japan where the government didn't have to depend on foreign labour.
- Etc.

### **Strategies used by Japan to attain its economic development**

- The USA occupation after WWII was a recovery strategy and was successfully conducted in 1947 which solved the post war inflation of 1949.

- Japan embarked on rationalization and under this the controls and subsidies were abolished and market mechanism was largely restored.
- The ministry of international trade was created in 1949 by merging the ministry of trade and industry.
- In 1955, Japan joined GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade) in order to promote international trade.
- Etc.

### **Challenges faced by Japan in her effort of attaining economic growth**

- Aging population
- Labour shortage
- Geopolitical politics
- Decades of economic stagnation
- Etc.

### **Key historical industry in Japan: the Automotive Industry in Japan.**

The automotive industry of Japan is one of the most prominent and largest in the world.

Japan has been in the top three of the countries with most cars manufactured since 1960s. Japan is currently the third largest producer in the world with annual production of 9.9 million automobile in 2012.

This island country is the birth place of many famous car brands such as Toyota, Honda, Nissan and Suzuki.

### **Factors of the growth of automobile industry in Japan**

- The passing of the military subsidy law in March 1918. This gave subsidies to Japanese car manufacturers in order to produce automobiles to be used by civilians during peaceful times.
- The establishment of local assembly plants and sales point by foreign companies such as Ford motors in 1953 at Yokohama, and GM at Osaka in 1927 etc.
- The enactment of the automobile manufacturing industries act in 1936. This aimed at eliminating dependence on foreign manufacturers and offer subsidies to local manufacturers which laid grounds for mass production.
- The adoption of the concept of across the board industrial development promoted the growth of related industries in a given sector.
- The enactment of the General Mobilization Act of 1938 which gave the government full control over Japanese industries.
- The impact of the 1950-1953 Korean war also boosted industrialization in Japan. In this war Japan received special procurement contracts to produce and supply military trucks, automobile engines and spare parts.
- The announcement of the people's car plan in 1955 by the Japanese government gave manufacturers a great opportunity to develop original models of their own.
- Role of the international market. The government of Japan put more focus on global international market than on their local market.
- Etc.

### **Contributions of leaders to the economic development of Japan**

During WWII Japan was defeated by the axis powers and most of her industries were destroyed.

Japan suffered an army of occupation from 1945-1953 when Korean War broke out and the Americans withdrew their forces from Japan to go and engage in the battle on the Korean peninsula.



Since then Japan has had several prime ministers who have worked hard to bring about economic growth in Japan, these include; Hatoyama Ichiro, Ikeda Hayato, Sato Eisaku, Miki Taro, Fukuda, Ohira Masayoshi, Hashimoto Ryutaro, Shinzo Abe, Suga Yoshihide and others.

### **Prince Ito Hirobumi**

He was a Japanese politician and a statesman who served as the first prime minister of Japan from 1841-1909.

He was the leading member of the Genro, a group of senior statesmen that determined Japanese politics during Meiji era (a period of economic transformation and development in Japan)

He contributed to the growth and development of Japan in the following ways;

- He expanded the economy of Japan by making Japan to become the biggest exporter of silk in the world.
- He promoted industrialization in Japan. Hirobumi encouraged the establishment of industries in Japan which created a large tax base for the economy and employment opportunities as well.
- He also encouraged technological transfer from the western world to his country. This improved on Japanese economy and ability to compete with other countries in the world market.
- He also constructed infrastructures. During his reign, Hirobumi established infrastructures like roads, railroads among others. This promoted smooth movement of trade in the country. For example he opened up a railway between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1872.
- He embraced new western based Education system for all young people. This increased the enrollment of school going children in Japan and in the long run it increased the level of literacy in Japan.
- He also undertook central government reforms in education. The ministry of education promoted compulsory primary schooling for the masses and elite university education aimed at deepening engineering and scientific knowledge.
- He also improved on agriculture using traditional Japanese technology.
- He spearheaded economic reforms which led to massive economic transformation of Japan, these reforms included; a unified modern currency based on the yen, banking, commercial and tax laws among others.
- Etc.

### **Ikeda Hayato 1899-1965**

Ikeda Hayato was born in December 1899 in Hiroshima prefecture Japan.

He graduated from Kyoto Imperial University Law School and began his career in the ministry of Finance.

He played the following roles in the development of Japanese economy;

- He played a key role in peace treaty negotiations with the United States of America after WWII.
- He launched an economic growth policy based on expanded spending in the public sector and reduced taxes.
- He worked hard to keep both inflation and interest rates low in Japanese economy.
- He played an important role in breaking down trade barriers to Japanese goods in foreign markets.
- He also formed close relations with United States of America on economic and security matters.
- He expanded trade ties with the Soviet Union and China.
- He however resigned in November 1964 because of ill health and died in August 1965 in Tokyo Japan.
- Etc.

### **The contributions of Nakasone Yasuhiro**



- He was a Japanese politician who was prime minister from the liberal Democratic Party (LDP) from 1982 to 1987.
- He improved on Japanese relationship with Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR).
- He improved trade relations between Japan and Philippine through special visits to Philippine between 1986 and 1987.
- His privatization policy led to the breakup of Japanese National railways into the modern Japan Railway group.
- He formed a commission in 1986 which recommended Japan to grow from within but through exports.
- He had a nationalist attitude and stimulated ethnic pride amongst the Japanese.
- Etc.

### **Comparison between Japan and South Korea strategies towards economic development.**

| <b>Similarities</b>                                                                                                                      | <b>Differences</b>                                                                                                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Both countries took on policies related to capitalism                                                                                    | Japan suffered an army of occupation which forced her to take economic policies of USA for economic recovery while south Korea depended on western countries for economic support.      |
| They both joined General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) in order to penetrate the foreign markets and promote international trade. | Japan abolished subsidies to large firms in order to get revenue to invest in other sectors while south Korea gave tax subsidies to foreign firms to attract foreign direct investment. |
| They both maintained the use of national languages as a modes of communication to promote trade.<br>Etc.                                 | Japan merged the existing industries to form the ministry of trade while south Korea had to form a new ministry as it was still a young state.<br>Etc.                                  |

### **Lessons Uganda can draw from the strategies of South Korea and Japan to attain economic growth.**

- Uganda should actively participate in regional economic organizations
- Emphasis on national or regional language.
- Give taxes subsidies to foreign investors in order to attract more investors
- Uganda should engage in good bilateral relations with other countries
- Fighting corruption
- Investing much in education in order to produced more skilled labour
- Emphasizing production of export oriented items and reduce on imports
- Reducing wastage of resources by controlling consumer desire
- Ensuring political stability
- Promoting industrialization
- Promoting the development of infrastructures like roads, railways and others
- Ensuring accesibilty to capital financing through reduced interests on loans.
- Encouraging foreign investors
- Etc.

## **CHAPTER 02: EVOLUTION OF PAN AFRICANISM**

### **KEY WORDS**

Aims

Assembly

EAC

EALA

ECOWAS

ECOMOG

IGAD

Membership

Objectives

Origin

Pan Africanism

Treaty

African union

Globalization

### **Learning outcomes**

**By the end of the chapter, learners should be able to;**

- a) Know the meaning and the objectives of the term pan Africanism
- b) Know the composition of pan African states
- c) Understand the background, structure and objectives of the East African Community (EAC)
- d) Appreciate the achievements of EAC in Eastern Africa states
- e) Understand the impacts and the influence of the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) in Eastern Africa states.

### **BACKGROUND OF PAN AFRICANISM**

This refers to the black intellectual movement that was intended to jointly unite the blacks all over the world. It was founded in 1900

Pan Africanism was at first an anti-slavery and anti-colonial movement amongst the black people in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

However after independence pan Africanism is seen much more of a cultural and a social philosophy than a political driven movement of the past.

The pan African movement was spearheaded by the blacks from outside Africa whose main aim was to fight for the welfare of all blacks wherever they were since all blacks originated from Africa.

The founders of pan Africanism were; Dr. William Edward Burdhardt Du Bois from USA, Marcus Garvey from Jamaica and George Padmore from Trinidad.

Other fore fathers of pan Africanism include; Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Abdel Gamel Nasser of Egypt, Sekoure Toure of Guinea and Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanganyika, etc.

### **AIMS/OBJECTIVES OF THE PAN AFRICANISM MOVEMENT (PAM)**

1. To unite all black people in Africa and in the Diaspora
2. To restore the dignity of the black man in the world all over.
3. To come up with a single voice against colonialism.
4. To reduce the dependency level and finding ways of developing Africa.
5. To revive and strengthen African culture.
6. To check neo-colonialism especially after attaining independence for Africa.
7. To train African leaders and equip them with strong feelings and legality to the entire continent of Africa.
8. To establish a strong voice against the white domination and discrimination.
9. To promote international relations with other races and continents without enslaving Africans
10. To promote the respect of the rights of Africans on the African continent and world over.
11. To uplift the African interests and the desire to develop
12. To eradicate interstate conflicts out of the entire African continent
13. To uplift African standards of living and curb down the biting poverty on the continent.
14. To enforce economic integration in order to end the economic exploitation of Africans.
15. To Promote technological transfer from the new world to Africa i.e. Africans getting to know therecent sciences and technology to promote development and propel themselves.
16. Etc.

### **SIGNIFICANCES/ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAN AFRICANISM**

1. The ideas of the Pan African movement were used by nationalists in Africa to attain independence. Africans formed political parties like UPC, in Uganda, KANU in Kenya, and TANU in Tanzania in their struggle.
2. The PAM worked hard to eliminate colonialism in East Africa and Africa as whole by the 1990 almost all African countries had been granted independence including Namibia 1990.
3. The movement succeeded in fostering unity between Africans in African and the Negros in Diaspora.
4. The PAM has managed to uplift the dignity and social pride of the black people all over the world.
5. The PAM helped to sensitize the Black people about their rights and helped them to present their human rights abuses before the UN.
6. PAM helped in reducing the rate of racial segregation in South Africa by publicized the white man's atrocities against the blacks in South Africa.
7. PAM played a great role in training high quality leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

8. The PAM has consistently called the Non Alignment of African countries as a means of disassociating Africa from the ideological dogmas of the super powers. Non-Alignment won Africans a great level of international respect.
9. PAM ideas resulted into the formation of the OAU in 1963. The PAM ironed out the differences among Africans and this great organization was formed.
10. PAM has forged the solidarity between African, Arab and Asian countries.
11. The PAM has continued to fight against Neo colonialism in Africa and Asia.
12. PAM ideas were used by nationalists to form political parties and liberation movements especially after the 1945 Manchester conference for example TANU, KANU, FLN by Ben Bella among others.
13. It has led to formation of regional blocs such as ECOWAS, EAC and SADDC which have uplifted the social economic status of Africans.
14. It has encouraged the revival of African culture among Africans that had been destroyed by colonialism.
15. It has created strong bond between blacks in the diaspora and those in Africa through PAM conferences.

#### **Obstacles/problems faced by Africans in promoting Pan Africanism**

1. Pan Africanism is challenged by the internal problems African states are facing.
2. The failure to form the United States of Africa as it had been proposed by Kwame Nkrumah and later Gaddafi and others.
3. Military intervention in the politics of Africa and the new breed of African leaders are full of dictatorship, corruption, selfishness and seem not to be interested in anything concerned with Pan Africanism.
4. Lack of common continental language has challenged Pan Africanism.
5. Personal differences among African leaders have also hindered Pan Africanism on the continent for example Amin conflicted with Nyerere throughout the 1970s.
6. The secessionist tendencies which have limited unity. A case in point is the Katanga secession 1960 to 1963, the Biafran secession of the Ibos in Nigeria 1967 to 1970, the Eritrean secession 1961 to 1993. These endangered unity and the spirit of Pan Africanism cannot be realized.
7. Political assassinations of core Pan Africanists. These include the assassination of Lumumba of Congo 1961, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique 1969, Sylvanus Olympio of Togo 1963, Amilcar Cabra of Guinea Bissau 1973 among others.
8. Interstate conflicts among African countries for example in 1979 Uganda and Tanzania were at war, the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia and Ugandan forces confronted in Congo with the Rwandese and, other countries like Angola, Sudan, Nigeria have experienced civil wars.
9. Sharp divisions on the African continent in 1950s to 1960s hindered serious Pan Africanism; the continent was divided into two groups that is radical Casablanca group and the Monrovia group of moderates.
10. The colonial legacy that left Africans divided along ethnic and religious lines has blocked the development of PAM.

11. The influence of Cold war politics, as some countries adopted socialism like Tanzania and others took up the capitalist ideology like Kenya while others were caught up in mixed capitalism and socialism like Uganda.
12. The Pan African movement begun as a movement of elites and therefore received little recognition from the illiterate.
13. Neo colonialism is yet another obstacle that has created divisions amongst African countries.
14. The size of the continent, Africa is the second largest continent occupied with a number of tribes, races, and cultural diversity.
15. The education system, most African states follow foreign syllabi which does not emphasize Pan Africanism.
16. Lack of efficient communication network to enhance the movement of the Pan Africanism, the trans-African railway failed to take off.

### **Organizations under Pan Africanism**

The idea of the organizations started during the London conference of 1900, Pan African conference in Paris 1919, London, Brussels and Lisbon conferences of 1921-23, New York of 1927, Manchester/5<sup>th</sup> pan African conference of 1945, Accra conferences of April and December 1958.

The Adis Ababa conference of 1962 to 1963 was the first of the kind to establish the various member organizations of Pan Africanism and that's when Organization of African Union (OAU) was established.

Others included the East African Community (EAC), Economic Community Organization for West African States (ECOWAS), Common Market for Eastern and South Africa (COMESA), South Africa Development Cooperation (SADC) among others.

## THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC)

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

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

### AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF EAC

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

### STRUCTURE OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY IN 1977

1. **The Summit;** this is the top most administrative organ of the EAC and made up of the three East African heads of state. Chairmanship of the EAC is rotational. The summit is responsible for policy making.
2. **The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA).** This was the deliberative organization of the EAC. It consisted of 27 members drawn from the three states of east Africa in equal numbers (9 each). It was basically composed of ministers who assisted the East African Authority to deliberate the major issues affecting east Africa.
3. **The East African Development Bank.** This was set up to provide long term loans for industrialization in East Africa.
4. **The coordination committee.** This consists of the permanent secretaries responsible for regional cooperation in each partner state. The committee reports to the council of ministers and coordinates the activities of the sectorial committees.

5. **Sectorial committees.** They report to the coordination committee. They prepare comprehensive implementation programs, setting out priorities with respect to the various sectors as well as monitor their implementation.
6. **The East African court of justice.** This has jurisdiction over the interpretation and application of the treaty on common market matters. The court applets human rights and other jurisdiction to be determined by the council of ministers. It was to handle pending cases of appeal from courts of member states.
7. **The secretariat.** It is the executive organ of the community. It ensures that regulations and directives adopted by the council are properly implemented.  
It is headed by the general secretary to the summit.

### **REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY.**

- The founders of the EAC wanted to protect the young industries of East Africa
- Its founders intended to create a wider market for East African products.
- They wanted to integrate the east African economies so as to compete favorably with the external market.
- The founders wanted to create a free trade area in east Africa.
- They wanted to carry out a joint exploitation and utilization of the region's natural resources.
- The founders hoped to attain self-reliance within the east African region.
- They aimed at enabling the free movement of capital with in the east Africa.
- They wanted to promote balanced economic development with in the east African region.
- They hoped to create wider job opportunities for east Africans
- They wanted to achieve political cooperation through annual discussions.
- They wanted to improve the provision of common social services like higher education, telecommunications etc.
- They wanted to have a common currency of all east African states
- They wanted to fight against neo colonialism in east Africa.
- They wanted to unite the three east African states under one body.
- They wanted to act as a strong voice on the international forum.
- Etc.

**N.B.** the above reasons can be applied to the current East African Community / they can work as reasons for the formation of the **EAC in 1999.**

**The 1999 East African Community wanted to revive the aims and objectives of the EAC of 1977**

### **ACHIEVEMENTS/BENEFITS OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**

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

- The body has established a common market in the region that in turn has promoted regional economic development.
- The EAC has established common services in the region. Tanzania became the headquarters of the harbors cooperation in Dar –es – Salaam and headquarters of community at Arusha, Uganda the East African Posts and telecommunications and EADB in Kampala, Kenya had the East African Airways and railways in Nairobi hence decentralization promoted.
- The body has ensured and promoted regional unity and cooperation among member states. This has guaranteed uniform problem solving in East Africa than what existed in the East African federation.
- Diplomatic relations have been equally promoted in the region member states occasionally meet to address their regional problems.
- The body has promoted employment opportunities in the corporations set up like the railway, EADB, East African harbors, the EALA, the EAA that raise the standard of living of the people.
- The EAC has harmonized trade and commerce in its initial stages. This was done through the reduction of the trade barriers among the three states.
- The EAC has promoted industrialization in the region. These included the circle and plain aluminium sheets, radio assembly and manufactures of motor – vehicle tyres and tubes in Tanzania, Kenya produced bulbs. These generated local revenue and employment provision.
- The body has established the East African Development Bank (EADB) that promoted balanced development.
- The EAC has promoted the easy mobility of East African citizens and goods. The corporations established encourages people to work freely in member countries e.g. the Railways, Airways, industries, EAA, the Bank among others.
- The community has promoted the spirit of Pan Africanism. The Movement advocate for regional integrity and this is enshrined in EAC and problems are uniformly solved.
- The EAC has opened room for the incorporation and inclusion of other states to broaden its market like Malawi, Burundi, Rwanda, DRC and Southern Sudan
- The EAC has promoted specialization among member states. This was reflected in the projects set up like the industries of fertilizers in Uganda, Electric bulbs in Kenya and even the agriculturally based projects e.g. sisal for Tanzania, pyrethrum in Kenya and coffee in Uganda.
- The EAC has linked the member countries to the world economic systems or organizations. These include E.E.C, U.N.O for purposes of comparison and effective implementation and realization of the set objectives.
- The body has established infrastructure in the region these include the East African railways, Airlines, roads to promote development as precursors to harness the resources.



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

**N.B.** the above achievements can be applied or used as achievements of the EAC that collapsed in 1977, however you use **past tense**.

## **FAILURES / CHALLENGES OF THE EAC BY 1977**

- Failure of the relations among the heads of state e.g. Amin conflicted with Nyerere due to the 1971 coup and Nyerere vowed never to sit with Amin on the same table.
- The EAA- the top body of heads of states failed to meet with the rise of Amin.
- The member states failed to respect the principle of regional economic cooperation and adopted protectionism i.e. not allowing other goods to flow from other countries.
- The member states failed to expand the membership and yet this had been proposed.
- The EAC leadership failed to control the bickering among the heads of states e.g. Amin, Nyerere and Kenyatta.
- Failure to control neo – colonialism
- Failure to ensure even and balanced distribution of the benefits e.g. Kenya was progressing at a faster rate.
- Failure to punish and reprimand members who failed to pay up their subscriptions e.g. Uganda and Tanzania.

- Economic nationalism and duplication of industries e.g. Uganda had to specialize in sugar industry, but Kenya also started, other countries like Uganda and Tanzania began producing tyres and set up plants meant for Kenya, lack of harmony in tax policies by 1974 etc.
- Failure to control corruption in the set up corporations.
- Member states failed to establish a uniform currency. There was nationalization of the currencies and it presented a problem to members in different countries to purchase products due to failure to accept money as legal tenders
- Failure to control individualism and prestige of heads of state regarding appointments. Squabbles came up over appointments and expulsions of Kenyans from Tanzania. This made projects to break up e.g. in 1976, Airways in each country, all wanted to own a bank, university and railway than sharing.
- Failed to stop misunderstandings over the transport sector. This made Tanzania in 1973 to manage its railway system. Kenya was blamed for developing road transport to weaken railway and Tanzania thought of the Tazara railway.

#### **Reasons for the collapse/decline/fall of the EAC by 1977**

- Duplication of industries
- Trade diversion – trading with other countries outside the EAC i.e. Tanzania with USA.
- Trade protectionism or economic nationalism i.e. Tanzania and Uganda levying higher taxes on Kenya goods to protect their infant industries.
- Small membership that narrowed the market and financial obligations to fund projects e.g. EADB
- Consumption of poor quality products, expensively mostly from Kenya.
- Lack of a common and accepted currency. This made life hard for non – citizens in the different countries to make transactions.
- Financial corruption reflected in the set up corporations affected the smooth running of EAC.
- Unequal distribution of the economic benefits among the member states e.g. Kenya developed largely faster than all which angered other parties.
- The economic sabotage and meddling by the multi – national companies hence dumping of cheaper products
- Failure of member states to respect their subscription / obligations that dwindled progress.
- The unfair competition for foreign investors that made Kenya to woe many
- The oil crisis of 1973 – 74 drastically affected the region and world at large.
- Arab oil producing countries cut off supporters of Israel and USA (companies like Shell, Agip, Caltex originate from Britain to which EAC was affiliated and this led to break down of economy and retrenchment.
- The weaknesses of OAU – continental body that would prevail over the bickering

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

**NOTE;** after the collapse of the first East African Community (1967-1977), the East African leaders revived it on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1999 by signing a treaty that led to the establishment of the current East African Community with its headquarters in Arusha Tanzania.

### **EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (EALA)**

The EALA is a sub organ of the larger East African community (EAC). It is the legislative arm of the community and its members are sworn in for a five year term.

The EALA was established under article 9 of the treaty that established the EAC. Its charter was signed on 28<sup>th</sup> November 2001 and was inaugurated by the heads of the state of the original three EAC partner states at its first sitting in Arusha Tanzania on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2001.

The assembly has a membership comprising of nine members elected by each partner state, ex officio members consisting of the ministers or assistant minister responsible for EAC affairs from each member state.

By the year 2022 the Assembly had 54 elected members and 8 ex officio members totaling to a membership of 62.

EALA is headed by the speaker who is elected on a rational basis from the member state legislatures.

The first speaker was Abdulrahman Kinana from Tanzania.

The current speaker is called Hon Ngonga Martin of Rwanda since 2017 up to the end of his term in 2022.

### **Factors that contributed to the formation of the EALA.**

- To coordinate the national assemblies of the member countries on matters relating to EAC.
- To debate, discuss, approve and coordinate the budget of the east African community.
- To carry out annual audits of the various east African community commissions.
- To discuss various matters related to the community and make recommendations.
- To perform any other duties that are allowed and permitted by the treaty.
- It was formed to allow the voices of the common man in east Africa to be heard through their representatives.
- It was formed to be an instrument or body to play a significant role in fostering economic, social, cultural and political integration.
- To promote regional integration among member states to harmonize laws, policies and regulations across borders.
- To enhance corporation, it provides a platform for member states to collaborate on common issues like security, economic development and infrastructural development.
- To serve as a forum for democratic representation and decision making at the regional level.
- Etc.

### **Challenges faced by the EALA**

- Delayed remittances of funds by partner states which has affected the timely implementation of some of the planned activities of the assembly.
- The non-implementation of the financial and administrative autonomy granted to EALA affected the planning and execution of certain programs.
- Inadequate staffing levels created human resources
- Inter governmentalism of the EALA and refusal by member states to comply with the communications of the EALA.
- A problem of regional secessionism like Burundi and south Sudan.
- Lack of clarity and model of the federation as a whole.
- Poor administrative policies among member states
- There is a problem of non-adherence to the resolutions passed by EALA.
- Some member states have over dominated the affairs of the EALA since its inception especially Uganda and Tanzania.

- Difference in parliamentary frameworks of the partner states especially with Burundi and Rwanda which practice French parliamentary system.
- Weak institutions which are slow to consider new approaches, laws, and regulatory reforms.
- Lack of uniformity
- Political instabilities in some of the African member states.
- High rates of corruption among east African member countries.
- Etc.

**Possible solutions/remedies to the challenges faced by the EALA.**

- Member countries should adhere to the main principles for the formation of EAC and EALA.
- Formation of a regional army to stop secessionist tendencies
- Develop a clear model to be followed by all member states without discrimination
- Member states should have similar administrative policies.
- Member states should promote and practice clear democratic practices.
- Harmonizing the laws of the member states in order to reduce differences in regional legislation.
- Adopting a similar administrative and political system and system and structures would mitigate the challenges.
- Fighting corruption in the body together with the committees to ensure a stoppage of all forms financial spillage.
- Democratic principles should be followed by all members with in the community and political systems should also be harmonized.
- Promoting uniformity in language is yet another solution.
- Etc.

## **THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)**

### **Key words**

Aims

ECOWAS

Membership

Objectives

Origin

Treaty

### **By the end of this subtopic, learners will be able to;**

- a) Know the origin and membership of ECOWAS
- b) Understand the aims and objectives of ECOWAS
- c) Understand the success of ECOWAS since 1993
- d) Know the failures of ECOWAS in West Africa
- e) Understand the factors that led to the establishment of ECOWAS
- f) Appreciate the future trends of ECOWAS.

ECOWAS is a pan African regional political and economic union of sixteen countries located in West Africa

It came into existence after the signing of the ECOWAS treaty on 28<sup>th</sup> May 1975 in Lagos Nigeria. It was signed by the 16 heads of state and governments of West Africa.

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

It cut across the Anglophone and Francophone states of West Africa.

### **AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF ECOWAS**

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

- To promote industrial development and avoid duplication of goods and services.
- It aimed at widening the market for west African manufacturers' products
- It aimed at coordinating industrial development.
- To promote unity.
- To improve on the standards of living of people in West Africa.
- To promote the growth of science and technology in West Africa.
- To promote and preserve the common cultural heritage.

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF ECOWAS**

- ✓ Intervened and settled regional conflicts in West Africa, ie brought peace in Liberia after the years of blood shed following the murder of Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe, ie ensured peace and stability.
- ✓ Created a military and economic monitoring group ie, ECOMOG. This intervened in many problems in West Africa eg Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast.
- ✓ Filled the economic gap which was created after the withdrawal of the Europeans, ie colonial masters. ECOWAS provided economic assistance to the members of West Africa to alleviate economic hardships. (Funded the West African Power Pool (WAPP) eg DIAMA and Richardtoll Dams in Senegal.
- ✓ Promoted free movement of people through the removal of visa restrictions and passports. This created jobs, promoted cultural fusion and a sense of unity in the region.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted free trade by removing trade barriers eg tariffs, embargoes and quotas. They adopted a trade liberalization scheme that boosted economic development.

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

### **FAILURES OF ECOWAS / CHALLENGES**

- ❖ ECOWAS has been characterized with political instabilities in form of civil wars, internal conflicts and military coups eg Togo, Nigeria, Ivory Coast.
- ❖ The interstate conflicts have dogged the integration eg in 1984, Ghana closed her borders to the rest of the member states, Nigeria Vs Cameroon over the Bekasi Peninsular.
- ❖ There has been lack of reliable social and economic infrastructure eg the undeveloped roads, railway which hampered trade and mobility of labor.
- ❖ Over reliance on agricultural production has been a challenge of ECOWAS. Not much diversification, whose dependence comes with fluctuations ie similar crop production
- ❖ Unequal benefits from the activities of the community is a challenge. Some nations have benefited more than others eg Nigeria, Ghana compared to others.
- ❖ Tendency of Anglophone countries meddling into the activities of ECOWAS. Commonwealth organisation has tried to pull former colonies towards its policies contrary to Francophone hence affecting decisions.
- ❖ Failed to eradicate poverty in the region. Many countries in West Africa are too poor and have failed to meet the financial obligations eg Togo has always defaulted.
- ❖ There has been competition for the MNCS. This has led to provision of cheap commodities which flood the market and end up dictating the prices of goods in the region.
- ❖ The ECOWAS has failed to have a common currency. This has created a problem of exchange rates. Currencies used are pegged on the medium of exchange of the former colonial masters eg pounds hence hindering free trade.
- ❖ Failed to have common political ideologies, ie capitalism and communism / marxism. This intensified conflicts and undermined the activities of the integration.



## **CHALLENGES/FAILURES OF ECOWAS**

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

## **ADVANTAGES OF ECOWAS TO ITS MEMBERS/ROLES OF ECOWAS TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS MEMBERS.**

- ❖ It has promoted uniformity in prices
- ❖ It has reduced on the costs of transactions
- ❖ It has improved on competition
- ❖ It has increased on the economies of scale.
- ❖ It has promoted infrastructural development
- ❖ It has mobilized for international aid for West African countries.
- ❖ It has promoted agricultural development
- ❖ It has encouraged technological advancement
- ❖ It has promoted free trade
- ❖ It has promoted education
- ❖ It has promoted culture among others.

**Ways through which ECOWAS members can strengthen their economies.**

- ❖ Through diversifying the economies of member states.
- ❖ The body should establish a military structure to suppress army mutinies and secessions
- ❖ Emphasis should be put on infrastructural development
- ❖ A common currency should be developed
- ❖ Bans/restrictions should be put on dictatorial regimes amongst the member states
- ❖ Developed members should increase on the subscription fee to run the activities of the body
- ❖ Preferential trade area should be revived/restored that can ease on the free movement of trade
- ❖ Import Restrictions on trade items among member states should be lifted
- ❖ Specialization should be encouraged to avoid unnecessary competition.
- ❖ Technological transfer should be encouraged
- ❖ There should be a uniform language
- ❖ Loyalty among member states to the body should be promoted
- ❖ Etc.

## **THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)**

### **Key words**

African union

Organization of African unity (OAU)

Pan Africanism

Post independent

### **By the end of this sub topic, learners will be able to;**

- a) Know the composition and aims of the organization of the African unity and African union.
- b) Understand how the African union is full filling the aims of pan Africanism in Africa.
- c) Suggest solutions to the challenges facing African union.
- d) Evaluate the impact of the African union in post-independence Africa.

The OAU was a continental African body that was founded on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1963 at a pan African conference in AddisAbaba Ethiopia by 32 independent African states.

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

By 2002 almost the entire continent of Africa had joined the body besides Morocco and South west Sahara

### **AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF OAU**

- To promote African unity and solidarity.
- To defend the sovereignty of states and integrity
- To eradicate all forms of colonialism in Africa.
- To promote international co-operation.
- To promote regional economic integration.
- To coordinate and intensify cooperation of African states.
- To respect human rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human rights of 1948.
- To promote peace, security and stability on the continent
- To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields like science
- To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and promotion of good health.
- To promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples.
- To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.

## THE STRUCTURE OF OAU

1. **The OAU assembly heads of state and governments.** This was the organization's supreme organ. It normally met once in a year in different capital cities of member states although it could meet in extra ordinary session.
2. **The council of ministers** which was composed of government's foreign ministers who normally met twice a year or in special sessions. It was subordinate to the heads of state and governments.
3. **The general secretariat** which was headed by the secretary general who was headed by the assembly head of states and governments. It was responsible for administration of the OAU.
4. **The commission of mediation, conciliation and arbitration** established as the OAU's dispute settlement mechanism, had jurisdiction over disputes between member states only.

## ACHIEVEMENTS / SUCCESSES OF OAU/AU

### These include;

1. The OAU achieved continental unity. This was exhibited by the one voice spoken by the member states during the summits and conventions.
2. Promoted international cooperation. This was due to the good relations between the United Nations and the European Economic Community, ie, the current European Union. This increased joint and global problem solving.
3. OAU contributed to the eradication of colonialism in Africa. This was through the Liberation Committee in Tanzania. The Committee mobilized and extended support to the Mobilization Liberation Front (FRELIMO), ANC, SWAPO which aided countries to get independence.
4. The OAU tried to solve interstate conflicts in Africa. This was through the mediation and reconciliation Commission to alleviate misunderstandings eg Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden province 1976 – 1977, Congo and Uganda, Morocco and Algeria etc.
5. Managed to expand membership from 32 in 1963 to include almost the entire continent. This was a remarkable achievement and it reprimanded states which acted contrary to the objectives such as Morocco.
6. Succeeded in condemning secessionism and balkanization of the African continent. These included the Katanga secession (1960 – 1963), Biafra in Nigeria (1967 – 1970). This consolidated the independence of African states.
7. Promoted regional economic integrations in Africa. These included the setting up of EAC in 1967, Economic Community of West African states in 1975, COMESA in 1993 and SADC in 1979.
8. Tried to settle the refugee problem in Africa. This was done through the Commission for refugees established in 1965. African states tried to settle (IDPs) in camps in conjunction with UNHCR. The OAU also set up a general fund to extend assistance, ie food, medicine and shelter.
9. Revived and preserved African culture. This was achieved through organizing African cultural

festivals like in Nigeria in 1973, and others held in Egypt. The organization also encouraged games and sports through the All African games hosted in South Africa.

10. Promoted democratic governance and democracy in Africa. This was done through castigating the occurrence of coups during its tenure eg the 1965 coups in Algeria and Congo, 1971 in Uganda etc. Leaders who proved to be dictators were encouraged to institute elections and respect the rights of masses; (Nigeria under Sani Abacha, Boukassa and Mariam Mengitsu).
11. The OAU established the African Development Bank in Abidjan in Ivory Coast. This extended development loans to African states and gave the lowest interest rates in order to prevent borrowing from the Western Banks.
12. Promoted scientific research in Africa. This was through the Science and Technological Commission of OAU. The African Medical Research Fund (AMREF) worked with International organizations to eradicate diseases and encourage the use of local herbs, control diseases eg East Coast Fever, Locusts in Central Africa etc.
13. Condemned civil wars on the African continent. The OAU also tried to physically intervene in the ending of civil wars eg the 1965 – 1982 Chadi war, the OAU tried to lay strategies by condemning African countries involved and called for peace.
14. The body condemned the continuous assassination of African leaders. This had become prevalent like Sankara of Burkina Faso, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Laurent Kabila of Congo, among others.
15. The OAU called upon members to adopt or embrace the idea of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The policy emphasized neutrality during cold war politics of Super powers. Member countries were discouraged from allowing USA or USSR to set up military bases.
16. The body ensured a harmonious relationship between the Arab North and the Sub-saharan African composed of the Blacks. This increased African benefits from the Arab League with Headquarters in Cairo. Algeria was more Pan-African than any other. (OPEC).
17. The body tried to promote African languages through literature and theater works, as a result it formed a language bureau in Kampala at Makerere University to promote the speaking of local languages
18. It decampaigned racism practiced by the apartheid regime in south Africa and other states of Africa..
19. The body existed for a long period of time from 1963 – 2002. This was a remarkable achievement as it celebrated many anniversaries amidst many continental and global challenges.

## **FAILURES / WEAKNESSES OF OAU/AU**

1. Failed to establish a continental armed force (high command). This made it too weak to check wars and rebel activities and observing total peace at the continent remained a dream.
2. Failed to have an African parliament where continental challenges could be addressed.
3. Failed to achieve the desired United States of Africa due to intrigue and squabbles among the member states.
4. Failed to ensure complete and total decolonization of the continent. This is evident with the Western Sahara under the influence of Morocco.
5. Failed to end military coups on the continent eg 1971 and 1985 in Uganda, 1966 July and January in Nigeria, 1966 in Ghana, 1980 Liberian coup among others.
6. Failed to end the interstate conflicts eg Uganda and Tanzania, ie Amin's regime, Nigeria and Cameroon border conflicts.
7. Failed to enforce the idea of NAM and Neo-Colonialism became prevalent. This was because of the dire need for development aid and 1970 – 2002, African countries received 294 Billion Dollars. This made countries to struggle in servicing the loans.
8. Failed to do away with the dictators on the continent eg Boukassa of CAR, Amin in Uganda, Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Sani Abacha in Nigeria. This increased neo-colonialism to entrench in power, but OAU maintained the Principle of non-interference.
9. Failed to get a permanent remedy to refugee crisis. This was due to the rampant wars not addressed that made Africans migrate across the continent eg. Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Congo and Burundi. This increased suffering.
10. The OAU failed to enforce the subscription of the financial obligations. This hindered OAU to finance its set budget on the continent.
11. Failed to wipe out poverty on the continent. Africans were ranked the first in poverty in the world, majority live below one dollar a day, diseased and ignorant. The income per capita of Africa was very low.
12. Abuse of human rights remained a big challenge. These were eminent during dictatorial regimes of Amin in Uganda, Mobutu of Zaire etc, which tarnished the African continent.
13. Failed to wipe out famine. People go without meals.
14. Africa dominated by poor infrastructure, ie the Trans-Africa high way from Mombasa to Lagos failed. Slums are very common in Africa due to poverty.
15. Failed to eliminate civil wars and interstate wrangles eg Chadi, Mozambique (1977 – 1994), Sudan, Angola etc.

## **CHALLENGES / OBSTACLES / PROBLEMS TO OAU**

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

## **THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)**

The African Union (AU) is a continental body consisting of 55 member states all located on the African continent.

It is one of the world's most important inter continent governmental organizations.

It was announced during the Sirte declaration of 9<sup>th</sup> September 1999 in Sirte Libya.

The declaration called for the restructuring of the OAU to be able to accelerate and deepen the processes of economic and political integration which would result into economic prosperity and poverty eradication on the continent.

This resulted into the establishment of the AU on 26<sup>th</sup> May 2001 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and it was launched on 9<sup>th</sup> July 2002 in Durban South Africa.

### **CHALLENGES FACING THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)**

- The issue of language barrier has proven to be one of the biggest challenges of the AU. Since its inception member states or countries have different official language which make communication quite difficult.
- Insufficient finance is another major problem that is presently facing the African union. Member states are required to pay annual contributions to the union but because of poverty and weak economies.
- Distrust among members states, sometimes hinder the smooth operations of the AU.
- Lack of a standing army or ready army, it becomes difficult to enforce political decisions of the body.
- AU's interference from external forces led by Americans. Almost every conflict in Africa today involves western countries in their affairs.
- The post independent challenges which affecting most of its members like famine, political instabilities, corruption among others.
- Political assassination of African leaders like col. Gadhafi of Libya
- The ideological bankruptcy, the AU lacks an independent ideology crafted by Africans and suitable for their interests.
- Sometimes member countries are unwilling to send troops to go for peace keeping missions with in the continent.
- Member countries have weak and unstable economies.
- The union has faced with a problem of neo colonialism and big power interests.
- International terrorism is also a threat to the AU.
- It has failed to eradicate poverty, ignorance and spread of diseases among African states.
- Etc.

### **Solutions to the above challenges facing AU**

- Genuine efforts should be made to realize the dream of having a standby military force.
- The AU's legislative, judicial, and technical organs should be strengthened.
- There is need to empower the institutions of the African Union because the institutions like Pan-African Parliament and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council-designed to give civil society organizations a voice within AU institutions.
- The AU needs to adopt an appropriate strategy to manage international cooperation in an era of globalization and in a changing world order.
- African Union should rise above bankruptcy. For an organization of that nature to operate effectively, there is need for proper funding by all member states. Members should submit their annual subscription dues early enough.
- Corruption which has eaten up some commissions of the AU should also be fought.
- Trade barriers and the policy protectionism being practiced by member states should also be addressed.



- The AU should ensure balanced economic development in Africa. Some section of the African continent have continued to suffer from economic stagnation while others especially those located outside the sub-Saharan continued to develop faster.
- The A.U should also push for complete economic integration in Africa despite its noble aim. It should continue to support regional economic groupings like SADC, ECOWAS, COMESA, and E.A.C but real economic integration remains a dream for Africa
- The fight against neo-colonialism should continue. African states still value relationships with imperial powers instead of own their sister states.
- The AU must also make deliberate effort to eradicate poverty from the African continent. The majority of people in Africa suffer from utter neglect and poverty.
- The AU should also work towards achieving total unity of the African states. Deliberate efforts should be made to realize the dream of creating a United States of Africa as envisioned by it's founders especially Kwame Nkrumah.
- There is also need to review its structure to realign institutions. By reorganizing the structures and making them relevant, the AU will have redeemed itself.
- There is need for the AU to safeguard and expand citizens' participation.
- The AU should promote the adoption of a continental language to promote smooth trade and communication.
- Trade restrictions should be lifted among the body members to promote free movement of trade
- Etc.

### **Impact of the African Union in post independent Africa.**

The AU has a number of impacts on post-colonial Africa.

- The AU has made efforts to end conflicts in Africa like terrestrial conflicts between Uganda and Kenya, Togo and Ghana among others.
- The AU has expanded its membership to cover the entire continent. All African countries are members of the African Union except Morocco. This has promoted unity in Africa
- The AU has fostered cooperation with other bodies like the UNO. It worked hand in hand with international organizations and agencies like NATO, the UNO, EEC, EU, World Bank, IMF, WHO and the Arab League. This has strengthened international cooperation as well as trade.
- The African Union has established The African Central bank, The African Monetary Fund and The African Investment Bank which have promoted economic development in Africa
- It has set up a commission responsible for the promotion and preservation of African culture like languages As a result, the African cultures have been promoted and preserved.
- The AU has supported regional economic groupings in Africa. The A.U has supported regional economic groupings and organizations like ECOWAS, SADC, PTA (and later COMESA), IGADD. This has promoted unity and trade.
- It has promoted respect for human rights, democracy and condemned military coups in Africa. It was fast to condemn the 2019 military overthrow in Sudan. It further condemned the coup in Mali as well as the attempted election cheating in Guinea.
- The AU has made efforts to reduce civil wars in Africa. Many African states had been engulfed in civil wars before the AU came into existence but now the guns have gone silent in most of the regions in Africa.
- It has been at the forefront in keeping peace in the volatile regions of Africa. It has sent peace keeping troops in Somalia, Darfur and Burundi. This has ensured some stability in some of those areas.
- The AU has attempted to peacefully settle the various interstate conflicts that have, so far cropped up during its time of existence. This has also promoted political stability.

- It has promoted the development of Pan Africanism and the unity of the Africans. Members meet every year to address continental issues and resolutions reached have been implemented with a measure of success in all the member states.
- The African Union has promoted games and sports in Africa. This has been achieved through conducting African games, drama and other sportive activities. This has brought the member states together.
- The African Union has promoted scientific research technological development. Member states are working together in the field of science and technology for benefit of the continent.
- The African Union has addressed refugee crisis in Africa. It is working closely with, the United Nations High Commission for refugees to provide shelter, water, food, clothing and medicines to the displaced people of Somalia, Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Burundi, Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- The African Union has campaigned against and condemned all forms of racism in Africa and globally. As a result, racism has reduced especially on the African continent.
- The activities of the African Union have led to the infrastructural development and transport network. High ways, bridges airways, railway lines and communication systems were put in place hence promoting economic development.
- The African Union has promoted Non Aligned Movement and the spirit of positive neutrality in regards to international relations by not taking sides in global conflicts.
- The African Union has participated in resolving post-election violent conflicts in Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya, and forcing military coup-makers to hand back power to civilian regimes
- The African Union's unique voluntary 'Peer Review Mechanism by which individual member states agree to be assessed by a team of experts drawn from other states has encouraged democracy and good governance.
- African Union observer missions are now sent as a matter of routine to observe elections in all member states, in accordance with the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007). This has attempted to deliver free and fair elections.

#### **AU in pursuing peace and security**

- AU supported the Inter-Governmental Authority (IGAD) for development in its efforts to achieve peace.
- In Burundi the AU succeeded in bringing the parties to a power sharing agreement in 2001 that led to a three year transitional government.
- Supported peace keeping operations as well
- In Sudan the AU intervened in the Darfur

#### **OAU/AU DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

- Supporting cooperation between the UN and regional organizations.
- Supporting regional organizations in conflict resolutions
- Solicits international funding for AU operations
- Diplomatic representation in world states
- Etc.

## **INTER-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT (IGAD)**

### **Key words**

#### **IGAD**

Sub Saharan Africa

Regional integration

Intergovernmental authority.

#### **By the end of this sub topic, learners will able to;**

- a) Know the origin and state membership of IGAD
- b) Understand IGAD's institutional development
- c) Analyze the key achievements of IGAD since its inception
- d) Appreciate the contributions made by IGAD in sub Saharan Africa.

The IGAD in Eastern Africa was set up in 1996 to replace the inter-government Authority on drought and development (IGADD) which had itself been formed in January 1986 in Djibouti.

It is a body of eight member states i.e Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Eritrea, Somalia and South Sudan, inactive and who joined in 1998 after obtainment of her independence.

Its headquarters are in Djibouti city.

Includes members from the horn of Africa, Nile valley and the African great Lakes.

#### **AIMS OF IGAD**

- To promote joint development strategies and gradually harmonies macro-economic policies and programs in the social, technological and scientific fields.
- To harmonies policies with regard to trade, custom, transport agriculture and natural resources and promote free movement of goods, services and people within the region.
- To create an enabling environment for foreign, cross border and domestic trade and investment.
- To generate and disseminate development information in the region.
- To provide capacity building and training at regional and national levels.
- To facilitate, and strengthen cooperation in research development and application in science and technology.
- To initiate and promote programs and projects to achieve regional food security and sustainable development of natural resources.
- To develop and improve a coordinational and complementary infrastructure, in the areas of transport and energy in the region.
- To promote peace and stability in the region for the prevention, management.

- To mobilize resources for the implementation of emergency, short term and long-term programs within the framework of regional cooperation.
- To pursue and promote the integral representation of the region as a block in the areas of political, social and economic interests in global arena and regional bodies like the UN and African Union.

## THE STRUCTURE OF IGAD

- The assembly of Heads of state and government** is the supreme policy making and regulatory organ of the IGAD.  
It determines the objectives, guideline and programmes for IGAD and meet once a year.  
A chair is elected from member states in rotation.
- The council of ministers.** Is composed of the minister of foreign affairs and one other local minister designated by each member state.  
The council formulates policy, approves the work programme and annual budget of the Secretariats during its biannual sessions.
- The committee of Ambassadors.** Is comprised of IGAD member states Ambassadors to the country of Igad Headquarters'.  
It convenes as often as the need arises to advise and guide the executive secretary.
- The secretariat.** Is headed by an executive secretary appointed by the Assembly of Heads of state and government for term of four years renewable once.  
The secretariat assists member states in formulating regional projects in the priority areas, facilitates the coordination and harmonization of development policies.  
Mobilizes resources to implement regional projects and programmes approved by the council and reinforces national infrastructures.

## ACHIEVEMENTS/CONTRIBUTIONS OF IGAD

- It has assisted the manufactures societies and stakeholders in the tourism master plans to market the region as single tourism.
- It has facilitated infrastructure projects by conducting studies on the feasibility<sup>7</sup> of transport.
- It has supported peace and stability mechanism in terms of troops contribution to all mission in Somalia, UN and AU mission in Darfur Sudan.
- IGAD developed a comprehensive plan to build a resilience of vulnerable communities in member states. IGAD has created several institutions, which help her tremendously in meeting its obligation to the member states e.g. climate prediction and application centre.
- IGAD has supported programs to enhance the free movement of people, goods and services in the region.
- IGAD has developed project to develop a sustainable and integrated water resources management e.g. in Uganda 12 surface water and 26 ground water stations were installed.

- It has urged member countries to open their market to one another's products to address shortages of items in member states.
- IGAD lobbied member states to agree on priority interventions and incorporate development patterns programmes.
- IGAD has created platforms for debating issues concerning the environment, gender, affairs and health by soliciting technical experts from the region.
- IGAD has mobilized international partners to support programmes for training staff through the institutional strengthening Action programme institution (ISAP)
- It has set up the IGAD Business forum which coordinates across border trade and investment hence trade harmonization.
- IGAD has embraced democratic constitutional reforms and empowerment of local communities through decentralization.
- It has closely cooperated with European Union and World Bank to manage floods, drought etc.
- IGAD has heavily invested in disaster risk management programs.
- It has also achieved in the areas of agriculture, areas, health and education. These services have been extended to all members.
- It has mobilized donors like the European Union, USAID, the UN to support body activities/programs e.g. a joint financing agreement was signed with donors to support implementation of the phase2 and 3 ISAP.
- Etc.

## **CHALLENGES /WEAKNESSES AND SHORT COMINGS OF IGAD**

- Protracted violence conflicts in the region.
- Sudan has faced conflicts in Darfur, Abjei, Somalia.
- Terrorism has been a big treat to the IGAD members and peace in the region e.g lord's Resistance Army (L.R.A) that operated in Uganda.
- Legacy of colonialism from Britain, Italy Spain coupled with border disputes have become factors of distrust and instability.
- Border wars leading to military invasions e.g Ethiopia- Eritrea war of 1998.
- Human and drug trafficking, and right weapons which have threatened development efforts.
- There is lack of commitment from some member states in terms of respecting the protocols.
- Insecurity in the region has hindered the work of IGAD.
- The rampant outbreak of natural calamities like drought and food insecurity.
- Political confrontations due to corruption and bribery amongst member states.
- There is still rampant poverty in Africa which make the operation of IGAD difficult.
- Poor transport and infrastructural network to facilitate free movement of goods with in member states.
- Lack of common currency among the member states.

- Neo-colonialism influence and interference.
- Interstate conflicts among states e.g.
- High reliance on donor funding and delay in transfer of committed funds to IGAD.

### **Solutions to the challenges of IGAD.**

- IGAD can be strengthened by focusing on relatively uncontroversial topics like desertification, climate change and response to pandemics.
- It should move away from the vulnerabilities of protecting national interests and start looking at regional interests.
- It should adopt self-financing strategies of its activities rather than depending on foreign funds.
- It should establish a body army to suppress the interstate conflicts to promote political stability in the area.
- Member states should embrace good governance which would reduce on unnecessary conflicts within.
- Member states of IGAD should focus their membership to solely the regional body of IGAD instead of belong to every regional body.
- It should convince more countries to join IGAD in order to increase its subscription.
- Members should increase more funding to the body in order to fund its activities.
- Etc.

### **Similarities and differences**

| <b>Similarities IGAD and EAC</b>                        | <b>Differences between IGAD and EAC</b>                                                                        |
|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| They both have aims and objectives                      | IGAD has four committees while EAC has five committees in their structure.                                     |
| They both have a vision and mission                     | The EAC was mainly formed as a political integration                                                           |
| They are both promoting Pan Africanism                  |                                                                                                                |
| They are both operating to uplift lives of Africans     |                                                                                                                |
| Both have 7 member countries with DRC just joined EAC   |                                                                                                                |
| <b>IGAD and COMESA</b>                                  |                                                                                                                |
| They both have aims and objectives                      | COMESA's major aim was to promote trade among member states while IGAD was mainly to conserve the environment. |
| They both have a mission and vision                     | COMESA has more members than IGAD.                                                                             |
| They are both promoting pan Africanism                  |                                                                                                                |
| They are both operating to uplift the lives of Africans |                                                                                                                |

|                                                              |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| They are both extending the activities of the African Union. |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--|

### **Activity of integration**

1. Earlier in 2020 the desert locust crisis hit the horn of Africa particularly in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. They also reached Djibouti, Eritrea, Tanzania, Uganda and southern Sudan. These swarm are destroyed farmlands, thus, posing a major threat to food security to the region that is already facing high levels of food insecurity. Desert locusts are considered the most destructive migratory pests in the world.

#### **Task**

- a. As a representative from the Ugandan government in an IGAD crisis meeting, write a report advising the regional organization how to address the crisis in member state.

## **CHAPTER 03: NEO COLONIALISM IN EAST AFRICA**

### **Key words**

Colonial power

Post-colonial

Foreign debt

Economic dominance

Multi nationals

Foreign aid

### **Learning outcomes**

By the end of this chapter, you will be able to:

- a) Understand the concept of neo-colonialism
- b) Understand the various manifestations of neo-colonialism in East Africa.
- c) Appreciate the impact of neo-colonialism to post independence East Africa.

### **Meaning of neo colonialism**

Neo-colonialism refers to the dominancy of independent African states by either the former colonial masters or the developed and industrialized states of the world.

Neo colonialism is the survival of colonial privileges in Africa despite the formal recognition of independence politically. It makes African states subjected to foreign domination economically, politically, socially, technologically, militarily and ideologically.

It is also defined as the 20<sup>th</sup> century colonialism in Africa which aims at safeguarding and perpetuating colonial interests like religious domination, economic exploitation and ideological transplants from former colonial masters and other western countries like USA and Asian states like China, Japan among others.

According to Kwame Nkrumah the former president of Ghana, referred to neo-colonialism as the ***“last form of imperialism”***. Therefore, neo colonialism is the political and economic domination of developed countries over developing countries by the use of superior political, military and economic systems to suppress them.

NB: Neo-colonialism is secondary colonialism and the highest stage of imperialism in Africa.



## ***Reasons /factors why an independent country would turn to neo-colonialism***

### ***(Causes of neo colonialism)***

- Lack of independent political ideology where most east African countries have failed to have their own political ideologies and therefore resorted to copying European ideologies.
- Need for infrastructural development such as roads, railway lines, etc which developed countries have in terms of financial and skilled labor.
- Increased borrowing of funds from developed countries to sustain the developing countries' budgets.
- Need for expertise from developed countries that end up exploiting the natural resources such as minerals in developing countries thus neo-colonialism.
- Inadequate funds in under developed countries hence need for support from the developed world. For example, health, education and infrastructural support among others.
- Poor governance in developing countries leads to the need of political support from developed countries in terms of promoting democracy, overthrow of bad leaders.
- Corruption is rampant in developing countries, hence, systems do not work.
- Need for market for produced goods of developing countries to the western world.
- Civil wars in a country may force them to seek for foreign help thus neo-colonialism.
- The impact of cold war politics where the developing countries of east Africa become trapped in taking sides hence neo colonialism.
- Strategic location of some of the east African countries for example Uganda and Kenya making the British having continued influence in the affairs of the nations due the presence of the river Nile and coastline respectively.
- Military weakness of most of the East African countries i.e. they still depend on the developed nations for weapons. This creates an opportunity for the colonial armies to influence the affairs of these countries.
- Economic weakness of east African countries compelled them to resort to neo colonialism for economic boosting.
- Etc.

### Differences between neo colonialism and common wealth

| Neo colonialism                                                         | Common wealth                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Highest stage of imperialism                                            | An association consisting of the former colonies of United Kingdom.                                 |
| It involves giving of foreign aid to developing countries.              | It is a voluntary association of independent countries for both developed and developing countries. |
| Not all countries under neo colonialism are former colonies of Britain. | All the countries under common wealth are composed of former colonies of Britain.                   |
| Dominant to an already independent country                              | Not dominated by the former colonial master                                                         |
| It's a modern form of colonialism                                       | Common wealth states formed the association after independence.                                     |

### Differences between neo colonialism and colonialism

| Neo colonialism                                                                            | Colonialism                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Indirect continued exercise of socio-economic and political control over independent state | Direct socio-economic and political control over a country               |
| Doesn't involve direct or indirect presence of the colonizers.                             | Involve physical presence of territories by the colonizers.              |
| Its new and modern form of imperialism                                                     | It's an early stage of imperialism.                                      |
| It's a continuous process i.e. its ongoing                                                 | Ended when colonialists like Britain, France left                        |
| It's the highest stage of colonialism                                                      | Their system of rule varied i.e. indirect, direct rule and assimilation. |
| Etc.                                                                                       |                                                                          |

### Manifestations / Features of neo – colonialism in Africa

- Giving of economic aid to African states with conditions attached. This aid comes from the USA, World Bank, IMF and foreign expatriates are sent to Africa to supervise the same.
- Presence of multi-national companies in African states (MNCs) is a manifestation of Neo-colonialism. They are large scale companies e.g. Coca-Cola, MTN, Airtel, Shell, Barclays.
- Presence of numerous espionage (spy network) in African countries. These include FBI, CIA, Scotland Yard, these have continually reported Information from Africa.
- Control of commodity Prices in the world market by the rich countries of the world is a feature of neo colonialism. It should be noted that African countries are price takers and developed countries are price makers.
- The signing of trade agreements and concessions is a feature of Neo – colonialism for example Uganda and Belgium in 1979 during the reign of Amin Dada.

- The continuation of colonial economic policies in African countries e.g. relying on agriculture as a raw material, being more importers of manufactured goods from the rich countries.
- Imposition of colonial constitutions in African countries is a form of Neo – colonialism i.e. African countries have still articles enshrined in their constitutions right from the colonial times i.e. the British, the French and the Dutch.
- Presence of white settlers in African countries is a sign of neo colonialism e.g. South Africa, Kenya, Zimbabwe.
- Relying on advice of expatriates in the decision making of African countries e.g. Senegal by 1960 getting advice from the French.
- Presence of military bases in newly independent African states is a sign of neo-colonialism e.g. Britain in Egypt, Belgium in Zaire (Congo) USA / USSR in Somalia and Ethiopia, France and Belgium in Rwanda.
- The engineering / supporting of military coups in Africa is a sign of neo – colonialism. These include the 1971 coup in Uganda supported by Britain, the 1974 coup in Ethiopia supported by Russia, etc.
- The education system in African countries based in African countries i.e. More theoretical than practical also based on the foreign curriculum.
- Direct involvement of developed countries in the internal affairs of African states. This is exemplified by USA in Somalia, France in Nigeria between 1967- 1970 during the Biafra secession, Belgium in Rwanda between 1990 and 1994 during the genocide.
- Association of independent African states with the former colonial masters e.g. commonwealth for the colonial master, Francophone for the French colonies
- Use of evangelism in African states is a manifestation of Neo colonialism; this is manifested in the emergence of numerous churches in African states that has caused divisions in church.
- Western European type of democracy in African states i.e. political pluralism, i.e. the existence of multi-party politics as a precondition for foreign aid.
- The use of foreign languages by African countries like English, German, French, Latin etc. which has compromised the local languages hence undermining African unity.
- The use of print and electronic media in African countries e.g. Magazines, Films, YouTube, twitter, Skype, Facebook, Google+ which have had a direct impact on African countries.
- Sponsoring of rebels / opposition leaders against the governments in power i.e. giving them Forum to express their ideas e.g. the civil societies.
- Technological transfer / the use of foreign technologies
- Existence of foreign ideologies e.g. capitalism and communism
- Dominance of NGOs like DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency), USAID (United States Aid for International Development), UKAID (United Kingdom Aid for International Development) etc.

- Western cultural imperialism reflected in the dress code i.e. see through, damaged jeans
- Presence of foreign religions for example catholic religion, protestant religion, Islamic religion etc. that continue to depend on the developed countries for support and decision making.
- 
- Etc.

***The advantages/positive effects/benefits (impacts of neo -colonialism on development of East African states) include the following:***

- Has led to increased aid to African countries to fund projects e.g. establishing social services
- It has led to improvement in trade relations with former colonial masters and other countries in Europe and Asia.
- Neo - colonialism has provided emergence program relief aid in areas struck by disaster / calamities e.g. the Bududa case for Uganda.
- Has improved on political stability of African countries through the extension of military aid.
- Has encouraged the growth of functional democracy through institutions hence promoting peace e.g. the civil societies.
- Neo – colonialism has promoted good international relations i.e. from the countries giving aid e.g. the Chinese have infiltrated African continent.
- Has promoted technological transfers that have promoted increased productivity, improved quality services and goods.
- Neo – colonialism has helped to bridge the investment gap in African states. This has helped to alleviate unemployment and increased revenue collection in the long run.
- Has improved on the provision of the social survives e.g. education and health through the grants extended to Africa.
- Has eased communication through the introduction of international languages like English, French, Latin. Also, electronic gadgets like phones and other plat forms have globalized the world.
- Promoted industrialization through direct foreign investment (FDI) and the multi – national investments. This has helped to improve on the growth path in Africa.

- Helped to fill the man power gap in Africa through the access to foreign expatriates.
- Has ensured government accountability through the supervision of projects under funding. This has helped to check on the institutionalized corruption in African countries.
- Have off set the budgetary deficits in African states. This is because the budgets of African states are not nationally fully funded.
- Promoted infrastructural development that has increased accessibility in Africa. This ranges from roads set up to increase marketing and finalizing development.
- It has created employment opportunities to Africans. A number of Africans are employed in foreign investments like the multinational companies have provided jobs to east Africans.
- It has also improved on the health sector through the use of foreign doctors and medication.
- It has improved on the industrialization of the east African economies.
- Etc.

**Disadvantages/negative effects (Roles of neo-colonialism in under development of East African states) are as below: -**

- Accelerated the foreign manipulation in decision making in African states
- Led to the continued exploitation of African resources
- Has undermined African independence where policies are determined by the developed world.
- Contributed to the collapse of African integrations e.g. EAC in East Africa by 1977
- Perpetuated political instabilities and coup-d'états in Africa e.g. 1971 in Uganda, 1965 in Congo 1965 in Algeria etc.
- Made African states to be producers of what they can't consume and consume what they don't produce
- Sabotaged industrialization programs in Africa.

- Influenced African states to accumulate foreign debts which keep in the viscous cycle of poverty.
- Led to cultural erosion through the demonstration effects e.g. foreign religions and languages.
- Has created a neo-social class society i.e. the rich and the poor which has increases income inequality with all the associated evils.
- Expanded the concept of brain drain making African states to be deprived of technical experts.
- Has undermined African technological advancement or destruction of African craftsmanship, innovation and inventions. These are precursors to development.
- Led to persistent balance of payment problems in Africa hence leaving African states impoverished i.e. developed states determine the market prices of goods.
- Made African states to adopt foreign ideologies like capitalism and communism. This has undermined Non – Aligned Movement (NAM) and long-term problems can't be handled.
- Increased profit repatriation or capital outflow by foreign investors. This has undermined capital accumulation in Africa.
- Promoted environmental degradation through the industries set up i.e. failure to control pollution which reduces the life span of Africans.
- Unemployment has increased due to unfavorable structural adjustment programs (SAPS) imposed on Africans i.e. forced retrenchment to downsize the numbers.
- Created puppet leaders in Africa who dance to the tunes of the supporters from the developed world.
- Made African education to be more theoretical or irrelevant or inappropriate to the current problems of African states.
- Made African states to be dumping grounds for poor quality products. These have side effects on the life of Africans.
- Increased immorality in African states e.g. prostitution and homosexuality.
- Neo – colonialism in form of aid has caused inflationary problems i.e. goods imported from inflated states.

- Devalued the currencies of African states. This is because determination of value is judged according to dollars, pounds etc.
- Etc.

***Methods used by former colonialists to perpetuate neo-colonialism.***

- Foreign aid, loans and assistance
- Education
- Technology
- Cultural influence
- Establishing foreign radios, TVs and newspapers in developing countries.
- Grouping states into federations that are directly linked with former colonial masters such as common wealth, Francophone, etc.
- Through interference in the internal states and affairs of African states
- Through the supply of arms and weapons
- Through control over international economic institutions
- Through the use of multinational corporations

***Challenges faced by east African states due to neo-colonialism***

- East African states are faced with a number of challenges from neo-colonialism. Among which include;
- The loan dependence from developed countries with its negative effects such as attaching conditions to aid received from developed countries for example adoption of multi-party politics in East African politics.
- There is a problem of debt burden on East African countries. This is due to the big loans got from the developed countries through organizations like World Bank and international monetary fund (IMF). Such inherent burdens have made these states unable to provide health and education services to their citizens.

- The East African states are experiencing huge poverty due to the fact the biggest percentage of their institutions' revenue is collected to pay debts which are ever increasing thus keeping the Africans in persistent.
- They are stuck with foreign social behaviors introduced by foreigners. These contradict with the African values. Such behaviors include homosexuality, lesbianism and prostitution which the western world support as rights of the minority.
- Dependence on foreign markets by East African states for their produce has led to unfavorable prices of their commodities and products for example Uganda exports her coffee, cotton, flowers and minerals to foreign markets. In most cases, these prices are determined by the foreign markets.
- Dependence on foreign expatriates from China, Britain and America in different sectors such as road construction, mining, power projects, research and agriculture. These are highly paid and become expensive in terms of their living conditions and allowances.
- The western countries influence and get involved in the internal and political affairs of the East African countries. They have supported some leaders in elections who serve their interests through finances and moral advice. For example, the recent presidential elections in Tanzania and Uganda have attracted the attention of European countries such as America.
- Etc.

### ***Solutions to the challenges caused by neo-colonialism***

- Creation of political unions and regional integrations among east African states for example the East African community to reduce on the dependence syndrome of these states.
- Strengthening of the economies of the east African states through investing in modern technology, the manufacturing sector among others.
- Reviewing the existing the education systems in the east African states so as to equip the indigenous people with skills to avoid the hiring of foreign labor patriates for example in the health sector.



- Embracing, promoting and upholding the good African cultures among the east African people so as to avoid the adoption of the western cultures and behaviors.
- Adopting a national language from the existing local languages for example in Uganda like the way it is in Kenya and Tanzania where they use Kiswahili.
- Empowering the local farmers through cooperatives, projects and modern farming methods in order to reduce on the dependence on foreign markets for the processed agricultural products like coffee.
- Industrializing the east African economies to reduce dependence and dumping into east Africa.
- By limiting the activities of the European multinational companies whose objectives is to cheat and exploit the resources and natives as well.
- Reviewing and respect of African constitutions in order to prevent leaders like presidents from serving the interests of the western and Asian globe.
- Through privatization of the economy in order to reduce on the demand for government resources and enable additional governmental revenue.
- Through investing in research work to improve and modernize the goods and service deliveries.
- Through minimizing on borrowing funds from developed countries.
- Promoting invention and innovations in the goods and services for better outputs.
- By supporting local industries to grow and support the citizens in employment to improve their standards of living and addition to government revenue.
- Etc.

### ***Sample activity of integration***

Years after the proclamation of self-rule, African nations may have been the political peace and sovereign recognition of their states. However, African financial assistance and most states appear to be still awaiting the true independence. Uganda adopted the policy of buy Uganda and build Uganda (BUBU) to promote locally manufactured goods but this policy has been fought by political leaders and business people who continue to trot the world for cheap goods and services from foreign countries.

### ***Instructions***

#### ***In an essay***

- a). Identify the reasons why African nations like Uganda have continued to rely on foreign for imports and aid.
- b). Explain how this challenge of dependency on foreign and imports can be addressed.
- c). If you were the president of Uganda, what steps would take to get out Uganda of this situation.

#### ***End of chapter summary***

In this chapter, you have learnt the concept of neo-colonialism, the various ways in which neo-colonialism is manifested in East Africa and appreciated the impact of neo-colonialism to post independence East Africa. Hence, they can solve any problem related to neo-colonialism.

## CHAPTER FOUR: GLOBALISATION

### **Key words**

International  
Population  
Diplomacy  
Interdependency  
Dependency  
Imports  
Exports  
Foreign aid  
Multinational corporations  
COMESA  
PTA  
NGOs  
CBOs  
Communication  
Technology

### ***In this chapter, the learner will be able to;***

- a. Understand the key terms related to globalization
- b. Know the advantages and disadvantages of globalization in Uganda.
- c. Appreciate the impact of globalization on Uganda.
- d. Understand the concept of foreign aid
- e. Analyze Uganda's imports and exports

### ***The meaning of globalization***

Globalization is the process by which people, their culture, money, goods and information can be transferred between countries with few or no barriers.

Globalization is also the increased connectivity in the world which involves exchange by human beings that's to say exchange of goods and services, capital, technologies or cultural practices all over the world.

Globalization is also the speeding up of movements and exchange of goods and services, capital, technologies, or cultural practices all over the world.

It has increased and promoted connections between different religions and populations around the world.

### **Globalization enhances;**

- Competition where companies and people now compete globally.
- Technology that enables companies to sell their goods and services globally.
- Removed national borders from limiting nations from investment, production and innovation.
- Relationships among family and friends have rapidly become organized around a much more compressed view of space and time using internet and social media.

### ***Types of globalization***

There are three types of globalization and these are economic, political and cultural globalization.

- Economic globalization
- Political globalization
- Cultural globalization

1. **Economic globalization.** This is mainly focused on the unification and integration of international markets and multi-national corporations that have a significant influence on international markets.
2. **Political globalization** deals with policies designed to facilitate international trade and commerce and the institutions that implement these policies. These include national governments and international institutions such as the international monetary fund (IMF) and the world trade organization (WTO)
3. **Cultural globalization** focuses on the social factors that link people of different cultures together such as increased ease of communication and transportation brought about by technology.

NB. All the three types of globalization influence each other and they are all influenced by advancement of modern technology

### ***Factors that have influenced the process of globalization.***

- Improvement in transportation where the movement of goods between countries has improved with the development of larger cargo ships reducing the cost and time.
- Formation of trading blocs has promoted free trade between countries removing the barriers to trade between countries. Organizations like the world trade organization (WTO), ECOWAS, East African community (EAC) promote freedom of trade.
- Improvement in communication networks. The development of the internet and mobile technology has allowed effective communication between people in different countries. (People get information on time).
- Availability of skilled labor has enabled the establishment of labor-intensive industries (industries take advantage of cheap labor)
- Technological advancement especially in the transport and telecommunications has influenced globalization. Money, technology, materials and even people flow more swiftly across national boundaries today than they have been in the past.
- The rise of new electronic payment systems like e-wallet, pre-pay etc. that have eased transactions across the globe.
- Growth of multinational companies like Stanbic bank, MTN, Coca-Cola, Pepsi among others
- Socio-cultural convergence has promoted globalization due to access to information through online newspapers.
- Favorable political policies adopted by governments have facilitated cross border trade and influence e.g. China offers long term loans to most of the East African countries.
- Financial liberalization where by it is now easy to exchange money to global currencies such as US dollar and British pound.
- Reduced tariff barriers

- The growth of NGOs and community based organizations has promoted globalization
- Presence of globalization agencies like the UNO, AU, EU among others.
- Increase capital/ investment
- Labour force, countries have first class business school besides some have abundant labour force
- Containerization which has cut down the cost of ocean shipping making transportation of bulk goods more efficient.
- The intense competition among firms where by firms are looking for new markets across borders making the world a global village.

### **Benefits / importance of globalization**

Globalization has several benefits as the conduct of business has changed many different ways. The benefits include;

- Globalization has led to the spread of technology and innovation to many countries around the world. The world has remained constantly connected.
- It has allowed easy access to foreign culture like food, movies, music, and art. Without one moving across the borders.
- The cost of production has been lowered and this has allowed companies to source for lower costs of production. This has increased competition in the production of goods and services and eventually bringing down the prices.
- Because of globalization, people can access new markets. Easy access of information on the products on the market has enabled creation of new customers beyond borders.
- It has allowed access to new talent. Nations and companies look for new specialized talent that is not available in their market.
- It has allowed nations to employ workers without necessarily having a legal entity abroad thus making global hiring easier.
- It has enabled consumers have a variety of choices of a product which has improved on the lives of people to live better on less money.
- It has enabled companies to look for flexible and innovative ways to grow their businesses overseas. In Uganda, Multinational companies have made it easier to employ workers in other countries. There is no longer need to establish a foreign entity to expand overseas.

### **Impacts or effects of globalization**

- Globalization has led to increase in foreign direct investment and global trade in the world.
- It has also led to emergence of multi-national governance organizations such as European union (EU), United Nations and World Bank which exercise economic or political power directly or indirectly globally for example millennium development goals, environmental treaties etc.
- It has exert influence beyond geographical borders on certain forms of development assistance this is through international agreements and conventions such as education for all, millennium development goal declarations, environmental treaties, human rights instruments and others.

- Globalization has changed the power dynamics between the more developed and developing countries. The industrialized nations and multinational corporations largely set the terms of engagement and development assistance for developing countries through their multinational institutions and the economic mechanisms which they control in terms of trade, development, loans and foreign aid.
- It has highly created inequalities in nations in the world. This is because different countries are at different levels of development in terms of capital, resources, knowledge and control of information.
- Globalization effects have been manifested in the dependency of some nations on others in such areas like technology and information, the flow of foreign direct investment and global trade, the flow of capital and existence of multinational corporations.
- Globalization has led to the destruction of cultural identities and undermined many local norms and rituals governing important social spheres. The African traditional institutions of marriage and its practices, parenthood or child relations and the women submission in marriage have been eroded.

#### **Impacts of globalization in Uganda.**

- It has enabled people to access global tools such as the internet, technology and telephones. It has opened up opportunities for people to access information, markets, better health services, education and exposed to new cultures and traditions.
- The socio-economic improvement as a result of globalization has improved the lives of Ugandans and specifically the rural people in Uganda since many of these areas were characterized by lack of necessities like schools, health centers, roads and difficulties in communicating with the outside world.
- Technological improvement in communication has made communication easy through the innovation and invention of cell phones that have been accessed in rural areas through international and regional companies such as MTN, Airtel among others.
- Ugandans use global facilities such as internet, telephone, transport to find market for their products. Globalization has made it easy to conduct cross border trading with neighboring countries such as Rwanda-Kenya-Tanzania and Sudan.
- It has enabled traders in Uganda to export more goods and services in many countries and earn some income which has changed their socio-economic position.
- It has also enabled the government to partner well with other countries and international organizations to improve the standards of people in Uganda.
- It is now easy for consumers to access market information. Before globalization, traders were taking advantage of the ignorance of market trends to cheat producers of goods and specifically agricultural produce at a low cost and sell at a higher price.
- The increase in mobile telecommunications across the country has also provided employment to the rural and urban. Ugandans are involved in gainful employment as mobile money agents or vendors for major telecommunication companies.
- It is now easier to transfer funds from one person to another from rural areas to urban areas and vice versa with ease and in time.
- Due to globalization, the government liberalized the media. This led to the establishment of several radio and television stations in the market.

- The rural people in Uganda have started to change their traditional way of life to be modern in order to cope with the pace of global life. The pastoral communities and subsistence farmers in the rural areas of Uganda are changing to modernize their farming techniques.
- Global organizations such as World Bank and World Health Organization (WHO) have been funding the Ugandan government to improve the education and health services especially in the rural and disadvantaged areas.

#### **Advantages of globalization**

- Access to labour
- Access to resources
- Transfer of technology
- Better services
- Improved standards of living
- Development infrastructure
- Economic growth
- Affordable products
- Extensions of market

#### **Disadvantages of Globalization**

- Growing inequality
- Trade imbalance
- Environmental destruction
- Increasing of the unemployment rate
- Loss of culture
- Leads to more imports than export

#### **Challenges of globalization**

- Worker exploitation, many companies in developing countries expose local workers to high degree of exploitation. These companies make exploitative demands like long working conditions yet some labour organizations can hardly enforce labour regulations.
- Job loss,
- Loss of culture
- Neocolonialism
- Legal compliance for employers, employers need to employ people within the legal policies of the countries where they are based and yet these different countries have their own laws covering things like working hours, leaves, termination right etc.
- Cultural and language barriers. The world has a variety of cultures and languages which limit association.
- Differences in technological development. Developed countries have more advanced technology than the developing countries.

#### **Solutions to challenges of globalization**

- Empower people with skills needed to unlock jobs.
- Lower the costs of trade regulations. Countries should not put regulations
- Make societies more resilient in order for them to handle current problems.

- Promoting technological transfer in the world. Countries should embrace modern technology
- Partner with reliable and experienced companies
- Find suppliers and partners across the world at various locations. Don't put your eggs in one basket.

### **Roles of NGOs and CBOs (community based organization) in promoting globalization.**

- They work across national boundaries and beyond local and national initiatives.
- They create trans-national networks and coalitions to influence intentional decision makers.
- They shape national and international policies
- They are closer to the grassroots, most often seen as the preferred channel for overseas development aid and most efficient agent of guaranteeing the success of sustainable development.
- They assist the people to be part of social change and foster a feeling of belongingness and sense of responsibility among the marginalized segments of the society.
- They have become a counter-weight (put pressure) to state power especially in the promotion and protection of human rights and community development.
- They provide services to society through welfare works for community development using global funds.
- They provide assistance in case of natural disasters using funds that normally lobby for globally.
- They have been instrumental in pushing for sustainable development at international level.
- They provide resources in form of finances to support innovation, demonstration and pilot schemes which are a key to development.
- They carry out research, monitoring and evaluation of government projects as well as the effectiveness of the utilization and accountability for donors.
- They have been at the fore front campaigning for elimination of slavery in the world.
- They have been active in intergovernmental negotiations in regulation of hazardous waste as well as ban on land mines and other dangerous weapons.
- Etc.

### **How can globalization be achieved outside trade and politics**

#### **Foreign aid.**

Foreign aid refers the assistance voluntarily transferred by one country to another.

It can also refer to assistance given out by religious organizations, non-government organizations (NGOs) and Foundations.

This aid can be in form of gifts, grants, or loans but it can also be in form of food, supplies and services such as humanitarian aid and military assistance. Developing countries like Uganda have received foreign aid from developed nations for example in times of natural disasters, times of conflict or during economic crisis.



Donor countries may make agreements with the countries to which they provide assistance. They may agree to issues loans to an allied nation that is experiencing economic difficulties with special repayment provisions.

Official Development Assistance (ODA) is the most common form of foreign aid provided to support development and to fight poverty. Aid is provided in form of bilateral grants that is to say from one country to another or funding in form of loans and often it is channeled through non-government organizations and foreign organizations.

### **Types of foreign aid**

#### **Bilateral aid.**

This is aid given directly by one country's government to that of another country's government. It occurs when money flows from a country with a developed economy to a country with a developing economy.

Bilateral aid is directly by strategic, political, and humanitarian interests. This is meant to further foster democracy, economic growth, peace and sustainability of long-term programs.

#### **Multilateral aid.**

Multilateral aid is the support offered by several countries that share funds to foreign organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The funds are used for development, relief, budget, financing or to relieve hunger in developing nations.

#### **Tied aid.**

This is the type of aid which comes with strings attached. A developed country can offer a bilateral loan or grant to a developing nation but will be required by the government to invest the money on goods and services produced in that country.

#### **Project aid.**

This the assistance given to support a certain project, such a hospital, road, school etc. this can be given by a country or by organization like United Nations, world bank etc. e.g. Entebbe express highway was financed by Exim Bank of china. North bypass was partly financed by European Union

#### **Security or military aid**

This is the aid given to assist a country or its people in its defense effort or to assist a poor country maintain control over its territory.

#### **Agriculture and food security aid.**

This aid given to support a country or community meet their need for a reliable source of quality food e.g.

### ***Reasons why countries offer foreign aid***

- They offer foreign aid in order to improve their own security. In most cases, economic aid is used to discourage friendly countries from coming under the control unfriendly governments or paying for the right to set up or use military bases on foreign soil.

- Foreign aid also seeks to promote the exports of a country and spread its literature, culture or religion.
- Countries often provide aid to relieve the distress caused by man made or natural disasters like drought, illness, and conflict with an aim of creating influence over the receipt of aid.
- It has helped to close the foreign exchange gap by promoting increased inflow of foreign exchange.
- If properly used by the recipient country, foreign aid can lead to increased production and output hence economic growth and increased GDP.
- Foreign aid can also be used to fight and reduce poverty in the world's poorest nations of East Africa.
- It also leads to infrastructural development such as schools, hospitals, roads, bridges among others.
- It aids or promotes technological transfers from the advanced to the less advanced nations of East Africa thus enabling the latter to use the technology for their own benefit.
- It creates strong relationships and corporation with all parties and countries in the developed world which enhances development.

#### **Benefits/positive effects/advantages of foreign aid to Uganda.**

- Promotes long term economic growth and development.
- Fills up foreign exchange gaps in the domestic economy
- It creates a stronger relationship for all parties involved.
- It can reduce the impact of poverty
- It provides economic opportunities for the receipt
- It encourages national independence.
- It promotes technological transfer from developed countries.
- It leads to production of quality goods and services
- it leads to infrastructural development
- disasters and other emergencies can also be handled in through humanitarian aids
- It promotes development in the education sector.
- It leads to agricultural development.
- There can be development in the health sector.
- Etc.

#### **Negative effects/disadvantages/Challenges of foreign aid to Uganda.**

- Part of the money will not end up where it should be.
- Foreign aid is often done with a hidden agenda i.e. strings attached to it.
- High risks of corruption
- Foreign aid doesn't offer a guaranteed benefit.
- It creates dependencies when not correctly managed.
- May not be enough to solve structural problems.
- Economic/political pressure to return the favor.
- It promotes neo colonialism
- It is a source of conflicts

- It increases dependency syndrome
- Etc.

### **Uganda and the international trade.**

By independence, Uganda's economy was growing and stable in terms of human resource, industries, and capital accumulation compared to her neighbors. However, it experienced challenges from 1970s, after Idi Amin had expelled the Indians causing the instabilities then.

The economy of Uganda began to turn around in the 1990s after years of diverstating political instabilities, social and economic collapse.

With the help of World Bank, the government-initiated reforms aimed at improving its trade policies with a primary focus on restoring its export sector that had collapsed and increase Uganda's participation in international trade to improve her imports and exports.

The economic reforms laid a foundation for sustained economic growth and expansions seen to date. Uganda's economy was liberalized and opened to foreign investors.

Uganda being a landlocked country, it depends on imports that mostly come through the port of Mombasa in Kenya. Most of Uganda's imports are from India and China.

Her exports are more to the local economic region of the East African Community (EAC) and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA).

### **Reasons for Uganda's dependency on imports from their exported raw materials.**

- Manufacturing costs are higher than imports
- Cheaper goods or materials
- Higher quality products from the outside world
- More variety of products to choose from
- Faster access to new items with the new advanced technology
- Better chance of negotiating discounts, exclusives and other benefits
- Inadequate skilled man power in Uganda
- etc.

### **Positive impacts/Advantages/merits/importance of globalization**

- Ability to tap into wider talent pool leading to better efficiency and increased production. For instance, companies can hire workers from all over the world
- Cultural diversity and workforce from multiple cultural backgrounds and ideas can be brought together to work for the good of the people
- New and larger markets and increased opportunities to specialize are created as a result of globalization
- Higher standards of living like health and welfare are achieved.

- Free trade can reduce trade barriers like tariffs hence better balance of trade
- Competition among companies can drive prices downwards and this can lead better quality of goods produced and better living standards
- Globalization provides poor countries with capital and technology with which to develop
- It creates conditions in which democracy and respect for human rights may flourish
- Cultural infusion with many countries learning about other peoples' cultures may arise
- Societies have become more tolerant to each other as a result of globalization
- Labor can move from one country to another to market their skills
- Technological advancement
- Employment opportunities are created when multilateral companies invest in developing countries
- Many countries have been able to agree on free trade agreements and sign treaties to that effect for instance NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement)
- It allows resources to be pooled together, for instance the joint construction of the space station
- It reduces the prospects for tyranny and oppression especially in the young poor nations since they are always constant check
- Globalization can help developing countries progress faster through elimination of tariffs etc.
- It can reduce currency manipulation problems. If the world could have only one currency, this currency manipulation would completely disappear
- It attracts foreign capital as well as foreign updated technology leading to improved quality of production
- It has become easier for people to move from one country to another to acquire education and better skills
- Globalization ensures global peace through global intervention where necessary.
- It leads to improved health because it allows doctors to rely on information across the globe

- Allows some countries to have access to cheap raw materials
- It promotes global and international connectivity. With the use of the internet and other technology the world has become a global village
- Globalization leads to environmental conservation and protect
- it leads to balanced development of world economies
- Increase in industrial development especially the young countries of East Africa due to free flow of technology
- Bring in foreign currency through tourism, better international relations etc.
- Increased awareness among consumers about the challenges from climate change
- Improved governance and better labor protection as a result of competitive pressures of globalization

#### **Negative impacts/Disadvantages/demerits of globalization**

- There is social injustice as multilateral companies exploit the people, implement slave labor wages and poor working conditions to ensure profit optimization
- Strong demand for food and energy has led to steep inflation. Agflation (food price inflation) has affected many poor countries globally
- Globalization increases vulnerability to external economic shock. Financial crisis in the USA can affect us as well
- Irreversible damage to ecosystems, land degradation, deforestation loss of bio-diversity are all disadvantages of globalization
- Globalization is a source of trade imbalances especially among the poor countries of the world
- Foreign multinationals may influence political decisions in some parts of the world
- Intellectual property and designs can easily get stolen or replicated especially when products are made elsewhere in another country
- Internal communication challenges accrue especially when people do not work in the same room
- Rising inequalities in wealth and income around the world. It has made the rich countries richer while the non-rich have become poorer

- Workers in developed countries may face salary cuts as the threats by employers to export jobs loom
- Multilateral corporations exploit tax havens to avoid paying taxes
- Deadly diseases like HIV/AIDS are being spread by sick travelers who cross from one country to the other.
- Globalization leads to loss of cultural identities as a result of cultural imperialism
- It has negative impact on the environment. For instance the Greenhouse gas emissions
- Creates superiority of bigger nations over smaller ones.
- It leads to neo-colonialism
- Leads to more imports than exports resulting in growing trade deficit and balance of payment issues
- Small scale industries are wiped out as a result of the introduction multilateral companies
- Low growth of agriculture sector
- Rise in rural - urban migration
- Human rights violation
- Etc.

### **Activity of integration**

1. The world has been referred to as a global village, partly due to easy flow of information and ideas. All this is attributed to the discovery of information communication technologies (ICT) that have eased trade and business making the world as a global market. However, this has imposed negative consequences in Uganda as it has left the country's moral values hanging.

a). Discuss the ways in which ICT has promoted globalization in East Africa.

b). as a historian and political education student, discuss how a developing country like Uganda can do to fit the globalized world without affecting her moral values.

2. Globalization has addressed old problems of people traveling long distances in search of or delivering information, trading in goods and services. It has created new solutions of virtual space served with global tools that has changed the pace at which business is done. However, in the globalization process culture of many nations have been eroded creating a generation of people with intolerable morals.

### **Instructions.**

#### **In an essay**

a) Identify the effects of globalization on different cultures in Uganda.

- b) Explain how the effects on cultural values is affecting the youth today.
- c) As a history and political student discuss how our cultures can be redefined to fit the globalization world.

## **THE STRUGGLE AND LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

### **Key words**

Apartheid

Discrimination

Racism

Front line states

Bantustans

### **Learning outcomes;**

#### **By the end of this chapter, learners will be able to;**

- a) know the life of people in south Africa before minerals were discovered
- b) understand the concept on mineral revolution in south Africa
- c) understand the meaning of the term apartheid rule
- d) know how apartheid policy was exercised in the different sectors
- e) understand the strategies used by Africans to fight against apartheid rule
- f) understand the internal and external factors leading to liberation of south Africa from apartheid rule
- g) know areas in south Africa where Bantustan camps were located
- h) Appreciate the impact for the liberation of South Africa from apartheid rule.

## **INRODUCTION**

### **The earliest inhabitants of South Africa.**

The earliest inhabitants of South Africa were the San who were descendants of the late Stone Age people belonged to the bushmanoid race.

They were known by various names; **Bushmen** (referred to them by Europeans), **Twa** (given to them by the Xhosa) and **Roa** (given to them by the Basuto). Over the course of several thousands of years, the San continued to pursue their nomadic lifestyle across the region, from the south west to the north east. The San were highly mobile and adoptable to the changing environments of the sub-continent.

The San were followed by the **Khoi Khoi** who were also known as **Hottentots** or **Men of Men**. These were not only hunters and gatherers but did pastoralism as well. The khoi khoi were more settled than the San. Ownership of cattle and other livestock was a sign of status and authority.

The San and KhoiKhoi belonged to the Khoisan Family.

The San and KhoiKhoi from East and Central Africa were followed by the **Bantu** from Niger Congo region

By 1600, the two Bantu speaking people had established themselves in South Africa. The Nguni came to settle along the eastern coastal belt while the Sotho-Tswana settled across the eastern highlands, the Herero Ambo settled west in Namibia.

The Bantu speakers practiced mixed subsistence farming and tended to form socially complex communities.

In addition to agriculture, their subsistence and economic activities included herding, hunting and trading.

### **The arrival of Europeans in South Africa.**

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach at the cape of South Africa on their way to India during the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1647, the Dutch East India Company (DEICO) dispatched its ship Harlem to trade in Asia. Later the ship was wrecked by a storm near the cape. With the assistance of the khoi khoi, the crew was able to escape death.

As a result, in 1652, the Dutch from Holland settled at the Cape. These were later referred to as Boers meaning farmers of Dutch descent, or Afrikaners.



The British later came to South Africa in around 1795, chased away the Dutch and occupied the Cape.

### **Conditions /Life which existed in South Africa before Mineral Discovery (Pre-mineral discovery life in South Africa)**

#### **The blacks/ Africans/ Natives**

- Before the mineral discovery, many of South African territories were politically organized, very strong, for example Zulu Kingdom.
- African Communities had strong Traditional Leaders, who controlled the affairs of their Kingdoms.
- South African Communities had powerful armies that were well armed with strong weapons acquired from the White Traders, for example, the Basuto, Zulu, and Xhosa.
- The Africans were economically prosperous, they had well organized agricultural systems, reared cattle, and even sold minerals in small quantities.
- They practiced agriculture growing crops like beans, millet, sorghum etc.
- They also kept animals like cows, goats, and sheep.
- They also sold some minerals on a local scale.
- Africans also participated in inter-state trade, with their neighbors **etc**.
- The Africans remained friendly to the British, and those who stayed among them enjoyed civil rights.
- Many hated the Boers because of their negative attitude (discrimination).
- The powerful states had centralised structures of governance. While others were split in many chiefdoms (decentralised)
- Land was distributed on the basis of African traditions. **etc**

#### **The British:**

- The British, on the other hand, were economically powerful, stable, and they relied on commercial agriculture.
- The British recognized African Leaders and their Kingdoms, and they could only attack those who threatened them.
- The British Missionaries could even preach to the Africans without discrimination.
- They were happy at the Cape Colony and they had no interest in the interior.
- The British could get funding from the Crown Government in Britain, to fund their activities.
- The British grew crops and reared animals like cows, sheep on a small scale basis.
- Militarily they were also stable and able to defend themselves from both the Africans and the Boers.

#### **The Dutch/Boers**

- The Dutch were the most disorganized, poorest of all the people of South Africa.
- The Dutch were politically weak, disunited, without any good leadership. They had no army to defend themselves.
- Their methods of farming were poor, and in fact they weren't aware of farming seasons.
- Socially, they were not exposed to higher education, and the most educated were those who would read the Bible.
- With the discovery and exploitation of minerals, the Boers were saved from oblivion. The balance of power drastically changed in favour of the Boers and the British

**NB. The Great Trek:** The Mass Movement of the Boers from the Cape to the interior of South Africa was a turning point in the history of South Africa which contributed to the discovery of minerals.

### **Ways of living together by people of different races**

## **MINERAL DISCOVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The minerals discovered in the different parts of South Africa included; diamond, gold, tin, copper, uranium, manganese etc.

There are a number of events that took place in the history of South Africa, but there is no single drastic event that can be equated to the discovery and exploitation of minerals.

Diamond was discovered in 1867, at a place called Kimberly, just between Rivers; Vaal and Orange.

Gold was discovered in 1886 at Witwatersrand in Transvaal.

The discovery and exploitation of minerals, changed all aspects of life and that's why it was referred to as the, "**Mineral Revolution**".

## **ECONOMIC CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN AFTER THE MINERAL REVOLUTION.**

- The economic changes in South Africa are also referred to as the mineral revolution. Before 1867, South Africa depended on wool exports from Merino Sheep.
- The Cape depended on wine and pastoral farming. Orange Free State depended on cereals and sheep rearing, and Transvaal on sheep and cattle rearing.

- The economy was mainly controlled by the British.
- The transport and communication system were very poor.
- The levels of urbanizations were also low.
- There was general poverty among the Boers and the Africans and the British were also not so rich.
- Before the mineral discovery in 1867, the value of exports was quite low.
- Before the minerals were discovered the economy of South Africa, depended on agriculture which was mainly subsistence.
- However later, the discovery of minerals in South Africa greatly transformed the economy, politics, and social set up of the region.
- Diamond was discovered in Kimberly in 1867.
- In 1886, gold was discovered at Witwatersrand in Transvaal.
- Other minerals were also discovered like uranium, copper, cobalt, manganese and tin. □
- International trade developed and the level of exports increased.
- By 1892, diamond exports fetched more four million (4,000,000) pounds a year. Thus, the sale of diamond increased the value by tenfold.
- Economically, the discovery of minerals transformed the Agrarian Economy into an Industrial Economy. Many industries were set up around the gold and diamond fields.
- Local markets enlarged and farmers who remained near the mines acquired a lot of wealth because the prices for agricultural products increased, due to the increased population.
- Agriculture was transformed from subsistence to commercial.
- There was development of infrastructure especially railway lines, that transported mineral products from the interior to the coast.
- Delagoa – Transvaal Railway, constructed in 1887, Delagoa – Pretoria Railway (1892), Natal – Transvaal Railway (1891), The Cape – Rand Railway (1892).
- Ox wagons that had been used by the Boers, as a means of transport, were replaced by the railway.
- There was an increase in the population of South Africa, as many Foreigners came to share in the mineral wealth. These mainly came from British Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and they were commonly known as Uitlanders (New comers).

Many towns (urbanization) in South Africa developed, for example, many of them developed near the mining centers like Johannesburg, Pretoria, Kimberly.

The Cape Colony become rich, because of the customs duty it collected from the traders passing through its territory.

- The Boer States of South Africa emerged out of poverty, to tremendous wealth.
  - Transvaal also prospered because of highly taxing the British gold mining company, DeBeers.
  - Natal also made a lot of money from custom duties and sugarcane industries.
  - Specialization developed with Natal for agriculture yet Orange Free State and Transvaal were for mining and industry.
  - The discovery of minerals also provided and increased employment opportunities for the Africans, as they were looking for cash jobs.
  - Many Africans left the country side to get employment in the mines, and urban centers.
  - There was rural – urban migration.
  - The price of land around the mines increased due to the increased demand of land.
  - Banking facilities developed, and some of the Banks that developed include; Standard Chartered Bank, Oriental Bank.
  - The general standard of living in South Africa improved for both Africans and Whites.
  - The system of migrant labour developed, where many people left their families in the country side, to go and work in urban areas.
  - The mineral discovery encouraged the development of a cash crop economy, that is, plantation agriculture.
  - There was development of pastoral farming / commercial pastoralism.
  - There was growth of agricultural processing industries.
  - Wine production prospered.
  - Also, many manufacturing industries were established especially in the mining centers. Hence Boers were put into an industrial revolution.
  - Modern steamers were introduced on the Orange and Vaal rivers.
  - It led to the emergence of very wealthy individuals, like Burnet, Cecil Rhodes, and wealthy mining companies like De Beers, consolidated mining company.
  - The economy became controlled by the Europeans who replaced the Africans.
  - There was development of transport networks, for example, bridges were built in the mines and country side.
- 
- The communication system was transformed by bringing in better ones, for example, telephone and telegram lines were built.
  - Many insurance companies came up to benefit from the mineral discovery.
  - There was the development of a monetary or cash economy as opposed to barter trade.
  - Foreign exchange and local investment increased as many foreigners poured money into the economy.
  - It brought in a high level of technology and capital investment unknown in the region.

- Boers got jobs in the mines and industries or employment.

### **Effects of Mineral Discovery on the People of South Africa/Effects of Economic Changes:**

#### **African/Natives:**

- The Africans completely lost their independence and their leaders lost their power and respect.
- Africans lost a lot of land especially in areas where minerals were discovered leading to displacement.
- Africans ended up living in reserves, camps and dirty slums, that is, Soweto, which surrounded the mining areas/towns.
- The slums were also characterized by lack of facilities, congestion and poor living conditions.
- There was increased migration of Africans from rural to urban centers in search of work in the mines.
- A migrant labour system developed.
- There was a decline in agriculture in the rural areas because there was less man power to till the land, that is, only the old, young people, and women remained in the villages leading to famine.
- Many Africans abandoned subsistence economy of farming and adopted the commercial economy.
- The discovery of minerals also led to the disintegration of some African societies, like the Zulu and Xhosa.
- This was because Africans left their villages, to go and work in the towns which reduced the bond of kinship.
- The cultural norms and values of the Africans broke, since they were staying in towns where they adopted the Western culture.
- Due to the high cost of living in the urban areas, Africans ended up marrying at a later age, and only took one wife/monogamy.
- African women in towns, also acquired a high status.
- Money, and not many wives and cows, became the new symbol of success and the new status in South Africa.
- Africans became a new social elite group/class, especially as regards to their behaviour, after receiving some education for example, Mandela, Luthuli, Walter Sisulu.
- The Economy of the Africans changed because their land had been taken, and instead they were forced to find jobs in the mining industry.
- Africans were greatly discriminated by the Whites in employment.
- Africans only did the unskilled work and the good jobs (skilled) were reserved for the Whites.
- In other words, the discovery of minerals made the Africans work as laborers, while the Whites provided the brains.
- White supremacy over African was confirmed and this laid ground for the Apartheid System.

- To some Africans, the discovery of minerals was an opportunity for new jobs as Africans were employed in mines and industries.
- To others it helped them sell their agricultural products, that is, benefited from local markets on a small scale.
- Africans' standard of living was improved.
- African rulers became powerless because they had lost a lot of their powers.
- Africans stopped respecting their Local Leaders, since they had no authority.
- Agriculture declined among African Societies since farming was neglected for better jobs in the mines.
- There was social disintegration, as husbands separated from their wives for a long time, and this was mainly because, the men would migrate to towns, in search for jobs.
- Africans adopted bad habits of prostitution, smoking, drinking and gambling while living in town.
- The crime rate in towns also increased.
- There was high-cost living in towns.
- The British political influence over Africans increased, that is, Africans kept on depending on the British much more.
- A cash economy was introduced, though Africans were paid low wages.
- Africans were able to send their children to school.
- Africans were forced to work on contracts.
- Africans lost their lives in mine accidents.
- Africans suffered from European diseases like syphilis, gonorrhea causing a lot of misery and suffering to them.
- Some African areas were depopulated.
- On the other hand, however, Africans developed a sense of nationalism and many started fighting for their economic and political independence.
- The British annexed many African Societies, for example, Basuto land, Botswana, Swaziland with the hope of discovering more minerals in these areas.
- Tribalism was reduced among the mine workers and those who moved to towns.
- The rise of nationalism led to the formation of many political movements, like the South African Congress, formed in 1912 and later transformed into African National Congress (ANC).
- Forced labour/enslavement was encouraged.
- Enmity between the Africans and Whites increased, as the Whites became richer.
- African Societies were defeated, and their military power completely dismantled/destroyed.
- Africans lost their independence.
- Africans acquired guns although they were of poor quality.
- African were no longer dependent on the British for protection as it was before.
- There were increased conflicts between the Africans and Whites, that resulted into wars.
- Africans became poor.
-

## **Effects on the Whites / Effects of Economic Changes on the whites**

### **(i) Boers**

- The Boers were pushed into an industrial revolution, as many industries were set up, as a result of the discovery of minerals.
- The Boer States that had been poor before the discovery of minerals became rich because they dominated the mineral wealth, especially Transvaal.
- There was labour shortage on the Boer farms, since most of the Africans who used to provide labour to the Boers, moved to the mines.
- The cash crop economy was dropped by the Boers and they adopted the industrial economy.
- Boers lost land, for example, near Griqualand to the British.
- The Boers were forced to unite against the British, since they believed that they had been cheated at the discovery of diamonds.
- Many Whites especially of British origin (Uitlanders) were attracted to the Boer Republics.
- Land became expensive around the mines.
- The crime rate increased in the Boer Community, for example, there was increased use of drugs.
- Prostitution, theft, alcoholism, developed especially among the poor Whites, who didn't have big jobs in the mines.
- The Boer military power improved as they bought better guns and became politically strong. This military power made them to occupy a lot of land from the African societies.
- On the other hand, the British in trying to control the Boer State, annoyed them, leading to the Anglo – Boer Wars.
- It increased Anglo-Boer enmity as they competed for minerals.
- The idea of federation was also rejected by the Boers, hence, delaying the union of the Boers with the British. This also resulted into Jameson raid of 1895.
- The Boers became richer, especially in terms of infrastructure, for example, the 1887 Delagoa – Transvaal Railway and 1891 Natal – Transvaal Railway.
- Social infrastructure like Schools, hospitals, came into existence.
- Banks also came up like Orient and Standard Chartered Bank.
- It led to the growth of towns, for example, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Vereeniging.
- Boer nationalism also increased, and the Boers became more proud and more arrogant.
- It led to the rise of powerful Boer Leaders like, Paul Kruger of Transvaal.
- The Boers enjoyed improved standards of living.
- Their capital investment also increased and they put into a mineral revolution.
- The Boers started getting international recognition, became politically strong because of their improved military power, as they had got better guns.
- Commercial agriculture was developed, improving on the economic status of the Boers further.

- There was development of transport networks in the Boer Republics like roads, bridges railway lines.
- The Boer communication network also improved, as many telephone lines and telegrams were built.
- New ports were built and many steamer ships were established on many rivers.
- There was development of international trade between the Whites in South Africa and the outside world.
- Foreign exchange in the Boer Republics increased.
- The Boers got good jobs in the mines and industries.
- The Boers later lost their independence on a temporally basis to the British and in 1877 Transvaal was annexed.
- Led to Anglo Boer wars for example, the First Anglo – Boer War of 1881, Jameson Raid 1895, Second Anglo – Boer War 1899.
- The wars led to destruction of property.
- Some Boers lost lives in mine accidents and wars.
- The Boers prospered from overtaxing mining companies.
- Population pressure around the mining centers increased.
- Boer conflicts with Africans increased.
- Boer control of south Africa was enhanced.

**(ii) The British**

- With the discovery of minerals, the British acquired greater interest in penetrating into the interior of South Africa, with the hope of discovering more minerals.
- The British aim of taking over the whole of South Africa also increased in order for them to control all the minerals.
- The discovery of minerals, made the British more determined to create a united South Africa.
- A new group of people, known as the Utilanders, moved in bigger numbers to South Africa from the British Colonies, for example, Canada, New Zealand, Australia to share the wealth from the minerals, and this increased the British population in South Africa.
- The Cape Colony became stronger and wealthier because of the discovery and exploitation of minerals.
- Very important personalities emerged as strong political leaders, like Cecil Rhodes.
- Britain decided to occupy the Boer States, as a result of mineral discovery.

**EFFECTS OF THE MINERAL DISCOVERY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND THE BRITISH:**

- The discovery of minerals damaged further, the relationship between the Dutch and the British.
- The British moved into the interior, and took over the diamond field in Orange Free State and Griqua Land, after the Kaete Award



This fueled the hatred between the two communities, leading to a poor relationship. □ Not even compensations given to the Boers could calm them down.

- Orange Free State, which had been founded out of the poor relationship between the Dutch and British, felt cheated when the diamond fields were annexed and this strained the relationship between the two groups.
- The British later came to believe that all Boer territories were saturated with minerals and hence wanted to colonize them.
- The discovery of minerals made the British to take over areas around Orange Free State, and such areas included; Basuto Land, Swaziland, Botswana.
- The Boers didn't wish to have the British in the neighborhood, and this led to a poor relationship.
- The British felt jealous, when the Dutch discovered minerals, they imagined that the Boer Republics were going to develop to out compete the Cape Colony.
- After the discovery of diamond, the British brought back the idea of a federation. This was intended to bring the Dutch Republics and their minerals nearer to the British. However, this was unacceptable, to the Dutch Government.
- In 1877, the British annexed Transvaal forcefully, with a claim that it was corrupt and bankrupt, but this was intended to have a share in the minerals, hence leading to a poor relationship.
- The discovery of minerals made the British to encourage more immigrants, that is, Uitlanders, to enter South Africa. However, the Dutch did not welcome them.
- In fact, the Dutch under Paul Krugger refused to give the Uitlanders civil and political rights.
- The Uitlanders were abused and actually called thieves and foreigners by the Boers.
- They were not allowed to speak English in public places, and they were to be tried by special courts.
- The Uitlanders and their British backers, were not awarded fat economic contracts.
- The Boers become very hostile to the British.

### **Challenges of the whites in South Africa during the mineral revolution**

## **DEVELOPMENT AND NATURE OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **What is meant by the term Apartheid?**

Apartheid is an Afrikaner word meaning separate development for separate races. It also meant separateness or apartness of races or people.

It was a policy of racial segregation, discrimination of races based on white domination.

The policy was designed later and forwarded by Afrikaner university professors and supported by laws.

Apartheid as a policy started immediately after the Act of Union and was made official in 1948.

It was officially started by Dr. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa in 1948. The policy of apartheid advocated for separate development of whites and African territories.

The policy was built over a long period of time. In fact, by 1960 all laws in South Africa had been changed to be in line with this policy.

### **Origins of Apartheid**

The policy developed out of fears the whites had towards the blacks in South Africa and so they had to find measures to protect their position in the region.

The fears were portrayed by a number of clashes between the whites and Africans. Thus, the whites desired to maintain their culture and racial superiority.

### **Aims of Apartheid Policy (Why was the policy introduced or applied)**

- The policy aimed at giving the whites an upper hand in the running of the affairs of South Africa.
- It was characterized by the creation of separate homelands for natives called Bantustans where Africans were to stay.
- The policy was mainly developed out of the Boers' racial prejudice where they believed that they were God's chosen race and had to maintain white racial superiority. To them Africans were born doomed and cursed.
- The whites feared being overwhelmed by the majority Africans and desired to maintain their culture and superiority.
- The Whites wanted to suffocate African rights and freedoms as well as the Indians and Coloureds living in South Africa.
- They wanted to strengthen white domination and supremacy in South Africa.
- They wanted to separate the two races of Whites and Blacks and avoid any mixing (interracial mixture)
- There was need to promote separate development of Whites and Africans in South Africa.
- There was also need to promote white enslavement of Africans.
- The policy also aimed at effecting the isolation of Africans for the benefit of Whites.
- The Whites wanted to kill off African nationalism and threats, ie to crush the impending African rebellions.
- The Whites wanted to ensure social discrimination in education, health and social services.
- The Whites wanted to isolate Africans from participation in the national politics of south Africa ie disfranchise/removing voting rights from them.
- There was need to disarm Africans completely and make them defenseless.
- To prevent criticisms from the outside world and from within South Africa.
- To create market for European outdated goods. These were to be sent to the Bantustans.
- The Whites aimed at keeping a constant supply of cheap labour from African reserve ie Bantustans.
- The Whites wanted their policy of divide and rule to succeed especially over the Bantustans policy.

- It aimed at avoiding competition between Africans and the Whites over employment opportunities/avoiding completion for jobs.
- To render Africans poor, backward and under developed in all ways of life.
- To enforce one of the terms of 1910 Act of Union.
- The Whites wanted to present that Africans were citizens of separate states so as to fool them that they were independent.
- To restrict African movements in South Africa.
- To keep Africans inferior so that the Whites have supremacy over them.
- Since South Africa was rich in minerals such as Gold and Diamonds, the policy aimed at denying Africans ownership of minerals and to exploit them and other resources like land and water.
- It was aimed at creating quarrels among Africans and thus disorganize them so as not to attack the Whites.
- It was due to misinterpretation of the Bible/Shem's story (story of Noah's sons). □ It aimed at facilitating land grabbing in South Africa.
- To provide a foundation for firmly controlling Africans from disrupting the peace of Whites and serve as basis of all activities in South Africa.

#### **How Apartheid was applied in South Africa/Manifestations of Apartheid Policy in South Africa.**

##### **a) Apartheid in Employment.**

- ✓ The policy of segregation was extended in the field of labor in employment with the main motive of relegating Africans to the permanent status of odd jobs.
- ✓ In 1911, the miners and workers ACT was passed. It denied African employment as skilled workers in mines.
- ✓ Master – servant relationship between the European Employers and their African worker was created.
- ✓ The colour Bar Act of 1925 amended to 1911 ACT. It specified jobs according to races in South Africa.
- ✓ It granted the cape colored, and half breeds from maturities minor employment rights.
- ✓ African salaries and wages were to be twenty times lower than their white counterparts in the same job.
- ✓ Africans were oppressed by the whites in the mines.
- ✓ Africans were not to belong to any registered trade union.
- ✓ In 1937, the racist government passed the industrial conciliation Act of 1937.
- ✓ In 1951 Native Building workers Act restricted the employment of Africans as skilled workers in urban areas.
- ✓ In 1953 African workers were given a small concession but the Native labour act.
- ✓ Enslavement of Africa and making them a source of cheap labour.
- ✓ Skilled employment was reserved for Europeans and heavy unskilled work for Africans e.g. chopping of wood, digging in mines.

##### **a. Apartheid in Land**

- ✓ By the Native land Act 1913, Land was divided into two native and non-Native land.

- ✓ African workers in towns were put in dirty African Township e.g. sharpville, Vereening, Soweto.
- ✓ Only 13% of the land was reserved for Africans and 87% belonged to the whites.
- ✓ By the 1959 Bantustan Government Act, separate homelands were created called Bantustans for Africans e.g. Transkei, Kwazulu, Venda, Lebowa.
- ✓ Infertile land was given to the Africans while the whites took the most fertile piece of land.
- ✓ Africans were only allowed to live away from their reserves when working for Europeans.
- ✓ African chiefs were given powers (authority) over local issues in the Bantustans.
- ✓ By 1950 all persons had to be registered as whites, colored and natives.
- ✓ The Natives (Africans) were forbidden to live outside their reserves or homelands.
- ✓ Later Namibia was also divided into white and non-white areas and the policy of Bantustans was extended there too.

### **Apartheid in social areas of segregation**

- ✓ It was equally applied in social dress; social laws were passed that segregated Africans in social activities and contacts.
- ✓ Roads, bridges, park beaches, buses, restaurants, were marked as “white only” and “nonwhites”
- ✓ Marriage between Africans and Europeans was prohibited by the mixed marriages Act of 1947.
- ✓ Physical love between whites and African men and women was prohibited by the immorality Act of 1950.
- ✓ The Native urban Areas Act of 1923 controlled the number of Africans living in Urban centers.
- ✓ All persons had to possess an identity card on which their race was written and free movement of Africans was restricted by the pass.
- ✓ Every African over the age of 16 male or female had to carry a pass book or reference book. it had to contain all the permits and registrations e.g. tax receipt, residential pass.
- ✓ Police officials could demand for any of the permits and registrations at any time.
- ✓ Africans had to first obtain permission for their local labour office before seeking for employment in urban centers.
- ✓ In 1923, the Native service contract Act was passed.
- ✓ Work contracts of employed Africans had to be registered.
- ✓ Contracted workers in white areas were not supposed to live with their wives and families.
- ✓ Africans who were not employed in whites’ areas were only allowed to stay for 3 days (72 hours)
- ✓ Africans had to get permit to enter an urban area the visit was to last for over 72 hours.
- ✓ It was illegal for Africans who had shops and property in whites’ areas were prohibited from using them.
- ✓ The Asiatic Immigration Act of 1949 restricted the immigration of the Asians into South Africa.
- ✓ Africans were not allowed access to good social services, health, roads, railways, schools etc.

### **EFFECTS OF THE APARTHEID POLICY ON AFRICANS**

- Africans were denied their political rights e.g. they were not to vote. They were not to participate in South African politics.
- Africans became second class citizens in their country.
- The pass laws denied freedom of movement of Africans. They denied them a chance to exploit their talents.
- Africans were denied employment opportunities and only given dirty and heavy jobs.
- Africans lost the hope of gaining their independence.
- Africans were denied good education and only given agricultural education.
- Africans were given separate universities that lacked lecturers and books as many remained uneducated.
- Many Africans suffered from poverty. Apartheid led to the rise of poor houses and slums like Soweto.
- A culture of violence was created in south Africa.
- Africans were over crowded in the Bantustans.
- Africans suffered from food shortage/ famine and many starved to death.
- The crime rate in the slums increased i.e. prostitution and theft.
- Africans lost more land due to the Apartheid policy.
- Africans were left with unproductive land that could not favor agriculture.
- Africans were forced into reserves.
- Africans lost their lives due to mistreatment from the whites.
- Africans were displaced from their original areas.
- Africans lived in misery and suffering.
- There was depopulation as Africans tried to resist the policy of Apartheid.
- African protestors were tortured and imprisoned like Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and Albert Luthuli. Others were exiled for opposing the policy e.g. Oliver Thambo.
- Africans were forced to move to towns to make ends meet. Hence a migrant labour system developed.
- Africans were discriminated in social services like schools and hospitals.
- African nationalism increased. This led to formation of political parties e.g. African National Congress.
- Africans were militarily weakened and left defenseless.
- Africans were denied control of their finances.
- Africans were enslaved and turned into a cheap source of labour.
- Some African societies chose to collaborate with the whites.
- Apartheid created increased enmity between whites and Africans.
- Apartheid led to the exploitation of resources e.g. minerals
- Africans were denied their political rights e.g. they were not to vote in South Africa.
- Africans were stopped from participating in the politics of South Africa, the political destiny of South Africa.
- Africans became second class citizens in their own country.
- It led to severe racial discrimination against the Africans in South Africa.
- The policy denied the Africans freedom of movement passes each time they moved out.

- It led to displacement of the Africans from their places of habitation.
- There was massive loss of lives by the Africans as a result of the policy.
- There was depopulation among the African people.
- There was loss of African cultures and embracement of European cultures by the Africans.
- It led to the spread of diseases due to congestion of the reserves.
- The policy led to mass demonstration in South Africa as the Africans tried to fight for their rights.
- Africans were forced to move to towns to make ends meet.
- The policy promoted migrant labor system in South Africa.
- Crime rates in the slums increased e.g. prostitution and theft.
- Many Africans remained uneducated i.e. apartheid deliberately denied them education.
- Africans lost the hope of getting their independence in the immediate or near future.
- The cultural of violence was created in South Africa.
- Africans suffered from food shortage, famine leading to death.
- Africans were forced in reserves where Agricultural activities were either difficult or impossible.
- The policy created enmity between the whites and the blacks.
- Africans were discriminated against in schools, hospitals, and other social class.
- The policy enslaved the Africans and turned into a reservoir of migrant labour for the whites.

## **FACTORS FOR THE DEMISE/ COLLAPSE OF APARTHEID POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

### **Internal Factors with in South Africa.**

- Role of political parties in South Africa and their activities. These include ANC, PAC, AZANIAN people's party.
- Formation of youth wings in South Africa which garnered guerilla warfare i.e. poqo for PAC and Umkotot Wesiziwe for ANC.
- 1960 Macmillan speech which increased the black conscious and renewed their demand for freedom.
- Role of African leaders in South Africa who mobilized and sensitized fellow Africans to oppose apartheid.
- Role of Black conscious movement under Steve Biko. He led students to oppose the apartheid education policies in South Africa.
- The unfair life conditions in the Bantustans of South Africa.
- Roles of musicians and MDD in South Africa i.e. Lucky Dube, Brenda Fasi, Iron Chaka Chaka.
- Role of writers in South Africa i.e. Peter Abraham's, Chris Hansi, Nelson Mandela.

- Release of African Nationalists from prison i.e. 1976 Soweto uprising and 1960 Sharpeville Massacres.
- African workers staged strikes to sabotage industrial production e.g. strikes in 1958 and these of the 1970's.
- African launched serious armed struggles against the white rule in South Africa.
- The role of women organizations like the federation of South African women in 1954.
- The literature i.e. journals, magazines, like no easy walk to freedom, mine boy, etc.
- The role of mass media to de-campaign the policy e.g. the weakened world, the world, the Africanist.
- The role of actors like Sarafina.
- Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa.
- The role of trade unions especially COSATU

### **EXTERNAL FACTORS THAT LED TO THE COLLAPSE OF APARTHEID POLICY**

- The role OAU since 1963 led to end of Apartheid in South Africa. i.e. it provided training grounds for the Guerillas that fought the regime and scholarship to South African youths.
- The role of UNO as a peace keeping body. It called for equality of all people and respect of African rights and self-determination in South Africa.
- The collapse of Triumvirate alliance in 1968. It was a gang of the three members i.e. Southern Rhodesia under Ian Smith, Portugal under Dan Salazar and South Rhodesia under Dr. Hardrick Verweerd.
- Independence of neighboring states to South Africa i.e. Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania.
- Formation of front-line states these were neighbors to South Africa and they isolated South Africa and weakened the apartheid policy.
- Support from communist states towards South African liberation fighters. These involved moral, financial and military support from China, USSR etc.
- The end of cold war politics in 1989. It made the minority isolated and weak.
- The contribution of common wealth it imposed sanctions on the racist regime and mounted pressure forcefully called for reforms in South Africa by the minority regime.
- The pressure from NAM which led to collapse of cold war and its members isolated the minority regime in South Africa.
- The formation of SADC in 1979 which extended financial support to the Africans in South Africa against the regime.
- The role of Olympic committee, it expelled South Africa from participating in the world games and called for an end to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

### **THE CHALLENGES AGAINST APARTHEID**

- The fight against fighting communism e.g. most of the 1970s and 1980s, Southern Africa was dominated by socialist countries (Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia etc.), prompting South Africa to urge that it was fighting communism.
- The existence of many laws which legalized and institutionalized the apartheid system.
- The indemnity Act (1961) made it legal for police officers to commit acts of violence, to kill in the pursuits of official duties.
- The Acts of (1961) also gave police the right to arrest and detain people without trial and to deny them process to their families or lawyers.
- Apartheid imposed heavy burdens on most South Africans especially the black, coloured who suffered from wide spread poverty, malnutrition.
- The harassment imprisonment and killing of anti-apartheid leaders and activists.
- South Africa's military might was on more than one accusation to the will of South Africa.
- The masses who were virtually Black and colored were poor.
- African states were economically weak and depended on South Africa for the survival.
- The collective efforts of these countries could not match South Africans military might.
- South African government economies were directly tied to South Africa by the Southern African custom union.

#### **ROLE OF OAU TOWARDS THE COLLAPSE OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA**

- It openly colonized discrimination of Africans in politics, civil service and all walk of life.
- It opened and criticized African countries which were participating in sports activities with South Africa.
- Provided training ground for South Africa's guerillas who destabilized the regime and forced it to carry out reforms.
- Provided and extended moral and financial support to nationalists and guerillas in South Africa.
- It cooperated with UNO and common wealth to introduce reforms in South Africa.
- It pressured European to stop selling guns to South Africa.
- Pressured and called on member countries to close the embassies in South Africa.
- It pressurized the apartheid regime to release all political prisoners e.g. Nelson Mandella.
- It supported ANC guerilla activities in order to end apartheid forcefully.
- It called for worldwide boycott of South African sports learns.
- It supported the use of forced guns to fight apartheid in South Africa.

#### **THE ROLE OF UNO AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA**



- UNO Acted as an international mouth piece for freedom and political change in South Africa.
- UNO convinced the international Olympic committee to ban South Africa participating in its activities.
- The UNO supported the struggle for independence for South Africa.
- It encouraged member states to train and house ANC guerillas.
- It expelled South Africa from all its organs like World Bank, UNESCO and WHO.
- The UNO outlawed Apartheid laws in all its international conventions.
- It discouraged member states from dealing in Arms with South Africa.
- The UNO supported the Ghandism in struggle for freed in South Africa.
- The UNO exerted a lot of pressure on European countries and member states like Britain, USA to stop supporting the apartheid regime in U.S.A.
- The UNO encouraged member states to help the oppressed people of South Africa get back their liberty.
- The UNO worked hand in hand with church leaders like Bishop Desmond Tutu to end apartheid.

### **BANTUSTANS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Bantustans were isolated homelands for the blacks or Africans reserves.

They were referred to as black Homelands and were created as direct result of apartheid regime of South Africa.

They were formed following the enactment of the 1959 Bantu self-government Act.

10 Bantu political units were created in South Africa and they included Transkei, Venda, Ciskei,8 Gazankulu, Lebowa, Ndebele, Kwazulu, Swazi etc.

### **REASONS FOR CREATION OF BANTUSTANS**

- To make deliberately make African inferior.
- To ensure white domination and supremacy and to keep the whites in power in South Africa.
- To promote separate development of Africans and the whites.
- To ensure social discrimination in Education, health and creation and social services.
- To make Africans backward and under developed.
- To avoid competition between Africans and whites over employment opportunities.
- To ensure white enslavement of the Africans.
- They were created in order to divide and rule Africans.
- They were created to weaken outside criticism against the apartheid.
- They were created to prevent the Africans from getting external assistance.
- They were created to act as dumping ground for outdated items, unproductive labor.
- To make Africans poor and dependent on whites.

- They were created to deny Africans free movement across South Africa.
- They were created to weaken African nationalism.
- They were meant to develop a system of local government where civil and political rights were excused by the blacks.
- They were meant to effect the isolation of Africans for the benefit of whites.

## **EFFECTS OF BANTUSTANS**

- It led to the loss of African fertile land to whites.
- It led to the loss of cultural tribal, identity.
- It increased segregation against the Africans and promoted the policy of “apartheid”.
- It led to depopulation due to loss of lives of the Africans.
- There was loss of independence due to denial of political rights to the Africans.
- Africans became poor. It led to rampant poverty.
- There was a low standard of living among Africans.
- Bantustans became a cheap source of labor.
- It led to increased African nationalism.
- Africans were unemployed in the Bantustans.
- It increased exploitation of resources by the whites.
- It increased high crime rates e.g. prostitution, theft, violence.
- Africans were restricted to very dirty jobs like mining.
- There was displacement of Africans from their fertile lands.
- It promoted white domination in S.A.
- It improved the standards of living of the whites at the expense of the Africans. It boosted whites’ nationalism.
- There was wide spread of diseases among Africans.
- Africans were congested and packed in the Bantustans.

## **THE FRONTLINE STATE AND LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

### **Introduction**

Front line states were countries that came together to rescue the republic of South African from apartheid.

Such countries included Zambia, Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, Botswana, Algeria, Zimbabwe and Libya etc.

It was founded by presidents like Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Milton Obote of Uganda, Sam Nujoma of Namibia.

## **ROLE OF FRONTLINE STATES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA**

- They called for immediate independence of South Africa.
- They provided training grounds to South Africa guerillas e.g. in Uganda, Tanzania etc.
- They provide ANC guerillas with logistics like food, medicine, arms.
- They provided scholarships to the fleeing South Africans who later acquired skills.
- They offered supply routes for war personal weapons.
- They asked for the support of the Arab League in their struggle against apartheid.
- They identified the common enemy, the racist whites.
- They called for solidarity and togetherness among whites.
- They called for solidarity and togetherness among ANC fighters.
- They asked for support from communist countries USSR cuba and chine.
- They campaigned for the release of political prisoners like Nelson Mandela, waiter sisuli
- They mobilized financial material support from front line members for the struggle.
- They gave political assyrum to South Africa political refugees like Oliver Thambo.
- The imposed trade embargos to bring the South African economy.
- They campaigned against unpopular apartheid laws like Bantustans and employment laws.
- They influenced the expulsion of South Africa from the common wealth of Nations in 1961.
- They solicited for support from international bodies like OAU.
- They asked for the support from Non-Aligned movement. (NAM)
- They voiced out their resentments through the media like Radios, magazines, Journals.
- They convinced UN to put sanctions on South Africa.
- They provided guerillas bases like Kaweweta and Kayunga in Uganda to ANC fighters.

#### **ROLE OF ANC (POLITICAL PARTIES) TOWARDS LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

- Mobilized funds from donors.
- Organized defiance campaign.
- Organized peaceful demonstration against pass laws.
- Fought for recognition from world peaceful organization.
- Non-support of African gov'ts to train guerillas.
- Managed to get arms and training facilities.
- Formed an armed wing (spear by the nation)
- Encouraged OAU to put economic embargo on the white.
- Published the bad conditions in South Africa.
- Won sympathy o9f some African countries to boycott the Olympic against South African participation.
- Secured scholarships for African students.
- It unveiled to the whole world how apartheid could not change constitutionally.

**The strategies used by the Africans to fight against apartheid rule in order to get their independence.**

- They fought against apartheid by forming and strengthening their political governments against the policy.
- They fought by organizing demonstrations like defiance campaign of 1952, the Sharpeville incident of 1960, Soweto uprising of 1976 and many others
- The Africans fought apartheid by militarily attacking movement installations and other establishments which were symbols of apartheid like parks beaches, bridges and many others
- They fought apartheid by burning and destroying pass books issued by the apartheid government in a show of defiance and to demonstrate their frustration with the policy.
- They undertook nationwide mobilization to get mass support against the racist government through co- operating with other races that were opposed to policy like the Indians and the coloreds the Africans responded to the policy of apartheid by adopting the Freedom Charter of 1955 that demanded for the restoration of human rights
- They formed armed groups or sabotage groups like Umkoto We Siziwe of ANC and POOO of PAC as well as forming more aggressive and Africanist parties like PAC of Robert Sobukwe and SWAPO in Namibia
- They also targeted and killed the whites and supporters.
- They used acts of sabotage and violence as a way of response. For instance, Umkoto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) carried out bombings and POQO caused violence in the Cape Town, Paarl and Transkei
- They organized many boycotts like the Alexandria Bus boycott, Potato Boycott (1944) against slavery, poor working and living conditions for black workers on some of European farms in Eastern Transvaal.
- They fought for recognition from continental and World organizations like the OAU, and UNO.
- The Africans looked for help from some fellow African states like Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Namibia etc.
- They fought by mobilizing funds from donors to facilitate their anti-apartheid activities.
- They too fought by looking for getting arms from other African countries and other European countries as well.

- They opened up training grounds and military bases in friendly states like Tanzania, Zambia, Algeria, Uganda e.t.c
- They exposed the wrong deeds of the policy and showed that it could not go peacefully through music, literature and outright condemnation of those bad policies.
- They also acted in plays and drama like Sarafina. The Africans used their music talents to fight apartheid. For example, Lucky Dube, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, and Brenda Fassie and many others used good anti-apartheid songs as a weapon against apartheid.
- African workers staged strikes to sabotage industrial production. For instance, they stayed at home during the strike of 1958 and those of the 1970's
- They negotiated with the racist Government to hold free and fair elections and participated in elections that led to independence of South Africa.
- They became more inclined to the communists' countries like China, Russia, Cuba, Bulgaria. All these countries were opposed to the continued existence of apartheid in South Africa..
- The Africans demanded for the release of political detainees /prisoners like Nelson Mandela, Walter, Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe.
- They also appealed to E.E.C, U.N.O for economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa regime. They rejected white domination and strongly demanded for a share in the government of their country and provoked the police to arrest them in order to attract International sympathy. For example, during the Sharpeville and Langa March of 1960. The ANC later declared days of national mourning in remembrance of the Sharpeville massacre of 28th March 1960 and Soweto uprising of 16th June 1976
- The Africans fought by forming students and youth organizations to oppose the racial policies of the government e.g. South Africa Youth Congress, National Union of South African Students etc.
- They also formed many anti - apartheid movements (organizations) like the Black Consciousness Movement of Steve Biko, Black Peoples Convention, Black Allied Workers Union and many others
- They formed secret worker's organizations to decampaign the enslavement of the Africans e.g Modern Project Congress of the Black South African Union, United Workers in South Africa e.t.c
- They used mass media to decampaign the policy like newspapers and radio stations e.g The Weekend World, The World, the Africanist, The Concord and many others

- They responded through literature i.e journals, magazines, novels like 'No easy walk to freedom', 'Mine Boy', 'Cry the beloved country' e.tc
- They reacted through religious organizations and religious personalities like Desmond Tutu who fought apartheid through the pulpit and conducting church sermons which strongly criticized apartheid.
- They formed women organizations like The Federation of South African Women 1954, Federation of Transvaal Women 1960 to fight the bad policy of apartheid.
- They sent Africans to study in outside countries to equip them with the necessary skills to fight apartheid. They also sent African nationalists to attend international conferences
- The Africans launched serious armed struggles against the White rule in South Africa and later Namibia and fought viciously until South Africa was liberated.
- Africans went abroad publicizing war evils of apartheid. For example, Nelson Mandela. They therefore used the various international fora to criticize and condemn apartheid

### **The impacts of the liberation of South Africa from apartheid regime.**

The following were the impacts of the liberation of South Africa from apartheid regime:

- The liberation of South Africa led to the introduction of multi - racial democratic order which had eluded South Africa for decades.
- The liberation of South Africa led to the independence of the country. South Africa was no longer a country of the few white minority but a country of the blacks as well with equal opportunities.
- Durable peace at long last prevailed in South Africa. The liberation of South Africa' put an end to the decades of hostility between the blacks and the whites.  
The liberation of South Africa led to the repealing of the obnoxious apartheid laws. At the peak of apartheid, more than 370 apartheid laws had been enacted to suppress the blacks and the non-whites. These laws were repealed following the liberation of South Africa.
- It also led to the unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience in South Africa, Most of these prisoners were anti-apartheid victims who were arrested and incarcerated in the South African prisons by the white racist regime.
- A new multiracial constitution was promulgated in South Africa.
- The dignity of the blacks and the non-whites was restored. The blacks and non-blacks had been treated as non-entities during the period of apartheid..
- It promoted music dance and drama in South Africa. Many musicians sprung to the level of international recognition. Key among whom were Lucky Dube, Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chakachaka and many others.

- The liberation of South Africa also led to the rise of black leaders who took up the leadership mantle in South Africa. These among others included Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and many others
- South Africa was readmitted to the world organizations and bodies that had previously expelled her. For instance, it once more became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, it was also allowed to participate in continental tournaments like Africa Cup of Nations as well as Olympic games.
- Many countries restored diplomatic relations with South Africa. The Front Line States which had severed diplomatic relations with South Africa reinstated their diplomatic presence in South Africa and normalized their relationship.
- The new government was confronted with huge budget deficits along with extraordinary demands for housing and electricity. Building required loans from global investors.
- Many whites fled to other countries for fear of reprisals. Due to the uncertainties that lay ahead, a number of whites especially the perpetrators of apartheid fled and relocated to other countries for fear of reprisals.

## **KEY PERSONALITIES IN THE STRUGGLE AND LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

### **Key words**

Liberation

Nationalism

Independence

Struggle

### **Learning outcomes**

**By the end of this subtopic, learners will be able;**

- a) Know the meaning of the words “nationalism” and “liberalism” in the light of south African history.
- b) Know the key parties and their leaders in the struggle for independence of south Africa.
- c) Appreciate the role played by key personalities in the liberation struggle of south Africa
  - i Nelson Mandela
  - ii Mrs. Winfred Madikizela Mandela
  - iii FW De Clerk
  - iv Bishop Desmond Tutu
  - v Mrs. Hellen Suzman
  - vi Steve Biko
  - vii Mrs. Albertina Sisulu
  - viii Etc.
- d) Appreciate the contribution of these personalities in the liberation struggle of south Africa.

### **THE ROLE OF NELSON MANDELA**

Nelson Mandela was born on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1918 and he died on 5<sup>th</sup> December 2013.

- He was the country’s first Black president of South Africa from 1994 to 1999 and he was first elected in a fully representative democratic election.
- He studied law at the Witwatersrand University before working as a lawyer in Johannesburg.
- He joined ANC and vowed to liberate his people from apartheid.
- The mass liberation of South Africa started when he was a youth winger of ANO.
- Nelson collaborated with other African countries who supported him in this struggle.
- On 18<sup>th</sup> September 1952, he led a defiance campaign against the pass laws and apartheid evils.
- He was released in December 1952 and was banned from attending any public gathering.
- Mandela greatly contributed to the freedom charter of South Africa.



- On 5<sup>th</sup> December 1956, he was re-arrested from his home at Orlando together with Sisulu and Oliver Thambo.
- He believed in peaceful means of resistance like strikes, boycotts and demonstrations.
- He formed the youth League as one of the wings of ANC to mobilize the youth.
- It was charged with treason but Mandela continued inciting defiance from prison.
- In January 1962, Mandela secretly attended the pan-African congress in Ethiopia and requested of the whites.
- On 5<sup>th</sup> August 1962, he was re-arrested but the continued operating.
- On 7<sup>th</sup> November 1962, he was tried and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.
- On 12<sup>th</sup> June 1964 he was sentenced to life imprisonment.
- He was then taken to Robben Island.
- Due to world pressure, he was sentenced to main prison in 1982.
- He led ANC into a victory after the collapse of apartheid.

## **THE ROLE OF BISHOP DESMOND TUTU**

He was born on October 7, 1931 in Klerksdorp, Transvaal.

He was educated in Johannesburg's Bantu High school and Bantu Normal college in Pretoria where he qualified as a teacher.

His mother, Aletha, was a domestic worker his father, Zacharrah, taught at a Methodist school.

- He advocated for democratic and fair society in South Africa.
- He set up the following minimum requirements for democracy South Africa.
- He advocated for equality for all.
- He advocated for removal of Bantustan policy.
- He Advocated for removal of apartheid pass laws.
- He advocated for education for all.
- He fought for freedom of worship among the Africans and whites.
- He appealed to both the OAU and UNO to exert pressure on the South Africa government end apartheid.
- He convinced western countries e.g. Britain, France, US to support the struggle against apartheid.
- He encouraged the government to release all political prisoners.
- He blessed the first ever non-racial elections which bought Nelson Mandela to power.
- He represented the united Democratic front to persuade the South African government to abolish apartheid in 1983.
- He was appointed the chairperson of the truth and reconciliation committee.
- He established a center named after him the Desmond Tutu peace center.

- In June 1995, he retired as Archbishop.
- He advocated his life to administrative work as the chairperson of the Tutu and Reconciliation commission.
- In October 2010, he announced his retirement from public life at the age of 79, to have time for his family and relatives.

## **ROLE OF FREDRICK DE CLERK IN LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

He was born on 1<sup>st</sup> march, 1936 in Vereeniging city.

He was a son of a senator, Jan de clerk.

He graduated as a lawyer from posterior university in 1958.

- He assumed leadership in South Africa in 1989 succeeding P.W Botha and became the last whit prime minister of South Africa.
- He was supporter of segregative universities and apartheid but later changed his attitude.
- He held folks with ANC to discuss the way forward to achieve nonracial independence of South Africa without violence.
- He appealed to the ANC military wing Umkhoto we sizwe for a cease fire.
- He declared it unlawful, inhuman and thus abolished it.
- He improved the conditions of Nelson Mandela while in prison.
- He removed the restrictions which had been imposed on Mandela.
- He released Nelson Mandela from prison where he had spent over 27 years.
- He legalized political parties like ANC and liberal white parties to operate on Feb2nd 1990.
- He constantly campaigned against apartheid and showed commitment towards African cause.
- He attracted support from religious organizations and leaders like Desmond Tutu.
- He introduced changes in which the land laws and territorial segregation were abolished.
- He advocated for education reforms where Africans started getting quality Education.
- He advocated for education reforms where Africans started getting quality education.
- He organized the first multi-racial elections in a free and fair environment.
- He accepted to become the second vice president of the first non-racial government of Nelson Mandela.
- He organized the hand-over ceremony of nelson Mandela on May 11<sup>th</sup> 1994 when Mandela president of South Africa.

## **ROLE OF WINNIE MADIKIZELA – MANDELA**

She was born September 26, 1936 in Bizana, pond land district.

At an early age of nine, she tested injustices of racism i.e. she was denied with her siblings entry into celebrations making the end of Second world war.

She moved to Johannesburg in 1953 to study pediatric social work.

She was a wife of Nelson Mandela.

- She became a social worker and activist considered by many Black South Africans as the mother of the Nation.
- She spent part of her life in jail.
- She became the president of the African Nation congress women's League.
- She also became a Member of Parliament and deputy minister in South Africans first multiracial government.
- She campaigned actively for equal rights and became a symbol of struggling against apartheid.
- She chose to serve the needy people and devoted her energy and skill to the struggle for equality and justice for all people in South Africa.
- She suffered imprisonment and periodic banishment for her continuing involvement in that struggle.
- She actively participated and was imprisoned for anti-pass demonstrations.
- She was a leading opponent of apartheid during the latter part of her husband's imprisonment.

Role played by Steve Biko in the liberation struggle of South Africa.

Steve Biko was born in 1946 in King William town in Eastern Cape in South Africa. He was a Xhosa by tribe and studied at the University of Natal to become a medical doctor.

- He formed the South African Students' Organization (SASO) in 1969 to bring together all back university students.
- He fought for the independence of South Africa through the formation of the Black Conscious Movement (BCM) which was an antiapartheid movement.
- He also inspired the formation of the Black People's Convention in late 1973 by non-whites that opposed minority white rule.
- He established self-help schemes for instance the Zimule Trust Fund aimed at assisting victims of apartheid brutal regime.
- He influenced the activities of the black workers against the unfair labour policies.
- His antiapartheid activities led to his expulsion from the university which made him to become actively engaged in the black movement activities.
- He discouraged the activities and policies that aimed at impoverishing and exploiting the Africans In the country.
- His arrest and detention at Port Elizabeth aroused international awareness about the brutality of the whites in South Africa.

- He inspired the outbreak of the 1976-77 Soweto uprising through the Black Conscious Movement.
- His death in custody in 1977 attracted worldwide condemnation and exposed the brutality of the apartheid regime in South Africa.
- Etc.

### **ROLE PLAYED BY MRS. ALBERTINA SSISULA IN THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

Nontsikelelo Albertina Ssisulu Thethiwe was born on 21<sup>st</sup> October 1918 and took part in the launch of the freedom charter the same year. She graduated from Mariazell College in 1939 and chose a career in nursing.

- She joined the African National Congress (ANC) women's league and took part in the launch of the freedom charter the same year.
- She organized and participated in the protest and anti-apartheid demonstrations for instance on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1956.
- She opposed the Bantu education act which denied the blacks and non-whites quality education and condemned them rudimentary and inferior education.
- She provided leadership in the struggle for instance she was a co-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF).
- She solicited support from the international community in her struggle for independence for instance in 1989 she managed to obtain a passport and led UDF delegation overseas to meet the British prime minister.
- She organized and addressed anti-apartheid rallies. For instance in London she addressed a major anti-apartheid rally to protest against the visit of national leader FW De Klerk.
- He was instrumental in improving the lives of the black people. For more 50 years she committed herself to The Albertina Sisulu Foundation.
- She was honored for her commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle and her social work when the world peace council based in Basel, Switzerland among others.
- She died on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2011 in her home in Linden, Johannesburg, South Africa aged 92.
- Etc.

### **Role played by Mrs. Hellen Suzman (aka Helen Gavronsky) in liberation of South Africa.**

She was born on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1917 in Germiston then a small mining town outside Johannesburg. She was a daughter of Lithuanian Jewish immigrants, Frieda and Samuel Gavronsky.

She graduated from the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg with a degree in commerce and later went back to university as a lecturer in the department of economics.

- As a member of the South African Institute of Race Relations, she was involved in preparing evidence for the Fagan Commission's inquiry into laws applying to Africans in urban areas and into the system of migrant labour.
- She together with 11 other liberal members of parliament formed the aggressively anti-apartheid progressive party to decampaign apartheid policies.
- She hosted the meeting that founded the progressive party in 1959 and was its only MP in the 160 member house for thirteen years.
- She was instrumental in improving prison conditions for members of the banned African National Congress including Nelson Mandela.
- She was also known for using her parliamentary privilege to evade government censorship and pass information to the media about the worst abuses of apartheid.
- She was an anti-apartheid campaigner i.e. she remained the sole anti-apartheid member of parliament under the progressive party.
- She strongly advocated for the disenfranchised and the blacks whose rights were being violated.
- She represented the interests of the blacks and non-whites in the parliament.
- She campaigned for the release of prisoners from prisons.
- She was overwhelmed with requests for assistance from individuals harmed by the apartheid laws and bureaucracy.
- She seriously fought for the rights of women in South Africa more especially the blacks and non-whites.
- She campaigned against gender discrimination.
- She was opposed to the death penalty and campaigned against its reintroduction in South Africa in order to protect the Africans who were more often convicted unfairly.
- She participated in the organization of multi-racial elections of 1994.
- She was a member of the human rights commission a position that he used effectively to fight against human rights violation.

## **THEME 06: PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN EAST AFRICA.**

### **KEY WORDS**

Conflict

Resolution

Peace

Justice

Dialogue

Prosecution

Reparation

Mediation

Reconciliation

Arbitration

### **Learning outcomes**

By the end of this chapter, learners should be able;

- a. Understand the recent community conflicts in East Africa.
- b. Know different forms of conflicts in East Africa using timeline flow chart
- c. Understand how conflicts can be caused and resolved in East Africa.
- d. Appreciate the impact of common conflicts and suggest how they can be avoided in East Africa.

### **Conflicts in East Africa.**

A conflict is a clash of interest or a struggle between people.

Conflict is always part of any society and may emerge between two people, within races, class, political, economic region and may take a national or international dimensions.

Conflict is the social process in which individuals or communities directly challenge their opponent by violence or threat of violence.

Conflicts are sometimes violent or uncontrollable, unresolvable. However, most conflicts are violent, inflicting life- long injuries on their victims apart from massive loss of lives.

Conflicts have two broad categories:

- i. **Internal conflicts** in which the governmental authorities of a state are opposed by groups within that state seeking to overthrow the authorities by force of arms. Internal conflict may also be one in which armed violence occurs primarily within the borders of a single state.
- ii. **International conflict or interstate conflicts** on the other hand take place between two or more nations and involve forces of more than one state.

**Conflict resolution** is a way in which two or more parties find a peaceful solution to the disagreement among them. The disagreement may be personal, financial, political, or emotional. The best course of action when dispute arises is negotiation.

### **Forms of conflicts**

There have been several forms of conflicts in East Africa ranging from political conflicts, to civil unrest, conflicts based on resources and recently terrorism.

- a. **Political conflicts** are caused by political differences between two actors in a society. They are as a result of competition and struggle for controlling power.

Political conflicts have often resulted into politicization of ethnic differences, abuse of political power and authority while in some cases it has led to creation of militias in political parties.

Those in political power have used state organs to limit opportunities for effective political participation. In extreme cases it has led to coups d'état, conflicts between political parties, personalities and supporters, conflicts between traditional and formal authorities.

- b. **Identity Conflict** is the use of segregation as the basis for conflict. It arises out of competing loyalties, divided among national, ethnic, religious and other lines.  
In East Africa and Africa in general the most important social bonds are ethnic and regional identity and most countries have suffered from conflict fueled by identity issues. In the colonial period, identity became politicized in many cases, with some identities being privileged and others marginalized, or some groups benefited while others did not which caused tension in some areas.

- c. **Resource-based Conflicts** are linked to intra-state conflicts based on natural resources and the environment.

The natural resources have caused or fueled numerous conflicts, earning them the reputation of being a curse rather than a blessing.

Resource-based conflicts have destabilized countries, weakened or changed regimes, displaced people and had a negative impact on development.

Oil, gemstones, land, timber and drugs are some of the most prevalent sources of conflict. In Uganda land as a resource is a great cause of conflicts especially in the central region.

- d. **Civil Unrest** is another source of conflict that involves protests, riots, revolts, demonstrations and uprisings initiated by a segment of the public in response to socio-economic and political grievances. Such actions can be instigated by organized or unorganized groups, they may target state and non-state institutions and they may or not be violent.

One of the potential causes is youth unemployment and inequality, which has forced a number of youths to engage in violent riots, protests and demonstrations.

- e. **Terrorism** has also been another source of conflict where in most cases it has taken on an international nature.

Groups of people operate in multiple countries or recruit people from different nationalities to cause havoc or disorganize communities or specific countries.

- f. **Cultural conflict**, this is between individuals or groups with differing cultural backgrounds, traditions or norms.

### **Political conflicts in Uganda.**

Uganda has experienced cycles of conflicts since 1979 but three major ones have persisted.

The West Nile has seen an influx of thousands of refugees from Congo and Sudan who have battled with locals over land.

The Karamojongs have been involved in armed cattle rustling and conflicts over grazing land and water access with their neighbors. Cattle rustling has created opportunities for banditry to flourish in the region and insecurity as well.

On the Eastern border with Kenya, ethnic groups engaged in cattle rustling have exploited insecurity in South Sudan and the porous borders to acquire arms hence, cattle rustling and insecurity have been part of Karamojongs lifestyle.

The third conflict was the 20-year-old Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel war against the National Resistance Movement government.

The LRA challenged the government's moral authority to rule and terrorized civilians in the northern Uganda over a period of time.

It drew support from other tribes that felt marginalized by the government. At the same time, there were serious threats to Acholi land which pointed to issues of exclusion.

### **Lord's Resistance Movement (LRM) conflict in Uganda.**

The Lord's Resistance Conflict was a war waged by Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) whose aim was to establish a state based on the Ten Commandments.

The war was a struggle between the government and the L.R.A, it was predominantly in Acholi land and the wider Acholi population who felt the effects of violence that included indiscriminate killings and the abduction of children to become fighters and sex slaves.

A number of people were displaced as they flee their homes to internally displaced camps.

The perpetrators of the war aimed at scaring the Acholi and discredit government.

It was also fueled by the hostility between Uganda and Sudan, who supported rebellions on each other's territory.

The conflict was also a continuation of the North-South conflict that was created in the colonial period and continued to influence the politics of Uganda and society since independence.

### **Causes of the Lord's Resistance war in northern Uganda.**

- Historical grievances including marginalization and mistreatment of the Acholi by the government.
- Ethnic and regional tensions
- Political instability
- Massive Poverty
- Lack of access to basic social services
- Religious dynamics



- External influence, some neighboring countries intensified the war e.g. Sudan
- Etc.

#### **Role of religious leaders, elders and others in resolving LRA conflict.**

- Provided moral and practical support to thousands seeking shelter from the violence
- They engaged government directly in peace building.
- They participated in the peace talks between the LRA and the Government.
- They were voices for those who could not speak for themselves.
- They called for dialogue between the government and the LRA.
- They sought and negotiated for an amnesty and efforts at reconciliation through the Acholi traditional practice of mato oput.
- They organized large rallies and other events to promote the peace agenda.
- Etc.

#### **Effects of that war on the people of Northern Uganda.**

- Destroyed the culture and social fabric of the Acholi society.
- Left large numbers of orphans to fend for themselves with the killings of parents.
- Violent deaths of people in the hands of various armed groups.
- Rape and defilement of women and girls with abduction of young people.
- Forced recruitment of people into rebel ranks.
- It created an atmosphere of fear and disenchantment amongst people, hence, mass displacement of northern people.
- Protected villages became breeding grounds for malnutrition and deaths resulting from cholera, measles and preventable diseases.
- The war destabilized other parts and contributed to other regional conflicts.
- There was loss of lives and destruction of property
- It led to refugee crisis in the neighboring countries
- It caused psychological trauma on survivors.
- It led to economic decline
- The war destabilized other parts of the country and contributed to other regional conflicts

#### **Advice to northern people of Uganda to prevent the re occurrence of the war.**

- To be united against any enemy who intrude in their land.
- Report people who want to rebel in their region.
- To be on guard against their enemies at all times.

- Mass mobilization against any rebellions in their region.
- Resolve conflicts diplomatically / peacefully before they escalate into war.

### **Political Ethnic conflicts in Kenya**

Unlike most of its East African neighbors, Kenya has since independence not experienced large-scale rebellions or civil wars.

However, it has had a high number of more localized ethnic conflicts which at times have resulted in high death tolls.

They have also caused the internal displacement of thousands of people and large-scale disruptions to local livelihoods.

Many of Kenya's communal conflicts have been directly related to national and local elections.

#### **a. The 2007 Post-Election Violence in Kenya**

Ethnicity continues to play an undue role in Kenyan political life.

Ethnic-based violence has a long history in the country and is fueled by grievances over land, privilege, and inequality.

The successive governments have pitted the majority Kikuyu ethnic group, favoured economically and politically by both the colonial powers and by Kenya's first president Jomo Kenyatta, against smaller ethnic groups, of the Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, Kamba, Kisii and others.

The run-up to the 2007 elections was largely peaceful.

The candidates in these elections used ethnicity and the fear of ethnic dominance to mobilize support.

Before the polls, the country was almost evenly divided and the contest was too close to call on both sides. Mwayi Kibaki was announced the winner of the elections and hastily sworn in pitying his rival Raila Odinga who was highly suspected to have won the elections.

With the announcement of results and swearing in of Mwayi Kibaki, violent clashes with police erupted in Raira Odinga's home province of Nyanza and in the densely populated slums of Nairobi

.

The post-elections violence was largely played on ethnic lines. Violence was initially directed primarily against Kikuyu in mixed areas, including the Rift Valley and Western Province, and was followed by reprisal killings against non-Kikuyus primarily in the Rift Valley towns of Naivasha and Nakuru.

The Kenyan police force was ineffective in handling this situation and a widespread excessive use of force, murder, sexual abuse, and looting was done.

The situation was brought under control when leadership agreed to a political compromise under intense international and domestic pressure.

Ethnicity continues to be the principal axis on which political elites mobilise constituencies. Elections are more often won on the basis of shrewd ethnic calculus and alliances than on the basis of performance or national vision.

### **Impact of the 2007 Post-Election Violence in Kenya**

- Most of the victims of these clashes were left homeless, landless, destitute, injured dead and abused.
- There was loss of security in the clash-prone areas as the civilians took the law into their own hands, targeting perceived enemies.
- There was loss of life among the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo, Iteso, Kisii and others.
- Land ownership patterns were permanently altered - the clashes allowed some groups of people and individuals to capitalize on the insecurity to usurp land or purchase it at throw-away prices from the victims.
- There was a drop in food production, food supply and raw materials for the agro-based industries such as sugar, tea, coffee, cereal (maize), pyrethrum and other agricultural crops.
- It led to refugee crisis in the neighboring states
- It led to trade decline internally
- It led to displacement of hundreds of thousands of the Kenyans from their homes.
- It created political instabilities in the country.
- It intensified ethnic tension
- Etc.

### **Ways Kenya can avoid election violence.**

- Through organizing free and fair elections.
- Sensitize the masses about the need for peace.
- Reconciliation approach in case of any miss understandings.
- Avoid press propaganda which usually fires up anger and violence.
- Charge heavily the perpetrators of violence.
- Accept election results by the losing parties / Candidates, including the losers in serving into the government.
- Etc.

### **Political-Ethnic conflicts in Tanzania**

The introduction of multi-party politics in 1992, triggered real and potential threats to peace in Tanzania.

Political openness and economic liberalization caused local and national conflicts. Political expression took the form of racial, ethnic, religious, and regional sentiments.

The economic tensions are felt racially between the Black Tanzanians and the Arab Tanzanians who dominate the economy. There are calls for black empowerment or Africanisation of the economy.

Unequal development has also been played ethnically and regionally as the country is split into many ethnic development associations.

Political power is contested on religious differences where there is a perception that Moslems are being marginalized by Christians. Whereas Tanzania's nationalist leaders (first generation) had the vision of a free society, without injustice and inequalities, many others failed to articulate clear visions let alone act on their visions.

National unity, solidarity and human respect had held the peace in Tanzania for a long time. Visionary leadership is a key ingredient that is lacking where the nationalist leaders or the first-generation leaders had the vision of a free society without injustice and inequalities.

#### **How Nyerere promoted a free society without injustice and inequalities.**

- He collectivized village farmlands.
- He carried out mass literacy campaigns and instituted free and universal education
- He emphasized the need for Tanzania to become economically self-sufficient rather than being dependent on foreign aid and foreign investment.
- He created political institutions that would be widely participatory.
- His leadership espoused peaceful change, social equality, and racial harmony.
- Rejected tribalism and all forms of racial and ethnic discrimination.

Etc.

#### **Common Causes of Conflicts in East Africa**

- Colonial legacy. Many of the conflicts in East Africa have their origins in the colonial past. The colonization of East Africa by European powers created political units that divided ethnic groups some cases and combined rival groups in others.
- But there are other factors that fueled conflict that are political, economic, social and cultural.
- Conflicts are rooted in the denial of human needs such as identity, security, respect and recognition.
- Conflicts are also a result of the weakness in the states on managing transitions from the colonial period to the independent states and the transition from undemocratic regimes to democratic change.

- The Global pressure on the East African states have pushed governments to engage in rapid economic and political reforms, through mobilizing populations around ethnic or religious differences.
- Increasing levels of poverty have worsened the unequal distribution of resources. The countries are caught up in a conflict trap in which there is poverty, bad governance and a fight for control of institutions and resources.
- The rural -urban migration has led to urbanization pressures that result in violent forms in different ways.
- Access to land is one issue that has led to perpetual conflicts since decolonization. Certain groups have accumulated land to the disadvantage of others.
- Existence of social classes. Classification and categorization of people that has persisted since colonization also contributes to conflicts.
- Population pressure can bring conflicts among ethnic communities especially when resources like land begin to dwindle. This may cause conflicts
- Bad politics is responsible for conflicts in East Africa. Some politicians draw a wedge to divide people along party lines by practicing bad politics like sectarianism.
- Religious differences have been a source of political disagreements and suspicions between and among ethnic groups
- Tribalism is one of the causes of ethnic conflict in East Africa. Loyalty to ethnic groups makes it inevitable for ethnic clashes to occur
- Favoritism and nepotism lead to conflicts especially when a particular ethnic group is favored in terms of job opportunities at the expense of other groups viii) Corruption and inept leadership are a cause of conflict in East Africa. Poor service provision by the inept leaders provokes agitations by citizens leading ethnic clashes ix) The urge for resource control by a particular ethnic group has been responsible for conflicts Some communities chase away those who occupy their areas where they have their own natural resources over which they allegedly have the right of control
- Marginalization of some ethnic groups in the country has led to inter-ethnic clashes in East Africa
- Constitutional Reforms which aim at enabling a particular group of people stay in power indefinitely can cause conflicts because it brings about disagreements between those who support and those who disagree.
- Lack equal and equitable regional development has been responsible for ethnic clashes
- Poverty of some communities has been responsible for generating discontent among societies leading ethnic violence
- Internal migration of the Bakiga into Bunyoro and the subsequent land grabbing by the new comers explains the ethnic clashes in that area
- Long military rule has been responsible for ethnic clashes. Civilians have assimilated military behavior and use it in simple disputes between neighbors and this sometimes lead to ethnic conflict.
- Sometimes the conflicts are instigated by politicians who use them to settle their own political scores.

- Political differences and support to the various antagonistic political parties are also a recipe for conflict in the community.
- Hunger for state power has been responsible for conflicts. Ethnic groups fighting one another in order to take state control and exercise power

### **Causes of conflicts in families and our communities**

- Inadequate training
- Poor communication
- Poor working environment
- Lack of equal opportunities
- Bullying or harassment
- Personality clashes between individuals
- Unresolved problems from the past
- Increases in workload
- Differing values
- Needs and expectations at work.
- Etc.

### **Solutions to the above conflicts**

- Sensitization of the community is important. The indigenous people of East Africa and all the tribes should learn to accept the fact that despite mistakes of colonialism like the cosmetic and artificial boundary demarcations, we are one people with a common destiny.
- Strong caution should be directed to those who tend to divide the people by advocating the superiority of one tribe over others. All tribes and ethnic groups should look at themselves as equals
- Efforts should be made to foster national unity through preaching trust, togetherness and equality.
- Those in authority should ensure all tribes, ethnic and regions are treated equally.
- Resources in this country should be equitably distributed and social services should be extended to all regions without bias.
- Government should seriously tackle the issue of land dispute and land grabbing. Some these issues have dragged for years. While some powerful people in government continue grab land from the poor communities.
- Religious leaders should preach peace, harmony and peaceful co-existence to all their followers. This will eliminate violence and promote peace.
- Inter-marriage between members of diverse ethnic and tribal groups should be encouraged. This will strengthen relationships, ties and build everlasting bonds between ethnic groups and tribes.
- Inter-cultural activities like a week of cultural festivals would help to create awareness of the various aspects of cultures in East Africa and cement national unity

- Efforts should be made to develop and promote a common national language which is acceptable to everyone with a view of promoting national unity. Kiswahili for which is widely spoken in East Africa for instance, who do a good job in promoting national unity.
- A federal arrangement can also help solve the problem of ethnic clashes. By extending power from the center to the local communities and enabling them to sort out their issues by themselves, peace and harmony may prevail
- Peace talks and dialogue which may involve neutral arbitrators or experienced cultural leaders may also reduce ethnic clashes in East Africa.
- Rotational leadership at national level may soothe the feelings of the ethnic groups that feel marginalized and neglected

### **Effects (impacts) of common conflicts on the people of East Africa**

Conflicts have many negative effects on the societies involved and the country at large. These effects may include the following:

- The conflicts lead to the destruction of the property of the communities involved. They may include the burning of houses, destruction of crops etc. .
- Ethnic clashes also lead to unnecessary loss of human. During the process many people can be killed by the warring factions
- Conflicts are a source of underdevelopment. Societies involved may take long to develop because of wanton destruction of the tools of development
- Poverty is one of the key impacts of conflict because they hinder human activities geared towards poverty eradication v) Normal life is disrupted due to these common conflicts. People will have no time settle in doing meaningful and productive activities.
- Common conflicts lead to the displacement of people from their places of abode and habitations, leading to misery and suffering of the affected people
- Economic activities like farming and trade are disrupted leading famine and slowdown in economic development
- Conflicts promote disunity among the people, distrust and suspicion among the clashing communities will always reign
- Conflicts if not sorted at an early stage can easily flare up into a civil war with its numerous debilitating impacts on the country
- Conflicts lead to political instability. A country cannot be stable when a section of the population is embroiled in an ethnic based war
- Common conflicts within a state tend to spread to neighboring powers that tend to take sides in a bid to protect their interest hence expanding the crisis
- Conflicts can trigger off a wave of mass migration and refugee problems. A living example is the post- election violence of Kenya in 2007/2008 which led to huge numbers of refugees and spread of diseases,
- Conflicts are a source of problem to the vulnerable group of people like women and children. This group of people experience abuse, loss of identity, destruction of social structures in their communities during ethnic clashes.

## **Different types of conflicts in East African communities.**

### **(RECENT COMMUNITY CONFLICTS IN EAST AFRICA)**

#### **Conflicts in Kenya**

1952-1960, Mau Mau Uprisings.

1963-1967, Shifta War.

1980 Garissa Massacre.

February 10, 1984, Wagalla massacre.

2005 Turbi Village Massacre.

2007-2008, Kenyan crisis

2017 2017, Kenyan general elections violence.

#### **Conflicts in Tanzania**

July 28, 1914-November 11, 1918 World War I.

1978-1979 Uganda-Tanzania War.

#### **Conflicts in Uganda**

January 25, 1971, Amin Dada's Coup d'état.

July 4, 1976, Operation Entebbe.

October 30, 1978-April 11, 1979, Uganda-Tanzania War.

April 11, 1979, Fall of Kampala.

1980-1985, Uganda National Rescue Front.

1982-1986, Ugandan Civil War.

1986-1988, Uganda People's Democratic Army war.

1986-1987, Holy Spirit Movement.

1987-ongoing Lord's Resistance Army war.

1996-ongoing Allied Democratic Forces.

1996-2002 Uganda National Rescue Front II.

2016 Kasese clashes with UPDF.

#### **Interstate conflicts**



2006 days war between Uganda and Rwanda in Congo-Rwanda captures Kisangani from Uganda.

2009 Migingo Island dispute between Uganda and Kenya-It is now in the hands of the Uganda police.

2019 Cross border conflict between Uganda and Rwanda-business affected

### **Effects of these wars where they have occurred.**

Social disorder.

Chaos and confusion.

Destruction of lives and properties.

Political instabilities

Agricultural decline

Trade decline

Etc

### **Conflict resolution**

Conflict resolution is the process through which two or more conflicting parties reach a peaceful understanding or agreement to end a dispute.

A number of methods are always used to end conflicts, these include;

### **Different forms of conflict resolutions in east Africa.**

Negotiation

Mediation

Arbitration

Litigation

Reconciliation

Restorative justice.

Mediation

Negotiation

Reconciliation

Arbitration or diplomacy Conflict resolution may be mediated by the trusted members of society such as elders, religious leaders, government officials and at times the representatives of conflicting parties.

The agreement and understanding of the worrying parties result into peace building and harmonious living in the community.

In order to have a peaceful co-existence in our communities we should endeavor to resolve the conflicts that arise among the worrying parties in order to promote social cohesion and national unity. Forgiveness, mediation reconciliation and reparation are key processes of conflict resolution. Hence leaders are very important in conflict resolution in every community.

## **THE EAST AFRICA TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION.**

### **Key words;**

Transitional justice

Traditional institutions

Mediation

Reconciliation

Arbitration.

### **By the end of this sub topic, learners will be able to;**

- a) Know what a traditional institution is and its history in east Africa.
- b) Understand the contribution of traditional and modern transitional justice mechanisms in peace building process of any East African Community.
- c) Understand various forms through which traditional transitional justice mechanisms can be delivered to communities.
- d) Appreciate the role played by African traditional leaders in pursuing transitional justice in solving of conflicts in East African communities.

### **African Traditional Institutions**

Traditional institutions are organizations or bodies that are based on the customs and beliefs of a specific group of people.

They can be political, social or economic nature and they have power, legitimacy, influence and authority from the traditions of their members.

In the pre-colonial period the area which is the current Uganda was divided into several indigenous kingdoms, chiefdoms and clans each of which had its own ruler and leadership system.

In most of the chiefdoms governance was highly decentralized and power lay in the hands of the clan elders or family heads.

When the British came, they established their dominion over the region in a series of agreements that were signed by the chiefs and kings in these areas.

Conflicts took a center stage in people's lives ranging from home, community and at times cross the borders.

The conflicts arose from the competition for natural resources like minerals, pasture, water and others.

The most popular conflicts were; land conflicts, domestic violence, political conflicts and tribal conflicts.

There were traditional mechanisms through which all these conflicts were handled using chiefs or kings and modern transitional justice mechanisms.

The chief or king was the salient symbol of African traditional institutions and any other influential member of the community.

They used various centers to enforce the customary laws and traditions based on tradition handed down from ancestors.

They enforced the dos' and don'ts which they followed to the dot to enforce discipline in their communities.

The African traditional institutions were pillars on which society was governed and customary livelihood depended.

### **The Traditional Cultural Institutions in Uganda**

The Acholi Chiefdom, Tieng Adhola Chiefdom, Alur Kingdom, Buganda Kingdom, Bunyoro Kingdom, Buruuli Chiefdom, Busoga Kingdom, Kooki Chiefdom, Lango Chiefdom, Teso Chiefdom, Tooro Kingdom and Rwenzururu Kingdom.

#### **Why traditional institutions had collapsed by 1967**

- The conflicts and antagonistic relationship between Buganda and the central governments.
- The need for Obote to strengthen his executive powers to weaken the powers of the traditional leaders.
- The clash of ideologies between monarchists and nationalists.
- The abolition of kingdoms by the government of Obote in 1967
- The coming of missionaries that disunited Africans.
- The colonization of east Africa.
- Disunity among people
- Death of able leaders.
- Inter-tribal conflicts
- The British influence in Buganda.
- The emergence of educated elites who believed in a republicanism than monarchism like Obote.
- Etc.

#### **Reasons why cultural institutions were restored in 1993**

- They were restored after the continued demand to restore them.
- They were restored to preserve Africa's rich languages and culture.

- To help in socio-economic and political development.
- They would be important in encouraging unity among people of same ethnic group.
- The central government hoped to use these institutions for health and education activities.
- Etc.

### **Reasons why traditional leaders were restored in Uganda.**

The army council meeting in Gulu on April 3, 1992 declared the return to kingdoms and chiefdoms. President Yoweri Museveni then restored these kingdoms in 1993 but as cultural institutions without political powers.

The reasons for the restoration of these kingdoms were as follows:

- Traditional leaders were restored because they are key players in governing and providing various types of service in the traditional sector of the economy because of their compatibility with that economic system
- They were restored because they are the key players in providing judicial service and in conflict management in much of rural Africa. Traditional leaders often operate as custodians of customary law and communal assets, especially land.
- They dispense justice, resolve conflicts, and enforce contracts, even though such services are conducted in different ways in different authority systems.
- They also serve as guardians and symbols of cultural values and practices.
- Traditional leaders also manage customary law related to land tenure and land allocation patterns. Traditional institutions, unlike the state, provide rural communities the platform to participate directly in their own governance.
- Traditional leaders also help in decision making.
- They also help in the allocation of resources, such as land to the community members
- The traditional leaders were also restored because of the endless demands and agitations from those societies that needed them.
- Etc.

### **Role of Traditional Cultural Institutions**

- Preservation of culture.
- Promotion of unity within their ethnic groups.
- Promotion of development within their areas.
- Promotion of education within their areas.
- Cultural institutions emphasise cultural norms, values and behaviours among the subjects.
- Some of the cultural institutions have promoted justice to their subjects.
- They also help mediating between government and opposition politicians.
- Etc.

### **Ways government of Uganda should live harmoniously with traditional institutions**

- Allowing them freedom of speech and association.

- Cater for them as per the constitution of Uganda.
- The government to give financial support to traditional institutions.
- Not to interfere in their activities.
- Organizing consultative meetings with traditional leaders.
- Handle them with respect.
- Protect them from any political harm.
- Etc.

### **Traditional Justice Mechanisms**

Traditional justice mechanisms refer to customary law processes used to resolve disputes.

The multiple conflicts over a prolonged period covering both the colonial and post-colonial eras, a combination of both traditional and modern transitional justice mechanisms have been instituted to bring about peaceful co-existence in communities and foster national

The traditional mechanisms have taken care of the customary norms as a way of reviving good neighborhood and inter-tribal or community relations. Mechanisms such as prosecution, amnesty, truth telling, compensations, and traditional justice have been used as interventions in resolving conflicts.

A number of conflicts have left communities broken, disunited, destructed, stressed, tortured and displaced.

Conflicts have created mistrust and hatred among communities. Conflicts that have been prolonged have led to famine, migration, loss of lives, destruction of property and economic decline.

A number of ways have been set up to address the causes and heal the wounds caused by conflicts to bring peace and reconciliation in the communities.

The elders in communities, religious leaders, civil society organizations, community-based organizations and the government are at the center of restoring peace and reconciling communities.

Each of the mechanisms whether traditional or modern, has its own strength and weaknesses.

The use of these mechanisms interchangeably delivers justice to the victims of human rights violations and assist people and communities affected by conflict to achieve sustainable peace.

How traditional justice mechanism work.

The traditional mechanisms have taken care of the customary norms as a way of reviving good neighborhood and inter-tribal or community relations. The elders in the community, religious leaders, civil society organizations, community-based organizations and the government are at the center of restoring peace and reconciling communities.

**The contribution of traditional and modern transitional justice mechanisms in the restoration of peace in the East African states (how traditional and modern transitional justice mechanisms helped to restore peace in East Africa)**

- The traditional and modern traditional justice mechanism has helped in the restoration of peace in the following ways.
- It built confidence in both the perpetrators and victims leading to the restoration of peace.
- The system is fair system in which the community believes
- It made people to live in harmony because there is no retribution in traditional justice mechanism
- It has stopped the re-occurrence of the war or its continuity because there is forgiveness in this system, this has promoted peace
- Under this system, the whole truth is told when justice is being delivered hence promoting the healing process and peaceful co-existence.
- It's localized, there is no standing in the dock
- This mechanism emphasizes reconciliation and peaceful co-existence.
- The justice system has provide justice to the victims of conflicts because it is cheap, quick and affordable to everyone hence the restoration
- It is timely and no bureaucracy is involved hence no delays in the delivery of justice.
- It has promoted healing and cleansing of both the accused and the victim
- Unity has been promoted in the conflict ridden communities and peaceful co-existence.

**The role played by traditional leaders in peace building process of any East African community**

A traditional leader is any person who, in terms of customary law of the traditional community concerned, holds a traditional leadership position, and is recognized by the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

Traditional leaders play the following role in peace building process in East Africa:

- Traditional leaders engage the two conflicting parties in a dialogue to solve the conflict amicably hence building peace.
- Traditional leaders arrange seminars workshops for peace ideas and conflict resolutions
- Traditional leaders strengthen communities' capacity to deal with conflicts
- Traditional leaders mediate and reconcile parties that are engaged in a conflict
- Traditional leaders use early warning to prevent conflict at local levels

- Traditional leaders work hand in hand with the government to diffuse tensions in the community
- Traditional leaders offer support against human right violations
- Traditional leaders resolve conflict at grass root level to avert it from spreading to the rest of the community.
- Traditional leaders build capacities of local authorities to deal with conflicts by forming a group of people responsible for defense, security and peace building as well.
- Traditional leaders facilitate negotiation of inter community dialogue
- Traditional leaders provide education to the youth in order to participate the restoring peace
- Traditional leaders empower the youth and create some employment opportunities in the country. This reduces the chances of the youth getting involved in conflicts
- Traditional leaders make people aware of the importance of peace to the society through effective channels of communication
- In order to reduce the effects of the armed violence, traditional leaders increase their advocacy towards public mobilization for peace.
- Traditional leaders are at the forefront in the fight against poverty, high unemployment and lack opportunities which are source of conflicts in the community.
- Traditional leaders initiate programs that provide economic opportunities for youth, hence discouraging them from conflicts.
- They play the role of mediators and arbitrators in any conflict that would require their intervention and involvement.

### **The various forms through which traditional transitional justice mechanism can be delivered to the communities**

The most commonly used mechanisms of transitional justice to heal persons and communities include, truth telling, reparations, institutional reforms, memorialization, traditional justice, restorative justice, vetting and lustration.

### **How different cultures can be used to deliver traditional justice mechanism to the people of northern Uganda**

The following is how the traditional justice system delivers justice to the people of northern Uganda among the Acholi people through the Mato Oput process

- The Mato Oput approach to justice is a deep traditional reconciliatory process which involves the drinking of a bitter concoction called Oput by both the victim and the perpetrator for purposes of permanent reconciliation and opening up a new beginning by forgetting the bitter past.
- It has been one of the most successful reconciliation processes adopted by the Acholi people to heal the scar left by the 20 year war in the north and to settle other conflicts that occur among the people
- It has helped a lot in the integration of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) returnees into the local communities despite the atrocities that they already committed against the local

communities and most recently, September 2020, business man, Kanyumunyu who in 2016 shot dead an Acholi named Akena underwent the traditional reconciliation process of Mato Oput in Gulu

- The process of Mato Oput starts with two clans being brought together, the victim and the perpetrator as they both look for restorative justice to ensure normalization of relationships
- Mediation takes place between the two parties to ensure that the truth and nothing else but the truth comes out.
- At this truth telling stage, no denials, no lies and no deceptions are expected from the parties involved, the truth must always be told. The person telling the truth is expected to be honest, transparent, and sincere and open in every statement made
- Normally it is the family or clan of the perpetrator (the offender) who takes the lead in the truth telling process
- The perpetrator's family or clan is expected at this stage to be honest and to take responsibility for the mistake made or crime committed.
- Public confessions, expression of remorse and regrets helps the offended party to deal with the reality of the big loss that they will have gone through.
- Revealing the truth is also healing process which can enable the perpetrator to be accepted back into the fold after acknowledging his mistake and shaking off his criminal past
- Through public confession, the community of the perpetrator takes responsibility for the crimes committed by one of its members and therefor becomes guilty conscious of such crimes
- This is followed by compensation (reparation) for the purposes of atonement and appeasement to the aggrieved party,
- The payment of compensation is also a demonstration of sincere and honest regret for crime committed, a plea for forgiveness and a healing of the wounded hearts.
- This is followed by the sharing of food to restore the communion and human fellowship which will have been previously broken due to the crime committed
- Each party of the conflict will produce unblemished lamb which will be made to stand facing each other. The lamb from the offender's side will be pleading for mercy and forgiveness while the one from the victim's side will be offering assurance of mercy and forgiveness
- Both lambs are cut into halves with each party receiving the front legs and the head of the sacrificed lambs
- It's is then cooked by each of the party involved in different cooking pots and shared; symbolizing new communionship in human relationship
- The two communities are further cleansed using the waste matter and blood of the sacrificed lambs through smearing on the forehead, back and both legs, back of the hands and feet of members
- This is followed by the Mato Oput, the drinking of the bitter herbs. The bitter Oput root is mixed with traditional drink called kwete and blood (from a lamb) which is drunk by both parties



- Oput trees symbolize unity and togetherness because they are only trees that can share and have joint roots when growing close to one another.
- The roots of the joint Oput trees are cut, crushed and made into a concoction. The bitterness of the Oput roots symbolize the bitterness of the strained and broken relationship following the crimes committed by the perpetrator and therefore the drinking of the concoction made from Oput tree symbolizes the washing away of that bitterness
- The participants in the drinking of this concoction are to do so in pairs; the first being a pair of women from both parties drinking from the same calabash at the same time with their foreheads touching each other symbolizing a reunion
- The process is climaxed by celebrations, dancing and merry making to symbolize the restoration relations between the offended and the offender.

### **Comparison of the benefits of using modern and traditional justice mechanism in East Africa**

**The Table below shows the comparison (differences) between the traditional justice and modern/criminal justice**

| <b>African traditional court system</b>                            | <b>Modern/criminal court system.</b>                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Basically oral, no writing is involved                             | Involves written sentencing by the judges                                     |
| The judges are the chiefs/kings or local leaders                   | Judges/trained appointee judges of the state presides over the court system.  |
| Justice is restorative and conciliatory                            | Justice is retributive and punitive                                           |
| The justice system has no fixed place<br>No advocates are required | There are permanent court premises<br>Offenders may be represented by lawyers |
| Local Language is the medium of communication                      | English is the medium of communication                                        |
| May not require an interpreter                                     | May require an interpreter                                                    |
| Elders' opinions are highly valued                                 | Court Assessors opinions are highly valued                                    |
| Local leaders play an important role                               | Local leaders have no role to play                                            |
| The judges are not paid salaries                                   | Judges are paid monthly salaries                                              |
| The courts have no clear hierarchy                                 | The court structures are clear                                                |
| Does not consume too much time                                     | The court process is lengthy                                                  |
| No concrete evidence may be required                               | Judgment depends on the evidence adduced                                      |
| The cross examiners are not trained                                | Trained lawyers cross examine                                                 |
| Court resources are locally mobilized                              | Court resources are drawn from the consolidated fund.                         |

|                                                                  |                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Court sessions are open, can be held any time                    | Court are run according to schedules                            |
| Swearing is done by the name of the spirit of the ancestors. Etc | They swear in the name of the living God (Bible, Quran)<br>Etc. |

**N.B.** The above comparison in the table can be used as benefits of using the **TRADITIONAL JUSTICE** mechanism and **MODERN JUSTICE** Mechanisms in conflict resolutions.

### **The advantages and disadvantages of returning traditional institutions in Uganda**

- Kingdoms have become a hindrance to national unity as people have retreated back to their tribal enclaves. People pay allegiance to their tribal kings than to the nation state.
- Kingdoms are expensive to maintain. The government spends a lot of money to maintain the kings and chiefs in the country
- Traditional institutions are the biggest land holders in this country yet most of their subjects are landless and wallow in absolute poverty
- Some of the traditional societies which still practice and defend some practices of the past are unfit (outdated) in a modern society.
- The contemporary youth in some societies no longer respect opinions and views of elders, taboos and customs are flouted and immorality is rampant
- Traditional institutions contribute to underdevelopment due to cultural conservativeness.
- There has been rising conflicts between some kingdoms and the central government leading to outright confrontation and loss of lives. For instance the Rwenzuru conflict with the government of Uganda which led to the killing of many people.
- Traditional institutions adapt too slowly to new democratic systems because in most cases they are rigid
- Traditional institutions are also less accountable to the public and their subjects. They may collect money for particular purposes but fail to account for it.
- Traditional institutional can be easily manipulative by state actors to meet their selfish political interests.
- Most traditional institutions are male dominated in leadership. The female gender is normally ignored when it comes to leadership positions.
- Many face less or no recognition by legal experts and the judicial system
- Traditional institutions tend to represent tribal interests or group interests instead of national interests there are also succession crisis in some traditional institutions which threaten their very survival

### **The advantages and disadvantages of using the judicial mechanism of settling disputes.**

#### **Advantages**

- There is less opportunity for abuse of judicial process because the process follows a formal procedure Because of the strict rules, all parties are compelled by law to attend the proceedings as required.
- It allows safeguards because its an institutionalized process with clear structures

- Judicial decisions are always binding for all parties
- Legal precedent may be established through judicial settlement
- No extra expenditure for judges or members like arbitrators
- Judicial appointments commission selection system based solely on merit has improved diversity
- Judges are experienced legal experts
- Legally obligated to be fair.
- Often meet with praise for their interpretations of the law.
- Judges free to make decisions based on evidence and law

### **Disadvantages**

- Its time consuming because the processes are lengthy and full of adjournments
- The parties are not in control of the judicial process or decision making virtually impossible to remove judge for poor performance/misconduct
- Fewer judicial officials especially in Africa
- Judges can also make grave mistakes with irredeemable consequences
- Unfair in that have immunity from prosecution and being sued, special treatment compared to the rest of society difficult to make fair decisions when dealing with less advantaged people
- Overseeing what happens means less money/time is being spent on the courts
- Some argue that they're too lenient with their sentencing whilst some say they're too harsh  
Biased as majority white middle class men.
- Judges can be inconsistent

### **A summary of how the perpetrators of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) war were reconciled in the Acholi community**

- Through the Mato Oput process
- Through forgiveness
- Through compensation
- Through accepting, integrating and welcoming the perpetrators back into the society
- Through preaching brotherhood
- By use of religious personalities to intervene
- Prayers were used for the purposes of healing
- The stepping on fresh eggs by the perpetrators at the entrance to the home as they return home.
- ETC

### **Sample activity of integration.**

The war in northern Uganda was rooted in a popular rebellion against the government. The war later transformed into a brutally violent war in which civilians were the main victims. People were displaced and tens of thousands were killed, raped or abducted. The majority of the rebel force were made up of kidnaped children held against their will. While in northern Uganda had deep rooted grievances against the government, the rebels had a poor expression of the grievances and

did not have popular support amongst the civilian population. The Acholi population felt the effects of violence and were yearning for a solution.

### **Instructions**

#### **In an essay;**

- a). identify the challenges in resolving the conflicts between the Ugandan government and the insurgency in northern Uganda.
- b). if you were the president of Uganda then, discuss how you would resolve the conflict and give justice to the people in northern Uganda.

#### **Activity of integration**

1. John Kasule Kapere was involved in a land dispute with a neighbor in Kisangya village. The area in which they live practices customary land ownership. Very few residents have land titles in the community

### **Tasks**

- i) Explain the various kinds of land ownership in Uganda
- ii) In which region of Uganda do you think Kisangya Village is located?

What advice would you give to John Kasule Kapere on the justice mechanism to pursue in order to settle this land dispute?

## **ORIGIN OF BUGANDA KINGDOM**

The kingdom of Buganda which lies east of Bunyoro was the biggest, most powerful and well-organized kingdom in the interlacustrine region.

The kingdom got established in the northern shores of Lake Victoria.

The origin of the kingdom is not very clear however, a number of theories have been put forward to explain its origin.

Buganda was originally part of bunyoro Kitara Empire of the Bachwezi but sprung up after the collapse of the vast empire.

The baganda are said to have come from different places before setting, this is explained by some traditional views or claims maintained by the baganda clans.

According to oral tradition in Buganda, the kingdom was founded by Kintu who was the first Muganda king and he is believed to have come from the direction of MT Elgon. In around 1314

Kintu is said to have entered Buganda through the eastern direction i.e. through bugisu, budama, Busoga and finally into Buganda.

Kintu is said to have seized power from all the existing clans in Buganda (area/region) and crowned himself leader of all the clans (sabataka) thus the first king.

Kintu is said to have come with 13 clans of the present-day clans in Buganda.

Another tradition from bunyoro maintains that the kingdom of Buganda was founded by Kato kimera who came from bunyoro in around 1574ad.

Kato kimera was believed to have been a twin brother to Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga the founder of the Luo-Babiito dynasty of bunyoro.

It's believed that kimera curved buganda from bunyoro Kitara which was on the verge of collapse.

Kato is said to have come with 6 of the present clans in Buganda.

Other traditions claim that Buganda originated from the Bantu clans that lived in the area way back in around 1000ad thus they came from nowhere and therefore they were natives of buganda.

Another theory which explains the origin of Buganda maintains that the kingdom was founded by unknown clans which came from Ssesse Island and settled in Buganda.

Whatever the argument, what is certain is that Buganda kingdom originated from what is present day busiro, kyadondo and mawokota.

The baganda who inhabit the area belong to the wider group of the interlacustrine Bantu or western Bantu from Congo and formed the largest Bantu grouping in Uganda.

By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Buganda had expanded to cover Ssinga, Gombo and Butambala. It was kabaka Kateregga who captured these counties from bunyoro.

Under kabaka Jjunju, Buganda expanded to include Buddu and kooki. These were also annexed from bunyoro..

In around the 18 century mawogola, buruli bulemeezi and bugerere were all annexed to buganda. This was at the expense of bunyoro declining power.

In the last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, kabaka mawanda tried to annex Busoga but his efforts were unsuccessful. It was not until kabaka kyabaggu's reign that Busoga was overrun.

Therefore, buganda reached its greatest size and power in the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## **THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF BUGANDA**

As earlier noted, Buganda sprang up after the collapse of the Chwezi empire in around the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Buganda started as a small state made up of only kyadondo busiro and mawokota.

Buganda's systematic expansion began with kabaka Kateregga in around the 17<sup>th</sup> century who expanded the borders of the kingdom to Gomba, Butambala and singo.

In around the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many immigrants arrived from bunyoro, MT Elgon, and the Ssesse islands thus increasing buganda's population.

In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century 1750, kabaka Jjunju waged war on /against bunyoro and managed to annex the iron rich province of Buddu. All the local clans were forced to join Buganda.

He also managed to bring kooki under Buganda's control.

Kabaka ssekamaanya continued the expansion of buganda, he annexed buwekula and bwela and added them to buganda.

In the last 19<sup>th</sup> century kabaka mawanda wanted to annex Busoga but his efforts were unsuccessful. It was not until kabaka kyabaggu's reign that Busoga was overrun.

In around the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mawogola, buruli, bulemeezi and bugerere were annexed to Buganda and this was at the expense of bunyoro's declining power.

Between 1831-1851, kabaka ssuna finally attacked bunyoro and crushed it

When the Europeans came, Buganda's power increased even more. Kabaka mutessala managed to get military assistance in form of guns from the Europeans and used them to fight bunyoro.

The 1900 Buganda agreement gave Buganda the two lost counties i.e. bugangaizi and buyaga from bunyoro thus increasing Buganda's counties.

In conclusion, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, buganda was at the peak of its greatness. It stretched from Lake Albert in the west, river Nile in the east and bordered by the bahaya states in northern Tanzania.

## **EAST AFRICAN LONG DISTANCE TRADE**

This was a trade carried out between the coastal people (Arabs and Swahili people) and the interior people of East Africa.

This trade became prominent in East Africa in 1840s or around the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Arabs started going into the interior to look for commodities.

Therefore, Long Distance Trade was a trade carried out over long distances and thus the name Long Distance Trade. The Traders used to move caravans thus the name caravan trade.

It was carried out before the establishment of colonial rule in East Africa and that's why it's sometimes called the pre-colonial

The main participants of this trade included the Arab and Swahili traders from the coast and Nyamwezi, Akamba, Kikuyu, Bunyoro, Buganda, Yao etc. from the interior. Each of these societies had unique qualities that were necessary for the prosperity of Long-Distance Trade.

Some prominent personalities of this trade included Mirambo, Nyungu ya Mawe, Fundikira Muteesa kabalega, muzilikazi, kivilo, tippu tip etc.

The trade involved many regions countries and areas of East Africa, tan, Kenyaand Uganda and went to as far as present-day Rwanda Burundi DRC, and SouthSudan.

## WHY THE LONG DISTANCE TRADE DEVELOPED

### Internal and external factors

- Availability of commodities: the trade developed because commodities were available both in the interior and at the coast e.g. ivory slave etc. and gun, spices etc. respectively.
- Increased demand for commodities; there was increased demand for East African commodities e.g. slaves, ivory etc. hence leading to the development of the trade.
- The people of East Africa had also developed a liking for foreign good e.g. guns.....
- Some societies of East Africa were also willing to trade e.g. nyamwezi, akamba, buganda etc which played a big in the trade.
- The interior African rulers also encouraged their people to participate in the trade which led to its development e.g. Mirambo, Muteesa, kivoi etc.
- Some African tribes joined the trade because it was profitable and therefore it developed on a large scale e.g ivory and slaves were highly demanded at the coast.
- The existence and willingness of the nyamwezi potters also contributed to the development of Long Distance Trade, they helped in carrying commodities to and from the East African coast.
- Division of labour by different East African societies also led to the development of Long Distance Trade in that women did most of the domestic work enabling men to carry out Trade.
- The abolition of slave trade in West Africa made Traders to come to East Africa to look for slaves therefore leading to increased slave trade thus development of Long Distance Trade.
- In East Africa slavery was not new therefore it was easy for people to adopt slave trade.
- The transfer of seyyid said's capital from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1840s increased the level of trade since he encouraged Arabs to go into the interior, seyyid said also set up plantations that needed slave labour therefore increasing on the level of trade.



- Seyyid said also invited the Indian banyans who came to the coast and rent money to the Traders therefore increasing on the volume of trade.
- When seyid opened up a slave market in Zanzibar, there was increased demand and supply of slaves therefore leading to increased slave trade and thus the development of Long Distance Trade.
- The Arabs also wanted slaves to work for them on their plantations and home which also increased the volume of trade.
- There was also increased demand for slaves to work on sugarcane plantations, mines and others to work in America and West Indies besides, that the French also needed slaves to work on their plantations on the island of Madagascar, Seychelles and Mauritius.
- The development of transport sector also contributed to increased trade i.e. the porters and donkeys made transport very easy in that they would carry commodities from and to the coast.
- The opening up of trade routes in the interior enabled Traders to reach all corners of East Africa societies and collected and as well as transported goods.
- The double coincidence of wants whereby people easily found those who needed what they had and had what they needed.
- The nature of land also facilitated the development of Long Distance Trade e.g. the nyamwezi land was very flat which enabled people to easily move up and down looking for trade items.
- The introduction of Kiswahili language in the interior as a business language made communication easier since majority people could understand and talk Kiswahili.
- Introduction of cowrie shells eased transaction of business and later the use of gold coins which led to the development of the trade.
- Introduction of gun improved on the security of the Traders in the interior which also contributed to the development of long distance trade.

- The cooperation between the coastal and interior people also helped to develop the trade since Trade transactions were carried out peacefully and information was provided about goods that were needed.
- The exhaustion of the Trade items at the coast and immediate interior resulted in long journeys in search for goods in the interior hence the development of long distance trade.
- Some societies in the interior had skills that enabled them to produce superior goods more than some of the trade items had unlimited market as they were highly demanded e.g. the Akamba were skilled.....
- The presence and influence of Islam fostered unity and brought trustworthiness among the Traders.
- The good and favourable climate enabled the Traders to carry out constant trade during the dry season and carry out agriculture during the wet season.
- Some tribes were strategically located enabling them to easily participate in the Trade e.g. Nyamwezi, Buganda on the Central.
- The hospitality to the coastal Traders by the interior people and their chiefs encouraged them to enter into the interior.
- At the same time, some societies had peace, stability and security which all favoured the trade activities. E.g.

#### **Organization of Long Distance Trade/ Main Features of Long Distance Trade**

- People involved: the main people involved in this included the coast people i.e. the Arabs and Swahili people and the interior people, some of the most prominent societies.....
- The interior communities played important roles like providing security, preparing and organizing trade items, controlling trade routes etc.

- In some cases foreigners Arabs and Swahili people joined the Africans in the interior to search for trade items especially slaves.
- The Traders who remained at the coast had a duty of organising , shipping and exporting the trade items overseas especially to Europe.
- Commodities: the main commodities from the interior (exports) were.....
- The main commodities from the coast (imports) were.....
- The chiefs organized the collection of commodities from their different societies and took them to the different centres.
- Mode of exchange: the main mode of exchange was through barter, later however cowrie shells, gold coins and Rupees were introduced as the main mode of exchange and the Indian banyans were the main controllers of the trade financially.
- The coastal Traders were financed by the banyans who charged them less interest that enabled them to have permanent settlements in the interior and started supplying goods using improved means of transport like donkeys
- Medium of communication: the medium of communication was at first sign or gestures but later Kiswahili was adopted as the major medium of communication and where problems arose interpreters were used.
- Mean of transport: transport was by means of human being or portage , this was mainly done by the Nyamwezi who produced the most experienced porters.
- Later improved means like donkeys were introduced and used by the coastal Traders.
- Journeys: usually journeys to and from the coast were made during the dry season due to the fact that the path were impassable in the rainy season.

- The Traders stayed at the coast up to period of 3 months and during that period they even planted some annual crops that would grow before they resumed their journeys in the dry season.
- It usually took months or even years to gather the different commodities from the different societies in the interior and take them to the coast.
- Caravans; Traders from the interior moved in caravans which consisted of 100-1000 people. Caravan included slaves, gun men, Potter, Traders medicine men cookies tent men for security reasons the caravans were armed.
- Usually Long Distance Traders carried out negotiations with the local leaders to allow their caravans free passage in the territories in exchange for taxes which were paid e.g. they negotiated with Mirambo of nyamwezi, Muteesa f buganda, kivoi of Akamba, Kirabo of Chagga.
- Arabs and Swahili Traders eventually acquired a number of agents and with time the number of trading centers or bases and ports developed in the interior e.g.
- Tabora, makaou urambo and ports like ujiji.
- These bases or towns acted as collecting centres and as well as refreshing centers for the Traders, the bases had storage facilities for the goods and services.
- At the coast the main centres/ bases were Zanzibar and Bagamoya.
- Route used: Long Distance Trade had three main routes namely Southern route, Central route and Southern route.
- Southern Route this route ran from the southern parts of kilwa and Lindi and went to the areas occupied by the making, Yao and others.
- This was a chief slave route dominated by the Yao who were prominent slave traders.
- Central Route: this route started from opposite Zanzibar (Bagamoya) and went into the interior towards the Nyamwezi society where the Arabs and Swahili Traders possessed an important trading center at Tabora.
- In unyanyembe (Nyamwezi) the route divided into three I.e. the North-west route going towards Karagwe, buganda and bunyoro.

- The Western route towards ujiji and kasongo and went to as far as Congo  
And South- west to kazembe, sukuma uzimba and katanga.
- This route carried both slaves and ivory and was dominated by the nyamwezi who got a reputation of carrying heavy goods.
- Northern route the route started from pangani and west towards Kilimanjaro and Taita hills where it split into two i.e. the Western route moving towards the shores of Lake Victoria and North- west route moving towards Mt.kenya to Lake Turkanato as far as the slopes not Mt. Elgon.
- The main commodity at first was ivory but later slaves were also supplied on this route.
- There was another route used by the Arabs Traders commonly known as khartoumers. These route started from khartoum with some Traders coming from as far as Cairo in Egypt
- The Traders entered Uganda through the Northern region and moved following River Nile into Alur Acholi, lango, bunyoro to as far as busoga.
- These trade route mainly carried goods like ivory, slaves cattle products grains and was mainly dominated by the khartoumers.
- In conclusion long distance trade involved movement of Traders with their goods to and from the East African coast.

## **SUB TOPIC: WORLD WAR ONE 1914-1918**

### **KEY WORDS**

War

Allies

Alliance

Triple

Coalition

Conflicts

### **Learning outcomes**

The learners should be able to;

- a) Know the meaning of world war one
- b) Understand the major countries or powers involved in WW1
- c) Know the reason why east African countries were involved in WW1
- d) Understand how the events of WW1 influenced future history of east Africa
- e) Appreciate the impact of world War one in east Africa.

### **Meaning of WW1,**

World war one also known as the First World War was a global conflict that took place from 1914 to 1918 between the triple Entente led by France and triple alliance/ central powers led by Germany.

The war was sparked off by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and his wife Sophie at Sarajevo in Serbia in 1914.

The First World War broke out on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1914 when Austria- Hungary declared war on Serbia. Soon all Europeans countries found themselves joining this war on the two different sides.

In east Africa the war was brutally fought in the Germany east Africa and later spread portions of Portuguese Mozambique, northern Rhodesia, British East Africa the Uganda protectorate and Belgium Congo. The campaign eventually ended in Germany east Africa in November 1917 when the Germans entered Portuguese Mozambique and continued the campaign living off Portuguese supplies.

### **Major countries or powers involved in WW1**

**Table showing the major powers,**

| <b>Triple entente</b> | <b>Triple alliance/ Central powers</b> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------|
| France                | Germany                                |
| United Kingdom        | Austria-Hungary                        |
| Russia                | Ottoman Empire                         |
| Italy                 | Bulgaria                               |
| Japan                 |                                        |
| USA                   |                                        |

### **Causes of World War one**

- i. European Nationalism. The intense patriotism and desire for dominance fueled tensions among European powers leading to aggressive competition.
- ii. Militarism. Nations invested heavily in their military capabilities resulting in an arms race and atmosphere of readiness for war.

- iii. Alliance system. There was an alliance i.e. the triple entente and triple alliance, formed between major European powers that escalated the large scale war.
- iv. Imperialism. Rivalries over colonial territories and resources caused tensions, suspicions and mistrust among European powers.
- v. The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in 1914 (Sarajevo double murder). This was Austria-Hungarian heir and his death triggered a series of diplomatic crises and ultimatums.
- vi. Collapse of the European diplomacy. The collapse of Otto Von Bismarck left a leadership vacuum since there was no body to initiate peace resolutions among the great powers.
- vii. The Darwin's theory. The theory emphasized the survival for the fittest, as a result the great powers resorted to expansionist policies, arms race and alliance with one another.
- viii. Character of Emperor Kaiser William II. The president of Germany influenced the Austria-Hungary government to declare an ultimatum on Serbia and he also promised support to the Austria-Hungary government.
- ix. The Franco Prussian war of 1871. In this war France lost her two mineralized territories of Alsace and Lorraine.
- x. Role of the press. The mass media in Europe played a great role in exaggerating the information that promoted the arms race and alliance system.

### **Reasons why east Africa was involved in WWII**

The War was caused by issues based in Europe like the arms race, spirit of nationalism, economic imperialism and the murder of the Austria-Hungary prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie.

Much as the war begun in Europe, it was inevitable that the overseas colonies of the two sides would be involved directly/indirectly e.g. Tanzania fought on the Germany side while Kenya and Uganda were on the British side.

During WW1 several east African countries participated in the conflict as part of the colonial forces of the European powers.

These countries included British East African present day Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Germany East African which included present day Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi.

- Even before the war, some Africans were already serving in the colonial armies like the king's African Rifles (KAR). Definitely, the KAR had to fight in the interest of the colonial masters.
- Colonial interests and territorial ambitions of European powers. During this period European countries sought to expand their territories and control strategic territories for military, strategic and economic advantage.
- Control of trade routes and possessions. East Africa was critical region for trade routes and its ports were important for maritime commerce and naval operations.

- Access to resources. East Africa was rich in natural resources including minerals and agricultural products which European nations sought to exploit for economic interest.
- Strategic importance. East Africa's geographical location made it crucial area for controlling and influencing the surrounding areas.
- Alliance and entanglement. WW1 was a global conflict involving complex alliance to an extent that when the war broke out it dragged their colonies into the war as well.
- Military campaigns. Both the allies conducted military campaigns in east Africa to gain territorial advantages and influence and this led to recruitment of east Africans into the war.
- Indigenous involvement. This was where the indigenous people of east Africa were conscripted into the military and violence caused, by the conflict.
- There was a lot of suspicion and mistrust since the German and British colonial were adjacent to each other. Each country was suspicious that the other would soon attack her colonial interest nearby.
- Britain wanted to protect her possessions in India and therefore had to involve the Africans to prevent the Germans from taking over the colony.
- At the same time, the British and Germans wanted to protect their market in East African and therefore had to involve the Africans to help them.
- Some Africans also participated in the war for prestige and adventure. .
- The East Africans were provoked into war because Britain had attacked the Germans base in Tanganyika and this caused the Germans to react by getting GEA to fight back.
- Both countries wanted to ensure that the other was deprived of its sources and supplies and Africans had to be involved to ensure that each side won the war.

### **Impacts of World War 1 in East Africa.**

- Economic disruption. The war disrupted trade and agricultural activities in east Africa affecting region's economy.
- Military campaigns. East Africa became a battle ground for German and British forces leading to intense fighting.
- Social and cultural disruption. The war resulted into social upheavals, displacements and migrations.
- Health issues. The war brought about health challenges in the region including the spread of diseases among troops e.g. the influenza of 1918.
- Legacy of violence. The war left a deep scar on east Africa leading to conflicts and tensions even after the war.
- Colonial shifts. After Germany's defeat the League of Nations granted Britain and Belgium control over Germany territories of Tanganyika and Rwanda.
- Labor exploitation. The war increased the demand for labor in east Africa leading to the forced recruitment of many Africans for various purposes like military services, etc.
- Rise of nationalism. The experience of WWI and the involvement of Africans sparked nationalist sentiments and movements laying ground for future independence.



- Loss of lives. The war resulted in loss of lives among soldiers and civilians in east Africa who had been recruited forcefully into the colonial army.

In conclusion WWI significantly altered the social, political and economic landscape of east Africa.

**The key events of WWI that significantly influenced the future history of East Africa.**

1. The east African campaign. The war saw a conflict between British and Germany forces in EA which shaped the regions political spectrum and social dynamics.
2. Militarization and forced recruitment. The colonial powers forcefully recruited Africans into the military leading to serious deaths and casualties. This experience had long term consequences on the perception of colonial rule and fueled nationalist sentiments.
3. Resource exploitation. The resource exploitation by the European powers left a great impact on the region's economy and the exploitation continued even after the war.
4. Territorial changes. After Germany's defeat the LON gave Germany east Africa territories to Britain and this solidified colonial control over the region and it influenced its future boundaries.
5. Nationalism and independence movements. The experience of the war fostered nationalistic sentiments and movements which later led to the rise of African nationalism.
6. Economic impact/ economic depression. The war disrupted trade and economic activities in east Africa causing food shortage and economic hardships. This strengthened the call for economic independence and local control over resources.
7. Social changes. Many communities were disrupted when people were uprooted from their homes which influenced future migration patterns and social dynamics in the region.
8. Trade decline. The chaotic situation which the war generated could not allow transaction to take place.
9. The war influenced settlers activities in east Africa. A large number of whites moved to east Africa especially from South Africa and other British colonies.

## **CHAPTER 08. KEY PERSONALITIES IN THE HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA BEFORE INDEPENDENCE.**

### **Learning outcomes**

**By the end of this chapter, learners should be able to;**

- a) Know the background and the East African problems caused by the colonialists.
- b) Understand the key personalities who struggled for the independence of East Africa.
- c) Appreciate the impact of the East African Personalities in the struggle for independence.

### **THE KEY PERSONALITIES WHO STRUGGLED FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF EAST AFRICA.**

**The key personalities in the struggle for independence of Tanzania.**

#### **CHIEF MKWAWA OF THE HEHE (1890-1898)**

##### **Career and Contributions/Achievements/Role of chief mkwawa.**

- Mkwawa was the leader of the Hehe who occupy Southern Tanzania. He came to power in 1878 succeeding his father Munyigumba.
- He built a highly trained army, which he used to stage a tough and prolonged resistance against German rule in Tanganyika.
- From 1800, he was busy extending the frontiers of his empire. This however, landed him in problems with the Germans who were also busy colonizing Tanganyika.
- In his bid to control trade, he closed the trade route between Tabora and Bagamoyo and also terrorized and imprisoned German, African and Swahili traders at Usagara, for refusing to pay tribute (hongo) to him.
- He defied German pleas to release the traders he had imprisoned. This arrogance angered the Germans and forced them to react.
- It should be noted that Mkwawa's contemptuous behaviour was based on the support he expected to get from Chief Chabruma of the Ngoni and Chief Siki of Tabora.
- In 1891, the German force under Zelewekis confronted him for the first time. However he learnt of this plot. He ambushed and humiliated this force at Lungala, killing many of the German forces including its commander, Zelewekis.
- The Germans temporarily accepted defeat and gave up on him and shifted their attention to Chief Isike of the Nyarnwezi who was willing to work with them.
- Mkwawa however realized the need for a peaceful end to the conflict and dispatched messengers with gifts to the Germans. The Germans responded by gunning the messengers down.
- This act greatly annoyed Mkwawa, forcing him to close the Caravan trade route from Bagamoyo to Tabora to all traders. The Germans again started organizing expeditions against him.

- But Mkwawa was not yet to give up his peaceful plans to end his problems with the Germans. He therefore sent another messenger with gifts but he was also killed.
- This greatly demoralized him, forcing him to go into a full-scale war with them and at Kilosa, where
- he managed to kill 290 Germans and their allies.
- In October 1892, he destroyed a Long distance caravan at Kondowa. This greatly increased his influence and he was able to complete the construction of his fort at Kalenga.
- In 1894, the Germans decided to deal decisively with him. They stormed and destroyed his capital at Kalenga, killing many of his soldiers.
- With a handful of his men, he escaped to Ingonge where he unsuccessfully attempted to ambush the Germans on their way back to the coast.
- The Germans after this relaxed their machinery against him, thinking that this had completely weakened
- him, but they were mistaken.
- Mkwawa this time using a guerilla war tactics launched another round of attacks on the German - controlled areas.
- The Germans then came to finally destroy him. Using the scorched - earth policy, they destroyed water and food reservoirs, which caused wide spread hunger and starvation.
- In his four-year-guerilla war, Mkwawa suffered heavy losses as his warriors were killed and others surrendered to the Germans.
- After being cornered, he refused to be captured alive and instead shot himself in 1898. A few of his trusted soldiers also gave in to the Germans.
- When the Germans found his dead body, they cut off his head and sent it to a museum in Berlin -
- Germany.
- The Hehe constantly demanded for the head of their fallen chief until when the Germans bowed to pressure and returned it in 1954.
- This marked the end of his resistance to the Germans but still he is a hero who tried to protect the
- independence of his people.

## **DR. JULIUS KAMBARAGE NYERERE OF TANZANIA**

### **Career and contributions/achievements/role of Julius K Nyerere.**

- Dr. Nyerere commonly known as Mwalimu (teacher) was born at Butiama near the Eastern shores of L. Victoria in March 1922 to Burito Nyerere-a Zenaki chief.

- Despite his chiefly background, Nyerere lived generally a rural life helping his family in daily chores.
  - He went to Musoma for his primary, Tabora School for secondary and later (1943) Makerere University College (Kampala, Uganda) for a diploma in education.
  - While at Makerere, he formed the Makerere Boys of Tanganyika, an association of all Tanzanians studying at Makerere.
- 
- On completion of his studies at Makerere in 1945, Nyerere returned to Tanganyika to start a teaching career at St. Mary's Tabora - a Catholic mission school.
  - He later (1949) went for further studies at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland where he attained a Masters degree in History, Economics and Philosophy.
  - While in Britain, he met various Pan - Africanists like Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta who inculcated into him a feeling to liberate his people.
  - In 1952, he returned to Tanganyika and was immediately elected Secretary of the Tanganyika African Peoples' Welfare Association. He also became an active member of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA).
  - In 1953, he was elected President of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). He reorganized the party and made it an effective organ in national politics.
  - In May 1954, he was appointed a temporary member of the Legco.
  - On 7th July the same year (1954), at Dar es Salaam, a new party (TANU) was formed, replacing TAA. Nyerere was elected president of this new party.
  - The party was broad in outlook, Nyerere its leader made it clear that, TANU was opposed to tribalism and aimed at uniting all Tanganyikans for independence.
  - Nyerere's non - racial tendencies soon endeared him to the new governor, Sir Richard Turnbull. The two became good friends and always sat together to discuss government problems.
  - In the same year (1954), he presented the African case for self - rule to the United Nations visiting mission.
  - The following year (1955), he visited UN trusteeship committee, demanding independence for Tanganyika.
  - Still in 1955, he was elected to the Legislative council but resigned after two years accusing it of having no serious programme as far as speeding up the independence of Tanganyika was concerned. He decided to pursue independent moves.
  - In 1956, Nyerere again went to the UN trusteeship committee demanding for African independence once again.
  - However, in 1957, his meetings became violent and were banned by the colonial government

- The same (1957), he again visited the United Nations to demand for 50% of unofficial seats in the Legislative council for the Africans.
- In December 1957, he was elected to be the President of the Legco in order to diffuse the conflicts that had risen between TANU and the government, but after a few months he resigned due to failure of the Legco to pursue serious independence moves.
- In September 1958, he steered TANU to sweeping victory in the all-race Legco elections. TANU supporters won in all the areas.
- UTP because of its poor performance in the elections was disbanded unconditionally. TANU's victory meant another step in the independence struggle.
- In his campaigns and even racial politics, a through out his rule, Dr. Julius Nyerere always encouraged unity, non spirit of freedom and hard work "Uhuru na Kazi".
- In 1959, he became Chairman of the five-elected member organization.
- In the August 1960 elections, he steered his TANU party to another landslide victory where it won 70 of the 71 seats reserved for Africans in the LEGCO.
- On 1st May 1961, Tanganyika got internal self - rule and Dr. Julius Nyerere became the first Prime minister.
- On 9th December 1962, Tanganyika got total independence from the British, which the Duke of Edinburg "handed" to Nyerere at Dar es Salaam Stadium. He therefore became the first President of Tanzania.
- This great son of Tanzania and Africa retired from government in 1985 and died of leukemia on 14th October 1999 at St Thomas Hospital in London. He left behind a wife Maria, five sons and three daughters.

### **The key personalities in the struggle for independence of Uganda.**

#### **SEMEI KAKUNGULU**

#### **Career and Contrirbutions/Achievements/Role of Semei Kakungulu.**

- Semei Lwakilenzi Kakungulu was born in Kooki around 1870 but grew up as apage a at the Kabaka's court in Buganda.
- As a young boy, he joined the Buganda's royal army where he demonstrated that he was a military genius. This earned him the title of a general.
- With the growing influence of the missionaries at the Kabaka's court, Kakungulu found himself close to the clerical circles of the CMS missionaries who converted him to Christianity and christened him-Semei.
- During the 1888-1890 religious wars, he joined hands with the Christians to topple Kalema and the Muslims who had taken control of Mengo - Buganda's capital. This landed him the post of Sub - county chief of Kyaggwe (Bugerere),
- He confined himself there for some time, encouraging cotton growing, tax payment and building of roads, all of which were in line with indirect rule.

- Later, he rivalled with Apollo Kaggwa for the post of Katikiro - Chief Minister of Buganda, which he lost to the latter.
- His political career however begun to take shape in 1890, when he decided to become an ally of the British for personal gains - he hoped to build his own empire.
- In the same year (1890), he was placed in Bunyoro. He proved a competent soldier and administrator that he even became a threat to other Ganda personalities in Buganda.
- He convinced fellow Baganda that the best way to fight Bunyoro was to ally with the British, and he was willing to do anything to please them (British).
- In 1893, with the help of Col. Colville, Kakungulu launched his campaign against Bunyoro and Kabalega in particular, who had become a problem to the British.
- In the same year, he teamed up with a British official, Mac Donald to defeat Ganda Muslims These retreated to Toro, where they were equally defeated.
- In 1895 he led a delegation of Kuman and Iteso elders to Buganda seeking the Kabaka's protection,
- In 1897 he collaborated with the British to quell Sudanese mutiny and this earned him a medal
- In 1899, he headed the campaigns that resulted in the capture of Kabalega and Mwanga at Kangai in Lango on 9 June. He achieved this with the help of a British force under Col Evatts. The two were exiled to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean.
- Between 1899 and 1920, he moved to Lango, Bugisu, Teso and Kumam, supposedly to create an empire for himself in Eastern Uganda
- In 1901 he established a fort at Buruli for his operations against the Kumam, Iteso, Bugisu and Bukedi
- Kakungulu used both diplomacy and military power (the gun) to weaken and disorganize the societies he came across.
- He was nicknamed "Kabaka of Bukedi?" by Sir Harry Johnson in recognition of his efforts to bring Bugweri and Bugisu under British rule.
- Fearing the fame he had built for himself, the British in 1901 attacked his headquarters in Budaka (Bukedi) and forced him to withdraw to Nabumali (Mbale), which was also taken over in 1903.
- By 1906 he had taken over Busoga and was appointed "President of the Busoga Lukiiko" in 1908 by the British who wanted to please him.
- He also created the office of "Kyabazinga" (paramount chief of the Basoga) and crowned himself the first Kyabazinga of Busoga.
- In all the areas Kakungulu conquered, he carried out a number of economic developments that made him the darling of the British. But there were cries from the locals that his chiefs were grabbing their land, cattle and sheep.
- He built administrative posts like in Budaka and Nabumali (Mbale), which were later used by the British as bases.

- He built roads almost in the whole of Eastern Uganda. In Bugisu, he built the Bubulo - Nabumali road and in Busoga, the Iganga - Budaka road. These eased mobility of administrators and fostered economic development.
- He also helped to attract Indian and Arab traders to open up trading activities in Eastern Uganda
- He encouraged the growing of cash crops. In Busoga, he for example encouraged cotton growing and coffee growing in Bugisu.
- He is also credited with the planting of many Mvule trees and mangoes and these lined the main roads in Eastern Uganda.
- In all the areas Kakungulu conquered, he introduced the Kiganda model of administration (he divided the area into counties (Saza), sub-counties (Gombolola), parishes (Muluka) etc. This helped in the development of indirect rule and native administration.
- In Busoga for example, he divided the area into seven counties and introduced Baganda agents and advisers there.
- In his administration, Kakungulu did not neglect the health sector. He helped set up medical centres wherever he established administrative posts like Budaka dispensary in Budaka. These improved on the health of the people.
- He encouraged the British to extend the railway line to Eastern Uganda to collect cotton and coffee and by 1930, the line had reached Tororo. In all this, Kakungulu succeeded basically because of the loyalty of his followers i.e. Baganda agents and collaborators
- All the above reforms earned Kakungulu a lot of admiration from the British, but he was not to remain in the same bed with them for long. A clear testimony that they had been using him as a stooge.
- After sometime, he suffered a series of demotions and transfers. For example, in 1901 he was demoted from being the Kabaka of Bukedi to the President of the Busoga Lukiiko, on accusations of bringing chaos and disorder to the region.
- He was further demoted to a county chief in Mbale and his new headquarters taken over by the British. He withdrew back to Bukedi in 1913 where he spent most of his later years.
- In 1923, having lost popularity, the British retired him on a pension of £3,000.
- These developments greatly demoralized and frustrated Kakungulu, forcing him to join a religious sect called "Abamalaki", which opposed missionary teaching, white civilization and medicine.
- In 1929, Kakungulu died a disappointed old man, which was typical of most collaborators. He had not realized his dream of creating an empire for himself. He was buried in Mbale.
- Nevertheless, by the time of his death, he had done a great job as far as extending British rule in Uganda was concerned.

## **OMUKAMA KABALEGA OF BUNYORO**

### **Career and Contributions/Achievements/Role of Kabaleega**

- Kabalega was born in 1850 to Omukama Kamurasi and his wife Kanyange Myamutwalibwa in present Toro.
- He spent his early years in Bulega where his father had been exiled by a rebellion. From Bulega, he acquired the name Kabalega (meaning some one from Bulega).
- In 1869, he was involved in a power struggle with his brother Kabigumire over who should succeed their father Kabigumire was supported by the royal family and provincial chiefs.
- In 1870, he came to power after defeating his brother (Kabigumire) with the support of the commoners, his father's bodyguards, the Arabs and Langi mercenaries.
- His problems however, did not end with the defeat of his brother and therefore his early years in power were full of problems.
- These ranged from internal rivalry, Buganda's threat, the Nubians backed by Khedive Ismail, the Arab slave traders, the lost glory of the kingdom, to increased European interest in East Africa. All his early efforts were therefore aimed at solving these problems.
- After the defeat of his brother, he exiled and killed members of the royal family and the chiefs who had supported him (his rival brother).
- He began his campaigns to rebuild Bunyoro by building a strong army - Abarusuuru. This army had two regiments each with 1800 men, armed with guns he had got from the Khartoumers and the coastal Arabs.
- He developed a network of spies (informers). These always fed him with information about his enemies within and outside the kingdom.
- He destroyed the social classes that existed in the and appointed even Bunyoro to positions of responsibility, hence uniting the Nyoro society. commoners (Abairu)
- He carried out expeditions against his neighbours (Toro, Baganda, Lango, Acholi, Teso) aimed at reviving the glory of his kingdom that had greatly declined during the reign of his father
- Kabalega's imperialism soon clashed with British imperialism. The British were in other words alarmed by his political activities.
- He first resisted British intrusion in June 1872, when he fought Sir Samuel Bdbber and his Egyp allies at the boarder of Masindi (the battle of Isansa). Baker who had been hired by Khedive Istrmailto extend his Egyptian territory southwards was utterly defeated to the disnay of the British
- The success in the above battle motivated him to attack Buganda in the East, which made him face Captain Fredrick Lugard and his Ganda allies.
- At the same time Kabalega realized that his campaigns against the British would cause him problems and so he opted for peace. In this, he wanted Samuel Baker to give him military support against Buganda.
- But Samuel Baker told him that he could only give him support on condition that he accepted Egyptian protection which he refused and therefore refused to sign any protection treaty with the British Samuel Baker).



- Later in 1893, he attacked Kasagama, drove him out of his capital and forced him to seek refuge in Buddu, where he met Capt. Lugard on his way to Ankole.
- Kasagama moved back to Toro with Lugard who fought and defeated Kabalega's forces and restored him (Kasagama) back to power.
- A chain of forts was built on the Bunyoro-Toro border to protect the latter against the former's attacks. Later Kabalega attacked these forts and deposed Kasagama again.
- In 1894, Lugard led a force of Europeans, 600 Sudanese and 1500 Baganda that attacked and defeated Kabalega. Kabalega abandoned his capital at Mparo and withdrew to Budongo forest.
- The British forces under Colonel Colville, the new British commissioner occupied Bunyoro and installed his son-Kitahimbwa as new the king.
- In Budongo forest, Kabalega continued with his wars of resistance against the British but this time avoiding confrontational warfare (He resorted to guerrilla war tactics).
- In 1895, he successfully defeated the British and Ganda forces in Masindi. When Semei Kakungulu defeated him in Budongo forest, he fled to Lango.
- In Lango, he was joined by Mwanga who was also running away from British imperialism in Buganda. The two continued with their guerrilla warfare against British rule.
- However, in Lango, the two were betrayed by the local chiefs who reported them to Sernei Kakungulu. With Col. Evatts force, Kakungulu captured the two men on 9th April 1899 in a swamp near Lake Kyoga and brought them to Kampala, where he handed them officially deported to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean. to the British. They were
- Even in exile, the Banyoro still looked at him as their king and hero and continued pressing for his return. He converted to Christianity and was baptized Yonand
- Later, he was allowed to return as a mere citizen but he did not reach Bunyoro. He died at Mpumudde in Jinja on 7th April 1923, aged 3. He was buried at Mparo in present day Hoima district.
- Despite his weakness, Omukama Cwa II Kabalega Yohana was a great military ruler and an outstanding African hero who staged a serious resistance to the British occupation of his area.

## **IGNATIUS KANGAVE MUSAAZI (UNC)**

### **Career and Contributions/Achievements/Role of I K Musaazi.**

- Musaazi was born in 1902, to a Gombolola chief in Bulemeezi.
- He had his education mainly in mission schools up to St. Augustine's School-Canterbury England
- He became a teacher and taught at Kings' College Buddo. He rose to become an Inspector of schools from 1935 to 1936.
- He founded the Peasant Farmers' Voluntary Organization and later became the President of the Federation of African Farmers.

- On 2nd March 1952, he founded the Uganda National Congress (UNC) from the Federation of African Farmers Association, which had been outlawed for organizing riots in Buganda. The UNC became the first major political party in Uganda.
- At the helm of UNC, Musaazi enabled the party to become a wider political organisation, cutting across tribal, regional and religious divides. This enabled the party to get support from all corners of Uganda
- The party spearheaded the campaign for self - rule in Uganda. It was the first political party to be formed with a national outlook.
- It attacked European rule and exploitation, demanded greater representation on the Legco and opposed the federation of East Africa.
- It organized demonstrations and strikes throughout Uganda that were intended to bring self -rule as soon as possible. The colonial government was forced to think about the independence of Uganda as something serious.
- It organized the boycott of non - African shops and condemned the deportation of the Kabaka to England.
- In 1959 UNC was split into two wings. One was opposed to Buganda's separatist demands and led by Obote and another by Jolly Joe Kiwanuka. By this time, Musaazi had been exiled to London.
- The Uganda National Congress was however predominantly Protestant and full of Old Boys of King's College Buddo.
- Initially, UNC was opposed by the Baganda for its views of having a united Uganda and only managed to win back their hearts when it strongly condemned the deportation of the Kabaka.
- Musaazi who is regarded as the father of Uganda's nationalism is buried at the Heroes' corner at Kololo.

## **DR. APOLLO MILTON OBOTE**

### **Career and Contributions/Achievements/Role of Dr. Apollo M. Obote.**

- He was born on 28<sup>th</sup> December 1924 at Akokoro village in Lango, northern Uganda.
- He was born to a local village chief called Stanley Opeti.
- He started his education at Lira Protestant School and then to Gulu High School and Busoga College, Mwiri.
- He then joined Makerere University College in 1948 for an Arts degree which he never completed.
- In 1949, Obote led a students' strike in his second year at the university and he was expelled for political activism.
- After his expulsion, Obote was also denied a Visa by the Colonial government to study abroad.
- He later joined a British Engineering and Construction firm called Mowlem construction Company based in Jinja.

- When the company transferred to Kabeta in Kenya, he followed it but left it for Standard Vacuum Oil Company.
- While in Kenya, he was inspired by members of Mau Mau like Jomo Kenyatta, General China (Waruhiu Itote) and Dedan Kimathi. He had studied with some of them at Makerere.
- He stayed in Kenya until 1957 and when he returned to Uganda he was appointed chairman of the Uganda National Congress (UNC) Lango branch.
- In 1958, he was elected to the Legco representing Lango and he came one of the vocal members on the council.
- At the same time, he befriended Ignatius Kangave Musaazi the leader of UNC and Musaazi appointed Obote as UNC representative in Mbale.
- Later, Obote sacked Musaazi for travelling to London without the consent of the party.
- As a result, UNC lost its popularity and Musaazi was exiled in Gulu and later London.
- Obote then befriended William K Nadiope, a member of the Legco who had formed the Uganda Peoples' Union (UPU).
- Nadiope always moved with and introduced Obote as a son of Busoga to the masses but this was a mistake because it weakened UPU.
- In 1959, there was a split in UNC and Obote led the anti-Buganda wing.
- In 1960, he was awarded a honorary degree of Law of Long Island University in U.S.A.
- On 9<sup>th</sup> March 1960, UPU merged with Obote's UNC wing to form the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC).
- Obote assumed leadership of the new party with John Kakonge as Secretary General.
- The party became more popular as more prominent people joined it e.g. Jaberu Bidandi Ssali, Ali Kirunda Kivejinja and Dani Wadada Nabudere.
- In the 1961 elections, Obote's UPC lost to Ben Kiwanuka's Democratic Party (DP).
- Kiwanuka became the leader of the Legco and Obote became leader of the opposition.
- In the Legco, Obote strongly demanded for an advance towards self rule.
- On 1<sup>st</sup> March 1961, Uganda became self governing.
- in the same year, Obote was among those who attended the London conference where he greatly supported Buganda's federal demands.
- He was so tactical that he even decided to marry a Muganda lady called Miria Kalule which made him a darling of the Baganda.
- In April 1962, elections were organized and UPC got 37, DP got 24 and Kabaka Yekka (KY) got 21 votes.
- Obote decided to ally with KY to form a government and this was a victory for Obote.
- On 9<sup>th</sup> October 1962, Uganda got her independence with Obote as the Prime Minister.
- On 10<sup>th</sup> October 2005, Obote died in a Johannesburg hospital.

### **The key personalities in the struggle for independence of Kenya.**

#### **TOM MBOYA**

##### **Career and Contributions/Achievements/Role of Tom Mboya.**

- Mboya was born around 1931 in Rusinga valley, Western Kenya. He had a three-year secondary education course after which he trained as a Health Inspector.

- After school, he worked as a Health Inspector in Nairobi. During his work, he was greatly touched by the living conditions and welfare of the Africans.
- He blamed the government for inaction and indifference to the conditions of the Africans.
- In 1953, he was elected Secretary General of the Kenya Federation of Labour. When political activities were banned due to the confusion created by the Mau - Mau activities, the federation remained the only forum for those who wanted to air out their grievances and discontent against the colonial government
- During his tenure of office, he established contacts with overseas Labour organisations like in the United States and Britain. This greatly enhanced his credibility.
- In 1957, he established the Peoples' Convention Party (PCP) to contest the elections to the Legislative council
- In 1958, he was elected to the Legislative council with three other African members, due to the reforms introduced in 1957 by the new Colonial Secretary, Lennox - Boyd. He became one of the vocal members on council.
- He strongly opposed Lennox - Boyd's constitutional changes whereby the twelve specially elected members had to be chosen by the Legco. He thus led other African members into a boycott, demanded a full constitutional conference and the release of Kenyatta.
- In 1960, Tom Mboya was one of the African representatives who participated in the Lancaster House conference in London. This conference gave the African majority on the unofficial side of the Legislative council.
- In March 1960, Mboya with other African members to the Legco (Oginga Odinga, James Gichuru) formed the Kenya African National Union (KANU). He was elected Secretary General of this new party.
- He participated in the elections of 1961 through which KANU got a resounding victory (KANU 83 seats, KADU 41 seats). However, it refused to form a government until Kenyatta was released.
- With other African nationalists, Tom Mboya organized and arranged for the independence of Kenya which was finally attained on 12<sup>th</sup> Dec 1963.

## **MZEE JOMO KENYATTA**

### **Career and Contributions/Achievements/Role of Jomo Kenyatta.**

- He was born in 1893 at Nsenda near Nairobi.
- His first name was Kamau, but between 1909 and 1914, he attended a Presbyterian Mission School where he was baptized Johnston Kamau Wa'Ngenyi.
- Between 1922 to 1928, Kenyatta worked as a water inspector for Nairobi municipality.
- During this period, he was an active member of a Kikuyu political organisation and he became the voice of the workers demanding for better wages and housing facilities.
- In 1928, he was elected Secretary General of the Kikuyu Central Association whose main aim was to recover land lost to white settlers.

- He also became the editor of the Kikuyu Language Journal called ‘‘Muigi Thania’’ (Unity).
- In 1929, he went to London as a representative of the Kikuyu Central Association and pleaded for the African loss of land to the colonial secretary. He returned to Kenya in 1930.
- In 1931, he left for England and studied anthropology at the London School of Economics.
- In 1945, he organized the Manchester Pan African Congress with Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and others.
- In July 1946, he returned to Kenya and he replaced James Gichuru as the leader of Kenya African Union (KAU), a party that demanded for more African representation on the Legco.
- He became an active member of Mau Mau and with General China, Dedan Kimathi and Tom Mboya as the leaders of the movement.
- During the same time, he also served as a principal of Githunguri Teacher Training College but his stay was short lived.
- He was sacked by the colonial government due to his growing popularity.
- Many KAU members were not impressed by Kenyatta’s decision to support Mau Mau activities.
- In 1951, the party between split between the moderates and extremists who didn’t believe in the activities of Mau Mau.
- Kenyatta stayed with the moderates because of the high respect he had earned himself and also stayed in contact with Mau Mau fighters.
- In the same year, Kenyatta presented a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary Griffith, containing African demand for self rule.
- In 1953, he was arrested on suspicion that he was the real power behind the Mau Mau guerilla activities.
- He was sentenced to seven years in prison with other leaders e.g. General China and Dedan Kimathi.
- In 1960, KANU was formed by African leaders in the Legco and they elected Kenyatta as president while still in prison.
- In 1961, he was released from prison and he assumed leadership of KANU.
- He was accused by some party members of being too town centered, radical and making KANU a tribal grouping of only Kikuyu and Luo.
- This led to the formation of a new party called KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union).
- Kenyatta tried to reconcile KADU and KANU but his attempts failed.
- In January 1962, he was elected to the Legco and during general elections, KANU won with an over whelming majority.
- In February 1962, Kenyatta attended the second Lancaster House Conference that was called to draw up a constitution for Kenya.
- In May 1963, elections were held and KANU won with eighty two seats and its rival KADU got forty one seats.
- On 1<sup>st</sup> June 1963, Kenya attained self rule and Kenyatta became prime minister.
- He chose all his ministers from all races and always stressed African unity.
- On 12<sup>th</sup> December 1963, Kenya achieved total independence at Uhuru stadium.
- Prince Philip handed over the reigns of power to Jomo Kenyatta who therefore became the first President of Kenya.
- In 1978, Kenyatta died.
- He was popularly known as ‘‘Mzee’’ a Swahili word for old man.

## THE EXTERN DEBT BURDEN

The debt burden in East Africa has been rising in recent years, and it can be attributed to a range of factors that vary from country to country. However, several key causes are commonly seen across the region:

### CAUSES OF EXTERNAL DEBT BURDEN IN EAST AFRICA

**Increased Borrowing.** Many East African countries, such as Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, have increased their borrowing from both domestic and international sources to finance infrastructure projects, social programs, and budget deficits.

**The need to develop and construct more infrastructures.** Many East African countries have embarked on ambitious infrastructure projects, including roads, railways, ports, and energy generation facilities. While these projects are essential for long-term growth, they often require significant capital, which is typically borrowed. For instance, Uganda's development of the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) involved significant Chinese loans, contributing to rising debt levels.

**Increased over-reliance on Foreign Debts.** Many East African countries have increasingly turned to international lenders (including China, the World Bank, and commercial markets) to finance development, often taking loans in foreign currencies.

**Weak Domestic Revenue Collections.** In many East African countries, tax revenues remain low due to inefficiencies in tax collection systems, widespread informality in the economy, and sometimes political resistance to taxation reforms.

**An increased levels of Corruption and Mismanagement in East Africa.** In East Africa, Loans taken for development projects sometimes end up being misallocated or diverted, leading to fewer tangible results and increasing the need for further borrowing to finance deficits.

**price fluctuations in commodity** prices (oil, coffee, tea, etc.), slowdowns in key trading partners' economies, or global inflation, can worsen the debt situation for East African countries.

**Out break of pandemics.** The COVID-19 pandemic, for example, put pressure on many countries in the region, leading to a decline in exports, a reduction in remittances, and an increase in the demand for social spending, all of which have contributed to rising debt levels.

**Over ddependence on External Markets.** East African economies are often highly dependent on external capital flows. When international investors pull back, or when external financing conditions tighten, the ability to service foreign debt diminishes.

**High Interest Rates on External Loans.** Many East African countries have taken loans from international markets at relatively high-interest rates, particularly from non-concessional lenders like commercial banks.

**Increased Political Instability in East Africa.** Political instability, ethnic conflicts, and insecurity in some East African countries have undermined economic growth and led to higher borrowing needs. Conflicts often divert resources away from development priorities and result in the need for humanitarian assistance, reconstruction, and emergency spending, all of which contribute to rising debt

Some countries in East Africa have found it difficult to manage or restructure their existing debt, leading to a growing debt stock..

**Out break of natural disasters.** East Africa is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, such as droughts, floods, and desertification, which have a direct impact on agriculture — the backbone of many East African economies. These climate-related shocks can increase government spending on emergency responses, while at the same time reduce the ability to generate revenue from key sectors like agriculture.

**.Lack of Diversification in Economies.** Many East African economies are highly dependent on a limited number of sectors (agriculture, extractive industries, and tourism), which makes them vulnerable to external shocks. This lack of diversification hampers the growth of other revenue-generating sectors, limiting the government's ability to generate sufficient funds internally and leading to increased borrowing.

**IMPACTS OF THE EXTERNAL DEBT BURDEN ON EAST AFRICA (to be discussed in class)**