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STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN NIGERIA FROM 1944 TO 1960

Problems faced by the nationalists during the independence struggle

Nigeria won its independence from Britain on 1st October 1960, but this independence was won amidst several problems. Among these problems was Britain. Britain was the colonial power in Nigeria, however it made serious mistakes in the territory that complicated the task of winning independence in Nigeria. Britain applied indirect rule and ruled Northern Nigeria as if it was a different part from the South up to 1946. This was a divide and rule tactic introduced and implemented by Lord Lugard. In their quest for independence, the Nigeria nationalists faced the following problems:-

The tribalism was a serious problem faced by the Nigerian nationalists which delayed the struggle for national independence in Nigeria. Nigeria was highly divided country and structured along tribal lines. The northern part of Nigeria was inhabited by the Hausa and Fulani, the eastern region by the Ibo and the western region by the Yoruba. The political parties formed in Nigeria reflected these divisions. For instance, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) which had control of the Northern Region (**Hausa**-**Fulani**), led by Ahmadu Bello, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) which had control of the Eastern Region (**Igbo**) led by Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Action Group (AG) which had control of the Western Region (**Yoruba**), led by Obafemi Awolowo . This tribalism made it difficult for them to form a united front against colonialists, hence the delay in the attainment of independence.

Religious differences were another set of challenges which the nationalists faced in the struggle for independence in Nigeria. The northern part of Nigeria was occupied by Muslims while the southern part was inhabited by Christians. Uniting Christians and Muslims for a national cause was a big hurdle to overcome.

The large population and size of Nigeria also worked against the nationalists for some time. The country stretched from the Niger Delta in the south to Hausa land in the north. It was not easy for nationalists to cover the whole country in a short time in spreading their anti-colonial gospel. More so, Nigeria before independence had a population of about 40 million people. They were not easy to mobilize in a few years.

The absence of the charismatic leadership also delayed Nigeria independence. The leaders that emerged were sectarian and therefore did not receive support from the entire country. Doctor Namdi Azikiwe fronted the interest of the Yoruba while Sir. Abubakar Tafewa Balewa fronted those of the northerners. Without a leader that would attract nation-wide support, independence had to wait for long.

The British colonial legacy further worked against early independence for the Nigerians. The British used divide and rule method whereby people’s tribal differences were emphasized over and above their common needs. The British used this in order to draw a wedge among the Nigerian tribes and make them less united. This created disunity and therefore prolonged colonialism in Nigeria.

The rejection of the proposal by the Action Group for early independence also delayed Nigeria’s independence. In 1953, the Action Group party demanded that Nigeria be given independence in 1956. This was vehemently opposed by the NPC claiming that the Southerners or Christians wanted to dominate Nigerian politics before the Muslims and northerners could have educated leaders. This was because people in the north were far less educated than those in the south.

Attempts to secede by the three big regions of Nigeria delayed the independence struggle. Each of the three regions namely, the North, West and East aspired to become an independent country separate from the rest. They therefore took long to come together and demand for the independence for a united Nigeria.

Illiteracy in Nigeria was another hurdle faced by the nationalists. Nigeria had a large population of illiterate people who were hard to reach and to convince. Such a population could not read newspapers and therefore could not be easily mobilized. Further still, some of the educated young people viewed the uneducated with contempt, something that drew a wedge between the two classes. This difference made it hard for the nationalists to mobilize the masses for the struggle for early attainment of independence.

Then there was the problem of brutality meted out on to the African nationalists who organized protests and strikes. The British reacted to the riots that took place between 1998 and 1950 orchestrated by the poor working conditions in the Nigerian mines and plantations with utmost brutality. Consequently, 20 protestors were massacred as many more received fatal injuries. This demoralized early nationalist hence delay in early attainment of independence.

The Richards (1946) and Macpherson (1951) constitutions delayed the independence struggle in Nigeria. Whereas the Richards constitution recommended the co-opting of the Africans in the legislative assemblies in the north, the east and the west, the majority of these African legislators were either nominated or appointed and therefore not answerable to the electorate. Besides, the parliament in which they sat, basically played an advisory role instead of a legislative one. By creating three legislative assemblies for each of the three major regions of Nigeria as recommended by the Macpherson (1951) constitution, the British were instead promoting tribal sub-nationalism in Nigeria. Furthermore none of these constitutions advocated for granting of immediate independence to Nigeria.

The economic weakness and the general poverty of Nigerians made the gaining of independence difficult. The overwhelming majority of Nigerians was poor and could not finance the activities of nationalists. For example, it was not easy to raise enough money to enable African activists like Namdi Azikiwe to launch a political campaign by touring the whole country.

The African nationalists in Nigeria lacked foreign support. Nigeria’s nationalists did not get any external help in their struggle for independence. No funds of significance came their way. They therefore had to depend on their local means in order to finance their political activities. This incapacitated the activities of the political activities.

The impact of the press was limited in Nigeria. The press impact was limited in spurring national sentiments. This was because many people in Nigeria were illiterate. The small literate population was urban centred and although Azikwe had newspapers like “Comet” and “The West African Post”, they were urban-centered. The rural areas which had the population were not served.

The poor approach led to the delay in the struggle for independence. Rather than adopting a radical militant approach, the Nigerian nationalists heavy relied on peaceful means. When the British brutally suppressed the workers’ and farmers protests between 1948 and 1950, Nigeria’s nationalists gave up on using violence to gain independence. They resorted to negotiations which gave the British a chance to play delaying tactics.

Lack of developed infrastructure led the delay in the attainment of independence in Nigeria. In the period before independence, Nigeria had very poor infrastructure. She had poor road and railway network which only led to British plantations, administrative centers, schools and the few health centers.

Furthermore, Nigeria was a big territory. It extended from the South to Fulani and Hausa territory in the North. The vastness of Nigeria meant that nationalists had a problem of moving from one part to the next spreading the word of nationalism. This was even made harder because by the time of independence struggle Nigeria had about 35 million people with different cultural background.

There was also a failure on the part of the people of Nigeria to agree on a common ideology. Some Nigerians favored federalism while others wanted unitary system of governance. They lost then years in discussing which type of government Nigeria should have at independence, should it go federal or unitary. During these ten years they wasted their time thereby promoting the British to stay longer in the country.

***Revision question:-***

*To what extent has ethnicity been a hinderance to the attainment of national unity and development in Nigeria?*

***Answer***

* The candidate is expected to show the degree to which ethnicity has been a hindered the attainment of national unity and development in Nigeria.
* Other factors are also required
* A good essay should have a stand point

***Points to consider***

* Nigeria is a country with several ethnic groupings which were forced to come together under one central authority during the colonial period. Ethinicity has undermined national unity and development in Nigeria in the following ways:-
* Ethnicity has led to re-emergence of ethnic loyalties after independence leading to seccessions and military coups
* Has led to the formation of political parties along tribal lines hindered the attainment of national unity. For example, Northern People's Congress (NPC) which had support of the Northern Region (**Hausa**-**Fulani**), led by Ahmadu Bello, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) from the Eastern Region (**Igbo**) led by Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Action Group (AG) which had control of the Western Region (**Yoruba**), led by Obafemi Awolowo
* The governments in power in Nigeria seemed to draw support from tribal and regional loyalties
* Social, economic development, corruption and nepotism had tribal conotations
* Discontents from disadvantaged ethnic groups or regions leading to instability. For instance, the Ibo and Yoruba in 1966, Ibo – Hausa – Yoruba differences between 1966 and 1972
* Ethnicity had impacts on the Nigerian independence constitution
* Led to imbalanced resource allocation and resource under exploitation
* It led to failure to attain national identity and integration because of the ethnic pluralism
* Ethnic sub – nationalism developed, for instance the Yoruba sub – nationalism in the west, Ibo nationalism in the east and Hausa – Fulani nationalsm in the north. This undermined unity

***Other factors***

* Slave trave legacy, northerners enslaved the southerners during the period Tran – Saharan trade
* Religious differences, the north was Islamic while other areas were Christian
* The militarization of Nigerian politics has led to low achievement of national unity and development
* Economic difficulties arising from a fall in the oil prices in the world market
* Colonial legacy of divide and rule
* The vast size of Nigeria
* The cultural diversity of Nigeria
* Communication difficulty
* Personal differences and clashes among the Nigerian politicians
* Lack strong national ideology

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NIGERIA AND CAMEROONS (NCNC) IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN NIGERIA BETWEEN 1944 – 1960.

Whereas they had been primary resistance to the British before 1944, it’s however believed that modern nationalism that led Nigeria to independence came with the formation of National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) 1944. This party was founded by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and other powerful Nigerians in Lagos with Herbert Macalay as its first Secretary General. In 1960, it managed to lead Nigeria to independence. The NCNC played a primary role in the struggle for independence as seen below:-

NCNC was a mass political party drawing its supporters from all parts of Nigeria. It got support from workers, social clubs and sectors of the society. It had two main objectives namely getting independence for Nigeria and achieving equality for all peoples of Nigeria. These two objectives were very much in line with the actual problems that Nigeria had at that time.

NCNC applied peaceful means in winning independence for Nigeria. The idea of non-violence was copied from India and Gold Coast. In applying peaceful means, the party based its struggles on using journalism to its advantage. The leader of NCNC, Nnamdi Azikiwe was a journalist; he was the Editor of the newspaper called the “West African Pilot”. This Newspaper was distributed to all parts of Nigeria. The party messages were written in the papers and this was read in those places where NCNC was not physically able to reach.

NCNC criticized the Richards Constitution of 1946. The labour party government in Britain had realized that it was the question of colonialism that had led Britain to suffer greatly during World War II. Therefore the party started to introduce some political reforms in its colony including Nigeria, to that effect it issued the Richard constitution in 1966. However, Britain had issued this constitution without consulting the people. This made the leaders of NCNC to feel like they had been undermined hence they opposed it.

The party started to mobilize money to send a delegation to Britain to have this constitution removed or scrapped off. NCNC moved to all parts of Nigeria with brass band to raise money. Eventually they succeeded to get some money to send a delegation to London. While in Britain the government turned down the request of the NCDC to scrap the constitution. Although this appeared to have been a failure on the part of the delegation, it made Britain know the seriousness of the of the people of Nigeria.

The party identified itself with workers among its followers. For example 1948, NCNC supported the workers of Enugu Cold mines in their riots for better pay. This was partly because both NCNC and workers had one common enemy the British that needed to be expelled from the country.

In 1948 NCNC issued the freedom charter. This charter called for the independence of Nigeria and requested everyone in Nigeria to stand up and seek for their freedom. NCNC freedom charter was issued in the very same year in which the UNO also issued its “Declaration of Universal Human Rights”. It was not only NCNC that issued the freedom charter in 1948 basing on the UNO charter on Human Rights but also the ANC in South Africa.

NCNC stood for the unity of Nigeria; it advocated for one Nigeria one Nation, one Nigeria One People. There were parties that had been formed in 1951 to compete with NCNC for the leadership of Nigeria incase the British left the country. The parties were the Action Group (AG) led by Chief Awolowo it was based on Yoruba in the west. There was the Northern People’s Congress led by Ahmed Bello it was based in the North. These parties had sprung up based on regional and tribal affiliations; they wanted Nigeria to be broken up into federal states. However, NCNC opposed them and demanded that Nigeria should be a unitary state. This gave the NCNC a nationalistic outlook but with flexibility.

From 1957 to 1958, Britain invited all political parties in Nigeria to London to debate on the constitution which Nigeria should have on getting independence. A choice had to be made between federal and unitary system of governance. The NCNC supported unitary system while other parties demanded for federalism. Sensing that sticking to federalism it could prolong debate on the constitution; NCNC dropped its stand and reluctantly accepted federalism. This flexibility saved Nigeria from political crisis just before independence, it helped to create peaceful atmosphere of granting independence to Nigeria. In the London meeting, all parties agreed that Nigeria should be given independence on October 1960.

The NCNC participated in the first election before independence in 1954. It won 65 seats in the East, NPC won 79 in the North and the rest went to AG. In this election NCNC did not win the majority vote because it only succeeded in getting votes from the East among the Igbo’s where it was based. The NPC won with more votes because it was supported by three big tribes in the North, namely; Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri. To avoid paralysis, NPC and NCNC formed an alliance called NCNC-NPC alliance. This alliance promoted nationalism in Nigeria in the sense that it joined the regionally divide people together.

But before Britain could grant independence to Nigeria, it had to know out of so many parties in Nigeria the one to receive the instruments of power. It organized the second election before independence in 1960 which was won by NPC in the North with 142 votes, NCNC followed with 89 votes in the East, AG with 73 votes in the west and the rest went to other parties. Thus on 1st October 1960, Nigeria was granted its independence which was received by NCNC – NPC alliance led by Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa as its executive Prime Minister, Azikiwe who was leader of NCNC became Governor General and Chief Awolowo became leader of opposition.

Other factors which contributed to the attainment of independence in Nigeria were the following:- (identify and explain them)

THE CAREER AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF NNAMDI AZIKIWE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN NIGERIA.

Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe Namdi Azikiwe was a leading nationalist during Nigeria’s struggle for independence. He was born on 16 November 1904, to an Igbo family in Onitsha. He was a Christian who got his early education from the Christian missionaries and in 1925 to proceed to U.S.A to get more education where he obtained Masters in Arts Degree and Masters in Science Degree this qualifying him to lecture at Abraham Lincoln University.

In 1934, Azikiwe came back to Nigeria, fully educated with wide knowledge about the world. He had also become a great speaker almost equal to that of Kwame Nkrumah. Despite having sound qualities, the British in Nigeria refused to give him employment because better jobs in the Government were reserved for the whites. He played a primary role in the independence struggle in Nigeria as discussed below:-

Nnamdi Azikiwe used his journalistic skills to criticize the British colonial rule in Nigeria. After failing to get a job on his return from the US, he went to Gold Coast and became the editor of “The West African Pilot” and “The Comet”. These newspapers were sold cheaply and made many people read them and kept the message. In these newspapers, Azikiwe applied tough words against imperialism. He became famous among the people of Nigeria, from whom he got many praises. For example he was being described as “the Savior of Africa” and a “Super Genius”. They looked at him as a cult of an Icon.

In 1944 Azikiwe together with some prominent Nigerians formed a political party called National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons in Lagos. Through this party he was able to mobilize the masses against colonial rule. This party also promoted unity among the people of Nigeria. This unity was crucial in the struggle for independence.

In 1945, Azikiwe supported workers strike for better payment. Workers were some of the greatest supporters of NCNC during the struggle for independence. When they staged a strike against their employers, Azikiwe identified with them because they were fighting injustice which Azikiwe was also fighting.

Azikiwe played a big role in opposing the Richard’s constitution of 1946 which Britain had imposed on the Nigerians without consulting the people. Despite his opposition to the constitution, he allowed himself to be elected under the same constitution to be a member of parliament of the legislative council. While serving as a member of the legislative council, he exerted great pressure on Britain to abolish the constitution.

He organized a political tour of all parts of Nigeria looking for money, accompanied by musical bands, to sent a delegation to Britain to ask the British to scrap off the Richard’s Constitution. The tour, apart from raising the money turned Azikiwe into a political hero. The money was raised and a delegation was sent to Britain (London). However Britain refused to scrap the Richard’s Constitution demanding that the delegation should return to Nigeria and give the constitution the second chance.

Azikiwe was an advocate of a unitary form of governance who believed in Nigeria having one government. He was opposed to some groups in Nigeria who were seeking for the country to have several states within the state of Nigeria. This would have weakened the level of nationalism in Nigeria and would have delayed the task of achieving independence at an early stage. Azikiwe therefore wanted Nigeria to have one government based in Lagos, from where the power would flow to different regions.

Azikiwe played a key role in the struggle for independence by allowing his party, the NCNC to take part in the first election before independence. New parties had risen to challenge the role of NCNC; these parties were Northern People’s Congress, Action Group and so forth. Azikiwe’s party won 65 seats against 79 of NPC. He entered into an alliance with NPC where he became the Chief Minister.

He promoted Ibo’s interests in his party although he had convictions that Nigeria should be a united country. This led to the formation of the NPC to protect the interests of the Northerners and the AG to advance and protect the interests of the Westerners.

He played an active role in the 1957 to 1958 constitutional conference in London. This conference handed Nigeria her final independence constitution and agreed to set October 1st 1960 as the date for Nigeria’s independence. Azikiwe became the first Governor-General or President of Nigeria on October 1st 1960 when Nigeria attained its independence

Other factors which played a key role in the independence struggle in Nigeria were the following:-(identify and explain them)

***Revision questions.***

1. *Why was it difficult for one political party to lead Nigeria to independence?*
2. *What role did NCNC play in the decolonization of Nigeria?*
3. *Discuss the role of Dr. Azikiwe in the decolonization of Nigeria.*

POLITICAL INSTABILITIES IN NIGERIA

Nigeria attained its independence in a peaceful manner. The struggle for independence in this country was basically peaceful. However, when she gained her independence on October 1, 1960, it was not long before instabilities set in. The reasons for the political instability in Nigeria were the following:-

The tribal differences led to political instabilities in Nigeria. There were three main and dominant tribes in Nigeria of the Hausa-Fulani in the North, the Ibo in the East and the Yoruba in the West. The Northerners were ruled by Emirs, the Ibo by village chiefs and the Yoruba by kings. That under-current of differences made the communities view politics differently leading to instabilities.

Political instabilities occurred in Nigeria as a result of the divisive constitution which was imposed on the people of Nigeria. When Nigeria’s nationalists pressed the British to grant the independence, the colonial governors issued the Richards and MacPherson constitutions of 1946 to grant 1951 respectively. Far from solving the problem of ethnic divisions, the two constitutions entrenched them. The Nigerians therefore attained independence as ethnically divided people. This political and tribal divide laid the grounds for the political instability.

Religious differences further contributed to the instabilities in Nigeria after independence. Northern Nigeria was inhabited by Muslims while southern Nigerian was dominated by Christians. These religions competed for political influence and power in Nigeria. It therefore made national unity next to impossible to achieve.

Tribal and ethnic rivalry led to political instability in Nigeria. The Hausa-Fulani wanted to attain political supremacy over Nigeria just like the Ibo of the Eastern and the Yoruba of the West. This tribal chauvinism bred tribal mistrust, plots and counter plots. These finally exploded into civil war.

Regional differences in terms of economic development led to the political instability in Nigeria. Nigeria’s regions were differently developed by the colonialists. The northern region of the Hausa-Fulani was semi-arid and pastoralism was the economic activity there. On the hand, the areas of the Ibo and the Yoruba were fertile, had mineral deposits and had better roads, school and health facilities. These differences led to jealousy and envy and Nigeria finally descended into instability.

The colonial legacy is yet another factor that led to political instability in Nigeria. The British colonial government failed to bring together the Nigerian regions of north, east and west. Far from this, the British made the regional differences more pronounced by proposing to give them regional governments furthermore, the infrastructural development they made in the South was better than that in the North. This made the ground ready for Civil war

The unfair education system implemented in Nigeria by the British led to the political instabilities. The system enabled the Igbos and the Yoruba easily gain access to education while the Hausa-Fulani who were predominantly Muslims were basically not well educated. Some Ibo and Yoruba even attended colleges in British and America. To complicated matters, the British deployed the educated Yoruba as civil servants in northern Nigeria. These became arrogant to the illiterate Hausa-Fulani hence breeding tribal hatred and civil wars.

Foreign political systems and ideologies led to political instability. The political party democracy introduced by the British was foreign and new, the Africans probably didn’t understand it properly. As a result, political parties in Nigeria were formed along tribal line. Thus, the NCNC was mainly for Ibos, the A.G for the Yoruba and the NPC for the Hausa-Fulani. Unity became difficult to attain creating fertile grounds for political instability.

Persecution of political opponents by the federal government and its growing dictatorship led to the political instability. In order to entrench and consolidate his power, the NPC Prime Minister Sir Tafewa Balewa persecuted his political opponents. Arbitrary arrests, detention, torture and killing of government critics was rampant. This fuelled the discontent which was responsible for the political instability

The East – West divide led to the political instability. Apart from the huge divide between North and South, there was a dangerous divide between East and West. Since both regions had many elites, they started competing for a stronger hand in the affairs of Nigeria. This rivalry led to civil war.

The infamous population census of 1963/4 and the introduction of the quota system in army recruitment. The census which was scandalously conducted indicated the northerners contributed 50% of the total population. This meant that they had to take 50% of the army enrollment. While the west and east were each to enroll 25%. Due to this, by 1965 the army was dominated by northerners compared to other regions. This created discontent which made the instability inevitable.

Widespread unemployment in the country led to the coup of 1966. As a result of the poor economic policies pursued by the post-colonial administration of Namdi Azikiwe, Nigeria experienced a number of strainous economic difficulties among which was the severe unemployment crisis which left many young graduates in the streets. Unemployment made the youth restless and yearning for change. This made the instability inevitable.

The political unrest that ensued following the rigging of the elections in 1964 led to the coup. The 1964 post independent elections were rigged in favor of the northern politicians. The politicians from east and west disputed the results leading to a civil strife. Supported by the federal government, Chief Akintola also rigged in the west in 1965. This made the situation ripe for the political instability.

The power struggle in the Western region led to civil wars. Although the western region was for the Yoruba, they conflicted among themselves for power. For example, the Action Group president and opposition leader Chief Obafemi Awolowo conflicted with his deputy Chief S.L Akintola for power. Chief Awolowo had dismissed his deputy who refused to vacate the office. There broke out violence between the supporters of both camps and the federal government intervened in support of Chief Akintola. Chief Awolowo became bitter and his anti-government rhetoric language (speech) became more confrontational.

The unfair arrest of Chief Awolowo led to political instability in Nigeria. As the leader of opposition, Chief Awolowo cris-crossed the country trying to woo small tribes for the opposition party, the Action Group. The federal government arrested him and he was sentenced to 12 years in jail. That action of injustice sparked protests riots and quite disgruntlement and in part contributed to the 1966 military coup.

The strike of Nigeria’s workers contributed to the political instabilities in Nigeria. This took places in 1964 with protesters demanding better wages and lower commodity prices. They also protested against government corruption and bureaucracy. The Protesters damaged property and caused commotion in Lagos. The central government did nothing to arrest the situatiom

The January 1966 coup led to political instability in the country. The bloody coup was carried out by a clique of Ibo army officers who assassinated federal Prime Minister Abubaker Tafawa Balewa, western region premier Chief Akintola and Northern and Western civilian military officers. The coup was defeated by a loyal Ibo military officer Major General Aguiyi Ironsi. However, anti-Ibo feelings stayed and led to civil strife.

The May 1966 decrees were also responsible for the political instabilities in Nigeria. Decree number 33 and 34 were issued by Major General Aguiyi Ironsi who had defeated the January coup. Decree number33 outlawed and banned political parties as well as ethnic associations. Decree number 34 abolished the tribal regions and created a unitary Nigeria with 35 provinces. The less educated northerners feared that this would erode their civil service jobs and this partly led to the July 1966 Coup and the ensuing political instability.

The July 1966 coup and the genocide that accompanied it led to instability in Nigeria. The coup was staged by Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon against Major General Aguiyi Ironsi. Ironsi had promoted many Ibo in the army, some of whom had been posted to rule in the north where they were not welcome because of their arrogance and brutality. To reverse this, Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon led a group of young northern officers who arrested and assassinated Major General Ironsi together with many Ibo officers and politicians. A civil war followed as the Ibo tried to protect themselves against more killings.

The discontent in the army also led to political instabilities. While the Nigerian army tried to be impartial, the politicians drew it into the fray of tribal conflict. At independence, most senior post in the army was occupied by southerners. In 1961, a quota system was introduced by which 50 per cent of the top military officers had to come from the North, 25 percent from the East and 25 percent from the West. This meant that the northerners dominated senior military positions, leading to tensions in the military. Furthermore, less educated but experienced soldiers were discontented when learned young soldiers were promoted to higher ranks. This was partly responsible for the coup January 1966.

The declaration of the Biafra state sparked off civil war in Nigeria. This state was declared on May 30, 1967. It was declared by the Ibo and the federal government could not allow it to take root. All the other tribes united behind the federal government against the secessionist and intransigent Ibo, hence the 1967-1970 civil war.

***Revision questions.***

1. *Account for the post colonial political instability in Nigeria*.

THE JANUARY 1966 COUP IN NIGERIA

CAUSES OF THE COUP (REASONS FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE 1ST REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA)

The 15th January 1966 coup (*also referred to as the coup of the five majors*) was staged against the civilian government of President Namdi Azikiwe and Federal Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. It was this coup which propelled Major General Johnson Aguiyi - Ironsi to state power. The main architects of this coup were Major Patrick Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu, the Chief Instructor at the Nigerian Military Training College in Kaduna and Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna to mention but a few. The 1966 military coup in Nigeria was caused by a number of factors which among others included the following:-

The British colonial legacy through the policy of divide and rule led to the January 1966 coup. Because of this policy, Nigeria was permanently ethnically divided. The British used the Emirs, the Obas and the Nri to rule the north (Hausa – Fulani, the west (Yoruba) and the east (Igbo) respectively. The application of this indirect rule enhanced ethnicity and tribal nationalism in Nigeria making it extremely difficult to achieve national unity. In western Nigeria for example Yoruba nationalism was strongest; in the east Igbo nationalism was dominant and in the north Hausa-Fulani was more popular. Failure by the post-colonial Nigerian civilian leaders to address this colonial mistake prompted the young majors to seek redress by using the armed forces, hence the coup.

The weakness of the Nigerian independence constitution of 1960 led to the coup. The constitution was generally too rigid to implement. Some of the provisions were simply weird. For instance, it provided that the final Court of Appeal was the Privy Council in London. It also provided that Queen Elizabeth was still the Head of state, Nnamdi Azikwe, the Governor – General, was a ceremonial Head of State representing the Queen until October 1st 1963 when Nigeria became a republican State. The army thus overthrew the government as way of doing away with this independence constitution

Religious differences in Nigeria drifted Nigeria into a coup. By January 1966, the Muslims in the north conflicted with the Christians in the south. The Sharia law pursed by the Muslim north was not by any standard compatible with the Christian beliefs of the southerners. This intensified ethnic tension leading to the coup.

The growing dictatorship of the federal government under Namdi Azikiwe’s administration led to the coup. Political party freedom was curtailed and detention without trial was rampant. For instant the arrest and detention of Awolowo of the Action Group (AG) created tension and fears. Chief Awolowo was arrested together with his loyalists, charged with treason and later sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. Fortunately Gowon in 1966 released them. When people demonstrated against this they were murdered. This made the coup inevitable.

The rigging of the 1964-1965 federal elections orchestrated the 1966 coup. These elections were a constitutional attempt to establish democracy in Nigeria. So when it failed the coup of January 1966 became obvious especially after the then president Azikiwe deliberately and defiantly refused to invite the true winners of Nigeria National Alliance (NNA) to form government. The army then stepped in solve the confussion which had been created by this.

The infamous population census of 1963/4 and the introduction of the quota system in army recruitment led to the coup. The census which was scandalously conducted indicated that the northerners contributed 50% of the total population. This meant that they had to take 50% of the army enrollment. While the west and east were each to get enrollment of 25%. Due to this, by 1965 the army was dominated by northerners compared to other regions. This created discontent which made the coup inevitable.

Ethnic rivalry and tribal tension in Nigeria’s army at independence led to the coup. The Nigerian army was composed of only five battalions and some two brigades. Initially the army was non-ethnic but by 1966 it had moved towards ethnicity especially after the 1964 – 1965 federal elections which were marred by intimidation, vote rigging and violence plunging the country into a federal crisis. The army at this stage came in to restore sanity and orderliness by overthrowing the government.

Wide spread corruption and arrogance among the politicians in Nigeria led to 1966 coup. For example in June 1964 the Nigerian workers went on strike demanding high wages. Unfortunately no wage increment was made but instead the politicians continued with their lavish consumption while the tax payers continued to suffer. Though they were too weak to challenge the government, by 1966 they had managed to ally with the military who shared similar grievances to topple the Azikiwe’s government.

The army discontent led to the 1966 coup in Nigeria. The working conditions of the army were not any better either. The civilian government of Namdi Azikiwe didn’t bother much to improve the working conditions of the army. Their wages remain meager, training was not systematically conducted and major army logistics were equally missing. The gross discontent of the army thus made the coup inevitable.

The political violence and unrest that ensued following the rigging of the elections in 1964 led to the coup. The 1964 post independent elections were rigged in favor of the northern politicians. The politicians from east and west disputed the results leading to a civil strife. Supported by the federal government, Chief Akintola also rigged in the west in 1965. This made the situation ripe for a coup.

Poor working conditions of the workers led to the coup. In 1964, Nigerian workers went on strike protesting against poor working conditions and demanding better wages, lower commodity prices and better working conditions. They also called upon the government to end bureaucracy. They destroyed property and caused commotion in Lagos. The army took advantage of this to stage the 1966 January coup.

Widespread unemployment in the country led to the coup of 1966. As a result of the poor economic policies pursued by the post-colonial administration of Namdi Azikiwe, Nigeria experienced a number of strenuous economic difficulties among which was the severe unemployment crisis which left many young graduates on the streets. Unemployment made the youth restless and yearning for change. The military took advantage of this to overthrow the government in the 1966 January coup.

Unprincipled alliances and the formation of coalisions of convenience led to the coup.

After the independence elections in 1959, an NPC-NCNC coalition ruled the country with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the NPC (the senior partner) as the prime minister. In mid-January 1966, Sir Abubakar and a few of his associates were killed in a poorly executed but popular military coup after a succession of political crises, violence, and repression which Sir Abubakar could not or refused to stop. The leader of the coup, Major Kaduna Nzeogwnu, portrayed the deposed leaders as corrupt individuals who sought to keep Nigeria permanently divided so they could remain in office.   
  
Regional economic imbalances which characterized the country led to the coup. There was serious regional disparity between the north and south that had dragged on even before independence. The north was basically a desert area with little development to show apart from nomadic pastoralism. While the south was richer, more suitable for cash crop production and therefore better developed. Azikiwes’s administration did nothing to address this. This generated into discontents which made the coup inevitable.

The rise of opportunistic politicians led to the coup. Nigeria was such a huge country in size. This didn’t only delay her independence up to 1960 but more importantly, it also plunged her into a coup by January 1966. Nigeria was divided into provinces which gave rise to opportunistic politicians with conflicting policies that finally resulted in coup by 1966 January.

The discovery of oil in eastern Nigeria led to this coup. Oil was discovered in Nigeria in 1956 at Oloibiri in the Niger Delta, an area dominated by the Ibo. A critical review of the coup plotters and engineers of the same reveals that most of them were Ibos. Though crossfires took place in Ibadan, in Lagos the Ibos were not killed! Lieutenant colonel Mwobosi, Ojukwu who were all at the forefront in the coup operations were Ibos. It’s most probable that the Ibo engineered this coup in order to be in full charge of the newly discovered oil in their area.

The influence of successful coups elsewhere in Africa ripened Nigeria for the 1966 coup. Military coups had taken place in Egypt 1952, in Sudan in 1958, in Togo 1963, Congo in 1963 and against governments that had similar problems of corruption, arrogance and insensitivity to the problems of the masses. So the Nigerians had to follow suit by organizing their own coup.

Arbitrary use of power by those in authority triggered the coup. The coup was a result of the detoriariating situation in the western part of Nigeria where politicians had failed to find a lasting solution. Political killings had reached an alarming level and the whole country was descending into chaos. Arbitrary arrests, detention and imprisionment without trial had become the order of the day. This arbitrary use of power by those in authority prompted the army to act.

The delayed trial of Ibo officers led to the 1966 coup in Nigeria. Most of these Ibo officers had been arrested and incarcerated in jail for fictitious political reasons. Some had been accused of treason, possession of fire arms and commission of terrorism. However their trial unnecessarily delayed without explicit explanation from the judiciary and the government. The Ibo officers in the army felt aggrieved and therefore overthrew the government in order to set their fellow Ibos from jail.

A sketch map showing the major tribes and regions of Nigeria.



EFFECTS OF THE JANUARY 1966 NIGERIAN COUP.

Whereas the impacts of the coup were both positive and negative, the January coup of 1966 to a greater extent spelt disaster on the political, economic and social set up on Nigeria. In other words, the coup had debilitating and catastrophic consequences on the history of the country. Among the negative consequences were the following,

The coup led to the killing of chief and prominent Nigerian politicians among whom were :-. The Federal Prime Minister, Abubaker Tafawa Bulewa, the Premier of the western region Chief Akintola, the Premier of the northern region Ahmadu Bello (together with his wife) was killed as well as the Finance Minister [Festus Okotie-Eboh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Festus_Okotie-Eboh), who was shot dead in Ibadan after putting up spirited resistance with an automatic rifle. The loss of such prominent figures was a big blow to the country.

Namdi Azikiwe, the president and a northerner was exiled by the coup plotters to Britain and a supreme military council was set up with Lt. General Aguiyi-Ironsi as the chairman. It should be recalled that the coup took place when Namdi Azikiwe was on an official tour of the Carribean countries. He was forced to take refuge and settle in exile in Britain

There was much destruction of property as a result of this coup. As the armed forces advanced to the towns of Lagos and Ibadan they left a trail of destruction as they. Both private and government property were shelled and destroyed.

The 1966 January coup in Nigeria paved way for the Biafran secession. The coup of January was basically led by the Ibo. The aftermath of the coup subjected the Ibo to untold suffering. There was a systematic massacre of the Ibo in the army and a purge in the civil service. This led to discontent among the Ibo who decided to wage a war of secession in order to preserve themselves.

The coup led to increased ethnic tension in Nigeria. The Ibo, who formed the majority of the coup plotters were hated by the Yoruba whose regime they had overthrown. As a result of this many Ibo living in the areas dominated by the Yoruba were killed or expelled. The unresolved ethnic tensions led to other coups and counter coups in Nigeria.

There were also religious conflicts. The 1966 January coup toppled a regime under a Moslem leadership, Sir Abubaker Balewa Tafawa. He was replaced by a Christian president, Joseph Thomas Ununakwe Agui – Ironsi. The Moslems were emotionally overwhelmed by the sadness of losing power to a Christian. The impact of this was increased religious conflicts.

The 1966 military coup in Nigeria undermined democracy in the country. The young democracy which had started fledging was destroyed. The new administration suspended the constitution, banned political activities and did nothing to take the country back to civilian rule. The basic freedoms of the people were equally interfered with. The coup was therefore a dark moment for the people of Nigeria.

The coup militarized the politics of Nigeria. It squarely brought the military into the politics of Nigeria. For the next twenty years, the military became the major players in the politics of the country, changing governments from one to another in a military. The successful countercoup six months later led by northern soldiers and the many other coups that later took place in Nigeria demonstrated the degree to which soldiers had become politicians in uniform. The militarization of politics disadvantaged the country by promting political instability which affected the country negatively.

The coup of January 1966 led to the declaration of the state of emergency in Nigeria. *A state of emergency* is a situation in which a government is empowered to perform actions that it would normally not be permitted. Due to volatile situation in Nigeria, a state of emergency was declared. During this period, the people lived in fear and most of their rights were curtailed.

There was terrible economic breakdown in the country. Almost all aspects of economic life was affected by the coup. Businesses came to a standstill, agricultural activities in the countryside were affected andmany industries closed. The level of productivity therefore went low. The impact of this was inflation and other economic evils likeunemployment.

The January coup in Nigeria led to foreign interference. The British, being the former colonial masters obviously got interested in the affairs of Nigeria. They interfered in the

Affairs of Nigeria ostensibly to bring sanity in a state rocked by violence and political instability. The interference of Britain in the affairs of Nigeria was itself symptomatic of neo - colonialism

Despite these negative consequences, the Januaryy coup of 1966 also affected the people of Nigeria positively. This was however to a smaller extent. Among others, the positive attributes of this coup were the following:-

The coup led to the overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Chief Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe. Under this regime, political party freedom had been curtailed and detention without trial was rampant. Arbitrary arrests and detentions were not uncommon. Key Nigerian political players were not spared either. For instant the arrest and detention of Chief Awolowo of the Action Group together with his loyalists were victims of this bad rule. He was charged with treason and later sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. It was only the July 1966 coup which eventually set them free.

Lt. General Ironsi’s regime opened up diplomatic relations with western countries. This opened Nigeria to forces of neo-colonialism and western exploitation. Through the extension of interest ladened loans to Ironsi’s government as well as aid in form of technical service from European Economic Community, Nigeria was turned into a western neo-colonial state.

The coup eventually led to the restoration of partial peace in Nigeria. For six months, from January 1966 – July 1966, ther was was relative peace in Nigeria. However, this peace was shortlived when Ironsi was over thrown by Yakubu Gowon in the July 1966 military coup. He then ruled Nigeria till the overthrow of his regime in 1975. During that time, there was at least some relative peace in the country

The January 1966 military coup led to the creation of a unitary government in Nigeria. By the decree issued in March of the same year, the federation system of governance was abolished and Nigeria once more became a unitary state. This however did not go down well with some section of the society who suspected him of doing this in order to favor the Ibo.

THE JULY 1975 MILITARY COUP IN NIGERIA.

The July 30th 1975 military coup in Nigeria was led by Brigadier (later General) Mohamed Rammat Murtala, a northern Muslim of the Fulani ethnic group. The coup overthrew the government of General Yakubu Jack Dan Yumma Gowon, who was attending an Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Kampala, Uganda. It was bloodless coup in which no serious life was lost. The July 1975 coup in Nigeria took place because of the following reasons:-

Failure to return the country to democratic and civilian rule led to the 1975 military coup in Nigeria. On taking over power in July 1966, General Yakubu Jack Gowon had vowed to put Nigeria along the path of democratic and civilian governmenance. Instead of sticking to this promise, Gowon was however overtaken by the sweetness of the state power and instead sought to entrench himself. On 1st October 1974, in flagrant contradiction to his earlier promises, Gowon declared that Nigeria would not be ready for civilian rule by 1976, and he announced that the handover date would be postponed indefinitely. The army then overthrew him on the accusation that he was not interested in democratizing the country’

The abrupt end to public discussion on the proposed peoples’ constitution led to the coup of 1975. The constitution was meant to give the people of Nigeria hope by addressing the key concerns of the masses in the area of governance, economy and human freedom. The peoples’ views were to be sought through public engagement and in a democratic process. The government of Yakubu Gowon however abruptly stopped this debate. The discontent that arose out of this led to the July 1975 coup d’etat in Nigeria.

Nepotism and tribalism practiced by those in government led to the coup. Ethnicity and tribal tension in Nigeria’s army led to the coup. Promotion in Nigerian army was premised on tribal and nepotic sentiments rather than ability and experience. The same problem was glaringly experienced in the civil service. General Yakubu Gowon surrounded himself with his tribe mates, close associates, relatives, friends and inlaws. The army thus took over in order to address this.

Economic factors like high rate of inflation led to the 1975 coup in Nigeria. Poor management of the economy couple with unchecked corruption and abuse of public funds combined to bring about serious economic difficulties. His indigenization decree of 1972, which declared many sectors of the Nigerian economy off-limits to all foreign investment, while ruling out more than minority participation by foreigners in several other areas brought a terrible problem for the Nigerian economy. This decree provided windfall gains to several well-connected Nigerians, but proved highly detrimental to non-oil [investment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_Direct_Investment) leading to a near collapse of the Nigerian economy.

Just like the coup of 1966, the 1975 coup in Nigeria took place because of unemployment problem that gripped the country. As a result of the poor economic policies pursued by the government of Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria experienced a number of strenuous economic difficulties among which was the widespread unemployment crisis which left many young graduates in the streets. Unemployment made the youth restless and yearning for change. The military took advantage of this to overthrow the government in the 1975 July coup

The 1975coup in Nigeria took place because of the increased armed robbery and violence in cities as well as the unchecked piracy activities at sea. Poverty and hardships led many youths to robbery and violence. The majorities of these youths were redundant and had no meaningful and gainful employment. They therefore resorted to robbing in order to survive. This situation was causing anarchy in town areas and needed to be curbed. The army came in to put an end to that.

Gowon’s isolation from his fellow military colleagues led to his overthrow from power. By failing to keep some of his key promises on assuming power like the promise to organize elections and put the country back on democratic track, Gowon won for himself a number of enemies from within the military itself. He further isolated himself by favoring colleagues from his region for posting in key government posts. By the time the coup took place, Gowon was a highly isolated man. In fact the officer who announced his overthrow was his confidant and one of the most trusted army officers, Colonel Joseph Nanven Garba.

The increased industrial strikes in Nigeria led to the coup. Demand for wage increases to circumvent the deteriorating living standards resulting from the ever increasing inflationary situation made many Nigerian workers to go on strike. Regrettably no wage increment was made but instead the politicians continued with their lavish consumption while the tax payers continued to suffer. The army thus came in to save the situation.

The army overthrew the government of General Yakubu Gowon because of the frustration induced by bureaucracy. The red tape that characterized Gowon’s administration had never been seen before in Nigeria. This slowed down economic progress, held back investment as well as key decision making in government. The discontent which was generated by this unnecessary bureaucracy led to the military take over.

The cement crisis of 1975 which resulted into the cement armada led to the military coup. There were stories of tons of stones and sand being imported into the country, and of General Gowon himself saying to a foreign reporter that "the only problem Nigeria has is how to spend the money she has." In the summer of 1975, the port of Lagos became jammed with hundreds of ships trying to unload cement. The Nigerian government had actually signed contracts with 68 different international suppliers for the delivery of a total of 20 million tons of cement in *one year* to Lagos, even though its port could hardly accept one million tons of cargo per year. This extreme case of wastage of resourcesby the government invited military intervention hence the coup.

Income inequality and the biting poverty especially in the countryside led to the coup. Poverty continued flog the population of Nigeria. The bulk of the rural masses continued to swim in sea of poverty. The north which had already been disadvantaged by the biased colonial policies was the worst hit yet those in authority did not seem to address this problem. The military took advantage of this discontent to overthrow the government of Yakubu Gowon in July 1975.

The failure of Gowon to fulfill his promise on assuming power led to the coup. When he took over power, Gowon promised to promote democracy by preparing the country for a genuine multiparty dispensation by holding regular free and fair elections. He defaulted on this. He had further pledged to give Nigeria a peoples’ constitution which incorporate the views of the ordinary Nigerian. He also defaulted on this by stopping all public discussion on this subject. Gowon therefore frustrated the very people he should have given hope. This made his overthrow inevitable.

The 1973 population census was another factor which led to the 1975 military coup. Just like the 1963/4 population census, the one which was conducted in 1973 was equally scandalous. It put the population of the north at 64%. This figure was disputed by other regions which accused the Gowon’s regime of using the census results to channel more resources to the north at the expense of other regions.

Wastage of public funds in unnecessary adventures and non-essential items led to the coup. The elites in Gowon’s administration were noted for poor and wasteful spending. They lived luxurious life on the sweat of the poor Nigerians who were heavily saddened with the burden of taxation. Whereas these elites consumed much, they produced little. To make matters worse, they cared little for the well-being of the ordinary Nigerian. Their wastefulness led to the July coup of 1975.

The breakdown of utilities and services to the people led to the coup. The Nigerian government failed to extent basic utilities and services to the people. This was partly because of the widespread corruption and theft of government resources as well as the inefficient and reluctant civil servants who were more interested in primitive accumulation of personal wealth rather than delivering services to the people. The army executed the coup in order to address this issue.

The decline in agriculture despite the oil boom was another factor. Despite the increased revenue collection arising from the exploitation and exportation of oil, the government of Yakubu Gowon didn’t inject enough resources in the agricultural sector which was the major employer in the economy. Fermers were not being assisted with the required farm inputs. This affected performance in the agricultural sector which at times led to famine. This made the military take over inevitable.

The public executions conducted by Gowon’s administration led to the coup. Although Gowon as a person was never complicit in these executions, the government which he was appointed to lead led to the execution and the assassination of the then Head of State, Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi who was assassinated in Ibadan with his host, Lt. Col. Adekunle Fajuyi, the governor of Western Region who would not give up his guest. Other officers of Igbo extraction who suffered similar fate were Lt. Col. I.C. Okoro, Majors Dennis Okafor, Nzegwu, P.C. Obi, J.K. and many others.

THE EFFECTS OF THE JULY 1975 COUP IN NIGERIA.

The Nigerian coup of 1973 had a number of repercussions. These were both positive and negative. To a greater extent however, the impacts of this coup was positive as discussed below:-

Politically, the disputed results of the faulty 1973 census exercise were scrapped. The new President Muhammad Murtala scrapped the 1973 census results, which were heavily in favor of the north, and the 1963 count was considered for official purposes. This had been one of the sticky issues which brought about a lot of discontent in Nigeria. By scrapping the census exercise, he was able to appease the people of the east and south who had been offended by the census results.

Murtala Muhammad attempted to combat the problem of ethnicity by increasing the number of states from 12 to 19. This was done to accommodate the demands of the people who wanted to be granted their own states at the time. Granting them their states would bring them together, on board and settle the ethnicity problem in Nigeria.

Muhammad Murtala promised the country a return to democratic civilian rule in 1979. On assuming the reigns of power, he clearly indicated that he was restoring democracy in Nigeria. He therefore gave himself and the military only four years to stabilize the country before it reverts to a freely democratically elected government

A better administrative system was introduced by the military government in Nigeria. By this twelve of the 25 ministerial posts on the new [Federal Executive Council](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal_Executive_Council_(Nigeria)) went to civilians, but the cabinet was secondary to the executive [Supreme Military Council](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme_Military_Council). Muhammad imposed the authority of the federal government in areas formerly reserved for the states, restricting the latitude exercised by state governments and their governors in determining and executing policy.

Newly appointed military governors of the states were not given seats on the Supreme Military Council, but instead were expected to administer federal policies handed down by Muhammad through the military council. The federal government took over the operation of the country's two largest newspapers, made broadcasting a federal monopoly, and brought remaining state-run universities under federal control

Economically, Murtala abolished taxes on essential items and those goods and consumables that the citizenry needed for their daily wellbeing. This was done in order to make these goods accessible to the people as well as to improve on the standard of living of the people of Nigeria. The results was that the prices of these essential items remained good during his reign.

He reduced prices of motor spirits and inland postage. The decision to do this was driven by the urge to allow the people of Nigeria have better conditions of living. By reducing the taxes on these items, Murtala was looking for ways of making the lives of the ordinary person in Nigeria better

Muhammad Murtala gave income tax exemptions to the poorly paid workers and those who were struggling to survive. The workers were among the most disadvantaged people in Nigeria. Their payments were not commensurate with what they did yet they lived squalid life of misery. Murtala gave this category of people income tax exemption to enable live a better life

Socially as president of the republic of Nigeria, Muhammad Murtala tried to fight corruption by dismissing the corrupt officials. In order to restore public confidence in the federal government, more than 10,000 public officials and employees were dismissed without benefits, on account of age, health, incompetence, or malpractice. The purge affected the civil service, judiciary, police and armed forces, diplomatic service, public corporations, and universities. Some officials were brought to trial on charges of corruption

Murtala Muhammad made a decision to set the capital city of Nigeria at Abuja. The decision to transfer the capital was based on a number of factors. Some of these factors were; to decongest the city, the geographical suitability of Abuja and the centrality of its location. Abuja therefore became the new capital city of Nigeria.

The coup of 1975 in Nigeria also had negative impacts. This was however, to a smaller extent. Among these negative impacts were the following:-

Politically, the coup led to the assassination of Muhammad Murtala. He was killed on February 13, 1976 in an abortive coup attempt led by Lt. Col [Buka Suka Dimka](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buka_Suka_Dimka), when his car was ambushed while en route to his office at [Dodan Barracks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dodan_Barracks), [Lagos](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lagos). He was succeeded by the Chief of Staff, Supreme HQ [Olusegun Obasanjo](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olusegun_Obasanjo), who completed his plan of an orderly transfer to civilian rule by handing power to [Shehu Shagari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shehu_Shagari) on October 1, 1979. Today, his portrait adorns the 20 Naira note and he stands as one of the only three national heroes of the Nigerian Republic. [Murtala Muhammed International Airport](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murtala_Muhammed_International_Airport) in Lagos is named in his honor.

The coup of 1975 led to the continuation of military rule in Nigeria. General Olusegun Obasanjo took over power from Muhammad Murtala. Obasanjo ruled as a military leader up to 1979 when he handed over power to a civilian president, [Shehu Shagari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shehu_Shagari) on October 1, 1979. Shehu Shagari was however later overthrown by the military who had assisted him to ascend to power in 1976

Socially, the coup of 1975 led to the dismissal of tens of thousands of innocent public servants from service. This was done in the name of fighting corruption and to make the people of Nigeria gain confidence in the central government. Consequently many people were dismissed without clear evidence of wrong doing. This brought misery to the innocent public civil servants who lost their jobs without justification.

***Revision question:-***

*Account for the occurrence of military coups in Nigeria between 1966 and 1970*

***Answer:-***

* A candidate is expected to give and explain the factors that contributed to the occurrence of military coups in Nigeria between 1966 and 1970
* The candidate is expected to clearly identify the coups which occurred during this period

*Points to consider:-*

* Nigeria attained its independence in 1960, however in 1966, it experienced two military coups; the January coup of 1966 that overthrew the Federal Government of Nnamdi Azikiwe (president) and Prime Minister Sir Abubaker Tafawa Bulewa. The July 1966 coup was organized by northern junior army officers leading to the ouster and execution of Major General Thomas Johnson Agui – Ironsi. The coups were orchestrated by the following:-
* Colonial legacy (policy) of divide and rule
* Weaknesses of the independence constitution which promoted regionalism and ethnicity
* The rigging of the 1964 elections
* The 1963 – 1964 population censusscandal
* Ethnic rivalry
* Unemployment
* Corruption
* Dictatorship
* Discrimination in the army on issues of recruitment into the army
* Political violence and unrests
* Poor working conditions
* Religious differences
* Internal disputes and disaggeement among political parties/unprincipled alliances
* Regional economic imbalances
* Rise of opportunistic politicians/rivalry for power
* Discovery of oil in the eastern region
* Influence of other coups in Africa
* Creation of a unity government by Agui – Ironsi/ Decree number 34 of 24th May 1966
* The delayed trial of the Ibo army officers

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The factors which led to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa.

Afrikaner nationalism also known as Boer nationalism refers to a political ideology that was born in the late 19th century among the [Afrikaners](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrikaner) in [South Africa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Africa) to promote Boer or Afrikaner supremacy over all other races in South Africa. It was strongly influenced by [anti-British sentiments](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-British_sentiment) that grew strong among the Afrikaners, especially because of the [Boer Wars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boer_Wars). It was the strong urge by the Boers in South Africa to defend and protect their interest and independence at the expense of the races in South Africa.

This nationalism dates back to the time of the British reforms which consequently sparked off the mass movement of the Boers from the Cape to the interior. It was later promoted by the diehard Boer leaders like Hertzog, Smuts, Hendrick Verwoerd, P.W Botha and many others. Many factors were responsible for the growth of Afrikaner nationalism among which were the following:-

The growing threat of African nationalism led to the growth of Boer nationalism. Boer nationalism in South Africa grew out of fear of the African people. When the whites realized that they were a minority and that Africans and Asians were the majority, they developed a fear that in future, the non – whites would easily combine to oust them whites. Moreover by 1948 a number of Africans had received modern Education. This fear prompted the growth of Boer nationalism which basically aimed providing long term security of existence to the whites in South Africa.

The master – race arrogance of the Afrikaners (Boers) led to the growth of Boer nationalism. The Boers or Afrikaners as they later came to be known, wrongly believed that they were a master race and if their race was to be preserved, they had to practice apartheid to avoid contamination. They became proud, arrogant and ultra-nationalistic. They argued that equality with blacks would threaten their mastership in South Africa.

The rise and role played by the Nationalist party ( victory of the nationalist party in the 1948 elections) in South Africa was responsible for the growth of Boer nationalism. In 1948, the Nationalist Party led by Dr. Malan captured power in a flawed election easily won by the right wing whites. The Nationalist Party together with its leader Dr. Malan believed strongly in the whiteman’s superiority and domination. For him to gain more popularity amongst whites, Dr. Malan and his party promoted Boer nationalism through the introduction of a number of anti – African legislations which eventually formed the basis of the policy of apartheid.

The need to stop the spread of British influence and liberalism led to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism. Since time immemorial the British had pretended to be more liberal to the blacks and non – whites. This was partly responsible for the mass Boer exodus from the British controlled Cape province in the 1830’s. Equally, there also existed a number of liberal minded British at the Cape. These emphasized the quality of all races, the rights of Africans and Asians to vote, form and join trade unions. The Boers looked at this as a danger, which would jeopardize their Afrikaner superiority in South Africa hence the need to fight it leading to their nationalism.

The need by the Afrikaners (Boers) to exclusively control the mineral and other economic resources of South Africa like gold, diamonds, fertile lands led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. The Boers promoted their nationalism because they wanted to monopolize South Africa’s minerals, rich soils and the conducive living environment. The minerals that they wanted to control and dominate included gold, diamond, cobalt copper and many others. They had to do this by repressing and crushing the nationalistic spirit of the Africans through promoting they own nationalism.

The need to prevent the spread of communism to South Africa led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. The Boers became more nationalistic because of the fear of communism of the growing influence of communism in South Africa. Following the 1917 Russian revolution, communist ideas started spreading to other parts of the world. The poor whites in South Africa took up the ideology to express their disappointment with the rich whites in South Africa. This made the Afrikaners (Boers) strengthen their nationalism by introducing apartheid as a way of appeasing the poor whites and suppressing communism

Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa grew because of the need for the supply of a steady source of cheap labor to the Afrikaners. The Boers/Afrikaners had set up several plantations, factories and mines and needed African labor. However, Africans were unwilling to work for the Boers. They originally preferred to work at the Cape where the British were not discriminative. So, in order to prevent the movement of labor out of their territories, the Boers promoted their nationalism and subsequently introduced apartheid.

The role of Afrikaner intellectuals and scholars like Nicolas Johannes led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa. Afrikaner intellectuals used their intellect to promote Afrikaner nationalism. They wrote books and pamphlets that glorified the Dutch and portrayed them as a unique race not equal to any other races. This promoted their false belief that they are the race chosen by God to rule others. This promoted their nationalism in South Africa.

The influence of the Dutch Reformed Church led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. Preachers of the Dutch Reformed Church referred to the Dutch (Boers) as God’s chosen race and added that South Africa was their biblical land of Canaan. It was on this kind of preaching that made the Afrikaners become very nationalistic.

The deliberate misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the Bible made the Afrikaners nationalistic. The Dutch Reformed Church used the Biblical story about Noah and his sons to justify their uniqueness in South Africa. Noah blessed his son Shem but cursed Ham whom he assigned a duty of being Shem’s slave. The Dutch called themselves descendants of Shem and the non-whites, descendants of Ham. This false biblical belief made them nationalistic

The role played by diehard Afrikaner leaders like Hertzog, Smuts, Hendrick Verwoerd, P.W. Botha and Stardom led to the development of Afrikaner nationalism. These leaders were racist by nature and were at the forefront in promoting Boer nationalism in South Africa. They were the forces behind all the anti – African legislations that occurred right from the Treaty of Vereeniging of 1902. It was through their activities that Boer nationalism grew by leaps and bounds.

Afrikaner nationalism grew in South Africa because the white minority wanted to protect their selfish interests. In 1948 Dr. Malan became the Prime Minister of South Africa after a slim majority vote. In order to concretize the slim electoral win, he introduced policies which favor the interest of the whites. This elated and enabled their nationalistic spirits grow by leaps and bounds.

The militant history of the backs led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa. It should be noted that the blacks remained opposed to white domination since time immemorial. For example in 1879, the Zulu had fought and defeated the Boers at the Battle of Inshandwana. The Boers had also earlier faced the Zulu at the Battle of the Blood River in 1838. The Boers were therefore aware of the militancy of the blacks and therefore thought that by propping up their nationalism, they would weaken the Africans and make them manageable.

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The need to create a white settler state in South Africa led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. The Boers wanted to turn South Africa into a settler colony similar to Algeria, Angola and Kenya. Many Dutch farmers were encouraged to come to South Africa settle and invest their capital. Afrikaner nationalism therefore surged in order to protect those white settlers in South Africa.

The British hand over of political power to the Boers in 1931 led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. It’s important to recall that in 1910, the British and the Boers signed the Union Act by which they agreed to determine the political future of South Africa. However in 1931, the British officially handed over power to the Boers. This granted the Boers more nationalistic than ever before as a way of promoting their selfish minority interests.

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THE POLICY OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

* *Factors which led to the growth of Apartheid in South Africa.*
* *The reasons for the growth of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa.*
* *Why Apartheid policy was adopted in South Africa*

Apartheid in South Africa was a policy, which emphasized separate development of races with strong emphasis on the superiority of the whites over all the nonwhite races. In practice, it meant racial stratification, segregation, discrimination against non- whites and separate development on basis of different pigmentation of the skin. It was adopted by the whites in South Africa in 1948 following the victory of Dr. Daniel François Malan’s Nationalist Party. The reasons for the introduction of this policy were the following:-

The influence of the Dutch Reformed Church led to the birth of apartheid. Preachers of the Dutch Reformed Church referred to the Dutch (Boers) as God’s chosen race and added that South Africa was their biblical land of Canaan. It was on this basis that they decided to implement the policy of separate development.

The deliberate misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the Bible led to the birth of apartheid. The Dutch Reformed Church used the Biblical story about Noah and his sons to justify apartheid. In the book of Genesis Chapter Nine, it’s written that Noah blessed his son Shem but cursed Ham whom he assigned a duty of being Shem’s slave. The Dutch called themselves descendants of Shem and the non-whites, descendants of the cursed Ham.

Apartheid system was introduced in South Africa because the white minority wanted to protect their selfish interests. In 1948 Dr. Malan became the Prime Minister of South Africa after a slim majority vote. In order to concretize the slim electoral win, he introduced policies which favor the interest of the whites hence apartheid.

The development of Afrikaner nationalism led to the birth of apartheid. The Boers or Afrikaners as they later came to be known believed that they were a master race and if their race was to be preserved, they had to practice apartheid to avoid contamination. They became proud, arrogant and nationalistic. They argued that equality with blacks would threaten their mastership.

The need to exploit South Africa’s wealth led to the introduction of Apartheid. The Dutch introduced apartheid so as to monopolize South Africa’s minerals, rich soils and the conducive living environment. They had to do this by repressing and crushing the nationalistic spirit of the Africans.

The need for cheap labor led to the policy. The Boers/Afrikaners had set up several plantations, factories and mines and needed African labor. However, Africans were unwilling to work for the Boers. They originally preferred to work at the Cape where the British were not discriminative. So, in order to prevent the movement of labor out of their territories, the Boers introduced apartheid.

The policy of Apartheid developed out of fear of the Africans. When the whites realized that they were a minority and that Africans and Asians were the majority, they developed a fear that in future, the non – whites would easily combine to oust the whites. Moreover by 1948 a number of Africans had received modern Education. This made them develop the apartheid policy out of fear.

The influence of Nazism and Fascism led to the policy of apartheid. During the 2nd World War, the Germans and Italians spread their Nazi and fascist ideas by which they claimed that ‘stronger races (the whites) had a duty of ruling the weak ones’ (the Africans). Being close relatives of the Germans, the Dutch teachers and university professors took up and spread Nazism in South Africa in 1948 hence apartheid

The rise of African nationalism led to the policy of Apartheid. As South African blacks became more learned and came into contact with nationalistic ideas, they started demanding for political, economic and social reforms. They used strikes, demonstrations, protests and boycotts. The Dutch saw this as danger to their status and introduced apartheid.

Similarly the militant history of the backs made the whites introduce the policy of apartheid. It should be noted that the blacks remained opposed to white domination since time immemorial. For example in 1879, the Zulu had fought and defeated the Boers at the Battle of Inshandwana. The Boers had also earlier faced the Zulu at the Battle of the Blood River in 1838. The Boers were therefore aware of the militancy of the blacks and therefore thought that apartheid would weaken them and make them manageable.

The policy of apartheid was introduced in order to limit competition with Asians. The commercially skillful Asians had invested heavily in South Africa and were threatening to overtake the Boer merchants. Apartheid was therefore introduced to forestall this competition and prevent the Asians from repatriating profits from South Africa.

Apartheid policy was a way of fighting British Liberalism. There existed a number of liberal minded British at the Cape. These emphasized the quality of all races, the rights of Africans and Asians to vote, form and join trade unions. This was looked at as a danger, which would jeopardize the Boer/ Afrikaner Superiority in South Africa hence the introduction of apartheid.

The policy was introduced because of the fear of communism. Following the 1917 Russian revolution, communist ideas started spreading to other parts of the world. The poor whites in South Africa took up the ideology to express their disappointment with the rich whites in South Africa. This made the nationalist party to introduce apartheid as a way of appeasing the poor whites and suppressing communism.

Apartheid policy was introduced because the whites wanted to create a white settler state in South Africa. The Boers wanted to turn South Africa into a settler colony similar to Algeria, Angola and Kenya. Many Dutch farmers were encouraged to come to South Africa settle and invest their capital. The policy was thus introduced to protect those white settlers.

The British hand over of political power to the Boers in 1931 led to the introduction of apartheid. It’s important to recall that in 1910, the British and the Boers signed the Union Act by which they agreed to determine the political future of South Africa. However in 1931, the British officially handed over power to the Boers. This granted the Boers the opportunity to formulate the policy of apartheid to promote the selfish minority interests.

The rise of the Nationalist Party to power led to the introduction of apartheid. The leader of the Nationalist Party, DR. Malan was a believer in the Whiteman’s superiority and domination. For him to gain more popularity amongst whites, Dr. Malan introduced the policy of apartheid.

APARTHEID IN PRACTICE / APARTHEID LAWS/ HOW THE POLICY OF APARTHIED WAS PRACTICED.

The policy of apartheid was practiced and entrenched through the enactment of more than 300 laws between 1948 and 1970’s. These were in addition to the legislations which had been previously enacted between 1856 and 1947. These legislations were carried out to promote the philosophy of the white man’s superiority at expense of the Africans, Indians and the colored. Some of the laws which formed the basis for the practice and entrenchment of the policy of apartheid in South Africa between 1948 and 1990 were the following:-

The Asiatic law amendment Act was passed in 1948. It withdrew the Asian representatives from parliament. Hence forth, the South African Parliament became purely racist with no Asians or non-whites.

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation/Ghetto Act. Also known as the Ghetto Act, this act was more restrictive and corrosive. It prohibited Indians from purchasing land from non-Indians except in specified areas. It further prevented Indians from occupying property from the exempted areas.

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act which was passed in 1949 made marriages between Whites and nonwhites illegal. Its aim was to preserve the racial purity of the Dutch and the whites in general.

The Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 prevented any form of sexual intercourse between whites and non – whites. This act also aimed at preserving the so called purity of the white race which they believed shouldn’t be contaminated through intermarriage with the non-whites.

The Employment Insurance Act of 1949 removed the right to insurance from the Africans. This act denied the majority of Africans and immigrant workers the right of being insured. Only those workers who earned more than 182 pounds a year enjoyed the insurance cover. Most Africans earned for below that salary annually.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 categorized the peoples of South Africa into racial groupings namely, the Europeans, colored, Africans and Asians. These were not entitled to the same rights.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 created separate residential areas for various races. This legislation permitted the Blacks to move in urban areas only as visitors but not as permanent residents. They were basically to stay away from towns. 86% of the land of South Africa was allocated to the minority whites while only 14% went to the rest of the races.

The Natives Act of 1952 – a mere amendment of the passbook law required all Africans to move with reference books or passbooks. The Act prescribed the introduction of the reference book bearing photographs, details of place of origin, employment record, tax payments, fingerprints and encounters with the police. Africans were expected to carry passes with them wherever they went. Failure to produce a pass on request by the police officer was an offence. Africans could not leave the rural area for an urban one without a permit granted by the local authorities. Upon arrival in the urban area a permit to seek employment had to be obtained within 72 hours. After realising the significant role played by the workers in industry, the government extended this system to women. For the first time in the history of South Africa, women had to carry passes. This provision resulted in a widespread strike by women in 1956.

Natives Laws Amendment Act of 1952 effected amendments to section 10 of the Group Areas Act. It narrowed the definition of the category of Blacks who had the right to permanent residence in towns. Section 10 limited this to those who'd been born in a town and had lived there continuously for not less than 15 years, or who had been employed there continuously for at least 15 years; or who had worked continuously for the same employer for at least 10 years. It made section 10 of the Group Areas Act automatically applicable to every municipality.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 introduced separate schools, colleges and universities for various races. The best institutions went the Europeans. Missionary schools, which used to give standard education to Africans, were closed. The Minister of Education, Hendrick Frensh Verwoerd condemned Africans to an inferior type of education.

Apartheid was applied through the Reservation of Separate Amenities of 1953. By this, the Nationalist Party government developed the concept of unequal allocation of resources such as general infrastructure, education and jobs and formalised this into law. The Amenities Act provided that there should be separate amenities such as toilets, parks and beaches for different racial groups. Furthermore these facilities should not be of the same quality for different groups. Subsequently, apartheid signs indicating which people were permitted to enter/use the facility were displayed throughout the country.



Some of the signs during apartheid period

Natives Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 was yet another piece of legislation which promoted apartheid. This Act was a government attempt to control African labour. The Act prohibited strikes by Africans. The Act did not give legal recognition to African trade unions, but did not prohibit them from operating. The then minister of labour, B.J. Schoeman, announced in Parliament that African trade unions would be used as political weapon to create chaos. He added that in his opinion “We [the Afrikaners] would probably be committing race suicide if we gave them that incentive.”

The policy was implemented through the Public Safety Act of 1953. This Act was passed as a response to the ANC‘s civil disobedience campaigns. The Act granted the British governor general authority to set aside all laws and declare a state of emergency. Under a state of emergency the Minister of Law and Order, the Commissioner of the [South African Police](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/governence-projects/organisations/sap/SAP-history.htm) (SAP), a magistrate or a commissioned officer could detain any person for reasons of public safety. It further provided for the detention without trial for any dissent.

Apartheid was implemented through the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953. This Act asserted that anyone accompanying a person found guilty of offences committed during protests or in support of any campaign for the cancellation or modification of any harsh law would also be presumed guilty and would have the responsibility to prove his or her innocence. This surely went against the basic principle of the burden of proof that stipulates that ‘*He who alledges must prove’*

Another legislation which entrenched apartheid was the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954. This Act granted powers to the government to remove Africans from any area within and next to the magisterial district of Johannesburg. In essence this Act aimed to effect the removal of Africans from Sophia town to Soweto, southwest of Johannesburg. Consequently, the Native Resettlement Act of 1954 removed 57,000 Africans from Johannesburg town to Soweto black man’s’ slum. Even in Soweto, Africans were grouped into different tribes.

Black Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment of 1955 was yet another piece of legislation. This Act amended the 1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act. It provided for separate industrial conciliation machinery which applied to Black workers other than those employed in farming operations, in domestic service, governmental or educational services and those in the coal and gold mining industries..

The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act of 1956 was enacted. The primary objective of the Act was to separate the trade union movements along racial lines, with the aim of weakening them. The Act ended recognition of trade unions with White, Coloured and Indian membership. It laid down that trade unions with mixed membership had to cater exclusively for one racial group or split up into exclusive racial sections, each under the guidance of a White-controlled executive. At this time Africans had not yet been granted permission to belong to a registered union. The Act also gave additional powers to the minister to announce strikes illegal in essential industries. Whites benefited from this Act because it gave legal force to White job reservation practices.

Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 was put in place. In terms of this legislation, gatherings in open-air public places were prohibited if the Minister of Justice considered that they could endanger the public peace. Banishment was also included as a form of punishment.

The Natives Taxation and Development Act of 1958 was another law. This was an outrageous tax policy intended to make the blacks poor. It provided that every male African of the age eighteen years and over, domiciled or resident in the Union, had to pay a basic general tax of £1-5-0 (One pound fifteen shillings) a year instead of the £1 (one pound) paid previously. The women, for the first time, became liable to pay general tax. The tax was further obnoxious because of three reasons:-

The tax made Africans liable to pay tax at the age of 18, while members of other groups only paid personal tax when they attained the age of 21. The new tax regime did not only make Africans pay more (although they were the least able to pay) but also introduced taxes which were only paid by Africans. The Africans had to pay Local Tax of 10/- (ten shillings) per year, educational levies, dipping fees, grazing fees, dog tax, pass and compound fees.

Africans were imprisoned for non-payment of tax. But in case of a default by other races there was no criminal sanction. In 1955, 177,890 Africans were arrested and brought before the courts for failure to pay tax.

The policy was applied through the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. This Act provided for the establishment of separate tertiary institutions for Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites. Blacks were not allowed to attend White universities unless with special permission by the government. The separation of these institutions was not only along racial lines but also along ethnic lines. The University of Fort Hare was opened for Xhosa speaking students only, while the University of the North in Turf loop was set up for the Sotho and Tswana students. Coloured had their University in Bellville, while Indians and Zulus had their universities in Ngoye (KZN) and Durban-Westville respectively. The provision of this Act was met with protest from most lecturers at Fort Hare.

Bantu Investment Corporation Act of 1959 was also put in place. The Act provided for the creation of financial, commercial, and industrial schemes in areas designated for Black people. It was allegedly put in place to help the blacks out of their financial woes

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 was yet another way apartheid was implemented. The Act announced the existence of eight African ethnic groups based on their linguistic and cultural diversity. Each group had a Commissioner-General as an official representative of the South African government. The Commissioner-General was assigned to develop a homeland for each group. Provision was made for the transfer of powers of self-government whereby each ethnic group would govern itself independent of White intervention. Transkei was the first territory to benefit from the provision of this Act when the Transkei Self-Government Act and the Transkei Constitution Act were passed in 1963.

 Indemnity Act of 1961 was put in place.This Act indemnified the government, its officers and all other persons acting under their authority in respect of acts done, orders given or information provided in good faith for the prevention or suppression of internal disorder, the maintenance or restoration of good order, public safety or essential services, or the preservation of life or property in any part of the Republic.

It was implemented through the General Law Amendment Act (Sabotage Act) of 1962 increased the State President's power to declare organisations unlawful. Further restrictions could be imposed in banning orders, restricting movement. Persons could now even be banned from social gatherings, including having more than one visitor at a time. The Minister could list banned persons in the Government Gazette (GG).

This Act created the offence of sabotage by providing that any person who committed any wrongful and wilful act whereby he/she injured, obstructed, tampered with or destroyed the health or safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order, the supply of water, light, power, fuel or foodstuffs, sanitary, medical, or fire extinguishing services could be tried for sabotage.

Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 was another piece of legislation through which apartheid was implemented. This Act was one of the most controversial pieces of Apartheid legislation. It prohibited adultery, attempted adultery or related ‘immoral' acts such as sexual intercourse between White and Black people.

Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The Act was passed for fear of the [Communist Party of South Africa](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/governence-projects/organisations/sacp/sacp-frameset.htm) The Act also targeted other formations that opposed the government's racist policies. It made the Communist Party and propagation of communism unlawful. The term communism referred to any non-parliamentary political opposition to the government. It sanctioned the punishment of any group that did anything intended to bring about political, economic, industrial and social change through the promotion of disorder or disturbance, using unlawful acts or encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Union. It further vested the Minister of Justice with power to restrict or ban any person he viewed to be pursuing communist activities. A banned person was confined to a particular district and was precluded from occupying an office in any trade union or political organisation. He was also prohibited from attending political gatherings. The victims of this Act in the 1950s included [Albert Luthuli](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/lutuli,aCHIEF.htm), [Moses Kotane](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/kotane,m.htm), [J.B. Marks](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/marks-jb.htm), [Nelson Mandela](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/mandela-n.htm), [Oliver Tambo](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/tambo,o.htm) and many others.

Apartheid was practiced through the Terrorism Act of 1962 It authorised indefinite detention without trial on the authority of a policeman of or above the rank of lieutenant colonel. Terrorism was defined to include most criminal acts. No time limit was specified for detention; it could be continued until detainees had satisfactorily replied to all questions or no useful purpose would be served by continued detention. The Act was operative retrospectively to 27 June 1962 and also applied to South West Africa retrospectively

The General Law Amendment Act of 1963 was another piece of legislation that entrenched apartheid. The act authorised any commissioned officer to detain - without a warrant - any person suspected of a political crime and to hold them for ninety days without access to a lawyer. In practice people were often released after ninety days only to be re-detained on the same day for a further ninety-day period. The ‘Sobukwe clause' allowed for a person convicted of political offences to be detained for a further twelve months. The Act also allowed for further declaration of unlawful organisations. The State President could declare any organisation or group of persons which had come into existence since 7 April 1960 to be unlawful. This enabled the government to extend to Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo the restrictions already in force on the ANC and the PAC

Other acts that entrenched apartheid in South Africa include. The Transkei Authorities Act of 1964, put in place mechanisms for the recognition of the Transkei government; Black Labour Act of 1965 which consolidated the laws regulating the recruiting, employment, accommodation, feeding and health conditions of Black labourers; the Education Act of 1965 which overrode South African apartheid schooling systems and provided for Black schooling and subsidies but was implemented in a way that was advantageous to the Whites

Others were:- the Industrial Conciliation Further Amendment Act of 1966 which prohibited strikes and lock-outs for any purpose unconnected with the employee/employer relationship, the General Law Amendment Act of 1966 designed in response to guerrilla activities on the northern borders of the then South West Africa. The act provided for the detention of suspected ‘terrorists' for up to fourteen days for purposes of interrogation. The Commissioner of Police could apply to a judge to have the detention order renewed, and many others.

The Bantu Home lands citizenship Act of 1970 made every African a citizen of a certain ethnic homeland outside South Africa. It recognized black countries like Boputhatswana and many others. By law, these were not part of South Africa.

Through these pieces of anti-black legislations which spanned for over a century, the whites were able to provide the mechanism effective operationalization and implementation of apartheid with its debilitating effects on the blacks and non-whites.

THE REACTION TO THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

Because of its segregative and retrogressive nature, the apartheid policy was greatly opposed by Africans, the colored and Asians. Interestingly, even some liberal white men, clergy and intellectuals opposed it as an evil for mankind.

The people of South Africa responded to the policy of apartheid through the formation of political parties. For example, South African Native Congress was formed to defend the rights of Africans and other nonwhites. It was renamed African National Congress (ANC) in 1925. It used peaceful methods of seeking for change in South Africa. From the mid-1970s, the young members of the ANC like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Anton Lembede turned to radical means of seeking for change. The African opposition to apartheid can be broadly summarized below:

The Africans reacted through peaceful means and the use of diplomacy. This involved sending African representatives to London and the United Nations General Assembly to protest against the racist acts / laws. In these forum, the Africans put across their case against apartheid regime in South Africa.

They also used Ghandism as a way of response. Between 1948 – 1960, Africans mainly applied peaceful methods to weaken apartheid e.g. the youth wingers of the ANC organized sit down strikes, hunger strikes, boycotts like the potato boycott of 1944 to protest against the slave labor conditions on white farms (including potato farms), demonstrations and other forms of civil disobedience.

They used trade unions to generate anti-apartheid pressure. Most of the industrial strikes were organized by the COSATU the Co-ordination of South African Trade Unions. The trade unions mobilized the masses and galvanized their support against the racist white regime in South Africa.

The 1952 defiance campaign was another form of opposition. The ANC organized a campaign to defy the racist laws in South Africa. It was joined by men, women, blacks, Indians and some white liberals. Areas marked “Whites only” like parks, offices, toilets, restaurants and buses were targets of these demonstrations.

The people of South Africa opposed apartheid through the alliance between non – whites. In 1953, a congress of all peoples was formed at Kliptown and in 1955 the representatives of the ANC, the colored peoples’ organization and liberal congress of Democrats for whites met at Klip town and formed a closer association. Due to their common goals, they issued a “freedom charter” calling for equality of all races. This was due to efforts of Chief Albert Luthuli.

The alliance between races was followed by several demonstrations in 1956 and 1957 but all were violently crushed by the minority regime of South Africa. Whereas these were easily crushed the demonstrations left a significant impact in the struggle.

The bus fare boycott was used. In 1959, Chief Albert Luthuli (the ANC President) organized a boycott against the high bus fares in Alexandria Township. For three months African workers walked to and from the places of work until the bus fares were reduced. He also organized a potato boycott to demand for better working conditions.

The Africa nationalists also formed PAC. In 1958, the youths within the ANC formed the Pan African Congress with an aim of speeding up the liberation of South Africa. It was under Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe – a linguist at Witwatersrand University until 1960 and an editor of “ The Africanist” until 1957.

They also formed the Black Conscious Movements. The brain behind this was Steve Biko. He started by forming the South African Students Organization for university students. Later two more organizations came up like the South African Students Movement for Secondary Students and the Black Peoples’ Convention for Non White Students. The Black Conscious Movement called upon the blacks and nonwhites to understand the suffering of the natives and struggle for equality in South Africa.

The use and influence of critical writings was another form of reaction. A number of novels magazines and newspapers articles were using to fight against apartheid. These included novels like “Cry The Beloved Country” by Allan Paton, “Mine Boy” by Peter Abraham and many others. Artists also composed songs and drew pictures against apartheid.

Black artists and musicians also reacted by composing anti-apartheid songs that asked for freedom for the blacks. Examples of these artists included the late Lucky Dube, Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and many others. Their songs encouraged the nation to struggle against the evil regime.

The Sharpsville demonstrations and Massacres was yet another one. In 1960, a joint ANC – PAC demonstration was organized in Sharpsville to protest against the passbook and other racist laws. The South African Police reacted by shooting 67 peaceful demonstrators and injuring about 180. Nelson Mandela called for a sit down strike to mourn the death of their members but this led to a state of emergency during which several Africans, Asians, colored and their white sympathizers were again arrested. Then in 1961, the South African government banned both the ANC and PAC. Ghandism (peaceful methods) had failed.

The return to violence was another mode of reaction to apartheid. In June 1961, the ANC led by Nelson Mandela formed the “Umkoto We Sizwe” (the spear of the nation). It recruited a number of youths whom it secretly sent to Algeria and China for military training. By May 1963, it had carried out 193 acts of sabotage against the apartheid regime especially in Eastern Cape and Port Elizabeth.

The formation of the POQO was another response to the policy of apartheid. PAC formed a violent wing – the POQO ( let us go it alone). It used machetes, spears and other weapons to terrorize racists and even to kill the blacks who collaborated with them. They also destroyed plantations belonging to the whites. The militant nationalists started hitting sensitive economic targets like the Standard Chartered Bank which was hit in 1970.

The 1976 Soweto protests and Massacres was another reaction. When the South African Government declared Afrikaner the official language, African school children organized a protest at Soweto. Police reaction was harsh and left 176 dead, several wounded while many fled to neighboring countries for military training.

After the Soweto massacres, more and more students fled to Tanzania, Angola and Algeria for military training. Meanwhile students’ unrests, workers’ strikes and the terrorist activities of the POQO and Um Koto we Sizwe continued. The colored blacks and Asians were acting together in these strikes

The return of ANC guerillas to the country. From 1978 onwards, a number of ANC guerillas started returning to the country and carried out a number of brave acts of sabotage. For instance in the 1980 attacks on Saso I and Natref plants of Sasolburg in Orange Free State.

EXTERNAL REACTION TO THE POLICY OF APARTHEID.

Externally, the states neighboring South Africa formed frontline states. The Front Line States trained ANC and PAC guerillas, provided them with secondary education, uniform, food, medicine and asylum. These states included: Angola, Tanzania, Zambia, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. Their activities helped to weaken apartheid.

The formation of the South African Development Cooperation Council (SADCC). In order to blockade South African’s trade, South African countries formed the SADCC. It prevented the movement of cheap labor from SADCC countries to the Pretoria apartheid regime. It also denied a market to South African products. The aim was to cripple South Africa’s economy and bring her to her knees.

South Africa was expelled from the common wealth of nations. The former British colonies in Africa and Asia used this organization as a plat form to criticize apartheid in South Africa and to force her out of the association in 1961. The common wealth further exerted economic sanctions against South Africa.

Isolation from the Olympics and other international activities was another way of response. The International Olympics committee banned South Africa from participating in World Olympic Games. The International Labor Organization (ILO) and UNO agencies like FAO, WHO, UNICEF also cut off ties with the racist South Africa. This international isolation led to discontent amongst whites within South Africa. They in turn opposed apartheid.

The pressure mounted by investors was another response. The international corporations, which had invested heavily in South Africa, pressurized the Pretoria government to abandon apartheid because it was causing them business losses resulting from sanctions and guerillas attacks on their firms.

Pan Africanists exerted pressure from USA and other countries in the world. The Pan Africanists within USA pressurized the Jimmy Carter Regime (1977 – 1980) to slam a trade ban on South Africa and cut off diplomatic and military dealings with her.

There was pressure from communist countries. The Eastern bloc branded apartheid as “a son of capitalism”. This led to the spread of communist ideas in South Africa and the neighboring countries. The communist countries even provided arms to ANC and PAC guerillas. This weakened the South African racist regime.

Opposition from OAU was another strong response. The OAU in was committed to the liberation of South Africa. It condemned the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres and pressurized the UNO to impose sanctions against the South African apartheid regime.

The OAU through its Liberation Committee supported South African liberation movements to fight against the racist regime. It thus extended funds, arms and ammunitions to ANC and PAC to fight the racist regime in South Africa.

In 1948 the UNO issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which clearly spelt out the God given rights of man. This declaration was surely an attack on apartheid since the policy violated the rights of man. The declaration inspired the blacks to rise up against the abusers of their rights.

In 1962 the UNO imposed sanctions against South Africa and eventually expelled her. South Africa embassies in member nations of the UNO were closed and migrations to South Africa were discouraged. In Uganda for instance no one was issued with a travel visa to South Africa.

Opposition by the Church was another external reaction. Both the South African clergy and international churches condemned apartheid. Leading anti-apartheid clergy was Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa. His condemnation of apartheid led to the speedy collapse of the system.

THE STEPS TAKEN BY WHITES TO END APARTHEID

Right from the start, the white urban workers opposed apartheid – especially the laws against trade unions. However their riots were crushed by the police. For instance in Johannesburg in 1914, police shelled the trade unions headquarters.

The United Party under Smuts and Hofmeyr opposed apartheid laws. These were whites who believed in the freedom of all humanity. However; the death of their leaders in the 1940s weakened such opposition.

In 1951, the Torch Commando Organization was formed. It was made up of a number of white ex- service men led by sailor Mala – a former air force ace. However, police was brutal towards the protests organized by the Torch Commandos. Their activities were crushed by the police.

In Parliament, the United Party representatives continued condemning the apartheid laws and policy. (This was between 1960 – 1979). In so doing they weakened the policy of apartheid

Another party which opposed apartheid was the Liberal Party. But the White liberals were harassed by the Nationalist Government police and they eventually gave up in their struggle against the policy.

The Progressive Party’s Representative Helen Suzman also opposed apartheid. But he could go far in his lone struggle against a system which was already entrenched. He eventually also gave up

From 1965 onwards, Verwoerd (Prime Minister) introduced the policy to détente by which he opened up a dialogue with a number of African states. However his major aim was to improve relations with other African states and get a market for South Africa’s goods. Some heads of states like Dr. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Emperor Bokassa of Central African Republic, Leopard Senghor of Senegal and Houphouet – Boigny of Ivory Cost opened up talks and business with South Africa.

When Pieter W. Botha came to power in 1978, he started a positive trend towards dismantling apartheid. His September 1979 speech was full of inspiration and hope for the ANC and PAC nationalists. He called for an end of discriminations.

P.W Botha allowed Africans to join trade unions and to use strikes as a mode of expressing their dissatisfaction. This was one of the biggest single steps towards the dismantling of the policy of apartheid.

Pieter W Botha also introduced some constitutional changes whereby he set up two Presidential Councils, one for the Whites, colored and Asians and the second for blacks in Bantustans. These presidential councils were purely advisory.

It was during his regime that better housing facilities and wages were granted to urban workers. The Africans from that started to enjoy some bit of better standard of living.

Social places like theatres, restaurants and sports were made to open to all races in urban Centre. However in rural areas the situation remained unchanged.

In 1985, sexual relations between peoples of various races were made free. Intermarriages were allowed.

A number of white liberals continued with their pressure for reforms throughout the 1980s. They continued to advocate for a discrimination free society where everyone was considered equal.

The Dutch reformed Church which had previously spearheaded also called for reforms in the apartheid policy after realizing the increasing world condemnation of the system.

In 1986, the racist white regime abolished passbook laws and this was a big step towards dismantling apartheid. The Africans were therefore free to travel in South Africa without any hindrance

In the same year USA which had previously propped up the apartheid regime, stopped giving loans to South Africa. This was a big blow which significantly weakened apartheid.

Meanwhile internally, the growing pressure from African elites, church leaders like Desmond Tutu, artists like Luky Dube and ANC guerillas continued and eventually became unbearable for the whites. The inspiration that the masses got from these people was too overwhelming to allow the policy to survive.

In 1989, F.W. De Clarke came to power with a lot of determination to end apartheid. It was during his regime actually that the policy of apartheid was eventually completely dismantled.

In 1990 he released key political prisoners including Nelson Mandela who had served imprisonment for 27 years. This was huge political reconciliation which set the ball rolling for more egalitarian South Africa.

De Clerke went a step ahead and legalized the ANC and started negotiations with black nationalists. In this way he brought the blacks into the political limelight and arena. He gave them the hope and opportunity to participate once more in the affairs of South Africa.

He granted independence to Namibia in 1990 and this was a great step towards the black man’s freedom in South Africa. It should be recalled that Namibia had been made part of South Africa after the Second World War. It was De Clark who was bold enough to give Namibia its independence.

He dismantled all the apartheid laws in both urban and rural areas. Hence forth Nelson Mandela called for an end of ANC violence and peace talks continued.

De Clark also made arrangements for a new multi – racial constitution to be discussed by representatives from all races in South Africa. This was another significant constitutional change towards a nonracial society.

He finally organized the 1994 – multi racial elections, which were won by the ANC. Hence forth, a Government of National unity came in place under the Presidency of Nelson Mandela and at long last the people of South Africa breathed in freedom.

OBSTACLES TO SOUTH AFRICA’S INDEPENDENCE (1931-1996)

* *Or factors which delayed black majority rule in South Africa*
* *Or the problems faced by the nationalists in South Africa*
* *Or why Apartheid survived for so long in South Africa*

The creation and the establishment of homeland/native reserves (Bantustans) was a problem which was faced by the nationalists leading to delayed the independence of South Africa. The group Areas Act of 1952 created Bantustans along ethnic lines and in the process promoted ethnicity and lack of intertribal co-operation against whites. Africans were granted pseudo independence in these Bantustans. This lured them into thinking that they were independent which was false. They only realized the truth when it was too late

The formation of the Triumvirate delayed the independence of South Africa. This was formed by the three white leaders namely Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia, Don Salazar of Portugal and Verwoerd of South Africa. They used this alliance as a way of retaining their colonies through supporting one another. This weakened the liberation efforts of the nationalists.

The enactment of a bulk of racist and oppressive pass laws that incapacitated the blacks and the restriction of the movement of the Africans was yet another problem. The South African Government enacted the pass laws which limited the Africans in various ways. Other apartheid enforcement acts equally had devastating impacts on the Africans. All these made Africans unable to organize meaningful nationalist movements. This became a serious problem in the struggle for independence in South Africa.

The effective white security forces, strong spy network (the Bureau of State Security – BOSS, Parliamentary Internal Security Commission - PISCO), and the huge South African military posed a big problem to the nationalists. The strength and the might of the South African army acted as an obstacle to the liberation of South Africa. The apartheid regime had a very large army with well trained and well facilitated troops. The army was well equipped and ready to crush any resistance.

The military strength of the apartheid regime as opposed to the weakness of the African liberation movements was a big problem to the African nationalists. The liberation movements lacked the correct military arsenal, training and the resources to fight the well-entrenched apartheid regime which had better military equipments and a well-trained elite force.

The influence of the cold war politics was yet another factor. The capitalist bloc of US, Britain and France kept on supporting the racist white regime as a way of fighting against the spread of communism. This support which came in the form of military arsenal made the racist regime too strong to easily dislodge hence a problem to the nationalists.

The delayed independence of South Africa’s neighbors like Angola, Namibia and Mozambique made the liberation struggle very difficult. This was because these countries could not extend support to South Africa since they were still under colonial rule.

The banning of anti – apartheid political parties was another factor. The racist regime banned all the prominent political parties like the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party. Their underground activities were equally closely watched. This reduced the capacity of the Africans to mobilize hence the delay in attaining independence.

Arrests and detention of anti – apartheid personalities coupled with the brutal suppression of opposition leaders and their movements posed a big problem to the nationalists. In 1960, Africans who were demonstrating peacefully at Sharpeville were crushed with utmost brutality, killing 67 people and injuring 180 others. Then at Soweto in 1976 Police killed 176 Africans. All the above brutal reactions demoralized the nationalists and delayed the attainment of South African’s independence.

The disunity and infighting within the anti – apartheid groups and the rise of rival and discordant African political organizations was another problem. This was a clear case of chauvinism with its debilitating consequences. With time, various rival political organizations rose up. For example the PAC was strongly opposed to the ANC while the Inkatha Freedom Party was equally strongly opposed to the ANC. This rivalry worked against the nationalists’ efforts to liberate South Africa.

The mass poverty and backwardness of the Africans affected the liberation struggle. The African liberation movements were very poor yet the racist South African government also had a strong economy. It was therefore in position to meet all costs necessary to quell all resistances in South Africa. The mass poverty of the Africans circumvented their efforts to bring about political change.

The poor education system for the Africans was another challenge for the nationalists. The Africans were given inferior education. The Bantu Education Act prevented the advancement of Africans in terms of education. Africans were subjected to inferior primary education; they were denied secondary and tertiary education. This made them slow thinkers with no political skills. Hence many Africans accepted their status as migrant laborers and this delayed the independence of South Africa.

The economic strength of the apartheid regime delayed the attainment of inedependence in South Africa. South African economy was by then the most stable and strongest economy. The historical discovery of minerals in South Africa had given the country the financial muscle that it needed to buy the most sophisticated weapons to subdue the African revolution. Besides, the strong economy made possible for the whites to sustain a protracted and successful war against the Africans.

The denial of the blacks to take part in the democratic process of South Africa led to the delay. The restriction of freedom of the press and suppression of the nationalists weakened the African nationalists. Their voting rights were curtailed, political parties banned and freedom to move was denied. It therefore became apparent that constitutional means would not help them attain their freedon

The role of and the existence of conservative and arrogant leaders like Dr. Daniel Francois Malan and P. W. Botha delayed the independence of South Africa. These leaders were naturally against reforms which were in favor of the Africans. They instead attempted to weaken the Africans in all possible ways. It was not until the coming of the reformists that the path to quick independence was cleared.

The weakness and the double standards of the UNO also hindered the early liberation of South Africa. The UNO imposed halfhearted sanctions against South Africa which it failed to implement. Some of the key members of the UNO like USA and Britain also secretly supported the apartheid regime because they believed in capitalism. This enabled apartheid to last longer.

The weakness of OAU led to the delay in the attainment of independence of South Africa. Though the OAU had been formed to decolonize the African states, it lacked adequate finance to implement this. Even when it imposed sanctions, South Africa continued to prosper economically.

The presence of big multi – lateral companies in South Africa like Barclays Bank was another factor. The big multi – lateral companies with big financial bases used their financial muscle to support and sponsor the racists activities in South Africa. They mastrmined the fight against the African national movements and sponsored state induced terrorism against the blacks who were fighting for their rights.

The limited support and cooperation of some African states and their leaders was another factor. Many African states collaborated with the apartheid regime. These states instead collaborated with the racist regime of South Africa. These states in question included Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Congo. The support that the racist regime got from these countries made easy for the regime to crush anti-apartheid movements.

THE IMPACT OF APARTHEID

The racist policy imposed on the South Africans by the white minority had devastating impacts on the people of South Africa and most especially, the blacks. To a greater extent therefore, the policy of apartheid affected the blacks and non – whites negatively if there were any positive impacts, they could have occurred accidentally as explained below:-

The policy of apartheid created racial mistrust. The segregative tendencies of the whites created tension, mistrust, hatred, suspicions and fear among the races in South Africa namely – whites, colored, Asians and blacks. Each racial group mistrusted and therefore feared one another hence creating a highly polarized society.

Apartheid policy led to the creation of the Bantustans where the Africans were deliberately made to suffer and to die. These were black homelands created by the Bantu Self – Government Act of 1959. Examples of the Bantustans created by this act were Bophuthatswana for the Tswana, Lebowa for the Sotho, Debele for the Ndebele, Gazankulu for Shangane / Thonga, Venda for the Venda, Swazi for Swazi, Kwazulu for the Zulu, Ciskei for Xhosa, Transkei for Xhosa and Basothogwa for the Sotho. These home lands retarded the socio economic development of the blacks in South Africa.

The policy of apartheid destroyed national unity in South Africa. The policy grouped different tribes of South Africa differently hence making national unity impossible. No wonder some nationalist movements were formed along tribal lines like the Inkatha Party for the Zulu. The prohibition of intermarriages and provision of separate education systems to various races also prevented national unity and consciousness.

It also led to an unwarranted abuse of the fundamental rights of the blacks and nonwhites. The policy was accompanied by numerous legislations which deprived the nonwhites of their rights to freedom of expression, movement, association, political empowerment and many others.

Apartheid led to high illiteracy levels in South Africa especially among the Blacks. Due to a poor education system, Africans not only felt inferior but the majority remained illiterate. When Afrikaans language was made compulsory in schools, a number of African teachers and pupils boycotted schools. All these contributed to illiteracy in South Africa.

The Africans lost their land as a result of apartheid. The various land acts that were passed deprived Africans of their land. Hence the white minority (about 19% of the total population) received about 87% of the land while the majority Africans and other races were entitled to only about 13% of the land. This further accelerated the poverty of the Africans.

Africans suffered mass poverty as a result of apartheid. Due to loss of land, low wages at places of work, denial from participating in mining and commerce Africans were impoverished to a level below the poverty line. Until today, most wealth- at least 80% is concentrated in hands of the minority whites.

Apartheid policy bred culture violence in South Africa. Since all the avenues of attaining freedom peacefully had been closed, South African nationalists had to resort to acts of urban terrorism, Guerrilla war fare and many others.

The policy also created political instabilities throughout the South African region. The apartheid regime decided to sponsor guerilla activities in neighboring states. It sponsored RENAMO in Mozambique, UNITA in Angola and many others. In turn these countries supported the ANC and PAC rebel against the Pretoria regime hence endless political instability.

Africans were disfranchised as a result of apartheid. The Africans were not allowed to vote or be voted for in South Africa. The result was that by the time of independence – 1994, about 20 million Africans had no idea of campaigning, voting and the like.

Apartheid regime brought about serious economic retardation of South Africa. Due to the International economic sanctions and the acts of sabotage by ANC and POQO rebels, South Africa in general remained more economically backward than it would have been without apartheid.

It destabilized and increased the suffering of African families. This was not only to migrant labor but also due to the fleeing of youths and husbands into the bush to join the ANC and PAC guerillas. A number of families suffered social destruction, many women remained widows while others turned to prostitution.

It also created a class of social delinquents. These were especially the youths whose life experiences were characterized by strikes, war sufferings and killings right from child hood. They took to drug abuse, acts of terrorism and other evils.

Sadly too, it led to the creation of the gang of the notorious three; Henrick Vermont, Don Salazar and Ian Smith. These evil minded leaders agreed to form a memorandum of understanding called the Triumvirate to mutually protect their racist interests in the colonies under their control.

Several people also lost their lives as a result of this policy. The South African police quelled the violent activities among the natives through terror acts like the 1976 Soweto uprising where 36 people were killed.

The policy of apartheid exposed the Pan Africanism bankruptcy among some African states. For example, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland maintained cooperation with South Africa despite being members of the Pan African movement. They despised and abrogated sanctions against South Africa. They therefore betrayed the African cause.

Apartheid policy exposed the weaknesses of the OAU as a continental body. Some of the member states like Congo and Malawi gave support to the racist regime while others like Zambia supported the efforts of the blacks to free themselves from the white minority rule.

It also exposed the UNO’s double standards while dealing with Africans. This was because the UNO never put in place measures to punish countries that abrogated the economic sanctions against South Africa. Hence Britain, France and even USA continued dealing secretly with the apartheid regime.

It promoted and accelerated the cold war. This was so because the communist block continued training and arming the ANC and PAC guerillas operating in Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania e.t.c. While the Western capitalist block secretly equipped the racist regime in South Africa.

Whereas the impacts of apartheid policy were fundamentally negative, the policy however led to some accidental benefits to the Africans. These among others included the following;

A new breed of African nationalists emerged as political heroes who didn’t only win the recognition of the African states but also international accolades. Distinguished figures like Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu and many others drew a lot of admiration for their courage and sense of patriotism.

Apartheid policy strengthened the Afro – Arab Solidarity. This was because the Arabs continued giving aid to the rebels against the apartheid regime. The considered the Africans who were being by the whites as victims of unprecedented colonial oppression and looked the South African regime as an abomination to mankind.

It led to the formation of front line states, which included Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and Mozambique. These were states which took it upon themselves to mobilize resources and spearhead the struggle to liberate the blacks of South Africa.

The racist policy of apartheid led the formation of SADCC – The South African Development Co-ordination Council that was an economic union of the South African states to blockade the trade of the racist South Africa. This trade bloc played a fundamental role in weakening apartheid by denying the wicked regime trade opportunities.

REASONS FOR THE INCREASED OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY OF APATHEID AFTER 1945

A number of factors led an increase in the opposition to the policy of apartheid after 1945. These among others included the following;

The influence of the 2nd World War led to increased opposition to apartheid. During this war, a number of South Africans served in East Africa, the Horn of Africa and other areas. They came into contact with new people, new ideas and obtained military skills. The ex- service men became determined to end apartheid and many of them joined the Torch Commando organization.

The impact of the 5th Pan African Congress also explains the increased opposition to apartheid. Amongst South Africans who attended was Peter Abraham. At the congress, colonial oppression and exploitation were condemned. Peter Abrahams came into contact with other African nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, T.R. Mackonnen of Ethiopia and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. These agreed to adopt the strategy of “mass action” or “positive action”. On returning to South Africa, they put these into action

The 1941 Atlantic Charter influenced the freedom fighters in South Africa. It called upon colonial masters all over the world to grant freedoms to all the colonized peoples. It became the basis of fighting apartheid in South African e.g. Dr. Xuma of the ANC published a document called “African claims and Bill of rights”. It was an interpretation of the 1941 Atlantic charter. When the document was presented to the apartheid regime, it ignored the African demands and this led to the violent out bursts.

The Asian Influence led to increased opposition to apartheid. Among the discriminated class in South Africa were the Asian. They reacted by forming the Natal Indian Congress, which later became the South African Indian Congress. It applied positive actions towards the apartheid regime. This made the whites to listen to Indian demands.

Pressure from the educated youths led to increased opposition to apartheid. These formed the Youths League, composed of teachers, doctors, Lawyers, and Clergymen. They argued that the future of South Africa lay in the hand s of blacks. They adopted strikes, boycotts and other non – violent actions to weaken apartheid. It was the Youth League, which mobilized Africans, Asians, Coloreds and some whites to participate in the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

The failure of diplomacy increased opposition to apartheid. At first, nationalists applied diplomacy and peaceful methods but when these failed, they turned to violence, which increased the pressure against apartheid.

Unfulfilled promises led to an increased opposition to apartheid. The ex-service men demanded for the scrapping off of the apartheid laws as had been promised before the war. Whites refused to remove the as pass laws and even failed to improve on the living conditions in towns. This led to more opposition.

The formation of trade unions was another factor. The Second World War left the economy of South Africa devastated. After the war, the whites embarked on a quick economic recovery problem and in this process exploited and oppressed African labor. This made African join trade union which organized several strikes like the August 1946 Mine workers strike in Johannesburg. This led to the increased opposition to the apartheid policy.

The role of the UNO led to increased opposition to apartheid. The UNO called for an end to oppressive apartheid laws and even approved Dr Xuma’s”African claims and bill of right “of 1964 .The UNO even invited Dr Xuma to present the African grievances to the UN assembly in 1964

The growing wave of nationalism sweeping across Africa made the fighters against apartheid to increase their activities. Stores of fierce armed struggles against whites in Kenya, southern Rhodesia, Algeria, and Tunisia inspired them to fight on.

The December 1958 Accra conference also led to increased opposition against apartheid. The South African representative like Robert Sobukwe came into contact with other nationalists and exchange views on how best the Whiteman could be chased out of Africa. The participants of the December 1958 all African people’s conference adopted them “Hands off Africa. Africa must be free on his return to South Africa, Robert Sobukwe formed the PAC and resorted to the use of violence

The defeat of the South Africa Defense Forces (SADF) by Angola led to increased opposition to apartheid. South Africa defense force gave military assistance to the UNITA rebels who were destabilizing Angola. Angola defeated both the UNITA and their South African Supporters. This made the SADF to withdraw. However to the nationalists, this was an encouraging message that the SADF were not invincible.

The excessive use of force to suppress peaceful African demonstrations like the 1960 Sharpeville Massacres led to increased opposition apartheid

The formation of the OAU in 1963 led to increased opposition to apartheid. The OAU created the Liberation Committee tasked with the responsibility liberate South Africa. This enabled Africa to agitate for the freedom of the oppressed as a continent.

THE ROLE OF THE OAU IN FIGHTING APARTHEID

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was formed in 1963 in Addis- Ababa, Ethiopia. One of the major aims for the formation of this organization was to fight against all forms of colonialism and promote the respect of human rights as laid down in UN Charter on human rights. The OAU was one of the main continental bodies which played a key role in dismantling the policy of apartheid in South Africa as discussed below.

The OAU secretariat in branded apartheid as an evil act against mankind and wrote extensively against it. This helped to arouse world opinion against it. The global anti-apartheid concern thus became the basis for the fight against the policy.

The OAU secretariat passed a number of resolutions against apartheid. Some of these resolutions included the imposition of sanctions against the apartheid regime.

The OAU set up a liberation committee with its headquarters in Dares- Salaam, Tanzania. This became a base for nationalists struggle against apartheid. The liberation committee took up the duty to mobilize support and finances to support the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

The OAU sent a diplomatic delegation to South Africa and Namibia to negotiate for the independence of those countries. However, the white minority regimes did not respect the of the OAU liberation committee. This made the committee to recommend the use of violence.

The OAU member states imposed various economic sanctions against South Africa. They cut off all trade links with South Africa so as to cripple her economy and make it weak and vulnerable.

The OAU member states also cut off diplomatic ties with South Africa. They closed their embassies and other diplomatic missions in South Africa and even withdrew their staff. They equally asked the South African ambassadors to leave their countries.

The OAU presented the South African question before the United Nations Organization. This influenced the UNO to call for international sanctions against South Africa apartheid regime. The OAU therefore made the South African question an international affair.

The OAU recognized and extended financial and technical support to the Liberation movements in South Africa. These movements included the ANC and PAC. The assistance rendered to them was in the form food stuffs, uniform, weapons and drugs. This strengthened their capacity to fight the white regime in South Africa.

The OAU member states like Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique provided ANC guerillas with military training grounds. In Uganda for instance they were trained in Nakasongola. A number of them equally studied at Makerere University.

OAU member states also provided safe havens (political asylum) to the political fugitives from South Africa. It was from these new bases that they continued with their political agitations against apartheid regime.

The OAU member states also paid their annual subscriptions to the OAU headquarters and from these, a percentage was sent to help South African nationalists. The contributions of the member states amounted to one percent of their GDP. It was this contribution which was used to facilitate the military struggle against the whites in South Africa

The OAU condemned the brutality of the apartheid regime in South Africa. For instance, it condemned the 1960 Soweto massacres of unarmed students, the 2nd Soweto massacres of unarmed students of 1986. In all these incidents many Blacks were brutally murdered. This attracted world condemnation hence a reaction against the system. Furthermore, It also condemned the unfair anti-black legislations in South Africa. Key among these were the unpopular passbook laws and labor injustices. This helped to exert pressure on the racist regime of South Africa.

It demanded for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and this finally saw the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Thabo Mbeki and many others. These were the anti-apartheid campaigners and once they were out of the jail, the fight against the system was intensified.

The OAU called for unity between ANC, PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. This unity was important in the collective fight against apartheid regime. The unity enabled the fighters to gain more grounds and subsequently dismantle apartheid

The OAU provided South African students with quality education within OAU member states. This helped to produce a body of elites who joined the diplomatic and military struggle against apartheid.

In 1968, the OAU – together with Asian countries pressurized the International bodies like ILO, the WHO, FAO, FIFA and International Olympics Committee to dismember South Africa. This was subsequently done.

The OAU also sought the intervention of the Commonwealth to impose sanctions against the Apartheid regime. The anti-apartheid members of the Commonwealth responded by imposing social and economic sanctions against South Africa. These assisted in crippling the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The OAU also sought the support of the UNO in dismantling apartheid. Because of this the UNO gave platform to the anti-apartheid activist especially the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly. The anti apartheid campaigners grabbed this opportunity to mount vicious attacks against the policy.

It mobilized the OAU member states to protest against the 1974 tour of South Africa by the British Rugby team. This aimed at isolating South Africa further. All these deliberate efforts subsequently led to the dismantling of the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

***Revision question***.

*Examine the role played by the OAU in the fight against apartheid in South Africa.*

***Answer***

* A candidate isexpected to give the role played by the OAU in the fight against apartheid
* Other factors are also required
* A stand point is a must

***Points to consider:***

Consider all the points on the role of the OAU above

***Other factors:***

* The role of black liberation movements
* The coming to power of Fredrick De Clerk
* The role played by the OAU and its liberation committee
* The role played by the Front Line States
* The Commonwealth played a big role in the collapse of apartheid in South Africa.
* The contribution of the South African people (nationalists)
* The collapse of the triumvirate
* The role of artists and musicians led to the collapse of apartheid
* The end of the Cold War politics
* The role played by the Non Aligned Movement
* The role played by SADC
* The Church played a big role in dismantling apartheid
* The role played by communist countries
* The mass media played a crucial role in the collapse of apartheid.
* The 1960 Sharpeville massacre was yet another factor
* Harold Macmillan’s speech of 3rd February 1960

EXAMINE THE ROLE OF FRONTLINE STATES IN FIGHTING APATHEID

The frontline states are countries which spearheaded the fight against apartheid. These countries included Zambia, Tanzania, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Malawi. Many of them had geographical proximity with South Africa. Their contribution to dismantling apartheid was as follows.

The Front Line States gave political asylum to South African political fugitives. These fugitives included the likes of Oliver Tambo who ran to Zambia from where he co-ordinated the activities of the ANC and continued with the crusade of de campaigning the abhorred system of apartheid.

They provided education facilities and scholarships to the young South Africans who fled from the racist regime. A number of them went to countries like Uganda and Tanzania. On completing studies, the students returned home and continued with the struggle as sharpened them into becoming serious nationalists

The Front Line States imposed trade embargo on the South African racist regime. They refused to trade with South Africa and also boycotted the South African goods. They equally refused to issue travel documents to their citizens who intended to travel to South Africa. This weakened the economy of South Africa hence the eventual collapse of apartheid.

The Front Line States (FLS) provided training bases to nationalists of ANC and PAC. These bases existed in countries like Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola. The bases became vital for training and launching attacks against the white regime of South Africa.

The Front Line States stayed at the fore front in the condemnation of apartheid and called upon the National Party Government to disband it instantly. Through the use of the international forum like the UNO General Assembly, the ANC ferociously attacked the inhuman policies of apartheid and made the world believe the need to collectively fight.

They exerted excessive pressure on President Botha and later F. De Clerk to repeal the apartheid laws and release the prisoners. As a result of this pressure there were some real and tangible reforms which were instituted. These reforms eventually translated into the collapse of apartheid.

The Front Line States formed the South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in 1979 with its headquarters in Gaborone as a regional strategy to strengthen economic sanctions on the white minority rule in South Africa. This regional grouping has since then played a great role in the fight against apartheid.

The states sought and welcomed support and cooperation from other international and world bodies in the struggle for South African liberation. It worked hand in hand with the UNO, the OAU and other world organizations to speed up the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Front Line States exchanged and shared intelligence information in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa. It was through effective intelligence gathering, exchange and sharing that the struggle for this liberation was able to take shape. It enabled the Front Line States to effectively coordinate their efforts.

The states also spearheaded and moderated negotiations between the liberation organizations like the ANC, the UNO and the South African regime. Much as these negotiations were fruitless, at least they set pace for future negotiated settlement of the South African crisis.

The independence enjoyed by the Front Line States like Tanzania, Zambia, Uganda, Botswana became a source of inspiration to the South African nationalists. It gave them the impetus to work harder so that they could also enjoy their independence in future.

They also allowed safe passage of material, financial and military support intended for the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. The territories of Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe were used to safely deliver arms and other supplies to ANC and PAC fighters.

The Front Line States also extended moral, financial and military support to the anti-apartheid struggle. They provided food, money and military logistical support which enabled the anti-apartheid fighters to weaken the regime.

Front Line States established liberation committees that stepped up resistance against apartheid. It was these liberation committees that masterminded and undertook the responsibility of strategizing and execution the military option against the apartheid regime.

The Front Line States advocated for the release of key political prisoners. These prisoners included Nelson Mandela whose release from jail stirred up anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.a

*Other factors which helped to dismantle apartheid included the following;*

The role of black liberation movements and political parties was crucial in the dismantlement of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Liberation movements at the forefront of the struggle were; the Black Conscious Movement of Steve Biko, Umkoto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation which was the military wing of the ANC) and POQO. These were militant organizations which waged guerilla wars that were responsible for weakening the apartheid regime and the call for dialogue.

The coming to power of Fredrick De Clerk was another factor which led to the collapse of apartheid regime. When he came to power, he took bold steps to dismantle apartheid. For instance, he released Nelson Mandela from jail in 1990 hence opening frank and candid dialogue with the anti-apartheid activists end paving the way for the end of the policy

The role played by the OAU and its liberation committee was crucial in the collapse of apartheid rule. The OAU roundly condemned apartheid. It initiated the struggle to diplomatically isolate the country. It also put pressure on the minority regime to initiate political reforms to accommodate the interests of the nonwhites. It dedicated 1% of its GDP to the liberation struggle in South Africa. With these concerted efforts apartheid was bound to collapse.

The role played by the UNO was crucial in the collapse of apartheid. The imposition of economic and diplomatic sanctions by the UNO gravely isolated and weakened the racist regime in South Africa. The international community under the auspices of the UNO imposed a number crippling sanction on South Africa. This was followed by sanctions from the major world industrial powers. Countries like Japan, USA and many others imposed economic sanctions on South Africa.These sanctions greatly and considerably hurt South Africa forcing her to introduce reforms which culminated into the total collapse of the apartheid regime.

The willingness of Britain to cease trade with South Africa was a probably the biggest complimentary move to beef up the efforts of the sanctions already imposed on the country. This made South African white minority regime embark on a series of political reforms to dismantle apartheid.

The Commonwealth played a big role in the collapse of apartheid in South Africa. The Commonwealth is an agglomeration of all former British colonies. These colonies severed diplomatic relations with South Africa, imposed embargoes on the racist regime and expelled South Africa from its membership. This was big diplomatic blow for South Africa.

The contribution of the South African people (nationalists) themselves led to the collapse of apartheid. The nationalists like Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and many others spear headed the struggle against the racist regime. The nationalists galvanized the spirit of resistance against the bad policies of apartheid and brought the people together to fight the evil of apartheid. Their collective effort eventually brought the system to its knees.

The collapse of the triumvirate of Ian Smith, Verwoerd and Dr. Salazar led to the fall of apartheid. The Triumvirate was a powerful organization of the three wicked white leaders who intended to use the organization to ensure unlimited domination of the Africans in their territories through supporting one another against the African threats. Its collapse made the South Africa racist weak hence speeding up the collapse of apartheid as well.

The role of artists and musicians led to the collapse of apartheid. Great musicians like Lucky Dube, Chaka Chaka effectively used music, dance and drama in the fight against apartheid. Music, dance and drama was used to criticize and condemn the policy. This generated general hostility against the system hence its speedy collapse

The end of the Cold War politics was another factor. Before 1989, South Africa was the theatre of Cold War politics and machinations. The western bloc backed South African minority regime while the eastern bloc backed the countries opposed to the regime. The collapse of the Cold War in 1989 made South Africa lose its key backers hence speeding up the fall of apartheid.

The role played by the Non Aligned Movement was important in bringing down apartheid. NAM is an organization of more than 100 countries which are aligned to any of the superpowers. NAM formed in 1955 mainly to struggle for the independence of the oppressed. It supported the efforts of the liberation movements in South Africa and further diplomatically isolated the racist regime. This weakened the minority government hence the collapse of apartheid.

The role played by Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was another factor which led to the collapse of apartheid. SADCC is an economic grouping of South African states. The member states of SADCC campaigned against apartheid, levied sanctions on the country and supported the liberation movements against the white regime.

The Church played a big role in dismantling apartheid. The church both in South Africa and outside South Africa condemned the policy of apartheid. The World Council of Churches for instance was at the fore front in the fight against apartheid. It mobilized world support against the racist regime hence severely weakening it.

The role played by communist countries was another factor which led to the collapse of apartheid. Communist countries like China pushed for the end of the racist rule in South African. They joined the rest of the world in campaigning against the regime and gave moral, financial and military support to the South African liberation movements leading to the collapse of the regime.

The mass media played a crucial role in the collapse of apartheid. The information about the brutality meted out on the Africans which were churned out by the mass media changed world opinion about the racist regime. It there galvanized the anti-apartheid internationally making it hard for the regime to survive.

The 1960 Sharpeville massacre was yet another factor. This was a massacre of disproportionate magnitude. More than 170 demonstrators were butchered by the racist regime. Rather than silencing the nationalists, the massacre instead strengthened their zeal and rallied international support for their cause.

Harold Macmillan’s wind of change speech delivered to the South African parliament on 3rd February 1960 led to the collapseof apartheid."Whether we like it or not," he said, "this growth of national consciousness is a political fact." The government's aim, he said, was to "create a society which respects the rights of individuals - a society in which individual merit, and individual merit alone, is the criterion for a man's advancement, whether political or economic." This speech became a historical landmark. It was the first sign that the British government accepted that the days of Empire were over, and it dramatically speeded up the process of African independence. It marked the beginning of South Africa's long spell out in the cold. Although the Nationalist Party politicians reacted with outrage to the speech, and became even more entrenched, the speech brought international opposition to the apartheid system out into the open.

The harsh apartheid laws gave stimulus to African protests and resistance in South Africa. Apartheid was premised on about 317 pieces of bad legislations which were enacted over a decade beginning from 1948. These laws instigated a wave of protest which eventually undermined the credibility of the system.

There were a number of sporadic strikes, demonstrations, defiance campaigns and boycotts till the end of the minority regime in South Africa. These strikes and demonstrations made South Africa almost ungovernable. The brutality with which they were suppressed equally tarnished the image of the racist regime in South Africa.

Limitation of peaceful resistance to apartheid made Africans in South Africa to switch to a militant guerilla struggle against apartheid. The door to peaceful negotiations had been blocked; the non-whites had option but to resort to violence as a way of wrestling their independence. This method proved effective against the system

The criticism of apartheid by a tiny, but powerful white liberals in South Africa destroyed the credibility of the system in South Africa. The United Party of Smuts and Hoffer for instance opposed the policy of apartheid. Other parties which opposed and criticized apartheid include the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party. This weakened the policy leading to its speedy collapse

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION (UNO) IN DISMANTLING APARTHEID

(THE ROLE OF THE UNO IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA)

The United Nations Organization (UNO) was formed in 1945 after the Second World War at San Francisco USA. It was mainly established to safeguard the fundamental human rights in the world, ensure world peace in order to avoid the reoccurrence of another world. The UNO out rightly came out to condemn the activities of apartheid thereby playing a key role in dismantling the evil policy. Among others, the following were the role played by the UNO in putting an end to apartheid in South Africa:-

The UNO provided the platform to be used by the African nationalists to condemn the policy of apartheid. It offered the nationalists an opportunity to voice their views and concerns against apartheid. For example, Nelson Mandela after his release addressed a special UN session and highlighted the need for tougher sanctions against apartheid regime in order to dismantle it.

The UNO ended all diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1961. All members of the UNO accepted to severe diplomatic ties with the racist regime in 1961. They withdrew passports for all their citizens intending to travel to South Africa as a way of strengthening the isolation of the racist regime from the rest of the world.

The UNO set up a special committee against apartheid under resolution 1761 of November 1962. The committee which started its work in 1963 among others did the following: it kept racial policies under review throughout the year, it promoted international campaign against apartheid, it pressed for effective sanctions against South Africa, it extended assistance to both the liberation movements as well as the victims of apartheid. The first chairman of this committee was Diallo Telli of Guinea

The UNO expelled South Africa from all its committees and bodies. It accepted the demands of Afro – Asians to expel South Africa from International bodies like the WHO, ILO and FAO. Hence South Africa was expelled from all UNO organizations in 1968. South Africa thus became isolated and weakened internationally.

The UNO influenced the expulsion of South Africa from participating in all international sporting activities like Olympics games, world cup football tournament as well as commonwealth games. Subsequently, South Africa was expelled from all these activities. This further weakened and isolated South Africa from the rest of the world.

The UNO adopted the International Convention on eliminating all forms of racial discrimination in 1965. Its General Assembly called upon the racist regime in South Africa to abide by the UN principles of racial equality. Although apartheid had not yet been legalized, the stand taken by the UNO aroused determination among the nationalists to demand an end to the abuse of the black race.

In 1970 South was excluded from the UNO General Assembly. This meant that the membership of South Africa to the world body had been withdrawn. South Africa therefore found itself in deepest isolation from the rest of the world and therefore could no longer meaningfully participate in world affairs.

The UNO set up a Trust Fund for South Africa’s publicity to fight apartheid. The Trust Fund, set up in 1975 gave financial aid to anti-apartheid movements and other NGO’s to support their publicity against apartheid in consultation with the UNO Special Committee and the Center Against Apartheid

The UNO recognized the two liberation movements in South Africa namely, the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC). These were political and militant movements which were formed with the specific objective of spearheading the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Their recognition by the world body strengthened their activities and made them win the sympathy of many countries in the world.

The UNO roundly condemned the indiscriminative killings of 1976. Following the 1976 Sharpeville massacres in which hundreds of innocent people were brutally massacred, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council met and strongly condemned apartheid. It threatened South Africa with sanctions and eventually imposed these sanctions with all their bitter consequences.

The United Nations Organization approved and financed the 1967 anti- apartheid conferences in Zambia. These conferences were organized under the auspices of the OAU and the Front Line States. The conferences brought together countries which were opposed to the continued abuse of the nonwhites in South African. By financing the conferences, the UNO played a great role in dismantling the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

The UNO pressed for the release of political prisoners from their detention. It pleaded with the South African authority for the release of anti-apartheid political prisoners like Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and many others. Because of its intervention some of these prisoners were eventually released from jail.

It collaborated with the OAU in the fight against apartheid. The UNO built a strong collaboration with the OAU in its struggle against the policy of apartheid. It supported the efforts of the continental body which dedicated 1% of its GDP to liberate African countries including South Africa from the yoke of colonialism.

The UNO sent observer teams to oversee elections for the majority in South Africa in 1994. It monitored the multi-racial elections of 1994 which was easily won by Nelson Mandela. In so doing, it was playing a big role in ensuring a transition into a multiparty political dispensation.

UNO imposed economic sanctions on South Africa. From 1962 onwards, UN member countries started imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. The sanctions eventually negatively affected the performance of the South African economy making the racist regime to reconsider its position on apartheid.

The UNO also imposed an arms embargo on South Africa. In 1964 the UN Security Council imposed an arms ban on South Africa. All UN members especially USA and Britain were expected to stop supplying arms to South Africa – USA and Britain took the lead. This weakened South Africa’s military capacity.

The UNO participated in the mediation talks between the apartheid government of Fredrick De Clerk and Nelson Mandela and the anti-apartheid groups in South Africa. From these talks a national peace accord was drafted in 1991 which became a strong platform for the 1994 elections which officially ended the apartheid regime in South Africa.

***Revision question:***

1. *Assess the role of the United Nations Organization (UNO) in the liberation struggle in South Africa*

***Answer:***

* A candidate is expected to give and explain the role played by the UNO in the liberation struggle in South Africa
* Other factors are also required
* A stand point is mandatory

***Points to consider:***

Consider all the points on the role of the UNO in the above essay as they appear

***Other factors:***

* The role of black liberation movements
* The coming to power of Fredrick De Clerk
* The role played by the OAU and its liberation committee
* The role played by the Front Line States
* The Commonwealth played a big role in the collapse of apartheid in South Africa.
* The contribution of the South African people (nationalists)
* The collapse of the triumvirate
* The role of artists and musicians led to the collapse of apartheid
* The end of the Cold War politics
* The role played by the Non Aligned Movement
* The role played by SADC
* The Church played a big role in dismantling apartheid
* The role played by communist countries
* The mass media played a crucial role in the collapse of apartheid.
* The 1960 Sharpeville massacre was yet another factor
* The harsh apartheid laws gave stimulus to African protests and resistance
* There were a number of sporadic strikes, demonstrations, defiance campaigns and boycotts
* Limitation of peaceful resistance to apartheid made Africans in South Africa to switch to a militant one
* The criticism of apartheid by a tiny, but powerful white liberals in South Africa destroyed the credibility of the system in South Africa
* This was followed by sanctions from the major world industrial powers.
* The willingness of Britain to cease trade with South Africa
* Conclude

. *Examine the factors that led to the collapse of apartheid by 1992*

***Answer***

* The candidate is expected to give and explain all the factors which led to the collapse of apartheid.

**Points to consider:**

Consider all the points mentioned above

THE ROLE OF THE ANC IN THE FIGHT AGAISNT APARTHEID

The African National Congress is a non - racial political platform which came into being in 1923. It emerged from The South African Native Congress which had been formed in 1914.. Among others, the ANC played the following fundamental roles in dismantling apartheid:-

It established and run newspapers called “Abantu Sotho”. Talented elites of the ANC used this newspaper, to write critical articles, which helped to arouse African nationalism in South Africa. The newspapers became the mouth piece of the oppressed people of South Africa calling upon the whites to the Blacks their liberty.

Members of the ANC composed songs and slogans against apartheid. For example, “Nkozi Sikelele” “God bless Africa”. These slogans became part and parcel of African life. Others like “Nkozi Sikelele” has today been incorporate in the National Anthem of South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia.

The ANC rallied the support of the urban workers in Johannesburg and other cities to challenge the poor working conditions and the unequal treatment of the blacks by the whites. As a last resort, it equally instigated the urban workers to strike against the mistreatment by racist employers.

The ANC leaders organized public campaigns and denounced the existing pass laws. Several members were mobilized and told to surrender their pass books to be destroyed as a way of achieving freedom of movement. In this way, the ANC was playing a significant role in the fight against apartheid.

In 1952, the ANC organized a nationwide strike against the unfair apartheid laws. Much as these strikes were quelled down by the whites, it was a symbol of rising militant nationalism in South Africa.

As the 2nd World war was progressing, the ANC issued a document called “African claims in South Africa” This was based on the recommendations of the 1941 Atlantic Charter. The document among others, called for universal adult suffrage. The ANC must therefore be hailed for interpreting the Atlantic Charter for the good of South Africans.

The youth members of the ANC like Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tembo and Nelson Mandela formed the Youth League of the ANC in 1972. The Youth League was instrumental in coordinating the appropriate strategies which knocked out apartheid from South Africa.

The ANC sought the support of other nonwhite communities in South Africa. It influenced the different races to come together in 1953 and adopted a slogan “South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, black or white”. This coalition was important in calling for the total freedom of all the people. And in 1955, the ANC issued a freedom carter that called for racial equality.

The young members of the ANC led by Robert Sobukwe formed the Pan African Congress (PAC) in 1959 as a way of militarizing the struggle against apartheid. This led to the birth of POQO which was the guerilla wing of PAC. The founder leader of the PAC, Robert Mongaliso Sobukwe was however later arrested.

In 1959, Albert Luthuli – the new President of the ANC organized a number of positive actions like the famous bus boycott in Alexandria by which Africans workers boycotted bus transport for three months leading to a reduction in bus fares. He also organized the potato boycott, which led to improved conditions of workers on European farms.

Following the massacre of its members in the 1960 demonstrations, the ANC called for three days of mourning for their dead members. It also demanded for the release of their imprisoned members. In response, the Government banned the ANC.

In reaction to this ban, Nelson Mandela of the ANC formed a cell of secret organization called “ Umkhoto We Sizwe”- “ the Spear of the Nation”. It was militant organization which carried out many brave acts of sabotage against the minority racists. By 1963, it had carried out 193 acts of sabotage against police posts, business centers, tourist sites and many others.

The ANC members in exile formed the United Freedom Front (UFF) in London which continued sending help to South African guerillas and encouraging them to fight for the freedom of the black race. Through these, the liberation struggle in South Africa was boosted.

The ANC trained several fighters in several African states. Its members joined the guerilla movement and went for military training in Tanzania, Zambia, Algeria and even China. In 1978, ANC guerilla started returning to South Africa secretly and carrying out several acts of sabotage throughout the 1990s

The ANC successfully called upon the OAU to support the military struggle against apartheid. It also gathered support from the OAU member states so as to militarily and economically cripple apartheid in South Africa through economic sanctions and direct military participation of the member states.

It also sought the support of the Front Line States to end apartheid regime. The support it got from these states drove the ANC to fight an endless battle against the apartheid regime.

The ANC man, Steve Biko formed the Black Consciousness Movement which was non violent. In 1976, it organized the students’ demonstration at Soweto but police shot at them, leaving many dead and wounded. Steve Biko was arrested and died in police custody in 1977 under extreme torture.

The ANC also exerted pressure on the racist South African regime to release the African nationalists who had been arrested and detained for defying the authority of the whites. This pressure eventually yielded positive dividends.

The ANC appealed to the UNO to step up the struggle against apartheid and was successful in doing so. Through this many UNO members imposed economic sanctions on South Africa.

The ANC under Nelson Mandela engaged in the multiracial elections of April 1994 which was won by Nelson Mandela by a landslide. This brought an end to the sordid apartheid rule in South Africa.

***Revision question:***

*Assess the role of the ANC in the struggle for independence in South Africa*

THE ROLE OF STEVE BIKO IN THE STRUGGLE AGAISNT APARTHEID

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

Since his young age, Biko showed great interests in anti-apartheid politics and was subsequently expelled from his Lovedale School in Eastern Cape. He later joined the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) which was a vibrant organization with the cardinal objective of fighting against the policy of apartheid in South Africa. Among others, he played the following roles in the fight against apartheid:-

Steve Biko formed the South African Students’ Organization (SASO) in 1969. This organization was mainly formed to bring together Black University student and to promote their anti-apartheid consciousness.

He was instrumental in the formation of South African Students’ Movement meant to mobilize the secondary school students of South Africa against the white regime. This movement spurred anti-apartheid sentiments and spearheaded the struggle against the regime.

Biko fought apartheid through the formation of the Black Conscious Movement (BCM). Initially the BCM was a student based movement with cultural orientation but later developed into a strong anti-apartheid movement with a big following. Among others, BCM called for an end to all forms of injustices against the black race.

He also inspired the formation of the Black People’s Convention in late 1973 by nonwhites (black students) opposed to the white minority regime. The Black People’s Convention was instrumental in promoting anti-apartheid sentiments internally and globally.

Steve Biko established self-help schemes the *Zimele Trust Fund*. This fund in particular aimed at assisting victims of apartheid brutal regime including those who had been imprisoned due to their anti-apartheid political activities.

Biko influenced the activities of the black workers against the unfair labor policies. Black Workers activities were important in putting pressure on the minority white regime to make concessions and allow the blacks to have freedom.

Biko’s anti-apartheid activities led to his expulsion from the University. He however became fully engaged with the Black Community program aimed at promoting African rights. This was important in the fight against apartheid regime.

When he was arrested and detained at Port Elizabeth, Biko became uncooperative with the apartheid police. The apartheid machinery thus tortured and brutalized him. His brutal interrogations were a symbol of gross human rights violation which aroused international concern over the violation of the blacks in South Africa.

Steve Biko called for the eradication of activities and policies aimed at impoverishing and exploiting the Africans in their own country. Such policies included mass land grabbing and denying the Africans from fair competition in economic activities in South Africa.

His anti-apartheid activities and campaigns and later the brutal arrest and detention that he suffered aroused international awareness about the brutality of the minority regime in South Africa which attracted worldwide condemnation of the regime.

Steve Biko inspired the outbreak of the 1976-77 Soweto uprising through the Black Conscious Movement (BCM). The uprising aimed at freeing the Africans from the inhuman treatments to which they had been subjected by the white minority regime.

His death in police custody in 1977 attracted worldwide condemnation and exposed the brutality of apartheid. It was partly because of this that the UN Security Council imposed an arms embargo on South Africa in 1977.

Upon his death, he was hailed as a martyr of anti-apartheid struggle and a true son of South Africa and a champion of the rights of the blacks. This further galvanized the struggle against the minority white regime in South Africa.

***Revision question:***

*Examine the role of Steve Biko in the struggle against apartheid*

THE ROLE PALYED BY THE BLACK CONSCIOUS MOVEMENT (BCM) IN THE STRUGGLE AGAISNT APARTHEID.

The Black Conscious Movement (BCM) was a grass root anti-apartheid activist movement that emerged in South Africa in the mid 1960’s out of the political vacuum created by the arrest and detention of ANC and PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) leadership following the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960. The movement played a fundamental role in the development of nationalism in South Africa as explained below:-

The movement attacked the traditional white values especially the condescending values of white peoples’ liberal opinion. The members of the BCM out rightly rejected the whites’ “*monopoly”* of truthand sought to make the black proud of their blackness in order to liberate themselves.

The movement fought to bring to an end the white minority regime with its associated injustices against the blacks in South Africa. It did this through strikes and other forms of mass action against the white minority rule.

BCM demanded for political involvement of the Africans in the affairs of South Africa. Much as this was by then a tall order and Prime Minister Vorster responded by arresting the BCM leaders at least they had made their point.

The BCM played a big role in inspiring and organizing the Soweto uprising of 1960 with a huge involvement of the Soweto Students who boycotted lessons due to a number of grievances like poor learning facilities. The South African regime responded to this by killing over 200 students hence drawing the wrath of the international community.

The movement created a platform for violent uprising elsewhere in South Africa. For instance the pupils of Orlando West Junior School went on strike against forced indoctrination in racial theories. There were also similar actions in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth etc.

BCM decampaigned and protested against the forced use of Afrikaans language in African schools. The mandatory use of Afrikaans language was aimed at spreading the white man’s values.

The BCM played a big role in promoting unity among the wretched blacks and nonwhites in South Africa so as to form a common front against the policy of apartheid. This unity in diversity was essential if the Africans were to effectively tackle the regime.

The movement also played a key role in the mobilization of funds and other material resoures that the South African freedom fighters needed in order to execute their tasks. Through connections with the external world, it was able to acquire some ammunition which the fighters used.

***Revision question:***

*Assess the contribution of the Black Conscious Movement in the struggle for independence in South Africa.*

THE 1976 SOWETO UPRISING

THE CAUSES OF THE 1976 SOWETO UPRISING

The Soweto uprising was the bloodiest uprising against the apartheid regime in South Africa. It took place on the 16th June 1976 in the South African town of Soweto located in the South Western part of Johannesburg.

The Soweto uprising was mainly engineered by African students and rapidly spread to other towns like East London, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. The Soweto uprising of 1976 was caused by a number of factors which among others included the following:-

The presence of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) led to the Soweto uprising. The SSRC aggregated students interests and turned them into a national agenda. It also united the students of Soweto and provided them with the forum to agitate for their rights.

The role of the Black Conscious Movement and the specific contribution of Steve Biko led to the Soweto uprising. The BCM was an anti-apartheid movement which was mainly composed of students and other intellectuals. It was formed to rally the support of the youth in the struggle against apartheid. It was this movement which mobilized the students to participate in this mass uprising.

The poor and rough conditions of the black people, the coloreds and the nonwhites in towns like Soweto led to the uprising. The conditions of these underprivileged people were so horrible. Housing facilities were poor and access to medication was close to impossible. This discontent eventually exploded into the Soweto uprising.

High employment rate among the blacks and the non-whites was yet another factor. Apartheid legislations had deprived the blacks and non-whites meaningful employment opportunities. The economic backward to which the the blacks and nonwhites had been subjected left the bulk of them unemployed. Lack of jobs made the people angry leading to the Soweto uprising.

Lack of suitable entertainment facilities for the blacks and non-whites led to the Soweto uprising. The blacks were not allowed to use the facilities enjoyed by the whites. If the blacks and non-whites had facilities, then those facilities were substandard, dilapidated and not worthy. The blacks thus rose up in the Soweto riot because of that.

Discrimination of the black people in South Africa was another factor which led to the Soweto uprising of 1976. The blacks and nonwhites alike were discriminated against by the whites in all aspects of life. The whites deliberately passed legislations which discriminated against the nonwhites in places of work, entertainment, worship marriage and many others. This annoyed the Africans hence the Soweto uprising.

The presence of marauding gangs in the streets of Soweto at night led to the uprising.This was a bunch of unemployed youths who had no clear sources of survival. Their presence in the Soweto streets was a source of lawlessness, mayhem and insecurity. It was these gangs that became a strong force during the uprising.

The economic stagnation among the black people and the non-whites was another cause of the Soweto uprising. This was characterized by low wages, high rates of inflation and soaring rates of transport. These economic difficulties affected the blacks and the nonwhites worst because they were already poor. This annoyed them hence the Soweto uprising.

The imposition of Afrikaner language as a medium of communication in schools was another reason for the Soweto uprising. The whites (especially the Boers) imposed the use of Afrikaner language in schools, offices and courts of law as a medium of communication to demonstrate their cultural superiority. The blacks and nonwhites detested this in the Soweto uprising.

The exclusion of the coloreds from the political affairs of South Africa was another factor. This exclusion came about as a result of the recommendation by the Thereon Report. The report had made it clear that both the blacks and coloreds were not to participate in the politics of South Africa because they were considered a political threat. This was a source of discontent which sparked off the Soweto uprising.

The formation of students’ movements in South Africa triggered off the Soweto uprising. The students’ movements which spearheaded the uprising were; The South African Students’ Association, The South African Students’ Movement for Secondary Schools and the Black Peoples’ Convention. These movements became a rallying point for students in South Africa and mobilized them to participate in the Soweto uprising.

The unfair education system that was given to the blacks led to the Soweto uprising. The kind of education given to the blacks was rudimentary and was meant to make the blacks remain backward forever. It emphasized low technical skills and intellectual and academic ability for the blacks. The blacks detested this and therefore rose up against this bad education system in the Soweto uprising.

The hostile and brutal government response to initial peaceful riots led to the Soweto uprising. Demonstrations led by the blacks had been previously brutally broken up by the racist regime with colossal loses on the side of the African. This hardened the Africans and demonstrated to them that no amount of peaceful effort would yield positive political dividends. They therefore resorted to violence hence the Soweto uprising.

The success of nationalism in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau was a source of encouragement for the black nationalists. The Africans in the Portuguese territories had successfully revolted and won their independence. This success inspired the blacks to rise up in the Soweto riot.

THE EFFECTS OF THE 1976 SOWETO UPRISINGS

The Soweto uprising of 1976 had far reaching positive and negative consequences on the history of South Africa. To a greater extent however, these consequences were positive as discussed below:-

Positively, the Soweto uprising of 1976 marked a change from the traditional patterns of non-violence to a more violent and semi violent types of protest in South Africa. The blacks came to realize that peace would bring political change; they therefore a more violent approach to their struggle.

The Soweto uprising led to the emergence of widespread and country wide resistance movements spearheaded by the SSRC and the SASM. The Soweto uprising spread like bush fire. A protest that started in a small way in Soweto eventually engulfed the whole country. This speeded up the process of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

The colored students held a parallel solidarity demonstration in Cape Town. In a show of solidarity with the oppressed and underprivileged black students, the colored students took to the street in Cape Town. Although the protest was equally broken down, at least a clear message had been sent to the racist regime.

The Soweto uprising led to the workers strikes all over Rand. The workers put down their tools. They had their grievances and concerns. The workers grabbed this opportunity to settle their own scores with their employers by going on strike all over Rand.

The Soweto uprising stretched to other basic grievances such as low wages, social services and many others. It emboldened the blacks to demand for better pay and ask for better social services. This probably wouldn’t have occurred if the Soweto uprising had not occurred.

Black trade unions sprung up in the Eastern Cape. The Soweto uprising inspired the blacks of South Africa to form trade unions through which they demanded for their political, economic and social rights.it was through these trade unions that they aggregated their demands, came together and pushed for equality of all races in South Africa.

The Soweto uprising led to the amendment of the South African constitution. It forced the racist regime to made adjustments and to reconsider their stand on apartheid. For instance in 1978, Pieter W. Botha made some constitutional reforms by setting up two presidential councils, one for the whites and the Asians and one for the blacks. This was a step forward in the dismantlement of apartheid.

The uprising increased foreign criticism to the policy of apartheid. The massacre that followed provoked international outrage against the racist regime. Even the former backers of apartheid like USA and Britain were outraged. The international concern that the uprising generated led to the diplomatic isolation of the apartheid regime.

The UNO condemned in the strongest terms the act of brutality meted out on the African protesters during the Soweto uprising. It later declared 16th June a day for the African Child to commemorate the sufferings and the tribulations of the African especially those under the apartheid regime government in South Africa.

The Soweto uprising led to rise of liberal minded whites in South Africa. The whites belonging to the Liberal Party condemned apartheid on the floor of parliament. The Progressive Party through its representative, Helen Suzman equally opposed the policy of apartheid in the country. This widened the scope of opposition to apartheid.

The uprising strengthened the activities of the African National Congress (ANC). It emboldened the ANC and raised its status as a party committed to the liberation of South Africa. It also provided a clear justification for the continued anti-apartheid struggle led by the ANC.

The Soweto uprising made the OAU to intensify its anti-colonial stance. The OAU members states were irritated by the unpolished government response to the Soweto uprising especially the massacre of the innocent school going children. The OAU therefore solicited for support to ensure a quick liberation of the South African blacks from the pangs of the racist regime.

The Soweto uprising exposed the traitors and those who were sympathetic to the policy of apartheid. A number of Africans who were sympathetic to whites probably because of greed and self-conceit didn’t participate in this grand demonstration. These were traitors for they were opposed to a just cause. Their treachery did a disservice to those who were committed to liberate South Africa.

It also exposed the weakness of the nationalistic struggles in South Africa. The fact that the demonstration was easily crushed was a clear demonstration that the nationalists still had a long way to and that the hurdles that lay ahead of them were still huge and there a better strategy needed to be worked out in order to circumvent them.

Negatively, the Soweto uprising led to the death of many school children. Its estimated that close to 100 innocent children were murdered in cold blood by the racist regime. They were shot dead by the ruthless South African army. More than 180 children were equally injured during the protests.

The Soweto uprising led to the assassination of prominent South African black nationalists like Steve Biko. Biko is credited with the formation of the Black Conscious Movement, an anti-apartheid movement which recruited young students into its ranks. He was arrested incarcerated and tortured to death in police custody.

There was massive destruction of property. School, bars and other forms of property were destroyed by both the demonstrators and the police. The impact of this was that colossal losses were suffered by both the government and the private property owners.

The Soweto uprising led to the declaration of the state of emergency in South Africa. The momentum with which it spread and engulfed the whole of South Africa sent shock waves to the apartheid leaders. They responded by declaring state of emergency which increased state repression.

The Soweto uprising of 1976 scared off foreign investors from moving to South Africa. It was a violent crackdown on innocent young people. The brutality with which the crackdown was conducted was unprecedented. Many investors including potential ones therefore regarded South Africa as a destination where they could not invest their capital.

The government of South Africa was able to contain the uprising. Much as it had to spread and engulfed almost all the major cities of South Africa, the racist regime put into action its military might to crush the uprising and within a short period of time the uprising was no more.

The Soweto uprising led to the closure of many schools. Its worth to recall that this was basically a students’ uprising. When they protested, the schools definitely had to be closed. The most affected schools which remained closed for a much longer period of time were those located in Soweto.

***Class assignment***

1. ***Examine the role played by the following in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa***
2. ***Nelson Mandela***
3. ***Fredrick De Klerk***
4. ***Examine the problems faced by the South African nationalists between 1964 and 1994.***

*EXAMINE THE INFLUENCE OF THE 1976-1977 SOWETO UPRISING ON THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA*.

The Soweto uprising of 1976 was a riot or demonstration by school going children against the unrealistic education policies of the South African racist regime which denied the black majority children to quality education. The South African regime responded to this demonstration with utmost brutality killing scores of the demonstrating children and injuring more than 180 of them.

The influence of this demonstration on the liberation struggle in South Africa among others included the following:-

Passive resistance was abandoned by the nationalists who from then decided to adopt a more violent approach as an option for the struggle for independence. The nationalists came to realize that the peaceful approach would take them nowhere since the racist regime was not willing to listen to their demands for constitutional reforms.

The Soweto uprising led to increased activities of the Black Conscious Movement in South Africa. This was a liberation movement set up by Steve Biko to fight for the liberation of South Africa by basically drafting students and intellectuals in the struggle. The activities of the BCM tripled after the Soweto uprising.

Widespread strikes, riots and demonstrations were organized against the racist regime in South Africa. Many more anti- apartheid demonstrations were organized by the nationalists in South Africa to express their utter distaste for a regime which was inhuman and inconsiderate to the plight of the nonwhites.

Protests in schools were equally organized. The nonwhite schools which were dilapidated and poorly facilitated in terms of curriculum, facilities and infrastructures turned to protests. Students moved to the streets to show their annoyance with the school systems which denied them quality education.

School boycotts also increased. Students boycotted lessons and stayed away from classroom instructions. They did this as a way of protesting against the bad education policy which granted them rudimentary education devoid of specialty and skills.

The Soweto uprising provoked native resistance from the blacks and increased the demand by nonwhites to be granted their rights. The blacks, the Asian and other nonwhite communities stood up to demand for their rights which were being violated by the racist minority regime.

The Soweto uprising led to the death of Steve Biko in police custody. Biko was arrested and locked up on the charges of inciting the Soweto uprising. His death in police came against the backdrop of suspicion that he was tortured by the police while in jail. The death of Biko led to more violent protests in South Africa.

Many black youth fled abroad. They went into exile in neighboring countries where they sought political asylum. Many of those who went into exile were recruited into the ANC guerilla army. They were later taken for military training in Algeria, China and many countries. They eventually formed the core of the fighting force of the Umkoto we Sizwe.

The Soweto massacre received unreserved condemnation from the UNO and its General Assembly. The UNO then declared 16th of June, a day of international day of the African Child in solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa. This gave the South African nationalists a wider global support.

The racist minority regime of South Africa increased its espionage activities on the movements and activities of the black nationalists. They strengthened their information gathering methods, did more to curtail the activities of the nationalists and planted spies among the nationalists themselves. This instead hardened the black nationalists.

The OAU and the Front Line States intensified their activities against apartheid government in South Africa. More anti-apartheid campaigns were conducted, more effective sanctions were imposed on the racist regime and more support was extended to the liberation movements in South Africa. This boosted the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The Soweto massacre inspired the musicians and artists to compose anti-apartheid songs and to produce films which castigated the apartheid regime. Great musicians who composed anti-apartheid songs included Lucky Dube, Brenda Fassie and Yvonne Chaka Chaka.

THE CREATION OF BANTUSTANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Why the Bantustans were created in South Africa

Bantustans were separate home lands meant for the settlement of the blacks. They were created along tribal lines and they included Bophuthatswana for Swana, Lebowa for the northern Sotho, Ndebele for the Ndebele, Kwazulu for the Zulu and Tsonga and Ciskei for the Xhosa. Hedrick Verwoerd had the following reasons for creating Bantustans:-

He wanted to keep the Blacks and Whites economically and territorially apart. This would help to achieve apartheid’s aim of separate development as prescribed in its doctrine. The Bantustans would make the Blacks develop separately from the whites.

The Bantustans were created in order to create a large reservoir of an unstable and cheap migrant labor. The whites set up a number of industries along the borders of the Bantu homelands to achieve the apartheid aim of exploiting cheap African labor from the Bantustans.

Since the Bantustans were too small, it would be correct to argue that they were created so as to avail the white farmers with large pieces of land for agricultural developments. The Africans who had formerly settled on their traditional pieces of land were forcefully evicted and taken to live in the Bantustans. This created more land for the whites in South Africa.

Prime Minister Fredrick Verwoerd wanted to grant independence to each of the Bantustans. If the Bantustans became independent states, this would automatically make the blacks in these states foreigners in South Africa. Hence this would justify denying them political and civil rights in South Africa rather than the Bantustants where they would belong.

Verwoerd also intended to reduce the number of blacks claiming for their rights to reside in urban centres. The number of the Africans living in urban centres was systematically growing. A number of these blacks had relocated to those areas in search of jobs. This however threatened the security of the whites. Creating Black homelands would provide a permanent solution to this.

Bantustans were also created to return millions of Africans who were under employed or unemployed in cities to the rural areas where they could find employment in industries surrounding the Bantustans.

By creating the Bantustans, Prime Minister Verwoerd aimed at limiting the growth of mass African nationalism. He would achieve this by grouping people of the same tribe together in the same Bantustan. This would promote ethnicity or parochialism and would prevent massive resistance to apartheid.

Verwoerd also claimed that he wanted to retribalize Africans who had been detribalized by city and industrial life. His argument was that the African who had lost their identity as a result of moving to towns would be able to recoup this identity when they are settled together in their Black homelands.

Another aim for the creation of Bantustans was to promote the white man’s superiority over the Africans. The policy of separation and confinement of the Africans in their underdeveloped territories would put the whites in a better position to dominate and control the Africans.

The whites also aimed at maintaining racial and cultural purity in South Africa. This would be done by completely eliminating all forms of cultural mix since the Africans will have been confined to their separate homelands.

With time, each Bantustan was granted independence and hence making Africans legally foreigners in South Africa. This was to blindfold the world that the Africans had already been granted their self-rule

In pursuit of this deceptive tactics, local governments were organized and manned by Africans themselves. Africans elites in the administrative posts in Bantustans were diplomatically treated pretentiously as social equals with their counter parts in the white South Africa. This was because they would help the industrialized white South Africa to market her products in the densely populated Bantustans.

THE FAILURE OF THE BANTUSTANS

Since its inception in the 1960’s, the “Blackhomeland” policy was a total failure to a bigger extent due to the following reasons:-

The Bantustans were too small and over congested. Their normal population capacity was two million people according to the 1954 Tomlinson Commission report. However by 1971, about seven million blacks were living in thesehomelands. Originally they were mere labor reserves where Africans would migrate to their work places but then they became independent states! They therefore lacked the resources to carry out the functions of independent states.

The Bantustans were curved out of areas that were infertile and threatened by both aridity and soil erosion due to floods. These, added to an ever growing population led to Bantustans’ failure.

General poverty in Bantustans led to the failure of the policy. The Bantustans lacked minerals, industries, airfields, railways, roads, schools, powers stations and productive land. These facilities could only be found in the areas occupied by the whites. This made Africans in Bantustans jealous of the whites, a thing that caused unrests and hence failure of the policy.

The absence of industrialization led to the failure of the policy. Plans for industrializing Bantustans generally remained on paper. The few and weak industries within Bantustans could only employ about 13,000 workers, mostly women! Even the conditions in boarder industries were very appalling – poor wages, poor housing to mention but a few. Hence by 1974, the average income in Bantustans was 97 dollars per year as compared to Ivory Coast’s 387 dollars annually.

Agricultural decline also led to the failure of Bantustans. These areas were too congested to support any meaningful agriculture. To make matters worse was the soil erosion in Ciskei, Transkei and Kwazulu then aridity in Bophuthatswana; then mountainous lands. All these couldn’t support agriculture hence the failure of the policy.

Social disruptions also led to the failure of Bantustans. The African family institution was greatly disrupted, creating a class of destitute people in homelands. Wife substitution, prostitution, alcoholism became the characteristic and the way of life in the Bantustans hence undermining the policy.

Failure of detribalization was sign that the policy failed. The whites had aimed at preventing intermarriages between various tribes and to keep each tribe distinct from others. This failed amongst urban workers and even in rural Bantustans; it was meaningless since South Africans were basically homogenous. There were only two linguistic groups. The Ngoni and Sitho speakers. Hence much as they were separated still nationalistic ideas moved from one homeland to the other.

Independence in the Bantustans was a mockery, cosmetic and artificial; not real. It was funny to refer to the overcrowded and poverty stricken labor reserves as independent states. Some of them had no definite boundaries. They could be reduced in size as per the interests of whites. For instance, Richards Bay was reclaimed by whites from Kwazulu homeland because it had become prosperous! Such independence was useless and a sham!

There was world opposition to Bantustans. Apart from South Africa, the rest of the World’s nations refused to recognize Bantustans as independent states. Even the world’s and continental bodies like the UNO and the OAU refused to recognize the Bantustans.

The policy of the Bantustan was opposed by the African leaders. Not all Bantustan leaders were happy with their so-called independence. Chief Buthelezi of Kwazulu for instance, rejected such a mockery and insisted that it was the responsibility of the rich South African Government to cater for the needs of all the races in South Africa.

The Bantustans failed because the policy made no provision for African workers to defend their interests through the formation of trade unions and participation in strikes, collective bargain and other mass action.

The preaching of the Dutch Reformed Church acted against the existence of the homelands. The church leaders had been supporting the Dutch settlers’ interests over the majority Africans. However, they made a U turn against the minority whites and started to preach equality. This made it hard for the policy to hold.

***Revision questions:***

1. *Discuss the factors which led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa.*
2. *Discuss the role played by the Front Line States in dismantling apartheid in South Africa.*
3. *Account for the delayed liberation of South Africa.*
4. *Account for the increased opposition against apartheid after 1945*
5. *Assess the role of the ANC in dismantling apartheid*
6. *Account for the failure of the Bantustans in South Africa.*
7. *Examine the role played by the UNO in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.*
8. *Account for the collapse of apartheid policy in South Africa.*
9. *Examine the role played by the UNO in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.*

THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN ZIMBABWE

THE FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

Southern Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) was a former British colony with a huge settler population. It was brought under the British control through the activities of the British South Africa Company with a strong support from Cecil Rhodes, the British colonial agent. The expression for the urge for self rule in Southern Rhodesia started a way back with the Chimurenga rebellion of 1894 – 97. However, modern nationalism in Zimbabwe surged after the Second World War of 1939 -1945. The struggle for independence in this country was spearheaded by ZANU – PF and ZAPU and its military wing ZIPRA among others against the white racist regime of Ian Douglas Smith.The spark which ignited the nationalists’ struggle in Zimbabwe were following:-

Loss of independence through the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the rebel settlers orchestrated the struggle for independence in Southern Rhodesia. The establishmemnt of colonial rule in Southern Rhodesia and the eventual Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 marked the end and hope of self rule for the blacks. Traditional rulers and chiefs were violently overthrown. A new administrative structure manned by whites at the upper echelon was established. The blacks lost their authority, participation and say in the affairs of their country. This combined with the poor rule of the whites to build a mountain of resentment which made the anti colonial struggle inevitable.

The people of Zimbabwe fought because they were tired of the harsh, brutal and general mal-administration of the white settler police. The brutality of the white settler police was beyond description, second and equal to none. It could arrest torture and kill innocent blacks at will. The blacks didn’t seem to be protected by any law in Southern Rhodesia where the whites lawlessly molested the blacks. The untold brutality they meted out on the blacks in Southern Rhodesia made the liberation war inevitable

The banning of African political parties and failure to realize changes through constitutional and peaceful means led to the liberation struggle. Efforts by the Africans to form and coalest around political parties were disallowed. The white minority in Southern Rhodesia considered these political parties a big political threat to their very existence. By banning these parties the option of constitutional approach was removed from the Africans hence the war.

The wind of change in Africa encouraged the people of Southern Rhodesia to wage the liberation war. First there was the Harold Maurice Macmillan’s speech delivered in the South African parliament in 1960 in which he acknowledged that black aspirations for self rule could no longer be ignored. This was a source of inspiration to the blacks in Southern Rhodesia. Secondly, the attainment of independence by African states like Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania. The inspiration that the Mozambicans got from this, led to strong feelings of self-determination among the black fighters in Southern Rhodesia. The revolutionary wind of change which was sweeping across the African continent therefore didn’t spare the the growth of nationalism in Southern Rhodesia.

Economic factors too led to a surge of nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. The blacks were irked (annoyed) by the massive alienation of their land. When Southern Rhodesia lost its independence, the country was officially turned into a settler economy. During this period, the whites were encouraged to occupy the vast African land that was available. Through the the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, and furthered by the Land Tenure Act of 1969, the white settlers grabbed 61%African land to establish their plantations and engage in other productive activities, leaving a number of them landless or squatters in their own country. This became a source of discontent which made the liberation struggle inevitable

Africans fought because they hated the reserves which had been created for the Africans by the whites. These were homes for the Africans who had been deliberately made made homeless through the unfair land grabbing policies pursued by the white settlers. Conditions in these reserves were horrible. Famine was rampant due to land shortage, housing was inadequate, no water, toilet facilities the bare minimum of the social amenities that the Africans would have required. Those who complained about the bad conditions in the reserves were beaten and mistreated. This injustice compelled the Africans to take up arms against the whites.

The merciless exploitation of African natural resources led to this struggle. The resources exploited by the settlers included minerals like copper, zinc, gold and granite. The whites exported these for their own benefit. Other natural wealth like timber too was exploited. The situation was further exacerbated when the colonial government established “state forests” for conservation purposes and as a source of indigenous commercial timber. The first indigenous forests were demarcated in 1936 and other forests were added in 1941. This development resulted in the further exclusion of local people from land and its resources, which the people had previouslydepended on as a safety net in times of drought and resource shortages.

Agricultural products too were not spared from exploitation either. The whites extracted tobacco, cotton, tea and coffee from the African small holder producers. Whereas large scale production remained in the hands of the whites, the African small scale producers were exploited through low price purchase of their products. These products were bought by monopolistic and multi- national companies which determined the prices at which these products were to be bought and took all the profits

The struggle for independence in Southern Rhodesia was sparked off by heavy taxes imposed on the blacks. The heavy taxes made the people poor yet their wages were equally miserable. The methods of collecting the taxes were harsh and brutal. Those who failed to pay the taxes were subjected to heavy and inhuman punishments. The revenue accruing from the taxes went to develop the whites and to ameliorate their living conditions and not the blacks. This unfairness inevitably led to the liberation struggle.

Forced labor also contributed to the war of liberation. The establishment of large farms on the alienated African land necessitated human labor. But because most Zimbabweans were not willing to work for the whites, the white settlers resorted to forced labor in exchange for little or no pay. African farmers were also forced to grow cotton at the expense of food crops which caused famine. They also worked on public roads, railways, bridges and buildings and other government projects. To the Africans in Southern Rhodesia this kind of mistreatment and slavery could only be stopped by war.

The desire to end the Whiteman’s monopoly of the import and export trade led to the liberation struggle in Southern Rhodesia. The colonial economic policy placed the import and export trade squarely in the hands of the white settlers who in turn dominated the import and export trade through the big European based multi – lateral companies. They dominated trade in agricultural and non – agricultural items. They bought cheaply from the African producers and sold expensively to outside markets. African participation in this trade was minimum since they, (Africans) were kept in an economic limbo as mere spectators. This drew the wrath of the Africans hence the war.

Social factors equally occasioned this war. Racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia was at its peak. The white settlers suffered from superiority complex and regarded themselves as racially superior. They had separate schools and hospital yet they continued deceiving the world that their mission in African was to civilize and develop the Africans without discrimination. Very few Africans received and accessed education. Schools meant for the Africans were dilapidated and the curriculam programs for the blacks were poor and dysfunctional. This social unfairness compelled the Africans to seek self-rule through a protracted liberation struggle

Grinding poverty amongst blacks in Southern Rhodesia contributed to the liberation struggle. The poverty of the Africans was deliberate. Those who worked on the white settler farms and in mines were paid very low wages. The cotton and coffee that the African farmers produced fetched low prices because these prices were determined by the whites. Despite this, no efforts were made to improve on and uplift the conditions of the Africans. Above all mass poverty was occasioned by land alienation that rendered the Africans less productive. Africans were further denied job offers. The result was poverty, anger and war.

The people of Southern Rhodesia fought because of discrimination in jobs. The educated Zimbabweans were denied jobs on the basis of the pigmentation of the skin. The color bar that the white settlers pursued made it hard for the people of Zimbabwe to get any meaningful formof employment. Moreover even those employed were subjected to discriminatory payment of wages. This injustice set the pace for the liberation struggle.

The advent of the Whiteman’s cultural imperialism led to the struggle for independence. The Whiteman wrongly believed that their cultures were superior. They therefore underlooked the blackman’s cultural values. Anything African became subject of ridicule and denigration. They despised African religion, way of marriage, language and dressing. They looked at the typical African as barbaric and uncouth. The Africans therefore fought because they wanted to put an end to this.

REASONS FOR THE DELAYED INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA/ THE PROBLEMS FACED BY THE NATIONALISTS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The formation of the Central Africa Federation and the announcement of the UDI delayed the independence struggle in Zimbabwe. The Central African Federation was formed in 1953 and the UDI in 1965.Both were against the growth of African Nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. For instance African political parties were banned and the UDI constitution denied Africans a right of joining parliament.

The influence of the triumvirate led to the delay in the independence struggle in Zimbabwe. This was an understanding between Verwoerd of South Africa, Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia and Don Salazar of Portugal. The three leaders agreed to assist one another against African nationalists. They decided to turn their colonies into residential countries for white men. This delayed Zimbabwe’s independence.

The failure and the lack of seriousness of Britain led to the delay in the attainment of Zimbabwe’s independence. It is true that Harold Wilson’s government declared the UDI as illegal. Unfortunately, it never dispatched troops to suppress the rebellious whites. More to this, the British public opinion was in support of their fellow Britons in Southern Rhodesia. This led to the delay of Southern Rhodesia’s independence.

The banning of African political parties hindered early transition to independence. In order to entrench its rule, the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia banned African political parties. The African National Congress, was banned in 1060, the National Democratic Party was banned in 1961, ZAPU and ZANU in 1962 and 1964 respectively. This limited mobilization efforts and therefore stalled the progress towards national liberation.

The ineffective sanctions against the whites led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The oil sanctions monitored by Britain at Port Beira backfired since South African shell companies supplied oil to Southern Rhodesia as if there was no sanction at all.

The economic strength of the whites led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The whites had a prosperous economy. Their agricultural and industrial products easily found market in South Africa and Portuguese Africa. This rendered the economic sanctions ineffective.

The military strength of Smiths government was another factor. The white minority government had a large, well trained and well equipped army of about 3,400 regular soldiers, 4000 reserve soldiers and several African soldiers. In addition South African forces supported Ian Smith’s army. All this led to the limited success of nationalistic forces in Southern Rhodesia.

The strong and effective espionage system of the UDI government contributed to the delayed independence. The Rhodesian police hunted and sniffed out leaders of the liberation struggle. Many were arrested, tortured and imprisoned, while a lot more were forced to escape and operate from foreign countries. Sometimes the activities of these spies paralyzed the activities of ZANU and ZAPU hence delaying the independence struggle.

Natural epidemics also limited the success of African liberation fighters in Southern Rhodesia. For example in 1973, there was an outbreak of cholera epidemic which claimed the lives of hundreds of nationalists. This inevitably led to the delayed independence of Rhodesia.

The weakness of the OAU led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The member states of the OAU lacked a common stand against the UDI. Some radical African countries proposed the cutting off of diplomatic ties with Britain until it suppressed the UDI, while others opposed this. Because of this indecision and lack of common position, the UDI government continued.

The double standards of the UNO also led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The UN termed the Rhodesian question as an internal affair, which would be best handled by Britain. It even never monitored the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Major stakeholders within the UN like Britain and USA continued trading with Southern Rhodesia unabated.

The weakness of the Commonwealth of Nations too, was responsible for delaying the independence of Southern Rhodesia. Some members of the association such as Ghana and Nigeria advocated for the use force to fight UDI while other members hoped that economic sanctions and the use of diplomatic pressure would work. Britain, the head of the Common wealth used double standards while solving the problems in Rhodesia. While it condemned the UDI regime, it did little to enforce stringent sanctions against the regime.

The brutality of the whites against the African nationalists led to the delayed independence. The white minority police used to suppress peaceful demonstrations kill unarmed demonstrators and the like. Zimbabwe’s nationalists like Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo spent many years in jail, newspapers and political parties were also banned. This scared a number of African nationalists hence the delay of independence.

Divisions amongst nationalists also led to the delay of independence. The ZAPU was mainly a party for the Ndebele tribe while the ZANU was for the Shona people. Several attempts were made to unite these parties. For example in 1971 and 1972 efforts were made to bring these parties together but in vain. This made it easier for the whites to prolong their minority rule in Zimbabwe.

The collaboration of some African Chiefs with the minority whites led to the delayed independence of Zimbabwe. Examples of these African collaborators included Chief Jeremiah Chirau and Abbey Muzorewa who worked closely with Ian Smith’s racist Government. This increased the white men’s morale to rule Zimbabwe.

The disenfranchisement of Africans made them politically inept, un influential and therefore delayed the independence of Southern Rhodesia. The 1970 constitutional arrangement eliminated Africans from the voting lists and this left them as political baggage until 1980.

The influence of the cold war also led the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The nationalist parties in Zimbabwe were initially communist oriented and received support from the Eastern bloc. This made USA, Britain and other Western capitalist powers to secretly support the minority white rule as a check against communism.

The Sino-Soviet conflict delayed the struggle for independence in Southern Rhodesia. The two communist brothers, China and Soviet Union struggled to establish a sphere of influence in Rhodesia. As China supported ZANU, the Soviet Union aided ZAPU. The two major parties at one point failed to cooperate and went on to fight unilaterally.

The delayed independence of the countries neighboring Southern Rhodesia was another factor. The neighboring countries got their independence late; Mozambique 1975, Angola 1975 and Namibia in 1990. Before attaining their own independence it was not possible for these neighboring states to assist Zimbabwe get its independence by providing training grounds, safe passage of arms and providing military support.

The nature of the Zimbabwean vegetation disfavored protracted guerilla warfare and delayed independence. Since they could not fight an open war with the UDI army, the nationalists opted for guerilla warfare. However, the open and flat savannah land in Matabeleland and the Zambezi Valley was not ideal for guerilla warfare. The freedom fighters were easily spotted and put out of action by the UDI forces. By early 1970 many ZAPU and ZANU fighters had been killed the remainders were on the run.

The civil wars in Angola and Mozambique enabled the whites to prolong their rule in Southern Rhodesia. The two countries would have provided military assistance to South Rhodesia but since they were politically unstable, this became impossible and thus a chance to Ian Smith regime to survive for long.

The direct assistance of South African forces enabled the white minority rule to become prolonged until 1980. South African racist regime in a show of solidarity with fellow white race directly granted military support to Ian Smith’s regime in Rhodesia. This made it hard for the nationalists to achieve their objectives.

**FACTORS WHICH EVENTUALLY ENABLED ZIMBABWE TO ACHIEVE ITS INDEPENDENCE**

**(OR THE FACTORS WHICH LED TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE UDI)**

Despite the myriad of obstacles like the announcement of the UDI, which initially delayed the attainment of Zimbabwe, the nationalist struggle finally resulted into the granting of independence to Zimbabwe on 18th April 1980, putting an end to the UDI. Factors which eventually favored Zimbabwe’s independence and brought an end to the UDI were as follows:

The economic sanctions imposed on the UDI led to its collapse and the eventual decolonization of Zimbabwe. The sanctions ruined the economy of UDI, led to the diplomatic isolation of the country and the loss of its might. African nationalists took advantage of this to wrestle back their independence.

The coming to power of new crop of politicians in USA and Britain contributed to the collapse of the UDI hence the independence of Zimbabwe. USA under Jimmy Carter and Britain under Margaret Thatcher pressurized the minority whites in Southern Rhodesia to grant majority rule to the people of Zimbabwe. It is interesting that USA also pressurized Britain, which in turn organized the 1979 independence conference in Lancaster House, London. A ceasefire, new Constitution and independence elections were agreed upon. This led to the April 1980 elections which were won by Robert Mugabe

The role of OAU through its liberation committee was another factor enabled Zimbabwe to win its independence. In December 1965, the OAU held the Addis Ababa conference in which member states vowed to fight against UDI using all means available and indeed the OAU gave moral and financial support in the fight for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

The independence of Zimbabwe’s neighbors facilitated her independence. For example Angola and Mozambique got their independence in 1975. This inspired the Zimbabwean nationalists and made work harder in their national struggle against the whites.

The armed resistance and the eventual reforms of ZANU and ZANLA in liberated areas contributed to massive support in form of food stuffs, information and the like. This naturally led to the success of nationalists and the failure of UDI. Reforms included free education, democratic elections, discussions and many others..

Support from the communist bloc led to the collapse of the UDI. Zimbabwe’s ZANU and ZAPU guerillas ( ZANLA and ZIPRA) obtained considerable financial and military aid from China, Yugoslavia and Russia. This propped up their military strength hence contributing to the success.

The Frontline states also contributed to the independence of Zimbabwe. States like Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia helped the Zimbabwean nationalists morally, financially and militarily. For instance in Mozambique the ZANLA had joint soviet military training with the FRELIMO. In Zambia, Zimbabwean guerillas also enjoyed joint training with those of the ANC hence they were able to share ideas, tactics and weapons.

The UNO played a significant role in the decolonization of Zimbabwe. It imposed sanctions on Southern Rhodesia, permitted Britain to use force to enforce the sanctions and pilled pressure on Ian Smith grant independence to the people of Zimbabwe. The UNO also facilitated negotiations between Ian Smith’s government and ZANU and ZAPU. It equally monitored the 1980 elections which brought Robert Mugabe to power

Another factor was the role of Cold War politics. During the Cold War era Africa in general was the theatre of manipulations and machinations by the super powers. The cold war politics sucked in power communists countries like Cuba, China and Russia on the side of the Black majority. This made it difficult for the maintain their grip over Southern Rhodesia.

The Anglican Church played a big role in the collapse of the UDI and the eventual decolonization of Zimbabwe. The church supported the nationalists both morally and financially in their struggle against the white minority rule. This support weakened the UDI hence its collapse.

A similar support came from the World Council of Churches. The WCC condemned the declaration in the strongest terms. It provided the forum and the platform for the Black nationalists to attack the white minority rule in Zimbabwe. It also provided moral and financial support to the nationalists in Zimbabwe. All these led to the collapse of the UDI and the eventual decolonization of the country.

The collapse of the Triumvirate and the loss of support from South Africa led to the collapse of the UDI and also favored nationalists leading to the independence of Zimbabwe. When the Triumvirate collapsed and desirous of improving South Africa’s international image, Verwoerd reduced his relations with Salisbury (capital of Southern Rhodesia). This weakened the UDI and strengthened the nationalists.

The high cost of administration and maintenance was another factor. The cost establishing sound administration in Southern Rhodesia became exorbitant and altogether unrealistic. Because of this the white minority found it impossible to continue sinking more resources in an attempt to prop up the UDI.

The cooperation built between ZANU and FRELIMO was crucial. Through this cooperation, ZANU was able to secure financial, moral and military support against the racist regime in Zimbabwe. This successful struggle enabled it to put up a successful struggle

The role of traditional leaders helped in weakening the UDI. Both the political and religious / spiritual leaders of the Ndebele and Shona people inspired the youths to join the nationalist movements. They promised them protection from their ancestors. This led to swelling numbers of guerillas and hence the independence of Zimbabwe.

The adoption of guerilla tactics led to the success if nationalists in Zimbabwe. Through their hit and run tactics they managed to strike important economic installations of the racist Government for example, the terrorist activities of the Patriotic Front, which was a merger between the ZANU and ZAPU in October 1976, led to the closure of 967 schools, 122 clinics and 28 major hospitals. This gradually weakened the UDI minority Government leading to the independence of Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, the establishment of liberated zones in ZANU held areas won the struggle the popular support that it needed. Life was normalized in those areas captured by ZANU and ZAPU. Schools, clinics and recreational centres were put back and the local population enjoyed their day today life. By 1970, almost all Africans preferred to live in the liberated zones and Ian Smith had no people to lead except the few white settlers. This made it inevitable to accept to grant independence to Zimbabwe

The charismatic leadership provided by Robert Mugabe was key in the eventual attainment of independence. Mugabe was a person of great character and amiable personality. He called for unity amongst the various tribes in Zimbabwe especially the Shona and the Ndebele. He was non discriminative, recruited men and women, elites and peasants, and treated all his people with respect and equality. This enabled him to galvanize enough support from the masses hence the success of the struggle

The release of Zimbabwean nationalists in 1974 from jail also led to Zimbabwe’s independence. These included veteran guerilla leaders like Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. They called upon the ZANU and ZAPU to unite, hence the formation of the ZANU/ Patriotic Front (ZANU/PF).

The eventual role played by the Commonwealth of nations was significant. Commonwealth countries such as Nigeria, Zambia, Australia and others isolated Rhodesia and pressurized the British Government to grant political rights to the African Majority in Southern Rhodesia.

The 1974 Lisbon Coup paved way for Zimbabwe’s independence. General Despiniola led a successful coup against the conservative Portuguese Government. This led to the collapse of the triumvirate and therefore weakened the UDI hence paving way for the independence of Zimbabwe.

The role of the 1980 general elections in Zimbabwe was the final factor. In 1980 general elections were held under a multiparty dispensation. Robert Mugabe won with landslide. This marked the end of the UDI and the set the people of Zimbabwe free from the white minority rule.

THE UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI) IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

Present day Zimbabwe was formerly known as Southern Rhodesia. It was colonized by the British who encouraged the settlement of poor whites in the country to enable them carry out commercial farming. The white settlers systematically grabbed African land, forced Africans to offer labor in return for low payments and introduced racist policies.

Due to the surge in African nationalism at that time, the British Government under Harold Wilson prepared to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia in the early 1960s. This was unwelcome by the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia who announced their own Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11th November 1965.

The UDI was therefore a rebellion by the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia against the British Government under Premier James Harold Wilson. It implied that the white minority population in Southern Rhodesia was independent from Britain. The UDI was therefore an illegal declaration by Ian Douglas Smith, the rebel leader of “The self-declared independent Southern Rhodesia”.

REASONS FOR THE UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI) IN RHODESIA.

UDI was declared to resolve the bitter controversy between the British Government led by Harold Wilson and the self-governing white minority racist regime in Southern Rhodesia. The British government wanted a majority rule while the white minority in Southern Rhodesia advocated for a minority. This disagreement led to the declaration of the UDI.

The declaration was made in order to legalize and constitutionalize the white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia. By November 1965, the white minority in Southern Rhodesia didn’t have any legal instruments to support their existence in the place. Such a declaration was considered as a move to legalize their occupation of Southern Rhodesia.

The lack of the physical presence of the British government in Southern Rhodesia led to the declaration. The British were basically pre-occupied with their internal matters at home. Their presence in Southern Rhodesia wasn’t being felt. Ian Smith took advantage of this and unilaterally declared the independence.

The collapse of the Central African Federation paved way for the UDI. After its collapse, Malawi and Zambia obtained independence and this made the whites in Southern Rhodesia to panic in fear that majority rule was eminent in their Country hence the declaration of UDI.

The need to maintain white minority supremacy over the Blacks led to the declaration. This was basically orchestrated by the rise of the Rhodesia Front Party. This radical party was under Winston Field and it advocated for the right of the white minority to rule the black majority. It won the 1962 elections and opposed the white liberals like Sir Edgar White Head. In 1964, the radical RFP was blessed with the rise of Ian Smith and hence the UDI.

The fear of African nationalism led to the unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia. There was a wind of change sweeping across Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, Africans had formed ZAPU; Zimbabwe African Peoples’ Unions. The ZANU- Zimbabwe African National Union and others. The young nationalists like Rev. Sithole Ndabamingi, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe were calling for self-governance. The UDI was to check against such nationalistic sentiments.

The experience and the influence of American independence also led to the UDI. In 1776 The Americans had declared their independence from Britain and the Irish had done the same in 1918. This influenced Ian Smith to take a bold step of declaring the Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

The weakness and the divisions amongst the Black Nationalists favored the declaration of UDI. Already there were misunderstandings between the ZANU of Sithole Ndabaningi and the ZAPU of Joshua Nkomo. The whites took advantage of these divisions to declare white minority rule to ban political parties and de-franchise the Africans.

The emergence of radical nationalists in neighboring countries led to the declaration of unilateral independence. Such radicals included Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and many others. Their emergence generated a lot of fear among the whites who looked at the declaration as a way of circumventing this threat.

The racial solidarity and the rise of racist nationalism also led to the declaration of the UDI. The white settlers were arrogant and considered Africans as inferior and politically immature. They claimed that it was the duty of the white race to rule over the blacks, hence the announcement of the UDI.

The existence of vast and rich natural resources led to the declaration. Southern Rhodesia had huge tracts of unoccupied land, there were also mineral deposits. All these served as pulling factors which propelled the white minority to unilaterally declare independence in Southern Rhodesia.

Economic interests of the white settlers in Zimbabwe led to the unilateral declaration of Independence in Southern Rhodesia. The minority white settlers had vast wealth in Southern Rhodesia. They had large farms and business investments which they wanted to protect. Hence their hostility to the idea of majority African rule in Southern Rhodesia and declaration of the UDI.

The character, personality and the rise of Ian Smith to power in April 1964 led to the UDI. He was conservative, racist, reactionary and rebellious. He believed in the white man’s supremacy over the blacks and this made him declare the UDI

The granting of internal self-Government of Southern Rhodesia in 1923 led to the announcement of the UDI. The British Government had given the white settlers freedom to set up an efficient administrative structure in Southern Rhodesia, to run the army, police, judiciary and civil service. The British had vowed never to intervene in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia unless law and order collapsed. This influenced Ian Smith to announce the UDI.

The pressure from the OAU following its formation led to the UDI. This was because the OAU had started campaigning against the white minority rule and call for majority black rule in Southern Rhodesia. The 1964 OAU summit in Cairo demanded for the transfer of political power to blacks in South Rhodesia but this was viewed as dangerous hence prompting the UDI.

Rhodesia’s military and economic strength made her announce the UDI. The several years of investments had boosted the economy of the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. They had also established a strong Police and army and felt confident that they could stand on their own. The settlers were also confident that Britain would not intervene into the affairs of South Rhodesia since she had economic problems at that time.

The influence of the triumvirate led to the UDI. This was an understanding between Dr. Salazar of Portugal, Verwoerd of South Africa and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia. They agreed to prolong the white man’s stay in Africa and to jointly suppress nationalistic activities. This too influenced the declaration of the UDI.

The pretense that the UDI government would civilize Africans led to the declaration. The white minority claimed that Africans were still backward and unable to govern themselves. It was the duty of the civilized and Christianized whites to administer them. They claimed that Black majority rule could lead to mismanagement of politics and economy as the case was in post independent Congo.

The influence of South Africa led to the UDI. In 1910, South Africa had come under minority white rule. The whites had succeeded in establishing an effective apartheid system of administration and were very prosperous. The whites in Southern Rhodesia decided to emulate South Africa by making the unilateral declaration of Independence.

The co-operation of some African chiefs like Jeremiah Chirau made whites carry ahead the plan of dominating Southern .Rhodesia – hence the declaration of the UDI.

The weakness of Britain after World War II led to the announcement of the UDI. After World War II, Britain’s economy was disastrously affected and therefore the British public opinion disfavored any form of war. Ian Smith took advantage of this and announced the UDI anticipating no concrete reaction from Britain. Indeed Britain took no immediate concrete military action against the announcement but instead concentrated on sanctions which had limited impacts.

CONSEQUENCES OF ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence had a number of negative and positive consequences of the people of Southern Rhodesia. Most of these consequences were however negative as demonstrated in the discussion below:-

Africans in Southern Rhodesia lost their fertile land. The racist regime of Smith grabbed it and used it for white settlement and agriculture. Many Africans became squatters in their own country. A bigger number of the Africans was pushed into the in fertile where living conditions were both horrible and inhuman leading to low survival rates among the blacks.

The establishment of the UDI strained relations between the white settler regime in Southern Rhodesia and the British government of Harold Wilson. The British government refused to recognize the UDI regime in Southern Rhodesia and continued to demand for African participation in the affairs of their country.

It led to the establishment of the triumvirate. In order to survive amidst isolation, the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia formed an alliance with the apartheid regime in South Africa and Portugal. Through the alliance, the regime in Southern Rhodesia received economic and military support to crush nationalist agitations and in order to survive.

The announcement of the UDI and the resultant conflict invited the cold war into the region. The two superpowers hijacked the conflict and took sides. The USA supported the racist regime of Ian Smith to contain the Soviet-supported ZANU and ZAPU from capturing power. Therefore the conflict, which began as a liberation struggle, ended up being a cold war conflict between the Eastern and Western blocs of the Cold war.

It also delayed and frustrated the process of genuine independence of Southern Rhodesia. Smith banned African political parties such as ZANU and ZAPU, imprisoned African nartionalists such as Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe and in 1969, he passed a new constitution, which intensified segregation and made gradual transition to African rule impossible. It was not until 1980, the Southern Rhodesia gained complete independence.

It led to the intensification of the Sino-Soviet conflict between the two communist brothers of China and the former Soviet Union. The Soviet Union backed ZAPU while China backed ZANU and occasionally clashed. Each of the two communist brothers struggled to establish a sphere of influence in Southern Rhodesia and this gave rise to the Sino – soviet conflict.

The announcement of the UDI and the establishment of a racist regime in Southern Rhodesia led to the emergence of Frontline States that helped Rhodesia to decolonize. The frontline states were African nations neighboring Rhodesia that were used as a buffer to fight the UDI. They included Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, and later, Angola and Mozambique.

It also delayed the independence of countries neighboring Southern Rhodesia. The racist regime in Rhodesia made sure that it hindered neighboring nations from becoming independent since this would lead to similar demands of independence at home. It therefore cooperated with Portugal and South Africa to delay the independence of Namibia, Mozambique and Angola.

Racial segregation against Africans increased with the announcement of the UDI. The rightwing regime of Smith introduced apartheid in Rhodesia. Blacks were regarded as inferior and were discriminated against in employment, social services and participation in governance. The new constitution of 1969 violated the fundamental right of Africans and relegated blacks to second class citizens.

It led to the gross violation of fundamental human rights of Africans. In 1970, Smith declared Rhodesia a republic and the fundamental human rights of blacks were gradually but systematically withdrawn. Africans began to suffer similar treatment to that experienced by blacks under the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Positively, the announcement of the UDI provoked the outbreak of the liberation struggle. ZANU founded the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), while ZAPU founded Zimbabwe People Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) that declared an armed struggle for independence, which succeeded in 1980.

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence attracted the intervention of the United Nations Organization. The UNO condemned UDI and called upon its member states to impose economic sanctions on Southern Rhodesia. In 1966, the UN authorized Britain to use force to enforce sanctions on Rhodesia that were being violated by Portugal and South Africa.

It also led to the intervention of the OAU, which also condemned the UDI and imposed sanctions to bring it down. The OAU liberation committee reorganized ZAPU and ZANU and extended moral, material and military support to the liberation effort in Southern Rhodesia. However, the weaknesses of the OAU were also revealed. Some member nations such as Malawi and Ivory Coast ruled out the use of force, while Ghana and Nigeria called for the use of force. The organization also failed to effectively supervise its sanctions and punish offenders. It heavily relied on support from the UNO and Commonwealth.

It also led to the formation of the Front Line States. These were states which opened opposed racism in South Africa and were willing to sacrifice their human and non-human resources to set free the Blacks in South Africa. Examples of these states were; Zambia, Tanzania and many others.

HOW THE UDI FRUSTRATED THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN THE NEIGHBORING STATES

On 11th November 1965, the government of the suspended Prime Minister Ian Smith rebelled against the the British government and declared an illegal independence for Southern Rhodesia which popularly came to be known as the Unilateral Declaration of Independence or UDI. The UDI became a source of frustration for the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia in the following ways;

The UDI legalized racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia. The rightwing regime of Smith introduced apartheid in Rhodesia. Blacks were regarded as inferior and were discriminated against in employment, social services and participation in governance. The new constitution of 1969 violated the fundamental right of Africans and relegated blacks to second class citizens. This killed the African revolution Southern Rhodesia

The UDI placed Southern Rhodesia under complete and strict white minority control. Smith banned African political parties such as ZANU and ZAPU, imprisoned African nartionalists such as Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe and in 1969, he passed a new constitution, which intensified segregation and made gradual transition to African rule impossible. It was not until 1980, the Southern Rhodesia gained complete independence.

The use of a strong military force by the UDI frustrated the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia. The white minority government had a large, well trained and well equipped army of about 3,400 regular soldiers, 4000 reserve soldiers and several African soldiers. In addition South African forces supported Ian Smith’s army. All these greatly frustrated the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia.

UDI led to the creation of the Triamvalent Alliance. This was an alliance of Fredrick Veerowed of apartheid South Africa, Don Salazaar of Portugal and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia. In aimed bringing the three leaders together to suppress the African revolutionary efforts. Through the alliance, the regime in Southern Rhodesia received economic and military support which it used to crush nationalist agitations and frustrate their revolution in Southern Rhodesia.

The UDI regime in Southern Rhodesia declared the state of emergency in the country. Constitutionalism was abandoned and a set of emergency laws were implemented in Southern Rhodesia. These laws were harsh and severe. They denied the people their rights and freedoms. The emergency laws further made it very difficult for the nationalists to operate hence frustrating the African revolution.

The UDI attracted support from the minority population of the whites in South Africa which made Ian Smith to remain defiant to the international community. The direct assistance of South African forces enabled the white minority rule to become prolonged until 1980. South African racist regime in a show of solidarity with fellow white race directly granted military support to Ian Smith’s regime in Rhodesia. This made it hard for the nationalists to achieve their objectives hence frustrating the African revolution.

UDI made the British government shy away from involving itself closely with the transfer of power in Southern Rhodesia. The failure and the lack of seriousness of Britain to action frustrated the African revolution. It is true that Harold Wilson’s government declared the UDI as illegal. Unfortunately, it never dispatched troops to suppress the rebellious whites. More to this, the British public opinion was in support of their fellow Britons in Southern Rhodesia. This became a source of frustration to the African revolution.

The brutality of the whites against the African nationalists led to the delayed independence. The white minority with ruthless violence suppressed peaceful demonstrations kill unarmed demonstrators. Zimbabwe’s nationalists like Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo spent many years in jail, newspapers and political parties were also banned. This scared a number of African nationalists hence frustrating the African revolution.

The denial of the freedom of movement by the UDI frustrated the African revolution. It led to gross violation of fundamental human rights of the Africans like freedom of movement were gradually but systematically withdrawn. The Africans were required to carry passes and were forbidden from staying outside their native homes for more than three days. This limited interactions among the Africans hence frustrating their revolution.

The UDI denied the people of Zimbabwe a source of livelihood as well as source of finance. Africans in Southern Rhodesia lost their fertile land their major source of livelihood. The racist regime of Smith grabbed it and used it for white settlement and agriculture. Africans who lost land became poor. They were further denied business and were not allowed to live in towns were businesses trived. The Africans therefore found themselves incapacitated to cause a revolution in Southern Rhodesia.

The African revolution was frustrated through denying the Africans academic freedom. Southern Rhodesians were not granted equal academic opportunities like their white counterparts. They were taken to poor schools which offered them no academic future. This worked against the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia.

The closure of the Zambian border with the Southern Rhodesia frustrated the African revolution.   
Conflicts with Rhodesia resulted in the closing of Zambia's borders. This was because Zambia was sympathetic to the African revolutionaries in Southern Rhodesia. The closing of the borders made it very hard for the African revolutionaries to obtain supplies and arms hence frustrating their revolutionary efforts.

UDI delayed and distorted the growth of Salisbury city. UDI made Salisbury its official headquarters and subsequently displaced the blacks who were regarded as bad neighbors for the whites. The growth of Salisbury was distorted to suit the interests of the whites yet being an urban setting it would have served as a hub for African revolution. This frustrated the revolutionary affort of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

UDI brought cold war politics into Southern Rhodesia. The nationalist parties in Zimbabwe were initially communist oriented and received support from the Eastern bloc. This made USA, Britain and other Western capitalist powers to secretly support the minority white rule as a check against communism hence frustrating the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia.

The sugar coated reforms which attracted African collaborators was yet another source of frustration. Due to the cosmetic reforms instituted by the UDI, some African Chiefs decided to collaborate with the minority whites. Examples of these African collaborators included Chief Jeremiah Chirau and Abbey Muzorewa who worked closely with Ian Smith’s racist Government. This increased the white men’s zeal to rule Zimbabwe hence frustration the African revolution.

The rise of the entrepreneur class in Southern Rhodesia frustrated the African revolution. This was a class of financially stable whites in Southern Rhodesia. The class was composed professionals, businessmen and property owners. They used their massive resources to finance UDI and to destroy the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia.

The UDI divided OAU member states which limited the involvement of the organization in Southern Rhodesia. The member states of the OAU lacked a common stand against the UDI. Some radical African countries proposed the cutting off of diplomatic ties with Britain for failing to suppress the UDI, while others opposed this. This indecision of the OAU greatly frustrated the African revolution.

Assassination of key nationalist leaders by UDI frustrated the African revolution. When the anti UDI activities led by the movements for liberation like the ZANU/PF intensified, UDI adopted the strategy to liquidate key African nationalists. Among those killed by the whites was the senior ZANU military commander, Josiah Tongogara, assassinated in 1979. The assiassination of this commander reduced the strength of the military command of the UDI hence frustrating the African revolution.

UDI promoted tribal sentiments in Southern Rhodesia. It formented ethnicity amongst the various communities in the country in the hope of drawing a wage in between them in order to make them week. The lack of unity that ensued thereafter especially among the liberation groups frustrated the African revolution.

The banning of political parties by UDI frustrated the African revolution. In order to entrench its rule, the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia banned African political parties. The African National Congress, was banned in 1960, the National Democratic Party was banned in 1961, ZAPU and ZANU in 1962 and 1964 respectively. This limited mobilization efforts and therefore frustrated the African revolution

Whereas the UDI played a key role in frustrating the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia, there were equally other factors which frustrated the Africans in their attempt to cause a revolution in Southern Rhodesia. These among others included the following;

The formation of the Central African Federation (CAF) frustrated the African revolution. CAF was formed in 1953 and the UDI in 1965. Both CAF and UDI were against the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia. For instance African political parties were banned and the UDI constitution denied Africans the basic and fundamental rights and freedoms.

The weaknesses of the mass political parties and movements in Southern Rhodesia frustrated the African revolution. The political parties formed in Southern Rhodesia included Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU – PF) and Zimbabwe African Peoples’ Union. These parties were weak given the pressure to which they had been subjected by the whites. Many of their leaders had fled into and were operating from exile. They therefore failed to function effectively hence frustrating the African revolution.

The ethnic rivalry among the African tribes and African political parties negatively affected the African revolution. The Shona – Ndebele clash for instance was a debilitating factor which could not allow the Africa revolution in Southern Rhodesia to take shape.

The unfavorable physical environment and open savannah militatated against the African revolution. The environment provided no sanctuary and safety to the guerillas, it was not conducive for covert guerilla activities making it hard for the revolutionaries to adopt this effective military strategy.

There was little cooperation between the Trade Unions and the various political parties in the country. The trade union movement in Zimbabwe like the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) was at the centre of the struggle. National political parties like the ZANU – PF where however toying with the idea of a one party state in the late eighties. This divided the revolutionaries hence frustrating their struggle.

Conflicts between the intellectuals and the rural masses were yet another factor. The urban based intellectuals were more inclined to using a civil approach during the struggle than the rural masses who preffered a much violent approach. This frustrated the African revolution.

The delayed use of fire arms in the struggle was another factor. At the onset of the struggle the nationalists had preffered a constitutional approach in demandin for independence. It was only after the failure of this approach they adopted a militant strategy. The delay to apply force at the onset negatively affected the African revolution.

Lack clarity in planning and regional rivalries between ZAPU and ZANU frustrated the African revolution.Tension between ZAPU and ZANU were strong. Each of these parties wanted to succeed the white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia. The conflicts made it hard for the African revolutionaries to succeed.

Personal differences between Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Front Line States frustrated the African revolution. In 1971, the Bishop became a member of the national executive transition council together with Ian Smith. This put him on a collision path with the Front Line States yet these were states willing to provide logistical support to the revolutionaries.

Differences between Zimbabwean nationalists like Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa also frustrated the African revolution. Sharp differences emerged between Muzorewa of the UANC and other nationalist parties because he rejected violence as a tool to gain independence. This led to other politicians accusing Mzorewa of negotiating with the enemy (Ian Smith) at a time when we were waging a bitter armed struggle although as a civilised people they should have agreed to disagree without politicising issues.

Limited supplies like arms and ammunitions, food and medical supplies frustrated the African revolution. It was hard for the nationalists to fight without arms and to sustain the rebellion against the whites without food and medical supplies. This problem became unsurmountable in the short run.

The role of the Methodist Church provided yet another frustration. The church preached in favor of the UDI policies and rallied the support of the people for the UDI. It further went ahead to preach non violilence as the strategy for the campaign for national independence. This made it hard for the African revolution to succeed.

The double standards of the UNO also led to the delayed independence of Southern Rhodesia. The UN termed the Rhodesian question as an internal affair, which would be best handled by Britain. It even never monitored the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Major stakeholders within the UN like Britain and USA continued trading with Southern Rhodesia unabated.

Revision questions:

1. Why did it take long end the UDI in Southern Rhodesia?
2. Discuss the causes and effects of the Liberation war in Southern Rhodesia.
3. Assess the contribution of the ZANU towards Zimbabwe’s independence.
4. Examine the causes and the effects of the announcement of the UDI
5. Assess the contribution of Robert Mugabe towards Zimbabwe’s independence.
6. Account for the collapse of the UDI by 1980.
7. Account for the survival of the UDI

***Class assignment***

***Write comprehensive essays on the following questions in your note books.***

1. ***Assess the contribution of ZANU - PF in the liberation of Southern Rhodesia***
2. ***Examine the role played by Robert Mugabe in the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe***

THE EFFECTS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The struggle for independence in Southern Rhodesia which started in 1966 and spanned over a period of more than a decade culminated into a number of ramifications. These were both negative and positive. The positive effects however outweigh the negative ones although in the short run the latter carried a lot of weight as here below discussed:-

Negatively, there were heavy casualty figures. The brutality of the whites, and the use of superior weapons against the blacks led to colossal loss of lives. It’s estimated that by the end of the war about Africans had perished. The whites were also believed to have used the scorched earth policy to inflict more casualties on the African fighters. According to Rhodesian government statistics, more than 20,000 were killed during the war. From December 1972 to December 1979, 1,361 members of the Rhodesian security forces were killed, along with 10,450 guerrillas who were killed in Rhodesia, and an unknown number in Mozambique and Zambia, 7,790 black civilians, and 468 white civilians.A lot more people died as result the poisoning of water wells in order to break the back of the resistance

The war resulted into economic destruction and retardation. The economy was devasted following the massive destruction of property occasioned by the application of brutality against the masses. consequently, roads, bridges, agricultural project and other facilities were ruined leading to social, economic under development in Southern Rhodesia.

The liberation war in Southern Rhodesia led to a huge refugee crisis whose burden had to be shouldered by the neighboring states of Malawi, Mozambique Zambia and Angola. Many people were displaced from their homes and took refugee in the neighboring countries, many more people were internally displaced into camps within Zimbabwe itself. The conditions under which they lived were horrible.

The war brought about a lot of hardships for the Zambia. This was because the white settler government of the UDI accused Zambia of granting military support to the Zimbabwe rebels. The government also accused Zambia of granting sanctuary and training grounds to the rebels. As a result of the the UDI government cut off it hydro electric power to Zambia with dire consequences on the economic development of the country.

The formation of the triumvirate involving Don Salazaar of Portugal, Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia and Fredrick Verwoed of South Africa was a product of this war. A triumvirate is a political regime ruled or dominated by three powerful individuals known as triumvirs. The purpose of this was to enable the three evil leaders support each other agaisnt African resistances. It was this triumvirate that partly delayed the attainment of independence of many states in southern and central Africa.

The liberation struggle in Southern Rhodesia exposed the brutality of the whites and greatly alianated the white settlers from the rest of the world. Due to this, economic sanctions were levied against the minority regime with dire consequences. It was partly due to these that the regime eventually came to its senses and accepted to talk peace with the blacks.

Despite the negative effects, the war of liberation in Southern Rhodesia also had positive effects. For instance, it opened the way for diplomatic efforts to end the crisis. In 1976, the USA government initiated a meeting between Henry Kissinger, the US secretary of state and Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia (UDI). This was the first meeting involving a high profile delegation aimed at sorting out the Zimbabwe question. In the subsequent discussions, a new constitution was agreed on to create way for an interim government to pave way for a majority rule in Southern Rhodesia

The war expanded the support base of the nationalists by drawing the church into it. The church began to play and active role in the liberation struggle as a result of this war. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rhodesia Bishop of the United Methodist Church of Zimbabwe for instance is remembered as a leader of the African National Council and UANC and later the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. He played a big role in mobilizing financial support from Sweden and other Nordic coutries during the liberation struggle.

The war led to a world wide opposition to the minority rule in Zimbabwe. The disproportionate brutality and force used against the blacks attracted a lot of sympathy from the outside world including South Africa, the rigime’s main backer itself. It was against this backdrop that Britain, the US and other capitalist states withdrew their support from the rogue minority regime in Zimbabwe.

Communist ideas were introduced in Zimbabwe by ZANU and ZAPU. Because of the huge military and financial support that ZANU and ZAPU got from the communist worl, the two liberation movements become the fronts for the introduction and spread of communism in the country. Even after independence, the country followed the ideals of socialism with a view of creating a society devoid of social injustice.

Perhaps the greatest positive impact of this liberation struggle was the attainment of independence for the people of Southern Rhodesia. With the growing pressure from all over the world, Ian Smith found it extremely hard to cling onto power in Southern Rhodesia. When the British and the United States of America withdrew their military and financial support to the UDI, it became impossible for the minority regime to sustain itself in South Rhodesia paving way for a series of constitutional negotiations which culminated into the granting of independence to Zimbabwe in April 1980 with Robert Mugabe as its president.

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (CAF)

THE REASONS FOR THE CREATION OF CAF

The Central African Federation (CAF) was an amalgamation of the three Central African countries of Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia into a single administrative and economic unit under the white minority settlers in Central Africa. The suggestion of bringing the three countries together was moved by a British parliamentarian called Godfrey Huggins who eventually became the first Prime Minister of the federation. The federation came into full force on 23rd October 1953 and lasted until 31st December 1963 when it eventually collapsed. The factors which led to the establishment of CAF were the following:-

The British intended to reduce the costs of administration by bringing the three colonies under a single administrative unit. This would mean having one capital instead of three, one prime minister instead of three governors and this would considerably reduce the costs of administration. The civil servants would also be limited as the existing ones would serve a much wider area.

The creation of CAF was intended to forge unity between the whites and the African natives. The colonial government thought that the racial differences between the whites and the blacks would be brought to an end through a federation. The view was that the federation would with time enable the blacks gradually enjoy their rights until they were politically equal to the Europeans. The British would assign themselves the duty to ensure this.

The fear of the growing forces African Nationalism in three territories threatened the White settlers who established CAF to curtail such Nationalism. The African in the three territories established national movements to press for freedom and independence. The movements were being used as vehicles for national liberation by the black nationalists to mobilize fellow blacks against the colonialists. The whites therefore feared that the Africans would take advantage of their numerical advantage to kick them out of Central Africa. The formation of CAF was to insulate the whites against this.

The proponents of the federation hoped to reap economic benefits resulting from economies of scale and to create an economically powerful state to counter the economic weight of South Africa. Countries would engage in the production of goods and services in which they have comparative advantage in order to cut costs and step up production hence maximizing profits.

The CAF was established to further strengthen the economic interdependence which had developed among the three states. The two Rhodesia depended on Nyasaland for labor while Nyasaland depended on Southern Rhodesia for manufactured goods and Southern Rhodesia for Agricultural products. The formation of CAF was therefore an attempt to cement this interdependence.

CAF was formed because the British claimed that they wanted to improve on the living standards of the Africans. They alleged that the federation would enable the Africans to improve their incomes and be stable through productive engagement in agriculture and other activities.

The British wanted to use the formation of CAF to prolong their colonialism in Africa in a diplomatic way. The British thought it would take them some good time to sensitize the Africans and the whites about the dynamics and the operations of the CAF. The federation would bring together the whites in Central Africa and enable them crush any form of African resistance. This would enable them to stay longer before the territories could be granted independence.

The federation was established as a result of a new trend in British Policy. This policy called for the grouping of her smaller and poorer colonies in order to guarantee them a viable future. Britain hoped that federation would cause unity and economic advantage for the territories.

CAF was also formed because the British had lost their major Asian colonies of India and Pakistan when the two were granted their independence in 1947. These countries were a great source of raw materials for the British. They also lost a wide area for the white settlement. The federation was therefore partly formed as a compensation for the loss of the British commercial empires of India and Pakistan

The CAF was established so that the whites in Southern Rhodesia share in copper boom of Northern Rhodesia, whose exploitation began after the Second World War. Northern Rhodesia (Present day Zambia) had rich copper deposits and at the same time the prices of copper soared. There was no way the whites of Southern Rhodesia would have benefited from the copper boom without a federation.

The federation was established to ensure the availability of cheap and abundant labor from Nyasaland to the mining industry in Rhodesia. This would be achieved through guaranteeing the free movement of labor from the three member states which formed the federation.

The need to enlarge markets for the industrial products of the sufficiently developed industrial base of southern Rhodesia led to the formation of the federation. Southern Rhodesia had made great strides in its industrial sector. It therefore needed to expand market for her manufactured products.

The Central African Federation was established to allow southern Rhodesia access to Zambezi Hydro Electric Power (HEP) potentials in Northern Rhodesia. They intended to construct a dam at the lower part of the Zambezi River in order to ensure cheap and abundant HEP to be used in the mining industry of Southern Rhodesia.

The White settlers established CAF for exclusive settler control in order to make them free from the colonial office in Britain. They wanted to exert their authority and to control and determine the political and economic destiny of Central Africa with the approval of the British colonial office.

CAF was established to act as a device to consolidate white rule and deny Africans Independence. The federation was meant to bring the whites together, enable them to come up with policies which would enable them to consolidate their minority rule in Central Africa at the expense of the blacks.

The Federation was established to guarantee future white settlement. The vast space and thinly populated lands in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were to be reserved for future white settlement and development.

The large African population threatened and overwhelmed the white settlers and made them set up the federation. In 1954, there were three (3) million blacks and only 80,500 whites in Southern Rhodesia. The population of whites was even smaller in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Earlier the 1930 Bledsoe and Hilton Young Commission had recommended that it would be advantageous to bring together the three republics. However the British by then were not willing to accept the recommendation of the commission. In 1953, it was deemed that the time was ripe to have the CAF established, hence its formation.

The coming to power of the Conservative Party in Britain in 1951, laid the ground for the establishment of the Federation. The Conservative Party was hell bent on protecting the interests of the minority whites at all costs. The party therefore supported the idea of the formation of the federation.

The need to keep Africans as subordinates to the whites led to the formation of the CAF. The whites believed that the CAF would strengthen the position of the whites enabling them to control the blacks in Central Africa for ever and ever. They would do that through ensuring white control of the major power and economic centres like politics and the economy to the detriment of the black majority race.

The coming to power in South Africa of the National party of Dr. Malan Daniel, that established a racist regime, encouraged the whites in Southern Rhodesia to set up the federation. The federation would be exclusively in the hands of the whites to foster their selfish agenda of consolidating white minority rule. Dr.Malan encouraged and provided logistical support to Ian Douglas Smith, the Southern Rhodesian white minority leader.

The role played by the two British parliamentarians, Godfrey Huggins and Roy Wellensky cannot be ignored. The two were the great architects of the scheme and were the prime movers of the motion in the British parliament. Once the motion was moved, they passionately defended and argued in its support until it was passed.

THE EFFECTS OF THE CREATION OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

The effects of CAF on the people of Central Africa were both positive. To a larger extent however, these impacts were negative as discussed below:-

Positively, the creation of CAF helped in the growth of modern African nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. The bad policies implemented during this period acted as a catalyst to spur the nationalistic aspirations of the Black people in Southern Rhodesia in search and d quest for their national freedom.

The Central African Federation led to economic prosperity especially for the whites. They used the HEP to set up a series of projects in the area which greatly benefited the whites. More industries sprung up as a result of availability of power in the region. This was boosted by the already existing market for goods and services.

The formation of CAF led to the construction the Kariba Dam. The Kariba dam benefited the minority whites much more than the African people. It generated HEP which assisted the whites to invest their surplus capital in the money making industrial sector. It helped the whites to irrigate their farms and mitigated the problem of draught.

The construction of the Kariba Dam led to the creation of the largest man made lake in the world this promoted tourism in the region thereby increasing on the foreign exchange earnings of the federation. However, the flood waters in the valley behind the dam displaced more than 30000 Africans from the area. This led to the retardation of the development of the Africans since they were left homeless.

Similarly there was a huge progress in the development of infrastructures. Many miles of excellent roads were constructed, a very network of railway was established and telecommunication network was equally set up. This promoted the exploitation of the local resources in the region.

Socially a number of schools and higher institutions of learning were set up. This included the multi-racial university at Salisbury. It admitted students from all over the federation and positively projected the image of Salisbury which was also the headquarters of the federation. However the education was basically meant for the whites and was monopolized by them

The production of cash crops also expanded by leaps and bounds. Agricultural extension services, improved seeds, modern farming equipments and pesticides were provided to the farmers in the region. This resulted into large scale production of crops like maize and groundnuts which in turn lead to improved standard of living especially for the whites.

Southern Rhodesia became a dominant political player in the region. CAF emboldened the influence of the whites in the region while at the same time destroying the African power base’ It their enabled to whites to dominate and exercise their influence in the region for close to ten years.

Salisbury became a great city as a result of CAF. This was the headquarters of CAF. Good and modern buildings like sky scrapers sprung up in the town making Salisbury one of the finest towns in the world.

The creation of CAF allowed the representation of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia in parliament. African parliamentarians included Joshua Nkomo. They used this forum to agitate for the total independence of the African people.

The creation of CAF created employment opportunities for the people in the region. The industrial transformation that the region underwent, the vast farms that were established and the huge investment that sprung up following the general infrastructural development in the region enabled a sizeable number of the people to gain meaningful employment and to improve their standard of living.

Negatively, the creation of CAF had a number of consequences on the people of Southern Rhodesia. Among others these included the following;

The creation of CAF led to an uncontrolled influx of the white settlers into Southern Rhodesia. They took advantage of the new policy to move into Southern Rhodesia in big numbers hence creation additional problems for the Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

CAF led to increased land grabbing from the Africans due to the uncontrolled immigration of the settlers. Land alienation was also prompted by the increased desire of the settlers to establish new plantations to produce more which was on high demand. Africans were therefore forced to become squatters on their land while others were altogether chased from the land.

The construction of the Kariba Dam on River Zambezi led to the massive displacement of the people. It is estimated that close to 30,000 Africans were displaced as a result of the construction of this dam. This impacted on the Africans very negatively.

The Africans and non-whites suffered the effects of frozen wage levels in the face of rising costs of living. The whites deliberate cut their wages in order to reduce the costs of production despite the increasing costs of living hence affecting the real income levels of the Africans and their standard of living.

CAF also promoted racism, arrogance and discrimination by the whites in the region. A number of separate hotels, bars, schools and theatres were set for the whites. Meanwhile the Africans were pushed into the poorest schools, hospitals making their standards of living deteriorate.

Colonial violence arose in the face of anti-federation campaigns. African leaders got arrested as result of the agitations of the Africans for more freedom. In 1959 for instance, the CAF government declared a state of emergency which saw the arrests of prominent African nationalists like Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the African National Congress as well as Kamuzu Banda of Malawi. The two leaders were even deported to the Island of Pemba. However this did not stop the growth of African nationalism; instead it grew much stronger.

The colonial masters subsequently embarked on banning political party activities like strikes, boycotts and demonstrations. But the Africans continued to do exactly that. The result of this was death and destruction of property.

CAF was responsible for the delayed independence of Zimbabwe. During this period Zimbabwe had the biggest number of settlers in the Common wealth. She thus tightened on the African nationalists so that they could not easily succeed in winning their independence. It was not until 1980 that Zimbabwe became independent thanks to the collapse of CAF in 1963.

The poverty of the African people and the non whites increased. The benefits of the socio economic transformation that CAF experienced were basically enjoyed only by the white minority in the region. The Africans meanwhile remained swimming in a sea of poverty.

Forced labor increased in the three states that constituted CAF. This was because the establishment of the huge plantations owned by the whites necessitated constant supply of labor force from the Africans. Terrible labor policies had to be enacted to enable the white to acquire labor. Africans henceforth suffered the consequences of this.

THE COLLAPSE OF CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION IN 1963.

On 31st December 1963, the Central African Federation collapsed. Nyasaland (Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) became independent in 1964. The collapse of the federation was caused by many factors which among others included the following:-

During its establishment in 1953, the majority Africans were not consulted. The whites claimed that the CAF was meant to be a multi-racial one and that it would be run in partnership. However facts on the ground pointed to the other direction. The whites were instead hell bent on promoting their hidden agenda. This made the scheme suspicious and foreign, leading its opposition by Africans, hence its collapse.

The influence of World War II led to the collapse of the CAF. A number of Africans had participated in this war. They came back determined to end colonial rule in Africa. They put the skills they had acquired from the war to good use by mobilizing the masses to rebel against the colonialists.

Britain was petitioned over CAF by the Lozi and the Ngoni chiefs. In 1953, they sent their petition to the House of Commons in Britain. In this petition they challenged the continued racism in Central Africa. They voiced their grievances over the British arrogance and colonial behavior. This further promoted opposition the CAF hence its collapse.

The Africans refused White rule. The Pan African conference of 1958 inspired them to so. In that conference Kwame Nkrumah warned that small states were in danger of continued exploitation if they accepted such an arrangement. The Africans in Central Africa therefore opposed the federation that was governed by the whites. At its formation, the whites failed to know that Africans were not willing to accept white rule.

The slow rate of economic development especially among the African communities led to the collapse of CAF. The positive outcomes of this federation were only benefiting the whites; the Africans were becoming poorer and poorer. This made the collapse of the federation inevitable.

The federation promoted racial discrimination, which attracted opposition from Africans leading to the collapse of the scheme. The majority whites expressed prejudice and they rioted against Roy Welensky’s proposal to forbid racial discrimination in public places. This attracted African opposition to the scheme leading to its collapse.

The negative opinion of the outside world towards the federation led to its collapse. The United Nations, the non-aligned movement and other organization had misgivings for CAF. They therefore, decampaigned it until it collapsed in 1963.

The international community also put pressure on Britain to stop supporting the oppressive regime. Eventually Britain stopped granting financial support to the federation. The decision by Britain to stop assisting CAF was a big blow which eventually led to its collapse.

The influence of the labor party in Britain led to the collapse of CAF. The Labor Party was initially opposed to the idea of colonialism. Much as it lost election in the 1950’s, it continued to campaign for an end to colonial rule and unprincipled federations the world over. This speeded up the collapse of the CAF.

The failure of the East African Federation was a warning bell to the survival of CAF. The failure of Federation in East Africa encouraged Africans in Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe to oppose CAF with a view of bringing it down.

The domination of the federation by the white settlers led to the its collapse. The two Prime Ministers of the Federation were all white settlers i.e. Godfrey Huggins (1953 – 1956) and Roy Welensky (1956 – 1966). Africans were allowed only 12 out of the 59 seats in the federal parliament and only 4 of the 12 Africans were elected. The Africans felt alienated from the federation, opposed it until it collapsed.

The heavy hand of the Federal Prime Minister who dictated rather than consulted brought about the collapse of CAF. The CAF legislature also introduced harsh laws. Any opposition to the scheme was met with brutality and violence. This made the CAF lose support from even those who would have been willing to support it.

The emergence of Nationalism and establishment of political parties systematically destroyed the federation. Political parties such as African National Congress and Zimbabwe African Union in southern Rhodesia emerged and opposed the Federation. They demanded independence. This reduced the chances of the survival of CAF.

Harold Macmillan’s Wind of Change speech to the South African parliament marked a further step in the collapse of the Federation. Harold noted that the growth of the African national consciousness was irreversible and called upon colonial masters to take account of it. This speech inspired more opposition to the Federation, leading to its collapse in 1963.

The rift between the imperial government in Britain and the federal Government at Salisbury led to the collapse of CAF. Harold Macmillan, the leader of Britain then, became increasingly critical of progress towards genuine partnership in the federation. Such criticism created conflict between the Federation and Britain and Macmillan instead increased hostility and opposition to the Federation.

The wide spread demonstrations, strikes and riots led to the federation from all the three territories. In response, the federal Government declared a state of emergence in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, which saw the arrest and detention without trial, of many African Nationalists and politicians. This instead increased opposition to federation, making its collapse a reality.

The establishment of and report of Devlin Commission led to the collapse of the federation. This commission put in place to investigate opposition to the scheme, reported that opposition to federation was deeply rooted and almost universally held. The commission also recommended that the federation be dissolved. This inspired Africans to rise up and give a final push to the federation.

The Monckton Commission set up by Macmillan to investigate the performance of the federation speeded up the collapse of CAF. The commission recommended that members of CAF had a right to withdraw. This became good news to Zambia and Malawi, which declared themselves out of the federation upon attaining their independence.

In 1963, the British Government appointed R. A. Butler as special minister to preside over the collapse of the Federation. Indeed the Federation was declared non – existent in December 1963.

***Revision questions***

1. *Account for the establishment of CAF in 1953.*
2. *Examine the factors for the collapse of CAF in 1963.*
3. *Assess the performance of CAF between 1953 and 1963.*
4. *Discuss the factors that led to the survival of the Central African Federation up to December 1963.*

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***0772326303 (Head of Department)***