

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SEMINAR PROGRAM: 1979-80

AFRICAN AND IMPERIAL HISTORY SEMINAR

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* TITLE: THE FIRST GENERATION OF AFRICAN NATIONALISTS *
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* ON: NOVEMBER 21, 1979 AT 4:30 PM S.R. NO. 3 *
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THE FIRST GENERATION OF AFRICAN NATIONALISTS

"... the attainment of the government of Africans by Africans for Africans, with respect for racial and religious minorities who desire to live in Africa on a basis of equality with black majority" remained a burning desire for the Pan-Africanism from 1919 when it was voiced. It was in 1945 when the die was cast by its 5th Conference.¹ The members reviewed the long suffering of Africans patiently over centuries as slaves, labourers and colonial subjects. They challenged the colonial powers to implement the Atlantic Charter and put an end to the Herrenvolk policy especially in East Africa and Kenya in particular. They called for peace, not force.

"Yet, if the Western World is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world ..."

"We are determined to be free ... We demand for Africa autonomy and independence ..."

"Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We shall make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment."²

The above sounded a bold or very radical statement by a group which had no means - financial, military, personnel, etc. - to carry out the threat against the European giants of Colonialism and imperialism. It sounded an empty threat which was ignored by the imperial powers. By late 1960s, most of Africa was independent or 'free'! This paper seeks to stimulate a discussion on the heroes of the 'Freedom' drama. It is hoped that from what will be exposed about some of these heroes as the

first generation of nationalists³ engaged in the struggle for the freedoms of their countries, and their consequent achievements, the reader will be able to reassess and re-appraise the heroes. This is necessary in view of the fact that some have been either condemned or criticized harshly both in Africa and Overseas or overpraised.

As a methodology for achieving the above, the paper will highlight some of the nationalists taking a random cross-section of Africa south of the Sahara by discussing some of their political beliefs and courses the heroes took to achieve freedom. Then surveying the post independence developmental courses the heroes steered their countries and finally decipher what heritage the heroes bequeathed to their countries when they left either peacefully or violently. We should also be able to postulate what the still functioning members of the first generation of nationalists are likely to bequeath to their countries whenever they retire.

Due to shortage of time and space, our cross-section will examine only the areas where the drama was either hottest due to same circumstances or peculiar. Generally, the former French colonies, with an exception of Guinea, gained their independence comparatively smoothly, without resulting to much coercion or violence. We, however, have heroes like Sekon Toure of Guinea, Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast and the archangel of the 'Negritude' philosophy, Léopold Sedar Senghor, among others, whom we cannot brush aside but shall refer to them without much concentration. The former Portuguese colonies nationalists will be treated like the above. Young in independence as they are, their heroism echoed all over the world and both the late Agostino Neto of Angola and Samora Machel of Mozambique are recognized as hero-statesmen not only in Africa but overseas. Our concentration will be on Nkrumah of Ghana, Azikiwe of Nigeri

Lumumba of Belgian Congo or Zaire, Malawi's Banda, Zambia's Kaunda, Nyerere of Tanganyika, Uganda's Obote and Kenyatta of Kenya.

KWAME NKRUMAH OF GHANA

Nkrumah was brought up as a normal peasant child. He was educated in a local mission school thereby becoming 'a mission boy' as such graduates came to be called over all the Continent. Believing that Africans should have proper education equal to the Europeans', if not better, he tried not only to encourage his country to try his beliefs but became a teacher himself. Later, he proceeded to America where he studied his university education before proceeding to the United Kingdom to further the same education.⁴ In London he got in touch with Pan-Africanists and future political colleagues like G. Padmore. Ironically, it is in London where he met his countrymen, the then Gold Coast Politicians, coming to petition the British Government for concessions and rights of political and commercial nature, led by Dr. J. Danquah of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.). Nkrumah was eventually invited to Ghana to take up the post of the General Secretary of the U.G.C.C.

As the General Secretary of U.G.C.C., Nkrumah reorganized and revitalised the party and toured the whole of Ghana forming branches and publicising himself. Small wonder then that when he broke with the U.G.C.C. in June 1949 after a disagreement with the party's president, who was until this time busy on his business and hence had left everything to Nkrumah, the latter was able to form the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) which gained power numerically and politically within a very short time. The main difference between CPP and the U.G.C.C. was the fact that while the latter was an elite's party, the former was a Popular People's Party

composed of membership from all walks of life and especially the emerging urban and militant middle class of traders and market-women who were a valuable financial source of the Party. The common man's political manoeuvres that Nkrumah employed won him much more following from among the proletariat who soon formed the mobilising action and propaganda wing of the Party, thereby winning almost the whole country that mattered in politics for the Party became a real mass movement which had not been achieved in Ghana before. This Party won an election in 1951 when he was in prison. He was released to become the prime minister. However, Nkrumah's political skill had the movement under control by 1954 when he dismembered the CPP's most leftist wing ruthlessly and set 20 of its prominent members afloat. This was simply a political manoeuvre in which he won the name of being a 'moderate' politician, not a communist and drove the Party out of being a party of the "dispossessed". After all the above had supported him to virtual top strength. After a series of political confrontation and elections, CPP won the final election that forced the British Government to grant independence to Ghana on 16/3/1957 with Nkrumah as the President.

Gaining independence, Nkrumah knew, and warned his ministers in his last speech as a prime minister, was not the end of the struggle. They had to work relentlessly on nation building, on helping the rest of Africa to throw away the colonial yoke, on building a United States of Africa on the Pan-Africanism Principle. That was going to be the deep stick of their success. Therefore, they were not to fail, they must not fail! he repeated. He reminded them of Edmund Burke's famous words, "We are on a conspicuous stage and the world marks our demeanor". He concluded.

Never has it been truer than today. How we conduct ourselves when we

become independent will affect not only Ghana but the whole of Africa. If we can make success of our independence, we shall have made an incalculable contribution towards freedom and progress throughout Africa ... We must show that it is possible for Africans to rule themselves, to establish a progressive and independent state, and to preserve their national unity."⁵

Ghana had become the biblical lamp lit on a table or hilltop for all African countries to see and follow. Her quality then had to be the best to keep to Dr. K. Aggrey's belief, which he had left as a dying curse to his fellow Africans that "only the best is good enough for Africa". Nkrumah, though he did not say this, was going to be the yard stick with which every nationalist was going to measure himself. And this was done by many as will be illustrated later. He was educated overseas, found elitist political parties and activities on return which he joined to identify himself with them and their causes. Later broke, with the Common People's Mandate to set up a more mass oriented, radical and popular party which would sooner or later come into conflict with the imperial government. Although the CPP was not banned, some of his later followers will find theirs banned. Nkrumah and chief followers were imprisoned and gained the status of "P.G." or "Prison Graduate". His followers were going to accept even torture in addition to the "P.G.". His main method of non-violence resistance or non-cooperation borrowed from M. Gandhi and endorsed by the 1945 Pan-Africanism Conference will be used by nearly all his followers. Finally, the post-independence challenges by splinter political parties either defeated during the struggle for independence or formed later by some disgruntled parties, monarchical or chiefly anachronisms and the like will be found to add to the main challenge of building

of the emergence nation. But this is the model other nationalist leaders or heroes should copy. What of the common man or the masses?

The model presented by Nkrumah to the common man was that of a firm, great and moving orator who comes as a man of the people but is learned in the ways of the white man and is able to convey what he has to them to command their role in the struggle simply but effectively. For instance, an elderly miner who listened to Nkrumah speak stood to tell the audience, "This young man is God's greatest gift to the Gold Coast; hear ye him."⁶ Another told his friends; "It is true what they say (in a newspaper report) that this Kwame Nkrumah can do anything."⁷ To him, the leader is a mystery and overpowerful man. "Now we will get our freedom! Kwame Nkrumah will give us our freedom! Freedom! Freedom!"⁸ But all this is induced by such statements like "We will fight together for our freedom now! We will not rest until we have got rid of these colonialists and imperialists who think they have a right to live in our country and tell us what to do!"⁹

While the masses saw Nkrumah as a saviour and his political opponents as an enemy, the colonial authorities regarded him, and this was to be repeated with other heroes, as an enemy or great unwanted devil of an agitator, trouble maker or demagogue with half-baked ideas picked up from communist or social literature or some streets of Europe or America. To the colonial regimes, every word he said was "a nail in the coffin of colonialism and imperialism" as a colonial newspaper recorded of Nkrumah.¹⁰ That is why the colonialists kept most nationalists either in prison or detention.

No sooner did the British clear out of Ghana than Nkrumah found himself faced with serious internal political problems. The Ashanti, who

had protested against Nkrumah's struggle to drive out the British were still not satisfied. A few other chiefs and Dr. Danquah's Party - U.G.C.C. - also would not reconcile even after Nkrumah invited them. These and the Northern People's Party and the Ewe of Togoland who had voted against the union with Ghana ganged up together to form the United Party who opposed the new government as destructively as they could. The chiefs were protesting against the loss of indirect rule - they had lost their sovereignty! To the above, was added trouble from two ambitious Nigerians who would set themselves up at Kumasi, one as 'Zèriken Zongo' or Chief of the non-Ghanian Moslems - the other as Chaplain of the Hansa People in Kumasi. Due to both of them, much unrest was experienced in Kumasi and had to be removed and deported. Dealing with the above fed the Ghanian government enemies with material for strong criticisms all over the world.¹¹

However, Nkrumah's government engaged in important nation building activities in the midst of criticism from within and without. Ghana launched her first shipping line at Takoradi, the Bank of Ghana opened in Accra, the Ghana Airways under Ghanain pilots, Flying Training School under Israel Air Force as trainers of the Ghanian Air Force. Foreign technicians were imported to come and instruct local technicians on agriculture, architects, mining engineering, medical health and teaching. Ghanains were sent abroad for education, jobs were created. In time giant projects were underway such as the Volta River Dam, new factories, modernising or creating new harbours, modern buildings, play grounds, irrigation and many others were anticipated but did not materialise. To implement these, Ghana operated almost as a one party state and Nkrumah had introduced the memorable "P.D.A." or Preventative Detention Act under which, it is claimed, he filled Ghanain prisons with detainees who were

convicted before trial.

Allegedly, Ghana's democracy turned dictatorial and went bankrupt. And the above justified the coup d'etat of the armed forces and the police in February, 1966. The coup propaganda accused the Nkrumah regime of committing "many crimes on the pretext of creating a socialist state... Today, ... Nkrumah and his new class are no more. (And) We in Ghana have taken our destiny into our own hands ... and broken once and for all times the tyranny of Kwame Nkrumah. The revolution ... was aimed at privilege, overlordism, political opportunism, careerism and the capacity of the new class Nkrumah built up ... (But they would) honour the ideals of Pan-Africanism and cherish the principles of emancipated humanity ... Today a new Ghana is born of the ashes of a moribund and corrupt system which committed heinous crimes ..."¹²

The above is all that is given as the reasons that drove the coup planners to overthrow Nkrumah. There is no single word of appreciation of anything he did. He was worse than the British implicitly and therefore deserved all erasing of all his memories from Ghana - from his commemorative statue outside the parliamentary building to his name in casual discussions. There is no attempt of explaining why, the accepted Ghanaian hero, turned suddenly into a dictator or tyrant. There is equally no suggestion as to what he would have used as alternatives. I would like to postulate here that except for his overconfidence in himself and impatience induced by attempts on his life that apparently forced him to result to the hated P.D.A., his worst main 'crimes' were two. One was his planning abilities which were far ahead of most people's comprehension. The second was his zeal for Ghana's development which he wanted to equal his models in the developed world over too short a time - achievements

which his models had taken centuries to get. Otherwise, Nkrumah acted in good faith and for Ghana and Africa in general.¹³ Although Nkrumah ended his career on a bad note, the heritage bequeathed to Ghana in the long run and to the rest of Africa has outlived him and will be felt for a long time to come. For instance, his pronouncement that there is no universal pattern of industrialisation which could serve as the perfect model for Ghana or other emerging nations is being used today by the sensible nations who realise that 'aping' any Western country is irrelevant to them. He maintained that Ghana could go socialist when everybody, especially his critics, were sentimentally against him. But some African nations have taken his stand today for a better future and many critics are not shocked by socialism any longer. Finally, he saw Africa as a vast battleground for a cold war as nations emerged from colonialism. Consequently he warned against neo-colonialism and tried to avoid it for Ghana by cooperating with almost the whole world as opposed to one or two western countries. Today, neo-colonialism is the religion most nations are preaching against for they find themselves tied hand and foot in it. But Nkrumah had warned that neo-colonialism "in effectiveness can be more dangerous to our legitimate aspirations of freedom and economic independence than outright political control."¹⁴

DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE OF NIGERIA

An attempt to treat Azikiwe as Nkrumah above is not possible in this paper. He would need a book by himself. I shall therefore make only a brief mention of his political activities that helped to mould Nigeria.

Dr. N. Azikiwe, commonly known as "Zik" is Ibo by birth who can be termed a 'go-ahead fellow'. Hence his great zeal of education and advancement through hard work. His university education was pioneer to Nkrumah's in America. While in America, he travelled and taught as Nkrumah was to do later. Back home, he was deep in politics and business. Beginning in moderate elitist politics of chiefs and lovers of traditional states, he formed his own party (or amalgam of two parties) in 1944, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) which was considered very radical and revolutionary by the older nationalists like O. Awolowo when it called not only for self-rule but a United Nigeria. Prior to this, the accepted status quo was of a Nigeria that was a conglomerate of numerous small and big traditional states and regions with their own systems at times each very different from its neighbours'. They would be different because of age old traditions, histories, ethnic units, tribes, racial groupings and geographical environments mainly separated by vast difficult distances. To unite these was what Zik swore to do. Many circumstances and vested interests of the elite and traditional nationalists created unfathomable obstacles and everyone took Zik as a heretic!

Zik's weapons in his brave war of unification included the NCNC, a number of newspapers, recruitment of party leaders who supported his views and his own personality and oratory - techniques Nkrumah was to use later with greater success. Zik's combination of business and politics became his weakness in promoting party politics and greater following than he achieved. His party lacked the tight discipline opponents like Awolowo or even future nationalists like Nkrumah had. This made his party, his greatest weapon in the struggle, be comparable to a 'rabble' as opposed to his opponents' who had 'armies'. At times, faced with

opposition or crises even in the party, he would threaten to resign or accepted change of policy to accommodate the crises. This is unlike nationalists like Nkrumah and Houphouet-Boigny who would use ruthlessness to have things going exactly the way they wanted.

Zik, however, was and is a great orator, that art which to a large extent helped him to get much following from both the masses and the colonial officials. He actively promoted the British West Africa Territories Federation, an idea the later heroes like Nkrumah tried to implement, pushing it farther to Pan-Africanism. Zik favoured the creation of a left-wing socialist party. In all fairness, Zik is a hero whose admiration is inevitable in Africa and overseas. His humble beginning and determination for higher education that he achieved in 1937. His return from overseas and identification with the common cause of Nigerians by joining politics at the then accepted level, his ability to rally support on controlled radical politics of NCNC and Nigeria-wide acceptance - 'Zik' almost becoming a household name everywhere. His victorious organisation of strikes in 1945 and Nigeria wide tour publicising himself, his party and collecting funds to finance a delegation to London on Nigerian problems and hold his reputation even after the delegation failed. His agitation against the Yoruba domination of Lagos politics and his challenge to them resulting to his being elected a member of Lagos. His ascendancy in 1957 and senate presidency in 1959. His ascendancy to Governor-Generalship of the Independent Federation in 1960 and finally becoming the first president of the Nigerian Federation in 1964 were not mean achievements. These brought about the climax of his political goals set up in "The Atlantic Charter and British West Africa" issued in 1945 when he was the Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria. I wish to suggest that

Zik's weakness pointed above, especially his acceptance of compromises to accommodate crises or situations different from his are his main advantages which have enabled him to survive for such a long period in politics.¹⁵

PATRICE LUMUMBA OF BELGIAN CONGO (ZAIRE)

Lumumba is today a controversial hero to scholars and lay people both in Africa and overseas generally. The controversy stems from the many types of judgements made on and about him. In Africa, especially to those in their twenties and teens, Lumumba is a legend and a myth. To a section of people in Congo, his homeland, Lumumba was a saviour, a liberator and therefore a national hero. To others in the same Congo, Lumumba was a bloodthirsty devil, communist, invader and destroyer of their ancient kingdoms' rights and general peace. To the Belgian government, he was not only a trouble-shooter but a destroyer of their good name in the civilizing of Africa. To some African nationalists, he was a bad example who discredited the nationalists' 'club', a stooge of communism and socialism. To the more serious nationalists and others that thought they understood him, Lumumba was a victim of circumstances, therefore an African martyr. In short, Lumumba is many negative things to many people. Let us briefly examine what leads to the above conclusions.

Lumumba was of peasant parentage who attracted nobody's attention during his youth. With an elementary type of mission education, he was employed as a post office clerk who was later dismissed for embezzlement.

He joined politics which he was good at as a good speaker and one able to make the best out of whatever situations he found. He also engaged in educating himself but does not seem to have gone into any university or even out of Congo.

Ironically, up to 1954, there were no nationalistic movements in Congo except the tribal welfare organization of Joseph Kasavubu for Studying Bakongo Language and history. This organization was called 'Association des Bakongo' but popularly called Abako. King Baudouin, who had just taken over the Belgian throne visited Congo, his colony in 1954 at his own accord and, impressed by the development of the colony, talked of developing her more politically creating a 'Belgo-Congolese society', like a type of a commonwealth society of the British. In 1955, December. Professor A.A.J. Van Bilsen published his "Un plan de Trente Ans Pour L'Emancipation Politique de l'Afrique Belge" (A 30 Year Plan for Political Emancipation of Belgian Africa) as a protest against the Belgians' lack of a progressive future plan and target in Africa anticipating that if the plan was followed, Congo could equal Belgium politically and could therefore be treated as a civilized colony. This document stirred the Congolese to political thinking. Consequently, in 1956 the Conscience Africaine, an African cultural newspaper published a "Manifesto" which was a mild document based on Bilsen's plan but cutting the 30 years to five. The Manifesto was unsigned. Abako took the matter up with a 'Counter Manifesto' which was actually not 'counter' but an improvement of the earlier 'Manifesto' and a more emphatic demand which sounded extremely radical. "Our patience is already exhausted ... Emancipation should be granted us this day rather than delayed another thirty years", the 'Counter-Manifesto' demanded.¹⁶ Nobody talked of independence.

Lumumba was silent.

In 1957, de Gaulle promised Congo Brazzaville independence. Abako, hearing the above wrote a 'demand note' to Belgium calling for many reforms. 'Race to power' and catch up with their Brazzaville neighbours seemed to have caught Congolese elites. Numerous parties sprung up 'overnight' under evolués, some amalgamated immediately after forming, others split on local, tribal or regional bases. As Merriam correctly records:

"There was not, in fact, and never has been in the Congo any truly national party ... The country was much too large and the time given it much too short, for any leader to emerge who could have created one. The politicians were known in their own fiefs but outside, with few exceptions, they and their parties were ... names." 17

The commotion of the formation of hundreds of parties resulted in fighting in ethnic areas mostly caused by all types of rumour and propaganda used as campaign manifestos to gain following. The Government, to strengthen security, put up soldiers in many places but fighting went on.¹⁸ The Belgians seemed caught in a hurricane that came from nowhere!

Lumumba's party was one of the minority parties supported by his home people of Stanleyville area. He called it "Mouvement National Congolais" (MNC).¹⁹ This is one of the few parties which professed to cultivate a Congo wide or real national following as opposed to the other regional groups. Lumumba is credited for having been a "fiery orator with demagogic trick at his command, he has also a certain personal magnetism and charm which seduced many Belgians as well as Africans." This gave him a substantial following. Having attended the Accra Conference of

African Independence movements convened by Nkrumah in December, 1958 returned with much more fire for independence "now!" His 'fire' instigated a fight in October, 1959 which brought about his arrest and consequent imprisonment to gain the "P.G." status.

The unrest in the country forced the imperial government to convene a round table conference in Brussels for negotiations with the Congolese leaders.²⁰ Lumumba attended from prison. The Belgian's gradual reformatory plan was refused and Lumumba demanded independence in 1960! This was agreed. The conference closed on 20th February 1960 and independence was to be granted on 30th June, 1960. What followed was a race to preparation. Kasavubu and Tshombe were not happy with the constitution. Both were in favour with a federal Congo where regions would have autonomy. Lumumba firmly stood for 'one Congo' as his party slogan chanted. And on June 30, 1960, independence was granted! Lumumba became the Prime Minister, Kasavubu the head of the government. Tshombe seceded to keep the wealth of Katanga area to himself and the region. What was worse, Kasavubu and Lumumba would not agree and the strong rivalry could not be concealed to the public any longer. Hence came real chaos which cannot be told here - army revolts against their Belgian commanders who were still on duty as per agreements of the Congolese and Belgian governments, later, the same army would revolt against their own promoted officers, sporadic fighting in the country and lots of political murders, coups to depose Kasavubu wherein it would be found Lumumba had organized and counter coups organised by Kasavubu, Lumumba would 'sack' Kasavubu and Kasavubu would 'sack' Lumumba.

It was no wonder then that the United Nations agreed to come to Congo and try to save the situation with their own armed forces. Lumumba, at

the same time would invite the Belgians to bring military aid, then refuse the invitation. The Belgians would come or operate on their own under the pretext of security for their citizens and property still within. Lumumba would ask U.S.S.R.'s aid in form of an army, arms and ammunition. He would, at the same time invite Chinese aid, and order the United Nations out of Congo since their representative or commander would not concede to Lumumba's wishes. Lumumba would supervise or direct the suppression of the Katanga rebels. Putting Lumumba under heavily guarded house arrest was useless - because he would still run away until Joseph Mabututu's army overthrow the confused government and deal with Lumumba fatally. Lumumba's assassination caused another strong unrest and warfare for which the army rule of Mabututu had to recruit a mercenary army! The assassination and disposal of Lumumba's remains became another mystery surrounding the already incorrigible and incredible mythical hero.

The questions 'Who was Lumumba?' 'What role did Lumumba play in the liberation of Congo?' and 'What was Lumumba?' are difficult in getting straight forward answers. One can extract part answers for the first two questions from the above description. It is more difficult to extract a satisfactory answer for the last. What we can deduce is that partly he was that hero capable of praising his friends or even the Belgian cordially this minute and, in the next minute, with the same mouth, inject a strong stream of 'fire and brimstone' to the same. Was he therefore a "self-debased, frustrated, cringing, hateful sycophant?" Whatever conclusion one arrives at, it seems true that,

"From Kisangani to Moscow, from Paris to Havana, Lumumba's name carries a magic spell: shrines have been erected to his memory; universities, research institutes, and clubs have

been named after him, and endless litanies are still sung in his praise by poets and literati of various nationalists." 21

Yet, Lumumba hardly ruled for one month peacefully or one year turbulently. The deep wounds he bequeathed to his Congo, however, created the modern, progressive Zaire nation after a considerable period. The lesson learnt by other nations of Africa either already independent or seeking independence must have been revealing for there cropped out the phrase, "We don't want another Congo here!" The imperial nations also learnt and made the assumption Nkrumah had already warned his first parliament about, that "Africans are not ready for independence, they cannot rule themselves."

KAMUZU BANDA OF MALAWI

Banda is of humble parentage. He got his elementary mission education in Malawi on the Nyasaland of the time before he travelled (he claims on feet) to South Africa where he worked for mining companies, preparing himself for further education. He went for his university education in America, then Scotland before coming to Ghana as a medical practitioner. He was invited to Nyasaland to lead the freedom struggle by his countrymen who had kept him fully abreast of the politics of the Federation of Rhodesias and Nyasaland, headed by Sir Roy Welensky. The Federation was the notorious partnership of 'horse and rider', the horse being the Africans while the rider was the whitemen - the real 'unholy trinity'.

This federation was the equivalent of direct colonialism found in other countries like the ones discussed below, Uganda and Kenya.

Fighting against the Federation was not new to Banda because, five years ago, Banda was fighting its planning in London with Nkumbula of Zambia when both were studying in Britain. They turned themselves into 'ambassadors' or 'delegates' of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). Banda had written long and well-considered memoranda, given speeches to officials and sympathisers and done all he could in vain. The Federation had been imposed against his will.²² He arrived in Blantyre in July, 1958. He began by trying to reconcile two rival groups in the Congress, the active political party under Chipembere in vain. He reorganized the strategies, finances and activities and whatever he could think pertained to the Congress. In talking to the masses, he stressed, like Nkrumah or Azikiwe, non-violence. He had little problem in getting mass following since all were aware of their big obstacle to freedom, progress and dignity. Like everywhere else in Colonial Africa, everything bad was attributed to the Federation. Federation had to go, by all means. To the masses, only Banda could drive it out of Nyasaland. To them, Banda "was the 'the Doctor' who would cleanse Nyasaland of the cancer of Chiteganya - Federation - the Moses, come to lead his people from bondage; the Messiah, the Christ-figure who would deliver Nyasas from oppression. It was a process which stopped not far from deification."²³

To the whites, Banda presented an uneasy feeling, being a supreme example of an African who had succeeded in the white man's world. Banda spoke arrogantly of the whites of Southern Rhodesia. He once told reporters, "In Nyasaland we mean to be masters, and if that is treason, make the most of it." In the same tone, he told the Evening Standard, "If

communism will take me out of the Federation, then I'll have." And the Sunday Mail wondered for 'how much longer must Southern Rhodesia put up with the caperings and vapourings of Dr. Hastings Banda?'²⁴

Like Nkrumah, Banda demanded an African majority in the Legislative Council if Nyasaland was to remain in the Federation. This failed. On the same day, 20/1/1959 there was a riot in Zomba and the Congress's Executive Committee met on an emergency note to prepare - for trouble if need be! After this meeting, the whole country was restless. After all, Banda had sworn that he was prepared to go to prison 'singing hallelujah' and told his audience;

"They can do what they like to me.
They can send me to prison. They can kill
me. I will never give up my fight for
freedom. We have to be prepared to go to
prison. We must fill the prisons, millions
of us ..."²⁵

Banda was going to break the 'stupid' and 'hellish' Federation. "This is my job and I am going to do it." He declared that even if he was deported to the Seychelles like Makarios or St. Helena like Napoleon, he would still do it. He would fight the Federation from prison. "Even from the grave my ghost will return to fight Federation". The masses needed nothing more, they were sure that they had a leader, and a brave one. All they waited for was a command to go ahead and do their part. February was full of disturbances in every small town resulting in police reinforcements from Southern Rhodesia and the killing of five Africans by the police.

March 2, 1959, 'Operation Sunrise', similar to the October 20th, 1952 'Operation Jock Scott' of Kenya, rounded up Congress leaders and detained

them. Emergency was declared and a dark shadow fell on Nyasaland. Banda, his officers and others were imprisoned or detained and the Congress banned.

Trouble continued though over 1500 were detained. After the Devlin Commission's report on the disturbances, MacLeod decided and had Banda released to come and head the newly formed Malawi Congress Party and help in restoring peace and negotiating a fresh constitution. Soon after release, Banda went on a propaganda and fact-finding tour to America and the United Kingdom where he lectured, was interviewed in Tv's and newspapers. After the Lancaster Constitution Conference, elections were held in Nyasaland to decide the fate of the Federation. The Malawi Congress Party won and the usual procedure for gradual handover of power to Africans was followed culminating with full independence on July 6, 1964, Nyasaland became Malawi, a free nation.

Like Malawi's predecessors - Ghana, Guinea, and Tanganyika, she closed the chapter of struggle against the colonial yoke of the Federation to open that of building a true united Malawi nation. Before she fully embarked on this, she was confronted with an internal crisis in the Cabinet, the very core of the nation! This came about, it was alleged, due to the highhandedness and non-compromise approach of Banda. A tense period ended up with the 'Chipembere Rebellion' which was a great shock, not only to Malawi but Africa and many parts of the world. Misgivings arose but the Malawi had to contain the situation. No wonder Short records: "It was a bitter irony that, in less than three months after independence, Banda should have to result to the same restrictive measures as had been so much hated when used by the colonial authorities against his own Nyasaland African Congress."²⁶ After this showdown, the 'P.D.A.' as

condemned of Nkrumah, the 'treason act' and the act on the legalising and establishing the 'Young Pioneers' as an integral part of the Army were passed or ammended though some members of the community disapproved. But who would dare raise a voice?

Malawi's foreign policy became and still is controversial from observers' quarters. Banda decided to adapt a 'Discretionary Alignment and Co-existence' policy as he termed it. This means that Banda would not be tied to either west or eastern blocs economically or politically. There would be no theorised long standing policy. Everything would be considered when it came and at its own merit and Banda would opt for whatever was best at that material time.²⁷ During the next period, there would be no obligation from shifting to the opposite side! Some of these stand currently. Consequently, some African nations blame him for cooperating - economically especially - with Rhodesia, South Africa and former Portuguese Mozambique. This has even won him disfavour from former great friends like Nyerere. Perhaps geographical factors and economic pressures force Banda to follow his special policy which makes him unpopular with his neighbours.

Malawi has also come under criticism from African nations and overseas nations because of some of her political conduct and overtones which the critics do not regard as really democratic, the critics see these as more despotic than democratic. Banda seems, however, impervious to these, just like with the economic and foreign policies. With all due respect, the grand old man is everything in Malawi, he is in the forefront on economy and foreign policy as mentioned above, he steers economic development projects towards where he feels they will help Malawi best, he is the chief advisor on morals and culture generally, he influences educa-

tional policies in the country and does almost everything else that pertains to Malawi's wellbeing. It is, I feel, fair to conclude that Banda is the main man on Malawi's state ship helm and steers the ship with confidence towards the direction he would like to see it impervious to, and amid criticisms.

Banda's successor, if he will not be exactly like him, which is unlikely, will have a difficult ship to steer and might be found attempting to change a part of the course, not without some rough sailing. The successor will be more grateful for the stability and tradition created since Banda steered roughly out of the troubled waters of Welensky's Federation.

KENNETH KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA

Son of a Christian preacher, Kaunda was brought up by his mother because the father died when Kenneth was relatively young. Unlike Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Banda and many other nationalists, Kaunda's life was not in any way dramatic before being fully engaged in politics. He got only an elementary level of education at home qualifying him to be a primary school teacher - a job he did thoroughly well. Kaunda was born and grew in a country with organised political bodies and so could not help inclining himself towards politics in his teaching days.²⁸ However, Mbikusita's Congress is the one which he joined as a teacher and became its secretary in 1950. Mbikusita left the Congress, changed his name to Lewanika and went to Welensky to collaborate on the proposed Federation.

The leadership of the Congress was left to Harry Nkumbula under whom Kaunda served as secretary general for five years, at times covering large distances on a bicycle in company of Nkembla.

Kaunda's political enemy number one, like Banda, was the unholy Federation. He opposed it at home during the negotiations unsuccessfully. Kaunda and Nkumbula organised a 'Mourning Day', to mourn over the imposition of the Federation. Many employees who went on strike in 'mourning' were dismissed. Then Nkumbula and Kaunda organised several boycotts especially in protest against racialism, discrimination in shops and public places very successfully. Later, Nkumbula and Kaunda were arrested and charged with the possession of prohibited literature²⁹ and convicted for two months jail each.

As it turned out later, the jail was Kaunda's first experience and had strong effects on him. He gained the "P.G." status and became a typical, hard core, Gandhi type politician. Having abstained from drinking and smoking as a Christian child of Africa and also abstained from drinking tea and coffee, he now became a staunch vegetarian. On the other side, Nkumbula, trying to cover up what he had lost when in prison stopped being very consistent to the ideals of the party and rather uncooperative with Kaunda as the latter noted when both went to London to press their demand of self-rule and lobby MP's on the Federation early in 1957. They achieved nothing consequently. However, Kaunda was able to study some local government and political institutions.

Back to N. Rhodesia, Kaunda broke from Harry Nkumbula's Congress because they could not agree on the 1958 Lennox - Boyd elections. Kaunda, as one of the "angry young men" formed Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) with Kaunda as the President.³⁰ This party took a very radical

tone as compared to Nkumbula's party. Its membership soon became large and very active. It was soon banned and its leaders, Kaunda included, were detained at Boma. However, one of its leaders who escaped arrest formed the "Africa National Independence Party" (ANIP) at the copper belt. Kaunda's inspiration to nationalists and N. Rhodesians as a whole had a very strong impact on them. Hence, even when he was detained and consequently jailed in Lusaka and Salisbury, political agitation and activities still continued and kept the government busy and uneasy. The party leaders remembered Kaunda's speeches, especially the last one before arrest when he said,

"Whatever the consequences, we are prepared to pay the price of freedom in this country. Zambia (meaning ZANC) may be banned, public meetings may be banned, but the spirit of Zambia, will march on until independence is obtained." 31

The many small parties in operation merged in 1959 to form "United National Independence Party" (UNIP) and ANIP merged and was therefore no more. When Kaunda left prison in January, 1960, the party he found was UNIP for which he paid his membership to signify his support. Soon he took over its presidency when the then president, M. Chona stood down for him. In this party, he called for "Discipline, Patience, Loyalty and Non-violence" showing that he was still hard on the Gandhi trail in search of freedom. He made public also that despite being jailed, he had no ill feeling against anyone because:

"A man who gathers honey expects to be stung by bees. I am therefore not embittered and I have come out with a clear conscience." 32

Kaunda stressed also that he was not against Europeans who would stay in Zambia as citizens like equals of Africans. The white men he was against was the one wanting to remain a 'demi-god'. He wanted freedom from colonial interference for Africans to take their own destiny in their hands even at the expense of the Africans making mistakes.

Kaunda's UNIP had no financial backing and so he had to go to the U.S.A. for propaganda and fundraising, Britain to urge the granting of independence in October 1960 as N. Rhodesian masses had come to demand and came through Egypt contacting Nasser, who actually gave financial support. It was a trying moment when he arrived and tried to convince the masses that independence would not be granted in October, after his over three months absence. However, the people had confidence in him. From that time, Kaunda and some of his senior men underwent serious cold wars and outbursts from the Federation officials led by Roy Welensky. Welensky would tease Kaunda or humiliate him whether in central Africa or in London negotiating with Ian MacLeod, the colonial secretary. Stormy discussions, walk-outs and other types of hostilities towards Africans ensued aimed at forcing Kaunda to accept a lower role which he refused until MacLeod decided in favour of the whites at the Federation.

The 1962 MacLeod Constitution was the direct product of these negotiations. It got to Northern Rhodesia to meet hot tempers solidly opposed to it as unacceptable! At this time, even Kaunda could not control the masses. Violence at last broke! Fighting, looting, situpas (identity certificates) were burnt publicly. Kaunda lamented that he had preached non-violence for long years but it has now come and he was powerless to control it. He blamed nobody for this but the culprit was obviously MacLeod who favoured Welensky against sense and reason. Kaunda had to go

back to Britain to press MacLeod to change the constitution. On returning home, he burnt his situpa publicly in defiance but was not jailed like those who burnt theirs earlier. MacLeod had to change the constitution if there was going to be peace and there was no alternative, the masses were adamant and were not prepared to compromise! With delays, struggles and disappointments, N. Rhodesians got internal self-rule with Kaunda as the Prime Minister and went up the usual hierarchical ladder to full independence in 1964 as Zambia. But the hardworking true hero of Zambia who would not give in to frustration says that looking back at the whole struggle, they cannot forget entirely the days of imprisonment, personal indignities, hardships ... and declares that the memories served to broaden their minds. Therefore, they can forgive and have no place for bitterness.

Independence won, Kaunda and the Zambians had to toe the line familiar to those who became independent earlier in the form of challenges of national building through social, political and economic development.

Unlike her neighbour, Tanganyika, she had many settlers and the rich copper belt which were to be treated with much caution if they had to maintain Zambia's economy and improve it for the good of the Zambians, not exploiters as in colonial times. In 1963, Kaunda had said that Zambia was to create a society in which private enterprise would play its full part in the development. He believed that it was only the combined and integrated efforts of the government and private enterprise which would bring about a healthy development of the natural resources and utilise the Zambian manpower. It was time to implement the above and soon after independence, Zambia was geared towards this. Consequently, agriculture, industry and mining, especially of copper produced results that Zambia can

be proud of.

To make the above possible, Kaunda has kept the government firmly in his hands to create stability and security with commendable success in view of Zambia's fighting neighbours and her geographical positioning and environment. He declared war against nationals and non-nationals soon after independence if they tried sabotage,

"Government is going to crack down very heavily on any mischievous persons trying to fan flames of tribalism or racialism anywhere." 33

Kaunda encourages constructive criticisms but reminds his audience that 'Africa is not Hyde Park Corner' where mob orators can propound any 'preposterous political philosophy' knowing that public will not take him seriously.

"We are engaged in a life and death struggle to preserve national integrity and prevent fragmentation through regionalism and tribalism. It is our duty to maintain the strictest control over individuals or movements who may attempt to drive a wedge amongst our people and spread dissension and subversion." 34

As mentioned above, given the circumstances that surround Zambia, one can understand why he stated thus. This was not a mere political speech. It has been implemented.

Kaunda called on all Zambians, black and white, to throw their lot with the new nation and 'adjust' from the colonial mentality and legacy. He firmly maintained that the person concerned had to commit himself to the new nation's destiny willingly and identify oneself with the nation

sharing the hopes, fears and standing firm with the nation even at times of hardships concluding that,

"Modern Africa is no place for the uncommitted. Life here demands cool nerves, perpetual optimism and great faith in human possibilities."³⁵

Typical philosopher, Christian and nation builder's rhetorics - but to Kaunda, they are practical and Zambia has demonstrated.

It would be incomplete to discuss Kaunda and conclude without a word about his Pan-Africanist nature or humanism. He began taking interest in Pan-Africanism in 1954 when he tried to organise a meeting at Lusaka. After preparations, the colonial authorities barred the entry of the African delegates, so the meeting did not materialise. But Kaunda's interest continued making him the Chairman of the Pan-Africanism successor in Eastern Africa, the PAFMECSA or Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central and South Africa. He carries the defunct movements principles of helping the still colonised brothers to free themselves. Hence his support of liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and currently Southern Rhodesians.³⁶ However, having successfully managed to carry his people with him, as he believes that that is the first duty of a leader, he is still bothered with one failure - to carry the people with him from drinking which he calls a "cancer".

NYERERE OF TANGANYIKA³⁷

Although born to a minor Chief, his birth in 1922 warrants being

regarded as a low birth. He himself does not boast of a high birth and upbringing. However, Nyerere was brought up locally and, like many others, educated in a local mission school before becoming a teacher and later proceeding to Makerere University College. His education terminated in Edinburg from where he returned in 1952 to resume his teaching career. His deep political concern matured up when he was in Edinburg and culminated in his writing a manuscript entitled "The Race Problem in East Africa" in which he asserted that only through social, political and economic equality could East Africa progress. The practised system in which the whites were regarded with magnified superiority in every way, followed by the Asiatics and the Africans coming in last and merely as "a drawer of water and hewer of wood," Nyerere was sure, would lead to nowhere in the foreseeable future if not to doom.

Nyerere joined Tanganyika African Association (TAA) the party that he led after winning in the 1953 party elections. He proved to be a man, though soft spoken, of high quality leadership, and of equally high quality personal charm. Stephens records that "... it was Nyerere's ability to express the deeply held but inchoate feelings of his fellow Africans, and to work successfully in a hazardous situation which constituted the main sources of his tremendous authority and prestige as a national leader."³⁸ Having won popularity and a large following, like Nkrumah, he considered TAA too elitist and conservative for the type of party that he felt would be able to press for his country's needs. He therefore formed the more militant and common man's Tanganyika African Nation Union (TANU) in 1954. This did not only press for the Africans' welfare and rights but demanded "self-government" and reminded the British government that Tanganyika was not a "Crown Colony" but a "Trust Territory"!

This was too revolutionary! Even the Chiefs voiced the view. Although they supported Nyerere in his moves, at this juncture, they abstained to follow him and began the attitude of 'wait and see' instead of, on the other hand, either condemning him publicly as was happening to Kenyatta or was going to happen to Kaunda. Nkrumah was already facing the opposition. Lumumba was going to have the greatest opposition from Chiefs in the late 1950's. However, Nyerere pressed on and had to travel to New York to present an oral petition to the United Nations Officials on the above subject.

In 1955, Nyerere was forced to choose between politics and teaching and opted for the former by resigning from teaching. Consequently, due to his full time devotion to the organisation of TANU and political life in general, TANU gained more membership and opened more branches, the government termed it more 'anti-native authority' and closed 11 district branches between 1954-1958. Nyerere became more militant and fiery in his addresses and could utter such statements as, "We are prepared to live with the members of other races ... but we are not prepared to be ruled by them."³⁹ In 1957, the Green Shirts worn as uniform by the TANU League were prohibited, some TANU schools were closed and Nyerere was prohibited from addressing open air meetings as was his habit since he resigned from teaching, in his many long journeys in the rural areas as he organised party branches, sold TANU to the people and preached the gospel of freedom! Despite the restrictions, TANU grew and ideas were now spread by Nyerere in small indoor meetings and his publication of the Sauti ya TANU or 'The voice of TANU' newsletter which was read widely. One of Nyerere's most useful political weapon was the Kiswahili Language which was, and is the lingua franca from the coast to the Lake Victoria

which was spoken by most. He could then communicate directly and dispensed with interpreters, unlike Banda, Kenyatta and Obote. A second advantage, as said earlier, was the non-committal Chiefs whose rank and file increased daily.

When Nyerere presented his Oral Petition to the United Nations, he emphasized the three main issues. He rejected the report of the 1954 Visiting Commission which claimed that Tanganyika could be self-governing only after 20-25 years because the country was too backward and hence unprepared. Nyerere put his target to 10-12 years. His second main issue was on the future constitutional development of Tanganyika. He accepted the principle of multi-racial development on condition that the government accepted the paramountcy of the Africans whose population was the majority and who owned the soil. In this, he condemned the principle of "indiscriminate immigration." We have no desire to see our country used as a safety valve for the surplus population of Asia, Europe, or for that matter, America. We have therefore stated publicly that we shall oppose indiscriminate immigration."⁴⁰ Finally, there was the question of the notoriously unequal education. He expounded and hammered more on this in December 1956 when he addressed the fourth committee of the same United Nation. He analysed that nearly all the European and Asian children of school age go to school while only about 40% of Africans do. However, out of the \$3,200,000 set aside for education in the country, the 25,000 Europeans got \$800,000, the 70,000 Asians got \$800,000 and the 8,000,000 Africans got \$800,000. That is what was termed equality by the governor in Tanganyika. Of course the Africans protested, though not voiced. TANU was voicing it to the U.N. to instil some sense to the governor's administration. Nyerere concluded by stating, "We shall

oppose discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or creed. But we are not prepared to see any section of our people treated as second class-rate citizens in our own country."⁴¹ His third and final Oral Hearing of June 1957 pressed on the right for reasonable, increased African representation in the government's administration machineries - Africans could be at least half the non-Africans - and the principle of the universal adult franchise as opposed to the communal roll in operation. The common roll about to be introduced was also unsatisfactory to TANU because it was going to be so restricted that the majority of the 'taxpayers' and even those prepared "to die for the country in case of war."⁴² Nyerere and TANU, however, believed in moderation and gradualism he emphasized. It should be noted that as he went to New York, he would pass through London, and even in New York, he would be rallying support from the Parliamentarians and other sympathisers.⁴³

The height of Nyerere's party politics came in the 1958 Mwanza riots. He was arrested and tried for having been seditious in his writings which allegedly caused the conflict. As was the colonial way, he was found guilty and sentenced to either six months jail or \$150 fine. Through a superb political manoeuvre of the governor, this episode which threatened a crisis, was utilized for the better. The government declared that it was now prepared to work with TANU on a future constitution in which the Africans will be a majority since they had all through been a majority and their participation had therefore to increase! "It is not intended and never has been intended that parity should be a permanent feature."⁴⁴

TANU swept the seats of the 1958 and 1959 despite the disadvantages they had been put into in favour of the minority races. The government

could not deny them self government any longer. In September 1960, TANU operated a responsible government. In the ensuing election, TANU again swept all the seats. An independence day was set for 28/12/61 but independence was born earlier, on 9/12/61! Ironically, there were so cordial relationships between the government and Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, especially, that TANU and Nyerere requested the British government to lend them Sir Richard to help TANU build their government; a request which was accepted and implemented. Then opened the next chapter of Tanganyika's history. In the words of C. Leys, "... Independence brought not only joy to many Africans but also a nagging sense of uncertainty about the substance of freedom."⁴⁵

In his campaign and TANU rallying activities, Nyerere coined the slogan or motto, "Uhuru na Kazi!" or "Freedom and Working." Consequently the new nation that emerged was aware that freedom did not mean 'no taxation, no working, no more law and order, sharing of all foreigner property, as rumour had it, in Zaire and Malawi at some time. If anything, freedom meant more working and harder working to build the nation. Tanganyika, to some extent, had some advantages over other places for the implementation of the above. She had no strongly opposing Chiefs like Nkrumah's Asantehene or Azikiwe's regional Kings or Obote's Kabaka and other Chiefs. Foreign capital had not been poured nearly everywhere in the country like in Kenya where big trading premises, companies and the 'white highlands' caused much concern to both the new Kenyatta's nation and the imperial government. Racial antagonism was not at as high a note as in Kenyatta's Kenya or Kaunda's Zambia. Except for the William Diamond Mines, the underlying natural wealth was not as attractive as Kaunda's copper. Finally, the trusteeship policies had not been as destructive in

Tanganyika as in the rest of Africa that we have so far discussed. Consequently, Tanganyika was the most ideal state nearest to the 'tabula rossa' situation that any nationalist with the ambition of creating an image of his notions would have liked. Yet, the same points that we have noted as 'positive' here can be used for negativity except that of racism because they mean that Tanganyika was almost bare of materials conducive to quick modern economic development. Actually, the only real potential Nyerere had was his 8,000,000 people for that large territory grouped in over 120 ethnic groups!

The weakness of Nyerere's asset was the fact that having been open to the later century slave trade, and the consequent colonisation by two European powers, Tanganyikan people had been reduced to timid ethnic groups, suspicious of foreigners and with no self confidence in their ability as Nyerere discovered in his TANU activity days.⁴⁶ Nyerere's first main obstacle towards creating a nation was the erasing of this pathetic situation; with only the Kiswahili language as his medium which most people could understand. He did wonders in creating the intended national loyalty. Nyerere then embarked in economic ventures. Getting foreign aids in large sums was not possible for no attraction existed for the donor countries. Foreign private investment was equally difficult. Trying to get loans was as bad because the terms for these loans looked very bad for him since terms of such loans include as speedy repayment as possible plus large interests. But how would Tanganyika raise these repayments when neither the agricultural nor the industrial projects that donors would like to finance were either unsuitable, not possible, or would take too long to mature? Nyerere ended up by getting aids mostly from the socialist Far East like China who would either donate or loan

under conditions that are near donation.

The above has created two main features of today's Tanzania - going socialist and a policy of self-reliance, to the extent of almost cutting herself off from her neighbours and the Western Europe and the Americas. She terms all these capitalists and has developed a cold war against them, developing to an actual war with Uganda recently which, to some extent, is still in progress. The methods used by Nyerere to arrive to the above include the mobilisation of youth for a type of national service even at university level, education geared to what is called self-reliance, cutting off expenditure on higher learning - considered 'ivory tower' to finance a type of universal basic education. This has forced her to cut herself off from the East African Certificate of Education at "O" and "A" levels which is practised by Kenya and Uganda jointly in which Tanganyika was a member. She was also forced to close her international borders with Kenya and Uganda, at the same time developing a rather hostile attitude towards Malawi. Nyerere also practices salary scales of his own which are claimed to be lower than those of her neighbours. This scale helps mainly to bridge the gap between the salaries of the common man and that of higher class in the ministerial to civil servant and company executive cadres. The nationalisation performed in the late 1960s and early 1970s was geared to discourage capitalism and provide the country with more income and jobs since all in Tanganyikan soil is 'Mali ya Uma' or national property. However, a more fascinating socio-economic structure is the Ujamaa, roughly translated socialism. This is a creation of early 1970s and so difficult to judge as far as practicability and success or otherwise are concerned. Ujumaa villages have been set up by the Tanzanians themselves with government

direction and little other assistance on self-help basis. The units have their own land units and do their own planning and production with some civil guidance, then share their profits like cooperatives. Since success for such schemes depends on many factors, some natural like rainfall which is erratic in large portions of Tanganyika and some man-made like the efforts put in the projects, we will be forced to consider the scheme as an experiment until it has matured up. Otherwise, if it succeeds, Nyerere has a wonderful treasure to bequeath to his successor and the nation as a whole. It would be incomplete to conclude this section without mentioning that the Nyerere government is also greatly decentralised in favour of regions and has ample executive powers at the regional levels to enable speedy actions of Ujamaa matters.

APOLO MILTON OBOTE OF UGANDA

Obote is son of a poor sub-country Chief of Lango area born in 1925. His ambitious father put him through a mission primary school at Lira, Junior Secondary, Busoga College and finally Makerere University college. He intended to be an agricultural scientist, his father wanted him to be a teacher but he became an employee of Mowlem engineering firm. He had political ambitions but being a non-Muganda realised his chances were slim, and slipped out of Uganda to Kenya where he did many jobs without adhering to any for any period of time. From 1950 to 1956, he worked with the Mowlem in Kenya, Standard Vacuum Oil Company, Railway Services, and a sugar factory to name but a few. He became a founder member of

KAU and worked under Kenyatta's leadership of the party, and befriended the fiery nationalist, Tom Mboya. Obote returned to Uganda to try his luck in politics with the 'training' he had acquired in 1956.

Obote's important political career began in 1957 when he was invited to lead the branch leadership of the Uganda National Congress when its leader, Y. Engur, was imprisoned. The opportunist Obote quickly accepted the offer. By another stroke of luck, he manoeuvred his way to the Legislative Council when the Lango Seat fell vacant in 1958. He got his uncle who was an honorary head chief and the leader of a dominant clan to support him and rally more support from some lesser Chiefs. He rallied his branch of the Uganda National Congress (UNC) behind him and the combined force got him the seat. He was returned to the Legislative Council in the following elections with a large margin in the district! In 1959, after a split of the UNC, Obote became president of the party and with the return of the party's founder, Abu Mayanja, from his studies in England, both men revitalized the party and drove out the chairman, J. Kiwanuka, who had kept the party alive for a long time. Mayanja, appointed Minister of Education in the Kabaka's Government left Obote with the other non-Buganda Party that was formed after the earlier UNC split, the Uganda People's Union (UPU). These two formed the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), with Obote as president. This party was to play an important role in Uganda's future politics. Obote was now recognized as an earnest humanist of Anglican origins "who reads books on political science for relaxation and makes his points convincingly without ever raising his voice."⁴⁷ This quality made him the leader of the African representatives of the Legislative Council.

1960 when the UPC was formed saw the climax of the age old Buganda/

British uneasy political alliance. Buganda had been treated as an autonomous state by the British since it became a British protectorate in 1894. The Buganda 1900 Agreement, the 1955 'assurance' and much else that had passed through them treated Buganda as such, thereby enjoying much freedom and even lucrative economic gains at the expense of the rest of Uganda. She had pressed for complete independence or what Buganda termed sovereignty from the nominal British monarch almost to success. MacLeod's government was also determined to grant independence as soon as possible. The showdown came when the British government flatly refused to grant Buganda independence as a separate state but as a part of the Main Uganda. But Buganda felt rightly that she was going to lose in every aspect, politically, economically and socially. The Kabaka and the Baganda were basically going to be equalled to the rest of Baganda, while they had maintained their pride and superiority not only in pre-colonial times but even in the colonial period. Their objection to the apparent loss is understandable but to the rest of Uganda, the British and the world, theirs was an outmoded institution which had to go. The Baganda were firm and the Lukiiko insisted on their mode of independence. The Kabaka and the Katikiiro or his prime minister went to London to press their case. The latter part of 1960, especially the month of December, saw numerous meetings, motions and suggestions by the Kabaka, Lukiiko, and even setting dates for either their independence or secession if the British did not agree with the Buganda view. On December 29th, 1960, the Lukiiko passed a motion of secession and consequent declaration of independence - and actually declared independence on 31/12/60! It was vetoed by the Governor who banned all meetings (which would have been for celebrations) and further work on the issue. He declared that he was going

to crush Buganda if his order was violated and, to show that he meant business, stationed troops from Kenya by the Kenya/Uganda border! Buganda's army could not dare attack the British and so the issue cooled down gradually.

When the early 1961 elections were announced, Buganda boycotted them, but they were conducted all the same for the British were determined to have their way. These gave the Democratic Party (D.P.) of B. Kiwanuka a very clear lead against Obote's UPC. Kiwanuka, as per the normal British constitutional procedure, led the government that formed waiting for the more decisive elections of 1962. The shrewd Obote capitalised on the Buganda/British deadlock and used his normal political manoeuvring devices. He wooed the Kabaka Yekka (KY) or 'Kabaka Alone' Party to ally with his UPC and since he would win, he assured them that he would safeguard Buganda's position in the constitution. He knew that he did not mean what he said. He simply wanted a ladder to climb to power and then do as he felt fit afterwards. As Metrowich says,

"Apparently, his (Obote's) strategy was to promise them anything and everything to ensure their support - once he was firmly on the saddle in an independent Uganda, he could dispense with their support and cut them down." 48

Buganda had come to realise that the British were now a different power, not the one from which they had got their way in the past by dictating their terms. Consequently they allied with Obote. This cleared the way for constitutional final talks with MacLeod which was consequently done. The "result was a Federal Constitution in which "Buganda had the most favourable terms possible, short of sovereign autonomy, that it

could have"⁴⁹ because it got many concessions such as being allowed 21 out of the 82 seats and not even going to elections by using the electoral college principle. The KY and UPC won with a clear margin in the April 1962 elections. Kiwanuka had to go, Obote became the Prime Minister - with executive powers! The Kabaka became the 'President'. During the opening of the first Assembly, the Governor - Walter Coutts - declared,

"The government has firmly decided that a republic is unsuitable for Uganda. In coming to this decision, the government took into consideration Uganda's strong belief in its well-established monarchies and the traditional respect for hereditary Chieftainships existing in all parts of the country."⁵⁰

The 'government' here refers to Obote's government. It is important to mention here that the other monarchies which are perhaps grouped together with the 'Chieftainships' above, like Toro, Bunyoro and Nkole, were also given some concessions to preserve their old "traditional and distinctive institutions" but definitely much few and less important compared to Buganda's. At the end of 1962, the fears that had been expressed by many looked unnecessarily pessimistic because Obote was steering his Noah's arc steadily and towards a better Uganda. Consequently, by August, after taking over in May, Africa Report could outline Obote's main trend. He had declared that he was going to tolerate only 'constructive' opposition, declared to wage and win "a massive revolt against poverty, ignorance, and disease" and was to follow an economic policy wherein private enterprises, cooperative movements, parastatal bodies and the state would operate. He had said that Uganda was not going to be an 'ideological battlefield' and was not at the time concerned with any other policy except to develop Uganda. Small wonder then, the report

concluded,

"The manner in which Mr. Obote has handled the difficult transition period ... has won respect and raised the hopes of civil servants (both expatriate and local)."

Obote was also Africanizing jobs in Uganda at the time but doing it so well that he was awarded a credit.⁵¹

The above was the 'calm before the storm' for soon, Obote was talking of a 'One Party State' in his home area, Lango. KY reorganised itself in a more political system and became so vocal in challenging the UPC that they gave the government a difficult time. The 1964 Army Mutiny which could only be controlled by the intervention of a British army shook him and made him more unpopular when he dismissed the mutineers.⁵² Obote entertained the re-opening of the old question of the "Lost Counties". Kabaka knowing that he would lose ignored the issue. But Obote went on preparing the referendum document. When it was brought to the Parliament for debate, the KY walked out but it was effected. Obote also had a border problem with the Sudan.

Friction between Obote and the Kabaka mounted resulting from many issues a few of which are given below. A Cabinet crisis arose strongly dividing members into the "Bantu" faction led by Grace Ibingira and the "Nilotic" of Obote. There were regional loyalties already known as "Pro-East" and "Pro-west", other groupings were "Northerners" who were pro-Obote or supposed to be who were Anti-Baganda and there was the opponent Anti-Northerners sentiment. Government and army personnel tended to be dominated by the 'Northerners'. Equally important, or more important was the religious sentiment, which was as old as colonialism of Christian

factions around Buganda opposing the Moslem North. Somehow these numerous divisions and an allegation of corruption derived from the rebellious Congo in which Obote was supposed to have had a share put Uganda in a very unhealthy political state. He therefore had the "Bantu" ministerial group detained. Tensions rose.

On 23 May, 1965, the prolonged test of strength could not be suppressed any longer. Rural chiefs and their subjects revolted to drive the central government out and protect the ancient powers and sovereignty of the Kabaka which Obote so far had practically eroded greatly. After a day of rioting, Obote's army invaded, and gunned their way into the Kabaka's palace. Kabaka and his Katikiiro had escaped capture! The revolt then was suppressed firmly. On 15th April 1966, Obote suspended or abolished the Federal constitution and drew a new constitution which abolished, for all practical purposes all that pertained to the traditional states. He made himself the president with executive powers. The post of the Vice President and those held by officers close to the Kabaka were also abolished. It was implemented despite the walk out of most of the KY and the DP members. As he did this, the military and the air force were within vicinity to endorse the new government. The executive president also had detention powers - at least he used them against any opposition from individuals and groups with full confidence. Uganda submitted to this especially because Colonel Idi Amin, from the North, was promoted to Brigadier to command when the Iteso brigadier who had connections with Buganda was retired.

With the above state of affairs, Obote tried to develop Uganda to what he fancied with all his energies. But the more he tried the less popular he became to the Uganda nation but being, perhaps, power drunk,

he continued until the man of his own making, Idi Amin, hatched a coup d'etat that overthrew the President who was out of the country. Amin accused Obote of many evils - true and untrue. But all being equal, one thing Amin inherited from Obote of great importance to the Ugandans of the third world is a 'Uganda' state as opposed to the strange, ill-balanced federal system of the UPC/KY period that bottle-necked developmental issues. Amin released the many Obote prisoners and detainees and was acclaimed "hero", "saviour", and "great warrior" showing that he was welcome and that Obote was at that time admittedly unpopular. But Amin lost the chance for making Uganda better than Obote had tried to do. Amin's Uganda needs no description, the whole world knows - at least for being a butchery of its citizens and foreigners under a dictator whom most opinion equated to Hitler, while some credited him more than Hitler under the circumstances. Both are still alive and Uganda's heroes or nationalists and we can pass our judgements on them, comparing them with their contemporaries.

JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA

Kenyatta's life history is long, dramatic, complicated and in places, incomprehensible. For the purpose of this paper, it will suffice to extract only the cardinal landmarks of his life.

Kenyatta's birth and the circumstances which surrounded it are unknown.⁵³ Family problems denied him mother/father love at his early age. So he developed some rather reserved independence. Being extremely

poor, missionaries of the Church of Scotland, Thogoto, took him as a boarder in their school and reared him and educated him to attain the 'mission boy' status. Kenyatta moved into Nairobi and was employed as a junior clerk and then water meter reader clerk - respected prestige jobs in those days. He associated himself with a welfare organization called Kikuyu Central Association or KCA for which he became secretary. This association sent him as their envoy to London to press for Kikuyu grievances especially over land.

This trip gave Kenyatta a chance of visiting many places in Europe. Russia is the more remembered of all those places he visited. He overstayed and did what he had not been authorised to do independently but he reconciled with his party. He studied European reactions over female circumcision row of 1929 since he was in London at the time the trouble came. In 1931, Kenyatta went back to London and stayed for a very long time, this time studying and graduating. But what other activities he did, nobody is sure, even his great friends in Europe at the time since he seemed to be using his childhood principle of self-reliance and keeping to himself. What is said is he visited nearly all parts of Europe and went back to Moscow again and doing some studies there as he confessed during the Kapenguria Trial.⁵⁴ It is said that sometimes he lived like a king - when he could afford, at times he would be a farmer, a family man and even a starving beggar!

He came back to Kenya finally in 1946 to find the country full of petty and dignified nationalists. Some were members of mushrooms of welfare associations, others were members of small trade unions, others belonged to the Kenya National Union or KAU.⁵⁵ While Mathu led the Africans as their representative in the Legislative Council or Legco but

still cooperating greatly with the elite membership of KAU like James Gichuru. There were many of the welfare associations outside Nairobi in places like Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Kakamega and Nyeri. Kenya was active politically at the local levels. What was required was a nucleus on which they could rally. To many, Kenyatta looked the answer. His personality was the first assurance. A journalist described him as,

"A big, paunchy man, bearded, with slightly bloodshot eyes, a theatrically-monstrous ebony elephant headed walking stick, a gold-rimmed carnelian signet ring about the size of a napkin ring, an out-size gold wrist watch fastened to his hefty arm with a gold strap, dressed in European tweed jacket ... He struck me as being a born actor, an evident leader and, perhaps just because of this, a man born for trouble."⁵⁶

Kenyatta was elected KAU president on June 1, 1947. After this, from the discussion of this election, Mathu told the Legco of African's demand for independence, for the first time. Just because it looked too heretic, the Legco ignored it. The Kikuyu newspapers, which were many edited by young militant trade unionists and nationalists like Kukai and Kaggia, portrayed Kenyatta as, and called him, 'hero of our race', 'saviour' and 'Great Elder'. Others termed him 'Our Moses' who came to redeem them from bondage like the children of Israel. The administration was uneasy secretly for they distrusted his activities in Europe and especially communist Russia. What was he doing there? Might he be planning a revolution? The settlers had already made up their minds - this man was going to undo them unless something is done!

Kenyatta was pre-occupied with problems of unification of the Kikuyu society first, then the other many African tribes of Kenya before coming

to the minority races composed of Indians, Arabs and the notorious whites under the vocal settlers.⁵⁷ The above pre-occupation and the racial discrimination in Nairobi forced him to settle outside Nairobi in Kiambu among his home Kikuyu to cultivate acceptance of his leadership and study the situation in close quarters. In Kiambu, he helped to organise the Kikuyu owned Karinga and Kikuyu Independent Schools commonly known as KISA which had been formed after the 1929 controversy in protest of mission schools. As can be expected these schools gave rather militant education and in 1952 formed strong nuclei of Mau Mau, thereby being closed by the government. To create more teachers, Kenyatta completed and enlarged Mbiyu Koinange's Githunguri Teacher's College and ran it as the principal - thereby earning the title of a teacher! The college's teaching, like KISA schools was militant - all in preparation for the future.

Kenyatta was still in the mild politics of KAU. Then came the "Forty Group"⁵⁸ which became the actual dictator of the speedy, stormy politics from then on overcoming and overtaking both Kenyatta and the British Colonialists. The forty group was composed of men of Fred Kubai, B. Kaggia, Achieng Oneko and Paul Ngei type,⁵⁹ who meanwhile concentrated in the organisation of trade unions. KAU elected Kenyatta president in 1947. Very secret but friendly oathing for unity began in Nairobi and Kiambu areas.⁶⁰ In 1950 the government got reports about oathing and these reports and counter reports had to continue even during the Emergency era.

In retaliation, the settlers set up their 'Kenya Plan' in which they were going to make a settler dominion stretching from Uganda through Kenya, Tanganyika, Central Africa to the Cape! In June, 1950, they declared,

"Any attempt to hand over power to an immature race must be resisted. To the Africans we offer sympathetic tutelage which will lead them to full participation in the government of the country. But we have made our position clear. We are here to stay and the other races must accept that premiss with all it implies." 61

The settlers held a very hostile attitude to Kenyatta. The D.C. Kiambu was in the settlers' pockets and would also report that "Jomo is ... the most accomplished agitator of them all" in his 1947 report. The D.C. accused Kenyatta of collecting funds under the guise of Githunguri College for sinister activities. The 'Kenya Plan' brought about a strong protest, not from Africans alone but Indians also. A joint meeting of KAU and the East African Indian National Congress under its president, the fiery Makhan Singh with E. Mathu chairing opposed the 'Kenya plan' and Kenyatta spoke out openly that he completely opposed the plan and called for independence for all East African countries. Though he liked to cooperate, he said he would not join the "cooperation of the cat and the mouse". From then on, matters took a crazy speed which was in the hands of the 'Forty Group' and Kenyatta found himself often unable to control or thrown into confusion by a violent, unexpected political hurricane. Trade unions' successful strikes like the one that followed the above meeting, arrest and imprisoning or detaining of leaders like Singh and Kubai. The taking over of KAU, Nairobi branch official posts and the overthrow of the former, allegedly moderate leaders in 1951 and the call for "Independence in three years" by the 'Forty Group' officers - not Kenyatta - attempted assassinations of Mbotela and Muchohi for non-cooperation and the like ... Kenyatta, under the 'Forty Group's' grip had to change or adjust and so was reported of saying that the tree of

liberty would be 'watered with blood' at Thika in 1951. He dispatched a delegation to London and Paris at the end of 1951 to present Kenyan's demands; if this failed, "action" was to be taken.⁶² Kenyatta had already made 'the Kenya flag' in October which was used by KAU henceforth.

True to the ultimatum, action began in early 1952 since the London/Paris delegation returned with no success. Kenyatta toured the whole of Kikuyuland addressing mammoth rallies, the largest being of over 50,000 in Nyeri on July 26, 1952 where he talked of the Kikuyu's God given land which other races had stolen and called the Kikuyu 'mau mau', "We do not know this thing mau mau."⁶³ He emphasised the avowed intent of KAU, getting back the Kikuyu's gift from God and all those with ears were supposed to hear be they 'black, white or brown'. Terror had been a daily routine especially in Nairobi, police reinforcement and other security measures were in process.⁶⁴ The government called on Kenyatta to denounce Mau Mau, he cooperated and would be taken to large gatherings in Kiambu and Naivasha. He would 'denounce' mau mau. But this only gave him a better platform to voice KAU's avowed intent - he never voiced any of Mau Mau. Even though, the 'Forty Group' KAU organisers in Nairobi disapproved of the denunciation as going too far and stopped Kenyatta from the dichotomy. The KAU 'Forty Group' had already established manned forest bases whose pioneers Kenyatta would give strong encouragements and inspiration telling them to take his example from 1929 when he went to fight the British at home and is still fighting. He told Itote,

"I shall go to prison, and perhaps I shall die. But, if I die, remember that I shall never change; even then, my blood and my heart will remain with my people."⁶⁵

The historian he was, Kenyatta would relate to his mau mau 'generals' what other nationalists of West Indies did pointing out the bravery, the suffering and the outright goal - which was freedom; and showing them that if they had fought for the British and could have died and never be remembered, then it was more noble to fight even harder for their country where their deeds would outlive them whether they died fighting or naturally. His was a real motivating and inspiring role, which won even his opponents.

The assassination of the strongly pro-government Chief Waruhiu, on 7th October, 1952, forced the Governor to act on the clamoured call of the settlers - declaration of a State of Emergency. The processing of this was rushed at a deafening speed and the declaration was done on 20th October, 1952, midnight. Then "Operation Jock Scott" took immediate effect and all the mau mau organisers, especially the "Forty Group" in KAU and Kenyatta were rounded up overnight and detained in the wild northern Kenya area, pending the notorious Kapenguria Trial already mentioned and the subsequent imprisonment at Lokitaung, a difficult outpost of the government in Turkana land, by Lake Turkana (the then Rudolf). Kenyatta was convicted of managing Mau Mau while his colleagues were convicted for assisting. They were to serve for seven years, with hard labour.⁶⁶ Before arrest the mau mau organisers of the 'Forty Group' had done enough to set the movement in motion and left instruction on what steps to be taken after their arrest. Secret as the Emergency declaration and Operation Jock Scott were, the 'Forty Group' knew over three days in advance and 'put their house in order' waiting the arrest hour. Consequently the struggle went on unperturbed by the arrests; actually it became more violent as per instructions left and things went from bad to worse in

Nairobi and rural Kikuyu, Embu, Meru areas.

Open war was now publicly declared by the mau mau against the government. The colonial security officer decided to get rid of the Kikuyu problem from Nairobi once and for all. Order was given and all the thousands of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru were surrounded, arrested and detained without trial in numerous detention camps spread all over the country's wild, remote or difficult parts like Manyani, Marsabit, Hola and Kathigiriri.⁶⁷ Those in the rural areas were forced out of their generations old permanent homes into what were termed 'protective villages' but were actually more or less 'concentration camps' like those of the Nazis.⁶⁸ Some Kikuyu, Embu and Meru men 'volunteered' as asked by the government to serve as 'Home Guards' who were later termed 'loyalists'. The greatest impacts of the move were sufferings untold and a strong drive to the forest of those who would neither become Home Guards, tolerate the sufferings or felt they had to drive out the colonial government.

Emergency regulations remained in force until 1958 when they were lifted after beginning the repatriation of the detained men. Kenyatta was kept in Lokitaung, then moved to Lodwar and Maralal, all very remote places to have the surrounding and conditions hammer some sense out of him and cooperate with the 'settler government' - as Kenya Government was commonly believed to be.

KANU and KADU were formed in May, 1960 after the Kenyan delegation left Ian MacLeod's Manchester Conference on a Kenyan Constitution which was to guide Kenya to Independence. The British government had had enough trouble in Kenya, especially the international shame of the 1959, Hola hardcore's detention camp atrocities by the government prison officers. MacMillan's government had decided to grant Kenya's independence

as soon as possible. This was a turning point for Kenyatta's tortured life. KANU elected him president in absentia. Inevitably, the jail terms had to be abandoned. He was released in 1961 with a "P.G." status and took over the presidency of KANU, 1962, he served in a coalition government as a Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning. KANU won the elections of 1963 with credits going to Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga, the radical hero politicians, rallying the populous western Kenya to KANU. With usual machinery and process of British colonial government of granting independence satisfied, the Union Jack was replaced with the Kenya National Flag at midnight on December 12, 1963 in a glamorous ceremony held in Nairobi and the national rallying cry "Harambee!" made in independent Kenya.⁶⁹

Like all the other nationalists, Kenyatta was now faced with the building of his "Harambee" nation. Ironically, the mau mau had brought in the spirit of 'Kenyanism' or a solid nation as opposed to the numerous tribes of pre-mau mau days that worried Kenyatta. This was demonstrated by the membership of KANU and KADU at independence. Each contained a cross section of the country for all practical purposes in membership. What remained is to put this spirit at work. The gaps of difference narrowed through the years though episodes arose at times which would have widened them. But Kenyatta knew how to settle the disputes to his credit and that of national unity. At his death in 1978, Kenya was reasonably a united nation. The independence removed the problem of the minority races - Europeans and Asians. These are treated, not as demi-gods which they were, but as normal human beings and accepted this at independence without resistance.

Kenya's economy simply continued the colonial pattern of capitalism

with Africans taking part on equal basis with the minority races. The trend that Kenyatta initiated was for more African participation and less foreigners. Kenya's hope is for the day the foreigners will be completely ousted by Africans' capital. The economic base has greatly widened to accommodate Africans who are today the sole growers of agricultural crops with very few Europeans who are still growing coffee and some wheat. Industry has been geared towards African's ability and accommodation with great success.

Kenyatta's main storms came from politics. Most of these were internal with only the Amin's (the coup president of Uganda) aggression in his claim of Kenyan land to as far as Naiyasha - 54 miles from Nairobi towards Nakuru, to the north west - in 1976. However, the matter came to an anti-climax when Amin dropped his claim. The more challenging political crisis was the 1968 border problem with the Somali Republic which resulted in the Kenyan Somali attempting a secession - like Tshombe's Katanga of 1960 - from Kenya to join their kinsmen in the Moslem Republic of Somali. The famous 'Shifta' War, however, resulted in Kenyatta's success and today, the Somali are a loyal section of Kenya. Internal party politics kept Kenyatta busy at the beginning of his rule. These were both positive and negative. Positivity was shown by KADU, the official opposition party merging with KANU at Kenyatta's advice. Then Kenya became a one party democracy - criticised but worked. Negativity was shown by the then vice-president, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga who resigned to form an opposition party when he could not agree with the president. Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) was formed and accepted by the government. Unfortunately, it appeared to be seeking a 'utopia' in a young nation and was banned, with its main officials being detained. Ironically, apart from the brave

Oginga who did much towards the release of Kenyatta, Oneko, Kenyatta's jailmate and an old veteran politician was among the detainees! On release later, they were banned from parliamentary politics.⁷⁰ Kenyatta's most trying periods in politics came after the political assassination of the famous veteran nationalist Tom Mboya in 1969 and of the equally reknown and popular J.M. Kariuki - commonly known as the 'J.M.' or 'the mau mau detainee' in 1977. At both these times, Kenya almost fell into a civil war, but credit goes to the grand old man, his wisdom always prevailed to the masses; consequently, he steered the state ship safely out of the troubled waters. From the time KPU was banned and its members detained, Kenyatta tended to use the "P.D.A." weapon which we have already encountered elsewhere in this paper to detain these vocal critics, who even when warned would criticise 'destructively' but it was used cautiously.⁷¹

In view of the above, it is difficult not to agree with the last governor of Kenya who pulled down the Union Jack as Kenyatta hoisted the Kenyan National Flag that,

"Without his strong, wise, unifying leadership they (Kenyans) might easily have fallen apart in fratricidal, inter-tribal, inter-racial or inter-class bickerings with disastrous results for the nation."⁷² The same officer concluded,

"I shall only say here that Tomo Kenyatta's vision, unshakeable steadfastness, indomitable courage, ripe wisdom and compassionate humanity, combined with his magnetic popular appeal, make him one of the supreme statesmen of our time."⁷³

When he died on 22/3/78, the "Hambee" nation mourned the cruel death of their leader who was now referred to simply as "Mzee", the state funeral

that followed showed that the Kenyans were not alone, nearly the whole world was in sympathy. Later the new president told the Kenyans and the world that he would follow 'Mzee's nyayo' showing that Kenyan's appreciated the heritage 'Mzee' bequeathed.⁷⁴

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing it is clear that this generation of African nationalists is composed of men of very humble parentage who are to large extents men of their own making. None of them has an admirable background. They all struggled in their own and peculiar ways to get educated, to understand the colonial ways and masters, to capitalise on the grievances of the masses and finally fought their countries' ways to independence. The methods used seem to have been different to large extents. Each being dictated and shaped by the character of the nationalist which in turn had been influenced or was influenced by the geographical environment, type of colonialism that was practised and response of the masses. The nationalists danced to the rythms called by the above factors. However, they all had one common motive, to fight foreign domination and set their countries as free sovereign nations. This was achieved whether one fought direct colonialism, federation type of colonialism, protectorate or 'the Indirect' type of domination or Trusteeship mode of colonialism.

The crucial issue, however, is the achievement after the granting of independence. This was the test of statesmanship for the nationalists. Some showed superb skills for steering their state ships in the troubled waters of the third world underdevelopment and neocolonialism while others

proved failures immediately after independence - showing that a nationalist is not necessarily a statesman and the vice versa. Others were destroyed by foreign forces or their own ambitions, perhaps by being power drunk, and so unable to control themselves and the subsequent destiny! For them, we might have, or might not have, sympathies. But the general trend looks that each harvested or is harvesting what he planted at independence.

But there must have arisen one puzzling question from the above. Most of the nationalists became jail birds, some time or rather to become "P.G.s". Surely they hated jail or detention. They were great critics of the colonialist who used suppressive methods. Yet many of our above nationalists used the 'P.D.A.' and similar methods to jail against their subjects or even those who brought them into power - take for instance Banda and Chipembere; Kenyatta and Oginga - what caused such sudden changes of heart? Ambitions, being ungrateful (from either side) or genuine misconduct? Have these nationalists been adjusting to the new environments? Some have, and are the successful ones, a few are still stuck where they started after independence when they were heroes of the fighting. Have they not ended the wars and gone into 'reconstruction' where different tactics should be applied?

The challenge of nation building was, and still is, what the hero could do after independence which would be bequeathed to his nation at his departure. Some have already departed and their former nations are today under the second or perhaps third set of nationalists; the majority we have discussed are still in power. It is difficult to say what legacy they will leave behind, though we can postulate. But theirs were brave and heroic days earning the fame:

"Africa is a continent of contrast,
conflict, challenge and change. This is
what is so immensely fascinating ...
The greatest challenge of Africa arises
from the new force of African nationalism ..." ⁷⁵

and the challenge must be adequately overcome. How? Can we use the
example of the first generation of African nationalists?

FOOTNOTES

¹ Pan-Africanism was conceived by a west Indian barrister, Mr. Henry Sylvester-Williams of Trinidad as an organ for protest against white colonialism on the black people. Its first meeting was in London in 1900. He hoped to develop it but died before. In 1919, Pan-Africanism had its second meeting organised by the dynamic Negro Rights Champion, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois under whom it grew from strength to strength after that. See G. Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism? (New York: Roy Publishers, 1956), p. 21. My italics.

² G. Padmore, *Ibid.*, p. 170.

³ The writer terms them "the first generation of African Nationalists", not because they were the first to display nationalism in their countries but because they were able to organise and rally their countries behind them to fight as more or less united units which won freedom; then, looked at as heroes, the masses supported them to lead the first sets of independent governments. Some lost favour later and were overthrown, others died naturally and some are still in power.

⁴ With all the problems he encountered, Nkrumah was awarded a B.A. in Theology, M.A. in Philosophy and a M.Sc. in Education; Robin McKown, Nkrumah: a Biography, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1973), p. 32. It appears as if he got no academic qualification in England. He gained 'political education'.

⁵ Reprint in Africa Today, IV, No. 2, 1957, p. 4., Italics, mine.

⁶ Quoted in Robin McKown, Nkrumah, *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁷ Quoted in Erica Powell, Kwame Nkrumah of the New Africa (Nelson, 1961), p. 39.

⁸ Erica Powell, Kwame Nkrumah, *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁹ Erica Powell, Kwame Nkrumah, *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰ Quoted in Robin McKown, Nkrumah, *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹¹ The Daily Telegraph termed the deportees 'foreign investors', hence, their deportation was suicidal to Ghana's economy. Nkrumah was therefore governing Ghana in an "arbitrary and oppressive way" and Ghana had become "a corrupt, cruel and vulgar tyranny." Nkrumah was warned not to expect any British aid, he could "do his own dirty work".

¹²From a publication by the Coup Revolutionary Ghanaian Government of Lt. General J.A. Ankrah published in Accra after the overthrow of Nkrumah dated 12/3/1966 and entitled, "The Rebirth of Ghana: The End of Tyranny", p. i-ii.

¹³After the coups and counter coups with the accompanying political upheavals, the Ghanians seem to be having "afterthoughts" in favour of Nkrumah. Consequently they are completing some of the projects he left incomplete and the 1st Army regime ignored such as the 'Conference Hall Building' which was supposed to have a revolving restaurant and the 2nd main harbour. The dishonoured statue might be re-elected. People are understanding the importance and inevitability of the projects today. I am indebted to Mr. Cyril Kofie Daddieh, a Ghanaian national for the 'reconstruction' and 'afterthoughts' information contained herein., personal communication.

¹⁴Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, (London: Heineman, 1963), p. 174.

¹⁵Azikiwe has also survived the turbulence of Nigerian political period of the civil war and military era. Consequently he contested in the 1979 National Elections, becoming No. 3., (Information from Dr. John Orkar). For the development of Azikiwe as a nationalist, the nature of his nationalism, political manoeuvres and his steering of Nigeria to freedom. See Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, (London: Faber & Faber), 1978 Edition of his book first published in 1962.

¹⁶For English version of the Manifesto and Counter Manifesto, See Alan P. Merriam, Congo: Background to Conflict, (North Western University Press, 1961). They appear as Appendix I and II respectively between page 321 and 336.

¹⁷Alan P. Merriam, Congo, Ibid., pp. 223-224.

¹⁸Fighting intensified because the government made the mistake of stationing soldiers in areas where these were foreigners. The soldiers were taken as rulers and 'foreigners' and the residents would not accept 'foreign domination!' The whole thing became a confusion.

¹⁹The Mushroomed parties were uncountable. A few of them are "Mouvement de libération Nationale" or MLN, MNC (of Kalonji, different from that of Lumumba), MPNC, MRPC, MUB, LUKA, COAKA, CONAKAT, PP, PNP, etc.

²⁰Represented were 14 political parties, six provincial traditional Chiefdoms and three parliamentary parties. The conference was convened in January 1960.

²¹ René LeMarchand, "Patrice Lumumba" in W.A.E. Skurnik, (ed.), African Political Thought. Lumumba, Nkrumah, and Toure., (University of Denver, 1968).

²² "Federation in Central Africa", May 1, 1949, signed by H.K. Banda and H.M. Nkumbula is one of the memorandum which was circulated and is very strongly worded in opposition to the proposed federation.

²³ P. Short, Banda, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 92.

²⁴ Quoted in P. Short, Banda, Ibid., p. 106. This was on the Christmas eve of 1958.

²⁵ P. Short, Banda, Ibid., p. 104.

²⁶ P. Short, Banda, Ibid., p. 221. During this crisis, Banda received resignations of six ministers, many who were his great friends who invited him from Ghana, organised his campaigns, campaigned for him and were imprisoned together. It is evident here, the prime minister should have exercised some patience and art of compromise. Those six went on self-exile and either died there or are still regarded as threats.

²⁷ Banda, on his policy stated, "I have to do what I think is in the best interests of my people, the people of this country ... Not what some theoretical white headed professor in a college says ... I must not go by what people say either in America, Britain, Russia or anywhere." Quoted in P. Short, Banda, Ibid., p. 175.

²⁸ Kaunda was born in 1924, the Northern Rhodesian leading Native Welfare Association was formed in the same year, 1924. 1937 saw the birth of the 1st African Congress.

²⁹ The literature consisted of copies of Africa and The Colonial World, sent to the Congress officials in Lusaka by a British Labour M.P.

³⁰ The other four 'angry young men' were, S. Kapwepwe, and Sikalumbi and Kamanga. They met at Broken Hill.

³¹ Quoted in Richard Hall, Kaunda: Founder of Zambia, (Langmans, 1965), p. 28.

³² Quoted in Richard Hall, Kaunda, Ibid., p. 29.

³³ Extract from a speech made in 1964 quoted in R. Hall, Kaunda, Ibid., p. 82.

³⁴ Kenneth Kaunda, A Humanist in Africa: Letters to Colin M. Morris, (Longmans, 1966), p. 75.

³⁵ Kenneth Kaunda, A Humanist in Africa, Ibid., p. 62.

³⁶ The aid is not only 'arms and ammunition' could be technical especially in the fields of agriculture, training of future administrators, etc. The part he plays in the Southern Rhodesia Liberation war and that he played in the Lusaka Commonwealth Members Conference to press the British government on the same are memorable.

³⁷ Today's mainland Tanzania was called Tanganyika until April 26th, 1964 when Tanganyika united with Zanzibar after the latter's successful revolution from the over century's domination by the Arab regime of Muscat whose first effectively occupier as a ruler was Seyyid Said.

³⁸ Stephens, H.W., The Political Transformation of Tanganyika, 1920-1967, (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 119.

³⁹ Stephens, The Political Transformation of Tanganyika, Ibid., p. 138. The italics are mine.

⁴⁰ Extract from Nyerere's verbatim speech of 1955 in Nyerere, J.K., Freedom and Unity: Uhuru na Umoja: A selection from Writings and Speeches, 1952-65., (London: OUP, 1967), p. 37.

⁴¹ Nyerere, J.K., Freedom and Unity, Ibid., speech of 1956, p. 43.

⁴² Nyerere, J.K., Freedom and Unity, Ibid., Speech of 1957, p. 47.

⁴³ Tanganyika's Governor nominated Nyerere in the earlier half of 1957 to the Legislative Council. Nyerere accepted in good faith and resigned barely six months later when he realised that it was mere political manoeuvring he would not tolerate being used as a rubber stamp!

⁴⁴ Stephens, H.W., The Political Transformation of Tanganyika, Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁵ C. Leys, "Tanganyika: The Realities of Independence" in International Journal, XVIII, 3, (Autumn, 1962), p. 260.

⁴⁶ Nyerere, J.K., Freedom and Unity, Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁷ Quoted by Martin Lowenkopf, "Uganda's Prime Minister Obote" in Africa Report, May, 1962, p. 11.

⁴⁸ F.R. Metrowich, Africa in the Sixties, (Pretoria, 1970), p. 99.

⁴⁹ F.R. Metrowich, Africa in the Sixties, Ibid., p. 100.

⁵⁰ F.R. Metrowich, Africa in the Sixties, Ibid., p. 100.

⁵¹ Africa Report, October, 1962, p. 9.

⁵² It looked as if there was a wave of army unrest all over East Africa that very year for one was reported in Kenya and another in Tanzania. The mutineers were dealt with firmly in Kenya and Tanzania also.

⁵³ J. Murray-Brown, Kenyatta's biographer has devoted a full appendix trying to answer the question, "When was Kenyatta born?".

See J. Murray-Brown, Kenyatta, (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972: Fontana Collins, 1974), Appendix A, pp. 323-325. In his early youth, Kenyatta was called Kamau. He acquired 'a Christian' name 'Johnstone' when he was baptised. He also used Johnson at some stage. In later life he adopted Jomo Kenyatta.

⁵⁴ Montagu Slater, The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta, (London, 1955), see also an extract of the trial in Murray-Brown, Kenyatta, Ibid., p. 267. The trial began on 3rd. December, 1952 and did not end until 8th April, 1953. Some of the other countries visited are Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, France, Poland, Estonia, Bulgaria, Denmark, etc.

⁵⁵ KAU has a long history. After the first world war, Nairobi nationalists formed the East African Congress (Association?) for welfare purposes. Since its membership was literally East African, it lacked loyalty and died. Some of its members from Kikuyu, Embu and Meru areas formed a smaller and more powerful and better organised party - hence the formation of the KCA. KCA was banned after the 1922 Harry Thuku riots in Nairobi. Thuku himself was deported. The members of the banned KCA came together and formed the Kenya African Study Union (KASU) as a welfare association. When Kenyatta was coming from Europe, the members had just agreed to convert KASU into Kenya African Union or KAU so that they can use it for political purposes, especially to advise E. Mathu, the only African in the Legco.

⁵⁶ Negley Farson, late 1947, quoted in Murray-Brown, Kenyatta, Ibid., p. 232.

⁵⁷ Kenyatta, up to this time, was known mainly in Kikuyuland, his ethnical area and the most lively politically due to their earlier attainment of westernism, nearness to Nairobi, the centre of westernism and the direct victims of land alienation in the 'white highlands' to white settlers. Yet, the Kikuyu themselves were greatly divided since the 1929 crisis over female circumcision. The controversy had also divided the

Embu and the Meru, the Kikuyu's cousins to the East. In these places, Kenyatta was only a name, known to a few of their leaders only. Kenyatta's connection with the populous western Kenya of the Luo and Luyia was thinly marginal, just through the few western Kenya nationalists who lived in Nairobi like Oneko. With the Maasai, there was no connection and the Maasai still regarded the Kikuyu as traditional enemies. But if independence was to be won, all these groups, who had never thought of themselves as anything else but ethnic units, had not only to be united but inspired to think of themselves as 'Kenyans' - an unfathomable problem which Kenyatta could not even guess how to start tackling. He did not hope that Kenya would be independent in his life time with all the above problems. But, constitutionally, he hoped great improvements could be achieved. But, as was his youthful characteristic and was going to display as his character in the future, he let events shape his destiny and adjusted rapidly as it looked fit.

⁵⁸The 'Forty Group' was formed by the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru 'mission boys' of ex World War Two age, some of whom, like Kaggia, Itote, Mathenge among many others, were ex-British army soldiers. Popularly known as 'Tumwana Twa Fote', the 'young lads of the forties' puzzled everyone by claiming that they were born in the forties, their parents had been born in the forties, they were circumcised in the forties, married in the forties ... and die in the forties if not get independence - one of the many puzzles to come soon.

⁵⁹B. Kaggia, Roots of Freedom: An Autobiography, (Nairobi: EAPH, 1975)

⁶⁰Oathing, especially among the Central Kenya Bantu-speakers was and is accepted for a variety of traditional purposes such as bringing binding unity to groups of people, extracting truth especially in court cases, for fair justice, strengthening a point or one's stand and as a general plea of innocence. The difference between the accepted oaths and the Mau Mau oaths as these intensified themselves later were; their being administered to women and relatively young people, the swearings and overtone and general language used, the places of administration and its negatively young administrators and accompanying violence especially to those who would not cooperate.

⁶¹Quoted in J. Murray-Brown, Kenyatta, Ibid., p. 237.

⁶²The 'action' was not specified but for all practical purposes, this was an 'ultimatum' Mbiyu and Oneko, the delegates returned with no success.

⁶³J. Murray-Brown, Kenyatta, Ibid., p. 244.

⁶⁴The terror took the form of selected assassinations, the disappearing of police men usually together with their arms and ammunition, violent oath administering, burning of mission schools and destruction of European property like burning of farms or mutilating their cattle. The reserves had numerous secret cells for the use of freedom fighter or Mau Mau and by Aug. 1952, forest bases had been set up for terrorising the administration and those who could not cooperate. Oathing was concentrated in the urban areas still but had outposts in rural areas.

⁶⁵J. Murray-Brown, Kenyatta, Ibid., p. 246.

⁶⁶Kenyatta's seven years with hard labour simply catered for his managing Mau Mau, he had another charge of being a member of the Mau Mau society, which was illegal because it had been banned in 1950 by the Governor. He got an addition of three years. 'Both sentences to run concurrently'. Kenyatta, after jail period, would be restricted for a period which the magistrate did not specify. The other convicts were Fred Kubai, Achieng Oneko, Bildad Kaggia and Paul Ngei.

⁶⁷Manyani is situated in the 'Voi desert' in an area that is infested with mosquitos and all types of wild animals which would kill any escapee before he got a mile or so outside the camp. Unbearably scorching sun is the permanent typical weather and to this discomfort was added white corrugated iron sheets shelters with the iron sheets as walls and roofs. Overcrowdedness was the order in each! Marsabit is in the Northern Frontier area that was kept 'closed' for any contact and Hola is on the Tana river desert. There was no inspiration to escaping from these for the hopelessness of life and chances of survival. Kathigiriri is in Mwea Plains and the conditions were the same. Later, camps were spread out and came nearer and nearer the homelands as the war came to the end and the men's rebellious natures had been either 'crushed' or 'softened' through 'screening'. The 'die hards' remained in the notorious areas like Hola and Manyani.

⁶⁸A few areas of Meru were not 'villagized' such as those of Tigania, Igembe and Tharaka because they did not 'attract' Mau Mau.

⁶⁹The national flag was actually an improvement of the old KAU flag Kenyatta had used before his imprisonment. Of the ceremony, Murray-Brown says that although Kenya was the 34th African colony to gain independence, "nowhere was the scene played with greater poignancy than in Nairobi that December day. Kenya was the only British colony, except southern Rhodesia, with a sizeable settler population, and the only one which had staged a rebellion of sorts ... no other African had aroused such strong emotions."