

Teaching and learning notes for the teacher and student.

FORM FOUR

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

BY E. CHELOTI

2013

World War I

World War I or the **First World War** was a war fought by many countries, which is why it is called a "world" war. It started in 1914 and ended in 1918. 135 countries took part in World War I, and more than 15,000,000 people died in the war.

World War One - Causes

The First World War, which began in August 1914, was directly triggered by the assassination of the Austrian archduke, Franz Ferdinand and his wife, on 28 June 1914 by Bosnian revolutionary, Gavrilo Princip. This event was, however, simply the trigger that set off declarations of war.

The actual causes of the war were;

1) The system of Alliances

An alliance is an agreement made between two or more countries to give each other help if it is needed. A number of alliances had been signed by countries between the years 1879 and 1914. For example, the Dual Alliance signed by Germany with Austria Hungary in 1879 and later joined by Italy in 1882 to become the triple Alliance.

This system led to the division of Europe into two antagonistic power blocs. It led to fear and suspicion between nations. It transformed local disputes into a general conflict. The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy were directly opposed by the Entente powers of France and Russia and later included Great Britain to form the Triple Entente in 1907.

2) Imperialism

Imperialism is when a country takes over new lands or countries and makes them subject to their rule. By 1900, the British Empire extended over five continents and France had control of large areas of Africa. With the rise of industrialism, countries needed new markets. The amount of lands 'owned' by Britain and France increased their rivalry with Germany who had entered the scramble to acquire colonies late and only had small areas of Africa.

3) Economic rivalry.

According to Marxism, the highest form of capitalism would ultimately lead to an inevitable war through economic rivalry. In the late 19th century, all European powers had industrialized or had started. Therefore, to match the needs of economy and industry, nations sought to expand their territory through imperialism in order to gain raw materials and markets. This then led to the clash of imperial interest between nations and ultimately led to conflict and war.

4) Militarism

Militarism means that the army and military forces are given a high profile by the government. The growing European divide had led to an arms race between the main countries. The armies of both France and Germany had more than doubled between 1870 and 1914 and there was fierce competition between Britain and Germany for mastery of the seas. The British had introduced the 'Dreadnought', an effective battleship, in 1906. The Germans soon followed suit introducing their own

battleships. The German, Von Schlieffen also drew up a plan of action that involved attacking France through Belgium if Russia made an attack on Germany.

5) Nationalism

Nationalism means being a strong supporter of the rights and interests of one's country. The Congress of Vienna, held after Napoleon's exile to Elba, aimed to sort out problems in Europe. Delegates from Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia decided upon a new Europe that left both Germany and Italy as divided states. Strong nationalist elements led to the re-unification of Italy in 1861 and Germany in 1871. The settlement at the end of the Franco-Prussian war left France angry at the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany and keen to regain their lost territory. Large areas of both Austria-Hungary and Serbia were home to differing nationalist groups, all of whom wanted freedom from the states in which they lived.

6) Moroccan Crisis

In 1904 Morocco had been given to France by Britain, but the Moroccans wanted their independence. In 1905, Germany announced her support for Moroccan independence. War was narrowly avoided by a conference which allowed France to retain possession of Morocco. However, in 1911, the Germans were again protesting against French possession of Morocco. Britain supported France and Germany was persuaded to back down for part of French Congo.

SPECIAL COVERAGE

The First Moroccan Crisis

The First Moroccan Crisis clearly indicated that Germany's relation with France was at best fragile. In 1905 Morocco was one of the few African states not occupied by a European power. In May 1905 it was agreed that an international conference should be held on Morocco in Algeciras.

The Algeciras Conference of 1906

The main aim was to decide what was to be done with regards to Morocco. The two main protagonists at Algeciras were France and Germany. However, it soon became very clear to Germany that other European powers had sided with France – Britain, Spain and Italy. The Algeciras Conference ended on April 7th 1906. The Germans got very little out of the conference.

The plan to create a triple alliance or even a quadruple alliance to isolate Great Britain failed. Arguably, by the end of the conference, Britain and France had even closer ties to one another. A German presence in North Africa had also failed to materialize. The French media portrayed Germany as an inferior nation, much to the concern of the more experienced politicians in Paris. The Algeciras Conference may have 'resolved' the crisis in Morocco but the outcome clearly defined Europe into certain camps. At this conference Germany publicly lost out.

The Agadir Crisis of 1911 (the Second Moroccan Crisis.)

The Agadir Crisis occurred in 1911 just four years after the First Moroccan Crisis. Germany's attention was diverted after the 1905-06 crises by other issues, mainly building up her navy so that it rivaled the Royal Navy. As a result France spent five years having far more influence in Morocco than Germany. They backed the corrupt Sultan, Abdul Aziz, who was accused by some of his countrymen of selling out Morocco to the French. The half-brother of Aziz, Mulay Hafid, took a stand on behalf of the Moroccan people who proclaimed him Sultan in January 1908. Fez also came under attack. In April 1911 a decision was made in Germany to send troops to Fez to support the foreign contingent living there. The plan was to send German warships to Agadir and Mogador ostensibly to defend German citizens in Morocco. A gunboat, *the 'Panther'*, was sent to Agadir on July 1st 1911.

What part did the Agadir Crisis play in the outbreak of World War One?

The episode proved that Germany was hell-bent on trying to dominate Europe as a whole. Winston Churchill and David Lloyd George were among those who believed this.

7) Bosnian Crisis

In 1908, Austria-Hungary took over the former Turkish province of Bosnia. This angered Serbians who felt the province should be theirs. Serbia threatened Austria-Hungary with war. Russia, allied to Serbia, mobilized its forces. Germany, allied to Austria-Hungary mobilized its forces and prepared to threaten Russia. War was avoided when Russia backed down. There was, however, war in the Balkans between

1911 and 1912 when the Balkan states drove Turkey out of the area. The states then fought each other over which area should belong to which state. Austria-Hungary then intervened and forced Serbia to give up some of its acquisitions. Tension between Serbia and Austria-Hungary was high.

8) The Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

A secret society called *Ujedinjenje Ili Smrt*, ('Union or Death') or Black Hand was founded in Belgrade, an outgrowth of an older Serb nationalist group: *Narodna Odbrana*. When it was learned that the Heir-Apparent to the Austrian throne, Franz Ferdinand, was scheduled to visit Sarajevo in June of 1914, the Black Hand decided to assassinate him. Three young Bosnians were recruited, trained and equipped: Gavrilo Princip, Nedjelko Cabrinovic and Trifko Grabez.

The murders of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie brought Austro-Serbian tensions to a head. As Vienna took a hard line against Serbia, the other powers in Europe took sides. The wheels of war gained speed. The Crisis of July turned into world war, just over thirty days after Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie were shot.

System of Alliances.

By 1914, Europe had divided into two camps.

- 1) The **Triple Alliance** was **Germany, Italy** and **Austria-Hungary**.
- 2) The **Triple Entente** was **Britain, France** and **Russia**.

1) The Triple Alliance

The alliance between Germany and Austria was natural. Both spoke the same language - German - and had a similar culture. Austria was in political trouble in the south-east of Europe - the **Balkans**. She needed the might of Germany to back her up if trouble got worse. Italy had joined these countries as she feared their power on her northern border.

Each member of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy) promised to help the others if they were attacked by another country. By the close of the war the Central Powers had been extended to incorporate Bulgaria and Turkey

2) The Triple Entente

The Entente Powers comprised a military alliance - driven by a variety of inter-related treaties - of France, Great Britain and Russia.

The Entente alliance sprang from the military concerns of Germany's neighbours to east and west. Russia and France; accordingly in 1894 they signed an alliance based upon fears of growing German power. Britain subsequently forged alliances with both Russia and France once it became clear that Germany intended to construct a navy to match the Royal Navy in the late 1890s. Thus the Entente Alliance was not a formal alliance. The term was later replaced by the more general 'Allies' to include other nations including Italy and Japan.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR.

The war was fought in three continents; Europe, Africa and Asia and both on land and on the sea. In Europe, the war was fought in two fronts

1. **The Western Front** was where most of the fighting between Germany and the Allies happened. The war in western front was fought in Belgium and France as per the Schlieffen plan.

Count Alfred von Schlieffen, mastermind of the Schlieffen Plan, served as Germany's Chief of the Imperial General Staff from 1891 to 1905. It was Schlieffen's plan, long after he retired from army (1906) that was used for the August 1914 attack on France that was to trigger World War One.

The Schlieffen Plan entailed an attack on France (while Russia mobilised her army) followed by an attack on Russia. The plan meant that Germany could place the bulk of her military might on one frontier and then move it to another.

The basic mechanics of Von Schlieffen's plan were;

- a) A devastating attack on France via neutral Belgium as soon as Russia had announced her intention to mobilise, which would take six weeks.
- b) A holding operation on the Russian/German border to be carried out if necessary and if required.
- c) Germany was to use 6 weeks to defeat France. a massive and successful surprise attack against France would be enough to put off Britain becoming involved in a continental war
- d) Germany would then use her modernised rail system to move troops quickly from the French operation to the Russian front. Russia would then be attacked and defeated.

The Schlieffen Plan was daring but it had a number of glaring weaknesses:

- a) The actions of Russia determined when Germany would have to start her attack on France even if she was ready or not.
- b) It assumed that Russia would need six weeks to mobilise. But she mobilized faster than it was assumed.
- c) It assumed that Germany would defeat France in less than six weeks.

Early on July 31, Russia began a full mobilization of its forces in preparation for war with Austria-Hungary. On August 1, Germany declared war on Russia and German troops began moving into Luxembourg in preparation for invading Belgium and France. On August 2, Germany contacted the Belgian government requesting free passage through Belgium for its troops. This was refused by King Albert and Germany declared war on both Belgium and France on August 3.

The German Army went into Belgium on the 4 August. On the same day, Great Britain started a war on Germany, because Britain was a friend of Belgium. When the Germans got to the Belgian city of Liège, they did finally push the Belgians out of the city, but it had taken longer than the German generals had planned.

On December 24-25, 1914, there was a temporary halt to the fighting on parts of the Western Front. This was the **Christmas truce**.

The initial force behind the Christmas Truce came from the Germans. Christmas was celebrated in full, with men visiting across the lines and gifts of food and tobacco being exchanged.

As Christmas ended, both sides reluctantly returned to war, the bonds forged at Christmas slowly eroded as units rotated out and the fighting became more ferocious. By 1915, the Western Front had become a stalemate as both sides engaged in **trench warfare**. The men on both sides took spades and dug lines of trenches went all the way from Switzerland to the North Sea, because they did not want to be killed. In front of the trenches, there was barbed wire that cut anyone who tried to climb over it, and mines that blew up anyone who tried to run across the "no man's land" that was in between the trenches. Gas was also an important weapon used.

The war in the west was static in the next three years and attempts by the military commanders on both sides to break the stalemate led to deaths of many soldiers. At the battle of the Somme in 1916 60,000 British men died in a single day. It was one of the bloodiest days in the history of the British army.

Seeking to shatter the Anglo-French lines, the German Chief of Staff, Erich von Falkenhayn, began planning a massive assault on the French city of Verdun. The Battle of Verdun lasted from February 21, 1916 until December 18, 1916 and was one of the longest and bloodiest battles of World War I. A brutal battle of attrition, Verdun cost the French an estimated 161,000 dead, 101,000 missing and 216,000 wounded. German losses were approximately 142,000 killed and 187,000 wounded.

2. **The Eastern Front** was fought in Central and Eastern Europe and was one of the main places where World War I took place. The start of the war on the eastern front involved an attack on Russia on 1st of August 1914. On August 6, Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia and six days later entered into hostilities with France and Britain. The Russians were decisively defeated by allied forces of Austria and Germany at the battle of Tanneberg in August 1914 and at the battle of Missourian Lakes in September 1914.

War in the seas

Some of the fiercest battles between the Allies and the central powers took place in the sea.

By May 1916, Germany's main fleet was stationed in the North Sea to attack Britain's fleet. However, the British intelligence decoded the German wireless code and was able to prepare the royal navy to fully counter Germany's challenge. Both sides suffered casualties in the war that followed. 11 German ships and 14 British ships were lost.

Importance of Britain's supremacy at sea

- a) The British naval forces assisted in blocking the central powers particularly the Germans from accessing food and raw materials from other parts of the world. This derailed their war plans.
- b) Her naval supremacy enabled the allies to capture colonies of the central powers.
- c) The sea blockade enabled the allies to maintain uninterrupted communication with other allied forces, as well as safeguard the British food and raw material supplies from other parts of the world.

The final phase of World War 1

The final phase of the war was a second Germany onslaught on France in 1918 where the Germans were decisively defeated in the hands of USA soldiers.

End of World War I.

Two events that led to the end of World War I were:

- 1) Russia's withdrawal from the war after the Great Russian revolution.
- 2) The declaration of war by the United States of America against the central powers.

The First Russian Revolution

In 1917, there was a revolution in Russia. The Russian people didn't want to fight anymore, because the war had been putting burdens on them, and many of them were poor and hungry.

The Second Russian Revolution

Two factions fought to rule over Russia. The passive Mensheviks lost against radical Bolsheviks. The leader of the Bolsheviks was Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) which was Communist who followed the ideas of Karl Marx. The new government sued the Germans for peace, and signed a peace treaty called Brest-Litvsk with the Central Powers in March 1918 at the city of Brest Litovsk.

The Germans and Russians stopped fighting. This gave Germany lots of land in Eastern Europe and the Baltic Sea

USA entry into the war.

The German generals using submarines named U-boats (underwater boats) attacked American ships (**Lusitania**) that were carrying food and weapons to Great Britain. Some Americans were killed by the submarines.

Germany also wrote a secret telegram note to Mexico suggesting that the two countries work together to attack the United States (the Zimmerman Telegram- because the person who sent it was named Arthur Zimmerman-the german foreign minister).

Other reasons why USA entered the war on the side of the Allies were;

- a) America was concerned with safeguarding her trade with Britain. (US- Anglo relationship was strong). USA was fully aware that the a defeat of Allied powers would cost her financial and industrial institutions
- b) The USA and British intelligence were able to link some Germany sympathizers with the industrial sabotage in factories and trade unions in the USA.
- c) Cruelty of the Germans led to the growth of anti-Germany feelings in the United States. Many of the Allies sympathizers had relatives in either France or Britain.

American people decided that they wanted their country to enter the war to punish Germany. On April 6, 1917 the United States declared war against Germany and became part of the Allies.

The socialist politicians declared Germany a republic and met with the Supreme Commander of the allied forces on 7th November 1918, Ferdinand Foch, to negotiate for end of the war with very stiff terms to the Germans.

The stiff terms given to the Germans included;

- a) Germany to withdraw from all occupied territories, including overseas colonies.

- b) All German forces west of the Rhine to be withdrawn.
- c) All German warships to surrender to the Allies.
- d) Occupation of some parts of Germany by the Allies.
- e) All Allied prisoners of war to be released.

The Germans were given 72 hours to either accept or reject these stiff conditions.

Protesting bitterly, they signed an armistice on 9th November 1918.

At 11:00 AM on 9th November 1918, the war ended.

Reasons why the allies won World War I.

- a) Allied powers had many supporters drawn from 25 states some of which were Britain, France, Belgium, Russia, Italy, USA, Japan and Portugal. They had more manpower than the central powers.
- b) Germany failure to effectively control her expensive colonies and others turned against her.
- c) USA entry into war on the side of the allies accelerated the defeat of the central powers. The industrial might of USA and her economic wealth helped the Allies to force the central powers to their knees.
- d) The Allies had able and focussed political leaders like Lloyd George-the British Premier and Georges Clemenceau, the French Premier.
- e) Germans/axis powers made serious technical mistakes like invasion of the neutral Belgium by Germany which turned the world opinion against the central powers.
- f) Superior naval power of the Allies. The superiority of the British Royal Navy enabled the Allies to enforce a naval Blockade that caused severe food shortages among the central powers.
- g) Germany fought the war on many fronts.
- h) Germany was badly led down by her colleagues like Italy who decamped and Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary who had to be assisted all the time. Turkey on her part easily accepted defeat.
- i) The Allies had financial and industrial resources in Europe and in their colonies which were used to great advantage during the war.
- j) The Allies had powerful weapons e.g. they used Tankers, Aircraft and Battleships.
- k) The allies were united under the Command of General Foch which disadvantaged the central powers. German also used young and inexperienced soldiers after 1918 due to heavy casualties.
- l) The central powers were surrounded by the Allies as they lay in the centre of Europe. They also lacked an extensive coastline and thus were easily blockaded.

The Peace Treaties.

In January 1918, Woodrow Wilson, President of the USA, outlined, in his speech to the congress, the 'fourteen points' that were essential in maintenance of world peace.

Among these were three great principles that formed the basis of world peace namely;

1. Self-determination of all peoples, i.e, the right of peoples all over the world to determine their own fate.
2. The need to make public all diplomatic and international agreements.
3. The need to establish a League of Nations which would provide an avenue for

discussing all international problems, protect small states from aggression by large ones.

In January 1919, statesmen from the 27 Allied powers converged at Paris, France to determine the fate of the defeated central powers. The central powers were not party to the discussions but were required to sign on the final draft. The Key personalities at the conference were;

- a) Lloyd George(PM of Britain)
- b) George Clemenceau (PM of France)
- c) Woodrow Wilson (President of USA)
- d) Vittorio Orlando (PM of Italy)

Five treaties were signed with each of the central powers separately as follows;

- a) The Treaty of Versailles with Germany (28th June 1919)
- b) Treaty of St. Germaine with Austria (10th September 1919)
- c) Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria (27th November 1919)
- d) Treaty of Trianon with Hungary (4th June 1920)
- e) Treaty of Sevres in 1920 and Lausanne in 1923 with Turkey.

The Treaty of Versailles.

It should be noted that all the above treaties were generally referred to as the Treaty of Versailles.

Terms of the Versailles Treaty of 1919.

- a) The treaty declared Germany an aggressor who was supposed to pay reparations and whose military capability was to be reduced.
- b) She lost all her colonial possessions with the African colonies being taken from her and put under supervision of the League of Nations.
- c) The treaty of St. Germaine provided for the creation of Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Malta as mandated territories.
- d) Germany was totally disarmed and only allowed to retain a force of 100,000 soldiers and her navy was disbanded. Military conscription was banned in Germany.
- e) Germany's population and size was reduced as Austria, with a large German population was allowed to remain independent. Italy acquired South Tyrol, the Italian-speaking region of Austria.
- f) Rhineland was to be permanently demilitarized. German troops were not allowed in the region.
- g)
- h) By the treaty of Versailles, Germany lost the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to France.
- i) The treaty established the League of Nations.

Failures of the treaty of Versailles.

- a) The treaty handed Germany a heavy punishment as if she was the only one to blame for World War 1. This provoked deep resentment and bitterness among the German nationals.

- b) The treaty ignored the interests of the colonial people. The former colonial possessions of Germany and Turkey were handed over to France and Britain in total disregard to the African grievances during the Versailles conference
- c) The treaty failed to cater for the interests of the minority in Europe. The new republic of Austria was forbidden from merging with Germany though a national vote was for the merger.
- d) Italy was given a raw deal in the settlement. She was only given Trieste, an Italian-speaking region formerly belonging to Austria.
- e) Though the treaty proposal for the formation of the League of Nations came from the USA president Wilson, the US constitution prohibited commitment to such an organization, whose membership required a nation to help a future victim of aggression.

RESULTS OF WORLD WAR I

- a) Nationalist movements in Asia and Africa grew in strength and number after the war and a sense of patriotism arose.
- b) USA gained an upper hand in the post war European affairs. She emerged as a leading world power.
- c) German military capability was reduced on land and sea and heavy indemnity imposed on her. She lost all her colonies, which were made mandated territories of the League of Nations.
- d) The end of the war marked the beginning of the decline of western imperialism. As early as 1920, there was a possibility of independence for colonial countries. The war encouraged imperial powers to give more freedom to their subjects.
- e) The end of the war witnessed the creation of new states e.g. Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland.
- f) Germany and Italy fell in the hands of dictators e.g. Mussolini and Hitler.
- g) The war created bitter feelings and mistrust among the countries that fought in the war. This continued until the outbreak of the Second World War.
- h) It led to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia as radicals took over government there.
- i) It led to a change of government in Britain.
- j) There was greater use of motor vehicles and aircraft, which facilitated transport.
- k) The art of surgery improved.
- l) Between 1914 and 1918, European factories were destroyed and business brought down hence heavy losses.
- m) There was massive destruction of property and infrastructure.
- n) It led to the great depression 1920 to 1921, which affected economies worldwide.
- o) It led to increased taxation by the colonial authorities to meet war and post-war demands.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Origin and organization of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations was established by the victors of the First World War in 1920 at the treaty of Versailles with the main aim of preventing the occurrence of another war.

The idea of its formation was mooted by Woodrow Wilson, the US president who was supported by Lord Robert Cecil of Britain, Jan Smuts of South Africa and Leon Bourgeois of France.

The League of Nations came into force during the first meeting in London Britain, on 10th January 1920.

Reasons for the formation of the League of Nations in 1920.

- a) It was formed for the Maintenance of world peace / It was specifically created to prevent the outbreak of another world war
- b) The League of Nations was meant to foster international cooperation in solving problems as they arise.
- c) It was formed to jointly take instant action against an agreed aggressor by economic and possibly by military means.
- d) Members were to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour as one way of maintaining peace in the world.
- e) It was formed to oversee development of territories lost to central powers during the First World War. E.g. Tanganyika, Togo, South West Africa etc.

The main organs of the League of Nations were;

The Council.

It was made up of permanent and Non-permanent members. The permanent members were France, Britain, Italy and Japan. Non permanent members were four, elected by the general assembly.

The main role of the council which sat in Geneva was to appoint committees and secretary General with the approval of the majority of the Assembly. It also dealt with disputes amongst member states, reduction of armament, execution of arbitral awards and admittance and expulsion of members.

The Assembly.

It met once a year at Geneva and was comprised of three delegates from each member state. It elected non-permanent members to the council. The functions of the Assembly included;

- a) Control of the Budget of the organization (including contributions and expenditure).
- b) Admission of new members after approval of a two-thirds majority.
- c) Appointment of non-permanent members of the League of Nations Council.
- d) Consideration of treaties.
- e) Supervision of the work of the League of Nations council.
- f) Appointment of the 15 judges of the permanent Court of International Justice.
- g) Giving approval to the appointment of Secretary-General.

The Secretariat.

The Secretariat, based in Geneva, consisted of the secretary general and his staff. It was the administrative body of the League of Nations. It kept records of the organization and conducted correspondences including treaties by member states. It implemented the

decisions of the League of Nations. It provided continuity between one meeting of the council or the assembly and the next,

The International Court of Justice.

Set up between 1920 and 1922, it comprised of eleven judges and four deputy judges elected for nine years by the assembly and the council. It was based at the Hague-Holland. Decisions made by the court were binding on all parties in dispute.

International Labour Organization.

It consisted of 4 delegates- two for member states and two for workers from each member state. Its main aim was to maintain good working conditions for men, women and children.

The Mandates Commission.

It had then responsibility of supervising the administration of the trustee colonies.

The League of Nations also had several specialized agencies.

Achievements of the League of Nations.

- a) The League of Nations, through the Permanent Court of International Justice, maintained international peace and security. E.g. in the city of Danzig in spite of the hostility between the poles and the Germans.
- b) The League of Nations achieved its objective of treating the minority with humane. The International Office for Refugees, for example, assisted refugees. Victims of the Nazi persecutions were also assisted.
- c) The league assisted in the administration of the trust territories, through the Mandates Commission. E.g. in Togo, Tanganyika Cameroon and Rwanda-urundi. In addition, the territories acquired from turkey. E.g. Iraq and Palestine.
- d) The league was able to solve several interstate disputes in a peaceful manner. E.g. the frontier dispute between turkey and Iraq over the Mosul province (1924-1926), the dispute between Poland and Germany over northern Silesia.
- e) The league successfully restored financial stability in Austria following the economic slump in the country after the World War 1.
- f) It successfully enforced control over the manufacture and sale of arms. It also held disarmament meetings.
- g) The league ensured signing of peace treaties to promote security in the world. For example, the Locarno treaties of 1925 that settled boundary disputes between Germany and France.

Failures of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations failed its Prime objective of maintaining world peace in the following ways;

- a) It failed to solve the Sino-Japanese dispute after Japan invaded Manchuria in China in 1931. Japan after refusing to abide by the League's demands that it withdraws from the Chinese territory, even pulled out of the league in 1933.
- b) The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. Benito Mussolini, rather than accept the League's verdict that he withdraws Italian troops from Ethiopia, pulled out of the League.

- c) The League failed to stop German Violation of the terms of the Versailles Treaty. She embarked on a remilitarization programme and established a navy and an airbase.
- d) Nations continued to make many defensive pacts in total disregard of the Treaty of Versailles.
- e) Germany invaded other regions such as Poland and Austria between 1936 and 1939, while Russia invaded Finland in 1939 in violation of the League of Nations.

Factors that undermined the effectiveness of the League of Nations.

- a) Member countries were not willing to take disputes to the international court of justice.
- b) German was still determined to increase its military strength and continue with its aggression policy.
- c) Individual nations were more pre-occupied with national interests and pride, at the expense of the organization's interests.
- d) The Versailles peace settlement resolutions were too harsh to Germany thus leaving the Germans aggrieved and refuse to cooperate with the League of Nations.
- e) The League of Nations lacked the executive authority to implement its resolutions.
- f) USA congress refused to ratify the treaty of the League of Nations. This denied the organization diplomatic and economic strength.
- g) There was shortage of funds to implement the functions of the League of Nations.
- h) The Appeasement Policy of Britain and France forced them to stand aside and avoid taking a firm action against Japan when she invaded china, Germany when she invaded and occupied Rhineland, and Italy when she attacked Ethiopia.

The Second World War.

The 1930's witnessed the rise of dictators in Europe like Adolf Hitler of Germany, Benito Mussolini of Italy and General Francisco Franco of Spain who intentionally defied international opinion and disregarded the Versailles Treaty and League of Nations. Their activities and those of Japan began to interfere with prevailing peace in the world. This happened at the time when USA had retreated into isolation leaving the task of maintaining world peace only to Britain and France.

The Second World War involved most countries in the world with millions of people conscripted for service in both the military and war related industries.

Causes of the Second World War.

a) *Germany's dissatisfaction based on territorial grievances.*

The Versailles treaty of 1919 imposed harsh and humiliating conditions on Germany, which aggrieved the Germans to the level of being ready to go to war again.

b) *The rise of nationalism in Europe.*

In Germany, the chancellor, Adolf Hitler who had the desire to dominate the whole world, fuelled it. For example, he encouraged German speakers in Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia to demand independence from Czechoslovakia. Italy under Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, in 1939 to regain her lost glory and national pride after the Adowa defeat in 1896. Syria rose up against France.

c) *Political developments in Europe.*

In Italy in 1922, the fascist government under Benito Mussolini came to power. In Germany, Hitler's Nazi government assumed power in 1933. The Fascist government in Italy emphasized on the regaining of lost glory. The Nazi government began a fresh new policy of aggression.

d) The economic problems caused by the great depression of 1929 to 1931.

The great slump led to widespread unemployment, declining wages, poverty etc. these led to social discontent and political unrest in many countries of the world.

e) The failure of Germany to pay reparations.

This was followed by the French invasion of the Ruhr industrial region- a German territory. This led to increased tension.

f) Weakening of the League of Nations.

Japan left the League of Nations after protest over Manchuria, which she had grabbed, from China. Italy left the League of Nations after Mussolini had grabbed Abyssinia and annexed it against the will of the allies and Ethiopians. Russia invaded Finland in 1939 and the league was unable to intervene. There were many secret treaties among members of the league.

g) The Spanish civil war (1936-1939).

The republican revolution of 1931 ended the Spanish monarchy. The struggle between the royalists and socialists, however, continued. The European powers took sides in the civil war. France, Britain and Russia supported the royalists. Germany and Italy supported General Franco who was fighting from exile in Morocco.

h) Growth of military alliances.

Hitler and Mussolini established a military pact in 1936 (The Berlin-Rome Axis). It became the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis with the joining of Italy. The alliance between Russia and Germany to divide Poland widened the gap between them and the allied forces. It created fear and suspicion.

i) The invasion of Poland by Germany.

This happened in September 1939 was the immediate cause of the war. This upset Britain and France, who stated their intentions of assisting Poland. They declared war on Germany in October 1939.

COURSE OF WORLD WAR 2

The invasion of Poland by German forces on 1st of September 1939 and the subsequent declaration of war against Germany by Britain and France on 3rd of September 1939 marked the beginning of the Second World War. Meanwhile on 17th September 1939, the USSR attacked Poland from the East, as per the secret clause in the Nazi-Soviet act of August 1939. Poland had been overrun by German and Russian forces by 27th September 1939. The country was divided between Russia and Germany.

The phoney war.

This was a period during world war two when no major military operations were undertaken on the western front although war had been declared on Germany by France and Britain. The period lasted eight months from 3rd of September 1939. It was used by the Allied countries to fully mobilise their forces for an attack on Germany since they had not initially been prepared. Hitler on his part did not want to be involved in

war in the west since his armies had not fully recovered from the consequences in the east.

During this period, two unsuccessful attempts were made to bring peace;

- a) On 6th October 1939, Hitler and Stalin of Russia made an attempt to convince the Allies to accept the Nazi Occupation of Poland and make peace.
- b) On 7th October, King Leopold of Belgium and Queen Wilhelmina of Netherlands appealed to the Axis powers and the Western Allies to make peace.

War in Western Europe.

On 9th April 1940, Hitler launched a sea-borne invasion against Norway after attacking Denmark via land. They were assisted by a Norwegian Nazi sympathiser Vidkun Quisling. The prime minister of Norway and his Ministers fled to London and Hitler established a puppet government in the country.

The defeat of British and French forces in Norway sparked off a parliamentary revolution in Britain forcing the PM Neville Chamberlain to resign to be replaced by Sir Winston Churchill.

Germany extended their attack on Luxembourg, Netherlands and Belgium. The Allies were unable to contain the German advance and even retreated to the French port of Dunkirk, marking a major defeat of the allies in Europe.

On 14th June 1940, the Germans captured Paris forcing the new Prime Minister Paul Reynaud to sue for peace with Hitler on 22nd June 1940. Under the peace agreement, The Germans took over Alsace –Lorraine, Northern France and the Atlantic coastline. The French government fled to Vichy, southern France.

Why the French were defeated so quickly.

- a) The French forces were not psychologically prepared for the war and thus were found divided.
- b) The French forces were not as well organized as the Germans thus exposing various military weaknesses. For example, the Germans were supported by combat planes which the French did not use.
- c) Poor communication between the army and the airforce. The French generals failed to coordinate the war properly to the extent of ignoring the fact that the Airforce could have been used to drive German Bombers off.

Having succeeded in their Paris onslaught, the Germans attacked Britain in July 1940.

However, Winston Churchill, the British Premier, had mobilized forces to resist this attack successfully he even obtained reinforcement from USA.

The battle of Britain determined the future of World War II. It forced Hitler to delay his attacks.

War in North Africa.

WWII in Africa was marked by the Italian successful attack on French and British Somaliland. Under Marshal Graziani, the Italian forces advanced to Egypt though unsuccessful. In June 1942, German forces moved to North Africa to reinforce the Italians.

However, British forces led by General Bernard Montgomery moved quickly and captured Malta which would have been used as a base for attack by the Germans.

General Montgomery attacked the Germans at El Alamein in Egypt, forcing them to move to west. On 8th November 1942, British and American forces invaded Morocco and Algeria.

Although the Germans continued fighting in Tunisia, by May 1943, their Army under General Rommel had surrendered.

War in the Balkans.

In August 1940, Hitler Attacked and captured Romania and Bulgaria. In April 1941, Yugoslavia and Greece were taken. Crete was taken in May 1941.

On 22nd June 1941, Hitler attacked USSR forcing the Russian troops to retreat. However, he failed to capture Moscow before the onset of winter. In June 1942, the Germans resumed their offensive. They were finally defeated at the battle of Stalingrad on 31st January 1943 by the Russian Red Army led by Marshal Zhukov. The Germans lost 300,000 men while 100,000 survivors surrendered.

By May 1944, the Russians had pushed the Germans from their territory and were approaching Germany itself.

Why the Germans were defeated during the Russian Invasion.

- a) The Germany army was fighting in several fronts at the same time as compared to the allies. This lack of concentration in one area allowed the other Russian army to defeat them.
- b) The soviet forces employed the scorched earth policy which left very little for the German forces.
- c) The Germans ill-treated the soviet people and exploited their economic resources causing resentment and unity to fight with determination.
- d) Weak leadership by the German military leaders contributed to their defeat.

USA entry into World War I.

The Japanese attack on the American great Naval Base at Pearl Harbour on the Hawaiian island is the one incident that dragged USA into WWII.

On 8th December 1941, the USA, Britain and the Netherlands declared war on Japan. The Germans and Italians also declared war on the USA. Russia kept off the war in Asia having signed a treaty with Japan.

Japan resisted fiercely. Her airforce sank two British battleships on 10th December 1941. She captured Hong Kong, Malaya in Malaysia and took over the great naval base at Singapore. She also occupied Burma, Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and parts of the western pacific islands.

The Japanese forces were repulsed while on their way to Port Moresby, New Guinea in may 1942.

In 1942, Britain used her bases in India to attack Japan. Japan attacked India in 1944, but the strong and large allied forces defeated the Japanese at the battle of Kohima.

The defeat of Germany.

After 1942, the tide of success began to turn against Hitler. German forces were defeated by the allies in North Africa and France. By March 1945, the Allies had crossed the Rhine, pushed the Germans out of France in June 1944.

The Germans were meanwhile facing the Russian attack from the East.

Hitler accepted defeat and handed over power to one of the Military Generals to retreat to an underground Bunker in Berlin.

On 29th April 1945, Hitler married his long term Mistress Eva Braun. On the following day, he committed suicide by shooting himself while Eva Braun took Poison.

On 7th May 1945, the Germans surrendered unconditionally

Why the Germans were defeated.

- a) Germany had acquired far too many territories and she was unable to effectively control them.
- b) The USSR recovered from her losses and began to rearm in a bid to fight against Germany.
- c) The USA entry into the war in 1941 on the side of the allies contributed to the eventual defeat of the Germans.
- d) Germany's Axis powers were only four, fighting against more than 27 allies. Even among the Germany collaborators, Italy surrendered while Bulgaria and Romania also were a burden to the Germans.

The defeat of Japan.

After Germany surrender, Japan continued with fierce fighting sometimes employing the services of suicide bombers known as *Kamikaze*. The allies were able to liberate the territories captured by Japan

After the defeat at Okinawa, Japan was certain of defeat, but her PM, Admiral Suzuki Kantaro, did not believe in unconditional defeat. On 6th August 1945, a bomber Aeroplane, Enola Gay, commanded by Colonel Paul Tibbets, flew over Hiroshima dropping a 4535.15kg atomic bomb. About 78,000 people died. On 8th August 1945, Russia attacked Japan. On 9th August 1945, an even larger Bomb was dropped on Nagasaki killing more than 40,000 people.

Japan surrendered unconditionally on 15th August 1945 bringing WWII to an end.

Factors that enabled the allied powers to win the Second World War.

- a) Allies had more wealth in terms of food, raw materials and equipments.
- b) Allies controlled the North Sea, which ensured safe transportation of troops and equipment. They were also able to block the central powers in the sea.
- c) Entry of USA in the war led to defeat of Germany. America had strong American air force and war resources,
- d) Germany's inability to control her expansive territories and some turned against her and in favour of the allied powers.
- e) The unity, morale and determination of the allied leaders and fighters.
- f) Popular sentiment was for allied victory and Hitler's defeat.
- g) Hitler's over-confidence and craziness did not allow him to comprehend the enormity of opposition up against him and the axis forces.
- h) External support especially from the colonial people in Africa, Asia and elsewhere.
- i) Axis powers dropped out of war one by one.
- j) Allies had better industries and financial resources/ superior economy, war tactics and superior diplomacy by all the allied powers.

- k) The axis powers made serious tactical mistakes e.g. Hitler failed to prepare for a winter campaign in Russia and was obsessed with the idea that Germans must not retreat.
- l) When the USSR recovered from her losses, she rearmed her self and attacked Germany.

Social results of Second World War

- a) Depopulation and great suffering as Millions of people perished either in war or due to famine and diseases.
- b) People suffered psychologically and emotionally from the loss of loved ones and torture of the war.
- c) The end of the war witnessed change in the status of women. Women started doing work, which was initially monopolized by men. E.g. military and management.
- d) There was permanent ill health and shortening of life for millions of peoples because of years of under- nourishment or captivity.
- e) There was massive Destruction of property such as homes, houses, buildings, roads and bridges.
- f) A large number of people were displaced as people moved to look for peaceful areas and this led to great suffering. The new refugees included the Jews, Slavs and the poles.
- g) The war fomented bitter feelings and mistrust among the countries that fought
- h) The war helped to shade off the myth popularized by Europeans that they were a superior race to Africans as European casualties in the war proved that they were mortals

Identify the political effects of the World War II.

- a) Defeat of axis powers led to government changes in Germany, Italy and Japan.
- b) The division of Europe into two opposing blocks led to the cold war, which was followed by an arms race between USA and USSR.
- c) Germany was divided into two. The communist East and the capitalist West. The city of Berlin was also divided between the east and the west.
- d) Germany and Italy were weakened especially with the loss of their colonies.
- e) U.S.A & U.S.S.R emerged as superpowers. The pre-war balance of power was destroyed and the power vacuum was filled by two new superpowers, the USA and USSR
- f) A weakness of the League of Nations to prevent the outbreak of war was demonstrated. This Led to UNO formation.
- g) There was rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa. It led to Africans struggle for independence because they were confident knowing that Europeans were no superior to them. Nationalists among the Asians leading to attainment of independence in Pakistan and India in 1947, in Burma (Myanmar) in 1948, and in Ceylon (Sri Lanka.) in 1949.
- h) The Japanese destroyed the myth of European military superiority due to the defeat of British and American forces in the Far East.

- i) New states were created. In 1948, the state of Israel was established in the Middle East, to settle the Jews who were displaced during the war.

Economic effects of World War 2.

- a) Agriculture and industries were disrupted due to lack of equipment, raw materials and human resources.
- b) External trade almost came to a standstill because of fear and insecurity.
- c) It led to increased dependency on colonies by European powers. There was need of raw materials to reconstruct the destroyed industries.
- d) Some Industries were established in the colonies to manufacture goods because of the difficulties faced in running them during the war.
- e) It led to the rise of European economic cooperation. The post war economic destructions led to the need for cooperation. This paved way for formation of the European Economic Community in 1957.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International Relations refers to the cooperation or interaction between individuals or groups of nations of the world

Benefits of international relations.

- a) Enhance peace and security in the world the diplomatic policies of nations call for peaceful settlement of disputes, thus reducing war incidences.
- b) Promote understanding and unity. This done through Encouraging cultural exchange between nations.
- c) Help in getting collectives solutions to world problems. Problems of global concern like desertification, global warming, armament and environmental pollution, are dealt with collectively.
- d) Promote economic growth through trade. Due to good relations , there is expanded international trade which enables countries to acquire goods they don't produce
- e) Developing countries get financial assistance. Developed nations have continued to provide financial and technical assistance to developing nations

Ways in which nations relate internationally.

- a) *Economic relations.* This is through trade and commercial activities among nations. For example, developed nations giving loans and grants to developing nations.
- b) *Diplomatic relations.* This is a peaceful means of relationship between nations in which there is exchange of Ambassadors or High Commissioners.
- c) *Political relations.* This involves cooperation between countries with similar political systems or ideologies. E.g. USA and Western Europe, in 1964, Tanganyika united with the island of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania.
- d) *Socio-cultural relations.* This takes place in form of exchange and competition between dance troops, musicians, acrobats, sports teams, theatre groups etc, e.g. participation in Commonwealth Games.

International Organizations

There are two types of international organizations;

1. International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) for example UN, Commonwealth, NAM and African Union.(formed by two or more sovereign states).
2. International Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) created by individuals or private organizations. E.g. International Red cross, Amnesty International and Transparency International.

Role played by International Governmental Organizations.

- a) They provide member states with a forum to consult and tackle problems of concern.
- b) They act as regulators in their fields to ensure the welfare of Humankind e.g. World Health Organization (WHO) regulates health sector through immunization, vaccination and other prevention campaigns.
- c) They enhance peace and security through peace-keeping missions and response to disasters.
- d) They contribute to charity and facilitate equitable distribution of resources in the world. For example, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank advance loans to developing nations.

THE UNITED NATIONS.

The UN was founded after world war Two as an organization of independent states with the following objectives;

- a) To promote and maintain international peace and security and prevent the occurrence of another world war.
- b) To foster friendly relations among nations of the world.
- c) To promote respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms.
- d) To promote social progress and better living standards of the people.
- e) To protect the interests of minority groups such as women and children.
- f) To promote economic growth among member states who are working towards reconstructing the world economy that was destroyed by the World War 2.
- g) To replace the league of nations which had collapsed before the outbreak of world war 2

Formation of the United Nations.

The signing of the Allied declaration in London on 12th June 1941 marked the first step in the formation of the UN. On 14th August 1941, Franklin Delano Roosevelt of USA and Winston Churchill of Britain, meeting in USA, proposed a set of principles for international collaboration in maintaining peace and security. This was the Atlantic Charter. The charter pledged respect for human Freedom, Allowed all nations the freedom to choose the form of government they preferred and provided that no territory should change hands after war without consent of its people.

On 1st January 1942, representatives of Allied nations meeting in Washington signed the 'Declaration by United Nations' and proclaimed support for the Atlantic Charter. This marked the first official use of the term 'United Nations' as suggested by President Roosevelt in reference to the 26 nations.

The first Blueprint of the UN was prepared at a conference held at Dumbarton Oaks Estate, Washington from 21st September to 7th October 1944. Representatives of USSR, USA, UK and China agreed on the aims, structure and functions of a world organization. On 11th February 1945, the Yalta Conference held by US president Roosevelt, UK PM Churchill and Russian PM Stalin declared the resolve to establish an international organization to maintain peace and security.

On 25th April 1945, the United Nations Conference on International Organization began in San Francisco, USA attended by delegates from 50 nations. It drew a 111-Article Charter which was adopted on 25th June 1945.

The UN began its official functions on 24th October 1945 after ratification of the charter by USSR, USA, Britain, China and France.

Organization of the UNO.

Membership to the UN is open to all peace-loving nations that accept the obligations of the charter. By 1945, only 51 states had signed the charter. Kenya Joined on 16th December 1963 By April 2003 membership had grown to 191 states.

To achieve its aims, the UN spelt out in its charter the following principles;

- a) It is based on the sovereign equality of all its members.
- b) All member states must fulfil, in good faith, their charter obligations.
- c) All member states must settle international disputes by peaceful means and without endangering peace, security and justice.
- d) They must refrain, in their international relations, from the threat or use of force against others.
- e) They must give the United Nations every assistance to any action it takes in accordance with the charter, and shall not assist states against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
- f) The United Nations must ensure that states which are not members act in accordance with these principles insofar as necessary for maintenance of international peace and security.

The UNO structure comprises six principal organs as follows;

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

This is the main deliberative organ of the UNO, but which cannot enforce action on members. It comprises all member states.

Functions of the UN General Assembly.

*****MAKE REFERENCE TO EVOLVING WORLD PAGE 44

To help in its operation, the general assembly has the following committees;

The political and security committee, the special political committee, the economic and financial committee, the committee on social, humanitarian and cultural issues, the trusteeship committee, the administration/budget committee and the legal affairs committee.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

It has 15 members from 15 countries. Ten of these are non-permanent. It also has five permanent members namely china, France, USA, Russia and UK.

Its main function is to maintain world peace and security.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Its membership is 54. 18 are elected each year for a term of three years.

Its function is to coordinate the economic and social work of UN and its specialized agencies. E.g. in trade, status of women. Population, science and technology.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL.

It inherited the work of the Mandates Commission of the former League of Nations.

It had responsibility over the territories under colonial rule-. - To promote social, economic, political and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories.

Consists of five permanent members and six additional ones appointed by the General Assembly.

THE SECRETARIAT.

The head of the secretariat is the secretary general. It has its headquarters in New York. Its staff members come from 139 countries. Its work covers all areas outlined in the UN Charter.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.

It has its headquarters at Hague. It is the principal judicial body of the UN. It gives advisory opinions on legal questions. It has 15 judges.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES.

These are separate specialized agencies which are autonomous organizations related to the UN by special agreements. (REF TO PAGE 49 OF EVOLVING WORLD)

Past Secretary Generals of the United Nations Organization since its inception.

- a) Trygve lie of Norway (1946-1953).
- b) Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden (1953-1961)
- c) U Thant of Burma (1961-1971)
- d) Kurt Waldheim of Austria (1972-1982)
- e) Javier Perez de Cueller of Peru (1982-1991)
- f) Boutros Ghali Boutros. Of Egypt (1992-1996)
- g) Kofi Annan of Ghana (1997-2000)
- h) Ban Ki Moon.(2000 up to present)

Achievements of the United Nations Organization.

- a) The organization has succeeded in keeping peace amid the threats of nuclear war and seemingly endless regional conflicts in the world. UNO has developed more than 35 peacekeeping missions and observer nations.
- b) The UN specialized agencies are engaged in a vast array of social work, affecting positively, every aspect of people's lives around the world. E.g., child survival and development, environmental protection, medical research, agricultural development, education etc.
- c) The organization has helped in promoting democracy around the world. It has enabled people in more than 45 countries to participate in free and fair elections, e.g. in Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Eritrea, Mozambique, South Africa etc.
- d) The UNO has promoted development of skills and potentials vital for all aspects of development. The UNDP, in close co-operation with over 170 member states and

the UN agencies designs and implements projects for agriculture, industry, education and environment.

- e) It has helped in promotion of Human Rights. Since the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights in 1948, the UN has helped to enact more than 80 agreements on political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights.
- f) It has played a vital role in environmental protection. 'The Earth Summit', the UN Conference On Environment and Development held in Rio De Janeiro in 1992, resulted in treaties on biodiversity and climate change
- g) Promoting self-determination and independence. The organization has brought about independence of 80 countries that are now among its member states.
- h) Providing humanitarian aid to victims of conflicts. More than 30 million refugees fleeing war, famine or persecution have received aid from the UN high commission for refugees since 1951.

Problems facing the United Nations Organization in its operation.

- a) *National sovereignty.* Many countries disregard the UNO resolutions in favour of their sovereignty.
- b) It is unable to stop aggressions and conflicts between individual countries when super powers are involved.
- c) Lacks sufficient funds to carry out its work efficiently. E.g it has not always been able to send enough peacekeeping forces due to lack of sufficient funds.
- d) It lacks an effective machinery to affect its decisions. It also lacks a standing army to implement and effect its resolutions.
- e) The permanent members with veto powers often adopt policies that promote their own national interests at the expense of the collective interests of most countries in the world.
- f) Loyalty to other organizations. UNO members are also members of other organizations; the interests of these organizations are not in accord with those of the UNO.
- g) Ideological disputes among member states have hampered the work of UNO in promoting world peace. This was manifested in the cold war period.
- h) The arms race. The UNO has found it difficult to achieve world peace because of the arms race in different parts of the world. The arms race generates and sustains conflict rather than peace.
- i) Differences in economic development levels of member states militate against co-operation.
- j) The increased occurrence of natural disasters such as famine, floods and epidemics has created an unexpected demand for economic resources. This automatically the UN's resources.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

Origin and structure of Commonwealth of Nations.

It is a voluntary association of 54 sovereign countries around the world, which were initially part of the British Empire. The commonwealth origin is the British Empire

comprising the British protectorates, colonies and dominions, which included Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, Irish Free State and South Africa.

The idea to launch the association is traced back to 1839, with the publication of the Durham report. The modern commonwealth began in 1947 with the end of the British rule in India.

In 1949, India and Pakistan joined the commonwealth.

The commonwealth **secretariat** is based in London. It deals with day to day running of the organization and organizes meetings. The **head of the commonwealth** is the Queen/King of England. The Commonwealth has the **Heads of State Summit** which meets for a week every two years to discuss political and economic issues.

There are also the **Ministerial meetings** once after every three years to deal with different issues.

The commonwealth has **specialized agencies** dealing with various areas of concern.

Membership to commonwealth.

It comprised 54 developed and developing nations. The members are categorized as follows;

1. Britain and her Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
2. African Nations.
3. Asian nations.
4. Islands from the Caribbean, Pacific and Mediterranean.

Characteristics of commonwealth states.

- a) Members of the commonwealth use English as a common language.
- b) Members maintain cultural ties. For instance, they participate in the commonwealth games every four years.
- c) Members co-operate in the field of education.
- d) Members recognize the queen of England as the head of commonwealth.
- e) Members have a common military tradition based on the British military system. They also promote military exchange programmes.
- f) Members share common democratic institutions from Britain such as parliamentary system of government.
- g) Members have adopted constitutions that are almost similar.

Objectives that led to the formation of the commonwealth nations.

- a) To promote world peace and international understanding. Members are expected to abide by the UN Peace programmes.
- b) To promote development of poor member states.
- c) To intensify co-operation between member states, in matters of education, sport and economic development.
- d) To ensure personal liberty and equality of rights to all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political beliefs.
- e) To oppose all forms of colonial dominion by being committed to the principles of human dignity and equality, self-determination and non-racism.
- f) To promote the exchange of knowledge, professionalism and cultural, economic, legal and political issues.

- g) It fights poverty, ignorance and disease to remove wealth disparities and raise the living standards, and achieve a more equitable international society.
- h) To enhance free international trade by removing trade barriers, but at the same time, giving due consideration to the special requirements of the developing countries.

Organization of the Commonwealth.

The structure of the commonwealth comprises of three organs;

1. *The Head of state Summit.* It meets once in every two years for a week for extensive decisions and consultations. Decisions are reached by consensus.
2. *Ministerial Meetings.* The commonwealth ministers of Finance, Foreign Affairs and defence hold regular meetings once every year. Ministers of Health, Education and Law hold meetings once every three years
3. *The Commonwealth Secretariat:* headed by the secretary general and with a staff of 350 drawn from member countries. It co-ordinates co-operation among members. The first secretary General was Arnold Smith of Canada. In 1990, Chief Emeka Anyaoku of Nigeria became the first African Secretary General.
4. *Specialized Agencies.*
 - a) The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-Operation; supplies funds, finance, experts and advisers for projects carried out in member states.
 - b) The Commonwealth Agricultural Bureau; it provides co-operation in the field of agriculture.
 - c) The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; helps to improve relations between parliamentarians of member states.
 - d) The Commonwealth Regional Health Secretariat for East, Central and Southern Africa; promotes co-operation in health.

benefits of membership to Commonwealth.

- a) Member states have received technical expertise through the provision of experts and advisers in various fields e.g. agriculture.
- b) The developing member states of the organization have acquired skilled manpower through the provision of scholarship and setting up of training programmes by nations like Britain and Canada.
- c) Member states have been able to interact with one another through activities such as the commonwealth games and cultural exchange programmes.
- d) Member states have conducted trade among themselves with relative ease and this has helped them to develop their economies.
- e) The organization has promoted friendship and understanding among member states through conferences such as The Heads of Government meetings.
- f) It has enhanced democratization process in developing member states of the organization

Functions of commonwealth (REF to evolving world page 60)

Problems facing Commonwealth of Nations.

- a) Differences in economic development levels of member states militate against co-operation. Members coming from developing world have very different outlook from those coming from the developed world.
- b) Ideological disputes among member states have hampered the operations of the Commonwealth of Nations.
- c) Lacks sufficient funds to carry out its work efficiently. Poor members normally owe many debts to their foreign masters and would therefore toe to their demands.
- d) The problem of sovereignty. Many countries disregard the commonwealth resolutions in favour of their sovereignty.
- e) It lacks an effective machinery to affect its decisions. It also lacks a standing army to implement and effect its resolutions.
- f) Loyalty to other organizations. commonwealth members are also members of other organizations; the interests of these organizations are not in accord with those of the commonwealth
- g) The colonial legacy. Many problems arising from past colonial policies have rocked the organization. E.g. the land issue in Zimbabwe.
- h) The influence of other organizations like NATO who weaken the commonwealth by wooing members to their regions.
- i) Race and colour problem. The conflict between white and black people or other color has become another setback.
- j) Dominance by the big powers. This has caused dismay to the organization. Serious inner tension still undermines the commonwealth activities.

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

NAM STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

NAM was an organization that did not have formal structures like UNO and Commonwealth. It did not have a secretariat or a constitution. The movement had a unique administrative style as follows.

Coordination

The administration is non-hierarchical, rotational and inclusive, providing all member states, regardless of size and importance with an opportunity to participate in global decision making and world politics.

The country that hosts the summit holds office until the next summit. Non-aligned countries place the onus of an administrative structure on the country assuming the chair. The country is required to create or designate an entire section of the ministry of foreign affairs to deal specifically with the Non-Aligned Movement.

The chair's ambassador in the United Nations essentially functions as the 'minister of Non-Aligned Affairs'.

NAM has also created contact groups, task forces and committees to facilitate the chair's responsibility as follows;

The Coordinating Bureau.

This is the focal point for coordination. It reviews and facilitates the harmonization of the NAM working groups, contact groups, task forces and committees.

Working Groups, Contact Groups, Task Forces and Committees.

They include NAM High-level working group for the restructuring of the United Nations, NAM working group on Human Rights, Disarmament, Committee on Palestine, Contact Groups on Cyprus, and Task Force on Somalia etc. these groupings meet often.

Non-Aligned security Caucus.

The countries that make up the NAM council caucus are expected to constantly strive to adopt unified positions so that the decisions and positions of NAM are reflected in the Security Council decisions without prejudice to their sovereignty.

Joint coordinating committee

This is a coordinating committee established in 1994 and sitting in New York, whose main mandate is to promote cooperation and coordination between the NAM and the Group of 77 in promoting the interests of developing countries in international fora.

Coordination of non-aligned countries in the UN centres.

This is aimed at facilitating coordination and cooperation with the coordinating bureau and enhances the role of NAM in the international Fora.

The Troika.

The concept of *Troika* emerged on 6th April 1997 in New Delhi, India, during the meeting of foreign ministers of NAM representing past, present and future chairs. The concept simply implies a meeting of past, present and future chairs who began to meet in September 1997 as a discussion forum.

Panel of economists

This is an ad hoc panel of economists formed from Non-Aligned countries to assess the current international economic situation from the perspective of developing countries and to identify and analyze their major issues of concern.

Documentation.

This is the responsibility of the host country but after wide consultation. The host country must circulate the First Draft not later than one month before the meeting.

Decision making.

The movement makes all its decisions by consensus. This concept presupposes understanding of and respect for different points of view, including disagreement and mutual accommodation. This promotes solidarity and unity of the movement.

NAM Meetings

They include the following

- a) ***Conference of Heads of State and Government.*** This is NAM's highest decision-making authority and meets once every three years. It has two committees, one on political issues and another on economic and social issues. The summit is held at least one month before the regular session of the UN General Assembly. During the summit, there is a formal ceremony for handing over the chair.
- b) ***Ministerial conference.*** Its task is to review developments and implement decisions of the preceding summit and also discuss matters of urgency. The conference meets 18 months after the summit.
- c) ***Ministerial meeting in New York during a session of the UN General Assembly.*** This is a meeting of foreign ministers annually in New York at the beginning of the regular

session of the UN Assembly. The purpose of the meeting is to deliberate on the items of the Agenda of the General Assembly that are of major importance to the movement.

- d) **Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau.** The main task is to prepare for the summits, and where necessary, to consider issues of major importance to the movement.
- e) **Meeting of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology.** The attendance is by all NAM members and its meetings are held by the decision of the summit or the ministerial conference. The meetings are chaired by the chair of NAM.
- f) **Meeting of the standing ministerial committee on economic cooperation.** These meetings are meant to strengthen south-south cooperation, reactivate the dialogue between the developing and developed countries and enhance the role of the UN General Assembly, in international cooperation for development. The meetings are held frequently upon recommendation of the coordinating Bureau.
- g) **Ministerial Meetings in various fields of international cooperation.** They discuss issues like agriculture, information and external debt.
- h) **Extraordinary Meetings of the Coordinating Bureau.** They address exceptional cases that call for urgent consideration.
- i) **Meetings of the Working Groups, Task Forces, Contact Groups and Committees.** The meetings are held as often as necessary.

The growth of NAM.

After the Bandung Conference of 1955 which established the movement, NAM has attracted many developing countries. . A number of conferences have been held since then;

- a) **The first summit, Belgrade, 1961.** The attendance was by 25 non-aligned countries who met at a time when world peace was threatened seriously by the looming nuclear war. The meeting's objective was to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war in the world.
- b) **The second summit, Cairo, 1964.** The summit of October 1964 was attended by 47 Nations and 10 observers. There were 28 representatives from Africa. The conference mainly focused on problems facing NAM countries due to colonial inheritance, policies of former colonial powers and the rivalry between the great powers..
- c) **The third summit, Lusaka, 1970.** The attendance was by 53 members the meeting resolved that time was ripe for declaration on peace, independence, cooperation and democratization. The members were out to fight colonialism and racism. The main resolution was the members' determination to achieve economic emancipation.
- d) **The Fourth Summit, Algiers, 1973.** It was attended by 75 members, eight observers, three guest nations and 15 liberation movements. The meeting was an attempt to transform the existing system of economic and financial relations in a manner that would liberate developing countries from a subordinate role into an equal position

with industrialized countries. The members developed an action programme in the interest of economic cooperation.

- e) **The fifth Summit, Colombo, 1976.** It was attended by 86 members, who focused on the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the abolition of apartheid in South Africa as a way of promoting world peace.
- f) **The sixth Summit, Havana, 1979.** The conference was attended by 93 members, 12 observers, 8 guest nations and seven new members. The meeting declared that imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, foreign aggression, expansion, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony, Great power bloc, Subjugation, dependency and pressures in international relations as enemies of non-alignment. The chairman of the summit was Fidel Castro who put forth his ideas that the socialist bloc is a natural ally of the movement.
- g) **The seventh summit, New Delhi, 1983.** It was attended by 96 members, 16 observers and 20 guest nations. The summit took place at a time when there was intense confrontation as the great powers continued to amass nuclear weapons. . Indra Gandhi appeared to be the moderate leader to host the conference and soften the impact of Cuban radicalism. The conference discussed peace, nuclear disarmament, development strategies for north-south Dialogue on a new world economic order, and the south-south cooperation for collective self-reliance.
- h) **The eighth summit, Harare, 1986.** It marked NAM's silver Jubilee. The main concern was Namibia's independence and apartheid in south Africa.. NAM emphasized its sanctions against the Pretoria (South Africa) regime. It drew an action plan to deal with the threat posed by South Africa. The summit came up with a special solidarity fund to help the frontline states.
- i) *The Ninth summit, Belgrade, 1989.*
- j) *The tenth Summit, Jakarta, 1992.*
- k) *The eleventh Summit, Cartagena de Indias, 1995.*
- l) *The twelfth Summit, Durban 1998.*
- m) *The thirteenth Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 2003.*

Performance of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Though critics have questioned the relevance of NAM after dismantling apartheid and achieving independence, and after end of cold war, there still exist situations that require NAM's participation.

Reasons why NAM is still relevant.

- a) NAM is the only forum that can articulate the voice of justice and sanity in the world in view of the unending Arms Race.
- b) NAM is the only forum through which the demand for a less unjust world economic order can be raised given the kind of hold the developed nations still have on developing nations.
- c) NAM remains the third world's shield against the pressures of the superpower elephants that can easily trample on the grass of the lesser animals even after end of cold war.

- d) NAM can still play a role in addressing emerging world issues such as terrorism, environmental degradation, HIV/AIDS and racism.

Achievements of NAM.

- a) It has helped speed up the attainment of freedom in states that were under colonial bondage.
- b) NAM has assisted its members in safeguarding their national security and territorial integrity.
- c) Non-aligned nations also worked to eliminate conflict between the superpowers. This helped in the promotion of peace and security for the non-aligned world. India for example played a role in solving the Korean War, the Suez crisis and Indo-Chinese conflict.
- d) NAM created a conducive environment for peace, justice, equality and international cooperation by contributing to the relaxation of international tension by keeping clear of the two military blocs, USA and USSR.
- e) The movement has strengthened African and Asian Countries diplomatically at a time when they lacked necessary physical strength. They were able to exert their voting power as Afro-Asian bloc to influence world affairs.
- f) NAM provided an international forum where members' voices could be heard. It was able to work to dismantle apartheid by its two-third world community membership despite the Reagan administration's opposition to sanctions against South Africa.
- g) The movement has given members freedom to put their national interests before those of the great power blocs.
- h) The NAM through the Cairo and Colombo Summits termed as World Disarmament conferences, played a key role in the disarmament process. The 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco, signed by 22 states, set up a weapon Free Zone in Latin America.
- i) The Non-aligned states have helped in international crisis management since they are not committed to any course of military action. For example during the 1961 Berlin crisis, Nehru of India and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana went to Moscow for a peace mission, while Achmad Sukarno of Indonesia and Modibo Keita of Mali went to Washington DC to try and create a conducive atmosphere for managing the crisis.
- j) NAM has worked towards creation of new international economic order. Members of the movement are able to trade with both the great power blocs. Membership to the Group of 77 in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is drawn from the non-aligned nations. The non-aligned nations were open to aid from both blocs and also ready to expand their trade with both sides of the ideological divide.
- k) The Solidarity fund established during the Harare Summit of 1986 cushioned the frontline states against the economic sanctions imposed on apartheid South Africa.
- l) NAM has worked to create the new scientific and technological order. The members have demanded a new scientific and technological order by favouring access to the most advanced technology and scientific research available as a means of bridging the technological gap between the developed countries and developing ones.

Factors which have undermined the activities of the Non-Aligned Movement.

- a) Political instability is frequently experienced by some member states. For example, civil wars and military coups in DRC, the Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, interstate wars like in the case of Iran and Iraq. This has undermined their contribution to the movement.
- b) Economic ties between the third world countries and their colonial masters had made it difficult for the member states to pursue an independent line.
- c) Border disputes between neighboring member countries has weakened the course of the movement. E.g. between Morocco and Algeria, North Korea and South Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia, Ethiopia and Somalia, Uganda and Tanzania etc.
- d) Economic backwardness of some of the member states has made it difficult for them to meet their obligation in the movement as national needs come first in view of the meager resources of some of the nations.
- e) Ideological differences between member states have undermined their co-operation. Its large size of 116 members by 2004 has frustrated its ideological coherence and organizational solidarity. Whereas some countries are inclined towards the west, others are inclined to the east.
- f) Membership to other organizations like AU, Commonwealth and the French community, has made it difficult for some states to participate actively in the affairs of the movement.
- g) Breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War has destabilized the movement. As power bloc rivalry subsided, NAM appeared to become irrelevant.
- h) Conflicting national interests. Individual national interests have failed to agree with the objectives of the movement.
- i) Personality differences between leaders of member states have undermined the movement. For example, several leaders rejected the radical views of Fidel Castro of Cuba.
- j) Differences unrelated to the principles of NAM have developed among members. For example at the Colombo Summit of 1978, several Arab states were keen to see Egypt expelled from the movement on grounds that she had signed a separate peace treaty with Israel. This was not an agreement with a superpower and therefore had nothing to do with NAM.
- k) NAM lacks a permanent Army or a permanent institutional framework or machinery that can enable it carry out its activities effectively. For example, it failed to persuade Iraq and Iran to end the 8 year long war from 1980.

THE COLD WAR.

The Cold War refers to the strained relations that existed between the western world led principally by the United States and the communist East led by the USSR, after the Second World War.

It was so called because it was fought not with weapons, but with words, propaganda, military and financial aid to enemies of the opposing sides.

Although there was no actual physical confrontation, Cold War was characterized by a conflict of the most serious and deadly kind.

Causes of the Cold War.

- a) *Ideological differences.* There was deep-seated fear and mutual suspicion between USA and USSR over the spread of their ideologies—capitalism and communism. E.g The establishment of the Soviet Union through acquisition of satellite states was a measure to contain capitalism.
- b) *Disagreement over the issue of disarmament.* The use of atomic bomb on Japan by USA towards the end of World War II alarmed USSR. The two sides failed to agree on an arms reduction plan and continued to stockpile atomic bombs.
- c) *Economic rivalry.* In 1947, the USA President Harry S. Truman introduced the Marshal Plan, a scheme to assist western European countries that had been devastated by war. The USSR in turn formed Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), an economic cooperative plan for Eastern Europe. This further heightened the hostility between the west and the east.
- d) *Formation of military alliances.* In April 1949, the USA, western European countries and Canada formed a military alliance through the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington D.C. (NATO). The formation of NATO ended USA's isolationist policy. Russians responded by signing the Warsaw Pact, in May 1955, a military alliance of communist countries. These alliances fostered hostility between countries.
- e) *The use of Russian veto powers in the UN.* Russia used her veto powers to defeat UN proposals, which she accused of being pro-USA. The struggle by the two powers to dominate the UN increased tension between them.
- f) *Disagreement over the future of Germany as a whole.* Western allies wanted a strong Germany to assist in the economic prosperity of other nations. Russia was keen on a politically and economically weak Germany to safeguard against another invasion.

NB- in 1961, the USSR built the Berlin Wall, thus dividing East Berlin from West Berlin.

- g) *USA's military advancement.* By 1945, the USA was the only country that possessed atomic weapons. This created fear.

COURSE OF THE COLD WAR.

The cold war was fought in Europe Asia, Latin America and Africa,

The course of the Cold War in Europe

The cold war in Europe involved a conflict between the West and the East. The highlights of this conflict included Russia's overwhelming encroachment and dominance of Eastern Europe. Russia used her military might to impose communist governments on many states like Poland and Romania. They also fanned civil wars. E.g the Greek civil war of 1946. There were widespread outbreaks of violence and demands of freedoms in Poland and Romania, based on western ideologies, in politics and economy.

In Czechoslovakia, communist Russia orchestrated protests against reforms based on western ideologies, by the Dubcek Government, which was supported by the west. Dubcek was arrested and flown to Moscow. Dr. Husak, a Russian ally was installed. The following are the major developments that characterized cold war in Europe.

- a) In March 1947, the US president Harry Truman, through '**The Truman Doctrine**' declared that the USA would support free people resisting subjugation by armed minorities. In 1947, USA took over Britain's commitment in Greece and Turkey to support the anti-communist regimes.
- b) In 1947, the US Secretary of state, George Marshall came up with a proposal which was to become **the Marshall Plan**. This was a plan through which the US would make a major contribution to the economic recovery of Europe. The plan was rejected by USSR terming it an American interference in the internal affairs of other nations.
- c) Stalin set up the Communist Information Bureau (**COMINFORM**) to coordinate the work of communist parties in Europe and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (**COMECON**) to counter the US Marshall Plan.
- d) The NATO and Warsaw Pact. By the treaty of Brussels in March 1948, Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg formed a defensive alliance against any form of aggression (It became the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-NATO, in April 1949 when other European Nations joined it.
In response to NATO, the Soviet Union signed the Warsaw Pact in Poland on 14th May 1955 with East Germany and six Eastern European countries. The existence of NATO and Warsaw Pact only intensified the hostilities.
- e) **The Berlin Blockade**. Germany was divided into two zones, East and West. Russia treated East Germany as a satellite state thus curtailing trade between east and west. This move almost led to starvation in the west as East Germany was the main producer.
In May 1948, all roads and rail routes into West Berlin were sealed off by Russian troops. For over two years, food, coal medical supplies and other necessities to the 2 million people in West Berlin were airlifted since there was no land linkage. The blockade ended in May 1949 with devastating consequences.
- f) **Partition of Germany**. The west was prepared to give freedom to the Germans as a whole to decide their own fate. Russia was determined to ensure that East Germany remained dominated by communism under Russian control.
On 23rd May 1949, the western occupation zone in Germany became the Federal Republic of Germany with Konrad Adenauer as the chancellor in September elections.
On 7th October 1949, the Soviet zone formed the Germany Democratic Republic.
In August 1961, the East Germans built the Berlin Wall, curtailing communication and flow of refugees from the west.

The cold war was fought in Asia.

In Asia, **China** was the first front of Cold War. She embraced communism, following the successful takeover of the country by the forces of Mao Tse-tung in October 1949, assisted by the Russians. The Sino-Soviet Treaty of friendship was signed in 1950.

Korea, formerly controlled by Japan, was another front for cold war in Asia. When Japan was defeated in 1945, Korea was occupied from the south by American forces, from the

north by Russians, placing the country under joint control. The occupying powers failed to unite the two Korea sections when she became independent.

In 1948, the USA announced the formation of the Independent Democratic Republic of Korea in the South. The Russians formed the Peoples Republic of Korea in the north.

On 25th June 1950, North Korea Forces invaded South Korea in an attempt to unite. UN condemned this and An American General, Douglas MacArthur led the UN forces that repulsed the invaders.

The cold war spread to **Vietnam**, with USSR and USA clashing over Vietnam, formerly a colony of France that had been seized by Japan. The two super powers supported different nationalist leaders in the struggle for independence from France.

The Russians supported Ho Chi-Minh who led a revolt by the Vietnamese, against the French.

USA supported Ngo Dinh Diem. The Vietnam War erupted as a result

The Vietnam War was the heaviest cost of containing communism by Americans in a distant country. Americans were humiliatingly defeated in 1975 with a causality of 53,000, despite employing over 400,000 troops. The communist guerillas, the Viet Cong, established a communist government in South Vietnam. The war strengthened

American hostility towards Russia

There was an armed conflict between the super powers in **Afghanistan** from 1978. The height of the conflict in Afghanistan was the Boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980 as a protest against USSR's involvement in Afghanistan. The conflict took the form of a civil war which was only eased in 1989 when the USSR began to withdraw its troops.

The cold war in Latin America (the Cuban Missile Crisis)

Cuba became the theatre of cold war when USA unsuccessfully supported the Cuban dictator, General Fulgencio Batista against Fidel Castro who was fighting to end Batista's regime. Fidel Castro overthrew the Batista regime in 1958. The new government immediately gained recognition from many world nations including USA and USSR

In 1960, Fidel began a communist nationalization programme of American oil refineries and sugar plantations. This strained relations between him and the US who attempted unsuccessfully to invade Cuba in 1961 at Bay of Pigs. In January 1962, Cuba was expelled from the Organization of American States.

In May 1962, USSR leader Nikita Khrushchev secretly built missile installations in Cuba as a means of countering any future American invasion, in exchange for sugar.

The discovery, by American president J. F. Kennedy in October 1962, of the Russian missile installations in Cuba was the beginning of the most serious cold war crisis. He declared that any nuclear missile attack from Cuba would be taken to be an attack by the USSR and USA would respond accordingly.

USA declared a Naval Quarantine on Cuba to blockade any Russian Vessels

This most serious cold war crisis was only ended when the Russian leader Khrushchev removed the missiles from Cuba and dismantled Russia's bases in Cuba.

The Cold War in Africa.

The cold war in Africa was majorly witnessed in Ethiopia and Angola.

In **Ethiopia**, Mengistu Haile – Mariam, overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, with the assistance of USSR. Haile Mariam introduced socialist programmes, However, they were short-lived up to the end of his rule in May 1991, when Russians withdrew their assistance.

In **Angola**, on 11th November 1975, Angola attained her independence from Portugal, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Soon after, a bruising civil war broke out. USA supported the rebels, led by Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA movement based in Ovimbudu. Cuba and Russia supported the MPLA government based in Luanda.

Democratic elections were held in Angola in 1989, when USSR eased their aid to MPLA.

FACTORS that led to the Cold War *détente* by world powers.

- a) *The death of Stalin and the flexibility of Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev.* The successor of Joseph Stalin, after his death in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev, was more flexible and willing to relax both cold war abroad and Authoritarianism at home. He announced the policy of peaceful coexistence in 1956.
- b) The willingness of David Dwight Eisenhower, Truman's successor, to reach compromise with the Soviet Union over a number of issues. For example he convened the *Camp David Summit in 1959*, with Khrushchev in which a cooperative spirit emerged between the east and the west. However this happened against the backdrop of the Cuban missile crisis.
- c) *The signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (The SALT Treaty) in 1972.* The treaty, signed between USA and Russia limited strategic arms to certain quantities. This was followed by the Improvement of the Chinese –American relations in 1972 and American relations with Russia. In 1972. President Nixon visited Beijing and Moscow
- d) *The introduction of reforms in Russia by Mikhail Gorbachev.* In 1985, Gorbachev introduced the **Glasnost** (openness policy) and the **perestroika reforms** (economic restructuring that appealed favourably to the west) which won him the Nobel peace Prize in 1990.
- e) *The adoption of President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) in 1983.* This initiative led to setting up of space stations that would destroy every missile in the sky. This was Star Wars.
- f) *The collapse of the Communist rule in Europe.* Russia's president recognized the independence of other republics of USSR in 1989 thus weakening Russia's position. Western democracy was introduced in Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.
- g) *The successful re-unification of Germany under Helmut Kohl in 1990.* The nations united to form the republic of Germany. This was a clear indicator of the joint commitment of the superpowers in maintaining their spheres of influence had been weakened.
- h) *The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact.* With the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the Warsaw pact started to fall apart. In November 1990, the Paris Charter was signed, effectively dissolving the Warsaw Pact.

- i) *The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990.* Several of its states seceded. Russia officially became an aid receiver instead of an aid donor.
- j) *The signing of the START Treaty in 1991 by Gorbachev and George Bush,* after the Strategic **Arms Reduction Talks**. The treaty officially ended the cold war. Destruction of weapons of mass destruction commenced.

Effects of the cold war

- a. It brought immense divisions and conflict to people of the same continent, region and countries based on pro-west or pro-east ideologies. E.g. in Angola
- b. Oppressive regimes found their way to power, supported by either the west or the east.
- c. There was untold suffering to the people. Disease, poverty and refugee camps became common sights.
- d. There was destruction of the economy as infrastructure was destroyed by war. As communist systems failed to produce wealth, unemployment and poverty set in.
- e. It created mistrust and suspicion amongst nations.
- f. It led to arms race. It led to militarization of regions and countries.
- g. It led to political crises and actual war e.g. civil wars in Korea and Vietnam, the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.
- h. It threatened international peace and security. Insecurity in the world increased.
- i. Led to formation of Non-Aligned Movement by third world countries.
- j. Led to formation of economic alliances and military alliances like NATO (1949) and the Warsaw pact (1955). COMECON (1949) and the European Economic Union (1957).
- k. The cold war led to development in science and technology. The war Stimulated space science/space race.

Effects of the end of Cold War on Africa.

- a) Some African countries that were formerly socialist are in problems following collapse of USSR in 1990. E.g. Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique.
- b) The end of the cold war has led to the removal of financial aid and military support for some African countries. Military or food aid is no longer rushed to countries experiencing problems because there is no more superpower competition. E.g failure to prevent the Rwanda genocide and failure to assist in the Somali crisis and the current Al-shabaab crisis.
- c) There was emergence of new world political and economic order. The end of war has led to emergence of USA as a 'world policeman' over developing nations. The countries must act according to USA wishes or suffer lack of aid and receive harassment from superpowers.
- d) It has led to marginalization of Africa in international affairs.
- e) There are conditionalities for getting aid from the western powers. Besides, Africa no longer has a choice of donors who comprise mainly of western world countries.

COOPERATION IN AFRICA

Cooperation in Africa refers to the way African countries relate to each other. It is stimulated by the economic exploitation and political domination by Western Europe.

The cooperation has been in form of;

- a) Pan-African Movement
- b) Organization of African Unity (African Union)
- c) The East African Community
- d) Economic Community of Western African States.
- e) Common Markets for Eastern and Southern Africa.

PAN-AFRICANISM.

Meaning of Pan-Africanism.

“Pan” means “all” and “Africa” refers to the continent. “Africanism” refers to those of African Origin.

Pan-Africanism is a belief in the uniqueness and spiritual Unity of Black people acknowledging their right to self determination.

It is a movement aimed at unifying all the people of African descent in the world. It stands for economic, political and social advancement for all peoples of African descent throughout the world.

Origin and Development of pan-Africanism.

The movement has roots in the trans-Atlantic slave trade that took place between 15th and 19th c. the trade was responsible for the dispersal of black people all over the world. The suffering the slaves underwent made them become conscious of their colour and origin. The Africans viewed themselves as having a common destiny. Even those who remained in Africa were later subjected to the colonial experience including forced labour, land alienation, taxation, poor wages, discrimination corporal punishment rape and murder.

The movement first started as the Pan Black Movement for the American and Caribbean black only. Several African Americans wanted to uplift the lives of fellow Africans in USA and in Africa. They included Martin Delaney, Alexander Cromwell, Bishop James Johnson, Wilmot Blyden and Bishop Turner. The leading pan-Africanists in America were Booker T Washington, Marcus Moziah Garvey, Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and George Padmore.

The pioneer African pan-Africanists included Kwegyir Aggrey from Gold Coast, Wilmot Blyden from Liberia, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana and Leopold Sedar Senghor.

The Pan Black Movements enlisted all blacks worldwide. It sometimes was called Pan Negro Movement and was pitted against the evils of racism.

Pan Black Movement gave birth to Pan-African Movement, which had its first meeting in London in 1900 attended by 32 delegates, drawn from USA, Africa, Canada, West Indies and Britain.

Sylvester Williams, a lawyer from Trinidad, coined the term Pan-Africanism.

By 1920, an all-African idea had been developed.

The first pan-African congress for Africans was held in Manchester –England in 1945, also attended by Jomo Kenyatta.

Causes of pan-Africanism.

- a) *The Trans-Atlantic slave trade.* It took place between 15th and 18th centuries. Africans who were forced into slavery in America during this period suffered a lot under the white people. The Africans in Diaspora, through humiliation and sadness realized they had a common destiny.
- b) *Colonization of Africa.* The division of Africa into 50 colonies separated some communities. It also put together various people of different history and culture. The divide and rule tactics of colonialists brought deep divisions among same communities. The Africans realized later on that there was need to find a common ground to bring about change.
- c) *The need to correct the negative ideas about Africa and Africans held by Europeans.* The whites held a popular belief that Africans belonged to an inferior race without ability to run their own affairs.
- d) *Pan-Africanism was a fight against Racism-*Africans were despised and ridiculed on the ground of colour and hair texture.
- e) *The evolution of leadership cadre of educated class of Africans-* leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Sedar Senghor, Jomo Kenyatta and Blyden wanted to prove that Africans were a civilized people with a rich history and culture.
- f) European missionaries had discriminated against the Africans /Africans formed independent churches contributing to the rise of Pan-Africanism.

Objectives of the Pan-African movement

- a) To unite all the peoples of African origin in the struggle for emancipation from social discrimination and colonial rule.
- b) To challenge the ideology of white supremacy on which European colonization was based.
- c) To improve the African living conditions in the Diaspora and in the African continent.
- d) To secure democratic rights for all African peoples e.g. right to vote. Form political associations etc.
- e) To restore the dignity of the black people and liberate them from the bondage of slavery.
- f) To create a forum through which protests against European colonization and racial discrimination could be channeled.
- g) To find better ways of establishing better relations between the Europeans and Africans on the one hand and among Africans on the other hand.
- h) To appeal to missions and humanitarians to protect Africans against colonial aggression and exploitation as well as land alienation.
- i) To fight neo-colonialism

LEADING PAN-AFRICANISTS.

1. Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)

He was born on 17th August 1887 in the West Indies island of Jamaica to a family of freed slaves. The fact that Marcus was very dark is what shaped his philosophy of Pan-Africanism. While a young man, he witnessed great European and Mullato discrimination on account of his complexion.

He arrived in USA in 1916 after widely travelling in south and Central America and Britain. While in England, he was greatly encouraged by Mohammed Duse to lead the peoples of African descent all over the world in the struggle for liberation.

He developed the Pan-African philosophy in USA through which he sought to make Africans take pride in their blackness and cultural heritage. He founded the Negro Empire in New York in 1920. He organized a black convention in 1924 in New York during which he launched the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) whose HQs were to be at Harlem, New York. *UNIA had the following objectives;*

- ~ To create universal fraternity among the Black Race.
- ~ To assist uplift the civilization of African communities.
- ~ To establish a central nation for the black race.
- ~ To establish academies for African children.
- ~ To promote African cultures.

Garvey founded a Journal "The Negro World" and the African Orthodox Church under a black Patriarch or chief Bishop and a Black Madonna as the symbol of his church.

He advocated for the return to Africa by the Africans. To Garvey, freedom was to be gained through economic empowerment of Africans. To this end, he mobilized African Americans to contribute funds to establish black businesses like the Black Starline Shopping Company. The project however collapsed due to mismanagement. He was arrested, tried and convicted of fraud (collecting funds unlawfully) and imprisoned for five years. He was deported to his home country Jamaica after two years in Jail where he died in 1940

He is credited for succeeding in mobilizing Africans to take pride in their cultures and complexion.

2. Booker T. Washington.(1856-1915)

He was born in 1856 in USA to a poor slave family. He acquired a university degree in Agriculture at Hampton Institute.

He is credited for promoting African Education.

He started a model institute for training blacks in agricultural and industrial skills (the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama).

Unfortunately, Washington adopted a policy of cooperation with the government as a means of winning acceptance by the European community. To him, Africans ought to gain wealth in order to attain equal status with Europeans and end racial discrimination. He began the National Negro Business League with the help of a European Andrew Carnegie.

He died in 1915.

3. Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois.

He was born in great Barrington, Massachusetts, USA on 23rd February 1868.

He was the first black to receive a PHD Degree and become a professor of History, Economics and Sociology. He was also a renowned journalist.

He greatly disagreed with Booker T. Washington's policy of accommodation and cooperation. In 1905, he established the Niagara Movement to protest against racial discrimination. In 1900, he was one of the founder members of the National Association for the advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP) an association that championed for the struggle for Negroes' civil rights in America.

He prepared the pan-African conferences that were held between 1900 and 1945 to fight against slavery, colonial exploitation and repression of African peoples. He was the chairman of the Manchester Conference of 1945..

In 1961, he relocated to Ghana where he became a citizen, on invitation of Nkrumah. He died in 1963 in Ghana.

THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES (1900-1945)

a) ***The 1st pan-African conference, London, 1900.*** It was held at the Westminster Townhall from 23rd to 25th July with 32 participants from Africa, USA, Canada and West Indies. The conference was sponsored by a Trinidad lawyer Henry Sylvester Williams who coined the term *Pan-Africanism*. The conference marked the entry of Du Bois into Pan Africanism where he made his famous statement "*The problem of the 20th c is the problem of colourline*".

Objectives of the conference.

- ~ To unite people of African origin in all parts of the world.
- ~ To appeal for the end of European colonization and exploitation of Africa.
- ~ To look for ways of establishing better relations between the Caucasian and African races.
- ~ To initiate a movement for securing the full rights for all Africans in and outside Africa and promote the economic rights.
- ~ To appeal to missionaries and philanthropists in Britain to protect Africans against aggression by colonizers.

Conference Agenda

- ~ Human Rights Violation against blacks in South Africa.
- ~ Living conditions of blacks in different parts of the world.
- ~ Racial discrimination against Africans all over the world.

The conference sent a Memorandum to the Queen of England demanding respect for the rights of Black People especially in the British Empire.

b) ***The 2nd Pan-African Conference, Paris, 1919.*** The conference coincided with the Paris Peace conference. The conference was convened by William Du bois who had been sent to Paris by NAACP to investigate the allegations that African American troops stationed in France during world war I experienced racial discrimination and to represent the interest of the black peoples at the Paris peace conference.

The conference made the following recommendations;

- ~ The need for international laws to protect Black people.
- ~ African land to be held in trust for Africans.
- ~ The prevention of exploitation of African nations by foreign companies.

- ~ The rights of Africans to be educated.
 - ~ That slavery and capital punishment were to be abolished.
 - ~ The right of Africans to participate in their government as fast as their development permitted.
- c) **The 3rd Pan-African Conference 1921.** The conference was held in three sessions in London, Brussels and Paris. The London session was attended by 41 Africans, 35 American coloureds, 7 West Indies and 24 Africans living in Europe at that time. It was patronaged by Du Bois. The conference demanded for the establishment of political organizations among the suppressed blacks. It emphasized international and interracial harmony and democracy.
- d) **The 4th Pan-African congress (London and Lisbon 1923.)** it reiterated earlier resolutions and also demanded that black people be treated like human beings.
- e) **The 5th Pan-African Conference, New York 1927.** It was mainly attended by African Americans and was partly sponsored by European Philanthropists. It discussed the attitude of the communists towards pan-Africanism.
- f) **The 6th Pan African conference, Manchester 1945.** it coincided with the end of the World War II. It was convened by the Pan African Federation which had been formed in 1944 by 13 organizations representing students' welfare and political groupings. Leaders of the federation were George Padmore, Ras Makonnen (Ethiopia). C.L.R Wallace Johnson and Jomo Kenyatta. The conference was greatly inspired by the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 and Clause three of the Atlantic Charter (1941) (*that USA and British governments would respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which to live*) which Winston Churchill claimed was not applicable to the Africans.
- The conference was convened on 15th oct. 1945 and was attended by 90 delegates who included Du Bois(West Indies), Nkrumah(Ghana), Kenyatta(kenya), Padmore(Trinidad), peter Abrahams(south Africa), Ras Makonnen(Ethiopia) , Magnus Williams representing Azikiwa Nnamdi (Nigeria), Obafemi Owolowo(Nigeria) and Kamuzu Banda (Malawi) and 11 observer nations
- Du bois chaired the conference while Nkrumah and Padmore were joint secretaries.

Uniqueness of the conference.

- a) The conference was mainly organized by Africans from the continent unlike earlier ones which were organized by the Africans in Diaspora. The only exceptions were W.E.B Du Bois and Padmore.
- b) Representatives of white philanthropists were absent. Neither did they finance the conference.
- c) Many African trade unions were represented. These included the trade Unions from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana and Gambia. Most of West Indies was also represented.

Key Resolution of the Manchester Conference

- a. Africans should concentrate on winning political power through non-violent means e.g strikes and boycotts.
- b. African intellectuals should play an important role in mobilizing the masses to fight for political liberation.

Pursuant to the conference resolutions, Kwame Nkrumah established the West African National Secretariat (WANS) on 15th December 1945 in England to act as a regional body for Pan African Federation, promote unity in West Africa. WANS published a newsletter, *The New African*, whose main aim was to inspire the youth in Africa to resist imperialism.

Why the 1945 Manchester (Pan-African) Congress was a landmark in the history of Africa.

- a) For the first time leading African representatives in the continent attended e.g. Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Kamuzu Banda, Haile Sellasie etc. on coming back, they all adopted radical nationalistic demands for independence of their states.
- b) It was the first congress that strongly condemned European colonization of Africa and demanded the autonomy and liberty of African states.
- c) The congress was instrumental in granting of independence to Ghana in 1957 and to Egypt soon after.
- d) It set the pace for organization of similar conferences in the African continent like; the 1958 All African Congress and the 1960 Tunis-Pan African People's Conference.
- e) During the conference, the solidarity and unity among Africans began to develop and paved way to the formation of Organization of African Unity.
- f) It marked the establishment of the movement's activities in Africa.

Why pan-African movement was not active in Africa before 1945

- a) There was lack of adequate African representation in the movement before 1945. Africans in the movement were few and were staying outside Africa as political exiles or students.
- b) Colonial authorities could not allow Africans to organize a movement that was against their policies. Such movements were outlawed.
- c) The 'divide and rule' policy used by the Europeans made it impossible for Africans to communicate and cooperate.
- d) Africans in each colony were mainly concerned with issues that affected them directly e.g. Land alienation, forced labour and taxation.
- e) The only Countries that were independent (Liberia and Ethiopia) could not champion pan-Africanism since they had their own internal problems and paid little attention to international matters e.g. Ethiopia and Liberia.
- f) Lack of venue to hold meetings on the African soil since the colonial government would not have allowed such meetings.
- g) Poor state of transport and communication at the time did not permit fast spread of Pan-Africanism.
- h) Few people were educated and only a minority in Africa had higher education hence there was widespread illiteracy and ignorance.
- i) Africans were too poor to contribute to pan-African efforts.

The role of Kwame Nkrumah in Pan-Africanism.

- a) He participated in the 1945 Manchester Conference as the secretary during which he proposed that delegates go back to their countries and spearhead the nationalist struggle for political independence.

- b) He established the West African National Secretariat (WANS) in England to coordinate pan African federation activities in West Africa and promote pan-Africanism.
- c) He founded the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949 which led Ghana to Independence in 1957.
- d) As president of Ghana, Nkrumah inspired many African countries to struggle for political independence, and the black civil rights movement in the USA to fight for their rights.
- e) In 1958, he hosted the first pan-African conference of independent states in Accra which pledged to assist fellow Africans to fight for political independence.
- f) He funded nationalists in other countries e.g. Ghana and Algeria.
- g) He supported other African leaders who faced political threats from their former colonial masters. For example he assisted the Guinean leader, Sekou Toure, with loans following the withdrawal of French support to the country after independence.
- h) He championed trade unionism in Africa as a means of promoting pan-Africanism. During the Manchester conference as a joint secretary with George Padmore, he allowed participation of trade Unions from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana and Gambia.
- i) He participated in convening various pan-African conferences that led to the formation of O.A.U, an association of independent African states.

NB- it is most probably because of his fight against western domination that Nkrumah was eventually overthrown in 1966 in a military coup that forced him into exile. He died on 27th April 1972 in Bucharest, Romania, where he had gone to seek treatment for cancer.

Reasons why the pan-African movement became active in Africa after 1945.

- a) World War II strengthened nationalism in the continent. The Africans' quest for political independence received a boost with support from UNO, USA and USSR.
- b) The 1945 Pan-African Conference in Manchester, brought many African elites together. They later inspired their colleagues back home to join the movement.
- c) The attainment of political independence in India in 1947 and Burma (now Myanmar) in 1948 encouraged many nationalists in Africa.
- d) The slowing down of the pan-Africanism activities in America during the cold war period activated the same in Africa. USA tried to control activities of people like Padmore who had links with USSR.
- e) The attainment of independence by Ghana in 1957 inspired other African nations to focus on the liberation of their respective countries rather than fight for the betterment of fellow Africans outside the continent.

Performance of the Pan-African Movement..

Achievements of Pan-Africanism.

- a) The movement created political awareness among people of African origin and a sense of deep concern for suffering of blacks all over the world.

- b) It put in place Steps towards the restoration of status and dignity to the African people, which had been eroded by slave trade, colonialism and racism.
- c) The movement provided an important forum where the people of African origin could discuss their problems. It promoted brotherhood among Africans.
- d) The movement led to the Development of the spirit of solidarity among the African people when dealing with issues that concern the continent.
- e) It laid the basis for the Formation of OAU, which later became the African Union (AU).
- f) The movement enabled African leaders to be more committed to African issues. For example the black caucus in the USA played an important role in pressurizing the US congress to take drastic measures against the Apartheid regime in South Africa.
- g) The movement laid the foundation for the interest in research on African culture, history, literature, music, religion, medicine, art, etc. this empowered Africans by enabling them to understand the status quo.
- h) The movement played an important role in the advancement of African nationalism by encouraging peoples of African origin to take pride in their ancestry and demand their rights.
- i) The movement condemned Mussolini's attempt to colonize Ethiopia in 1935 by organizing protests in major towns like New York, London, Brussels and Paris.

Challenges encountered by the pan African movement.

- a) Many European groups fought the activities of the pan Africanists. The fact that Marcus Garvey was arrested, tried and convicted of fraud (collecting funds unlawfully) and imprisoned for five years is a clear manifestation of this.
- b) It was difficult for the Africans to participate in African affairs since majority of Africans were still under colonialism.
- c) Due to lack of economic empowerment and lack of education, many of the pan African projects did not succeed. The Marcus Garvey project for instance collapsed due to mismanagement.
- d) Illiteracy and ignorance amongst some people of African origin hindered them from offering constructive support.
- e) The movement was restricted to the African continent after independence in 1960s. The absence of African-Americans in the continents affairs dealt a big to its progress.
- f) Division among Africans after independence e.g. Radical and the conservative leaders and between the francophone and the Anglophone countries.
- g) The European powers domination of the international media was used to water down the importance of pan-Africans by spreading negative propaganda.
- h) Some of the pan-African leaders could not agree on the best strategy of uplifting the welfare of the African origin peoples.
- i) The deep economic connection between colonies and the mother countries hindered any meaningful cooperation.
- j) Lack of venues to hold conferences in Africa especially before 1957 meant that the movement could not take root in Africa quickly. The far-away venues were inconveniencing.

The Pan-African movement activities after 1950.

Despite the challenges mentioned, the movement was still active in Africa after 1950 as manifested in the political developments that took place in the 1950s and 1960s.

The following conferences were convened during that period.

- 1) The 1st Conference of Independent African States, Accra, Ghana April 1958.** In attendance were the eight independent African states of Ghana, Egypt, Morocco, Ethiopia, Liberia, Tunisia Sudan and Libya. the delegates pledged to assist fellow African countries who were fighting for political independence..
- 2) The All-African Peoples conference, (Accra De. 1958)** the conference was attended by freedom fighters and trade unionists from all over Africa. It was chaired by Tom Mboya of Kenya The conference's main resolution was to use all means to acquire political independence and to encourage unity between the African leaders.
- 3) The All-African Peoples Conference, Tunis, January 1960.** It strengthened the desire for unity among African states.
- 4) The 2nd Conference of Independent African States, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 1960.** The conference was the forerunner to the formation of a continental Body, OAU. The conference exposed sharp division among African states over the situation in Congo, where Patrice Lumumba was facing problems with his former colonial masters.
- 5) The Brazzaville Conference December 1960**
Attended exclusively by the 12 francophone conservative African states, the conference emphasized the need to respect international Frontiers and non-interference in the internal affairs of any African state. They promised political support for Mauritania in her boundary disputes with morocco.
- 6) The Casablanca conference, January 1961.**
It was a reaction to the resolutions of the Brazzaville conference by the radicals who supported Morocco in her dispute with Mauritania. They advocated for the removal of foreign troops in Congo.
- 7) The Monrovia conference, May 1961.** It attracted both moderates and conservatives and aimed at uniting the antagonistic groups. The conference emphasized the absolute equality of all states. The conference succeeded in uniting the hostile groups through the undertaking of two crucial events;
 - ~ The Algerian Referendum of 1961, which passed that the Algerians wanted political independence from France.
 - ~ The situation in Congo stabilized after 1961.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

What was the OAU?

It was an association of independent African states that existed between 1963 and 2002, when it was renamed the African Union (AU)

Origin and development of OAU.

It was formed as a climax of a series of pan- Africanism congresses up to 1963.

In January 1961, several African independent states, i.e. Egypt, Ghana, morocco, Libya and Algeria, met in Casablanca and pledged to help Patrice Lumumba of Congo against

the secessionist Tsombe. In May 1961, another group of African states, i.e. Liberia, Tunisia and Togo met in Monrovia and agreed to work in unity to solve the Congo crisis. In August 1961, a bigger group made up of former French colonies met in Brazzaville to find a solution to the Congo crisis.

In 1963, the regional groupings compromised and joined with others to form one organization. In May 1963, foreign ministers of 32 independent African states met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to prepare the agenda for the heads of state meeting. The heads of states met under chair of Emperor Haile Selassie and gave birth to OAU, with Selassie as its first chairperson. Its membership grew from 32 at the time of its inception to 54

NB; when the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic was admitted to the OAU in 1984, Morocco withdrew since she claimed that SADR was part of her territory.

The Charter of OAU.

Objectives of the OAU.

- a) To provide African countries it a permanent organization through which they could discuss issues affecting them and lay strategies for solving them.
- b) To provide identity for the newly independent countries of Africa in a world dominated and controlled by the white race.
- c) To co-ordinate and assist in the speedy decolonization of the rest of Africa.
- d) To improve the living standards and conditions of African people as a group and as individual states.
- e) To help in the Defence of the independence of African states and maintenance of the sovereignty of these countries.
- f) To promote cooperation among the African states in economic, social and political fields so as to improve living standards.
- g) To promote and enhance African solidarity and unity.
- h) To support world, peace organizations like the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement.
- i) To promote peaceful settlement of disputes.
- j) To promote non-interference in the internal matters of member states.

The fundamental principles of OAU as outlined in the charter.

- a) Recognition of the sovereign equality of member states.
- b) Non-interference in the internal affairs of member countries.
- c) Respect for the sovereign and territorial integrity of each country and its inalienable right to independent existence.
- d) Peaceful settlement of disputes.
- e) Condemnation of political assassination or any form of subversion by one country in another member country.
- f) Dedication to the emancipation of territories under colonial rule.
- g) Adherence to the principle of non-alignment.

The structure of the former OAU.

The OAU charter borrowed heavily from that of the United Nations Organization. The only difference is that no member of OAU enjoys veto powers. All members have equal privileges and vote.

The charter outlined the structure of OAU as follows;

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government. This was the supreme organ of OAU meeting once a year to discuss specific urgent matters and electing a chairperson every year. A two-third majority vote was used to decide critical issues.

The Council of Ministers. It was made up of all foreign ministers of OAU member states and met twice a year to prepare agenda for the meeting of heads of state and government. It implemented decisions passed by heads and prepared the OAU budget.

The General Secretariat. Headed by the secretary general elected by the Assembly of Heads of state, it offered the administrative services to the organization on daily basis. The past secretaries were Kifle Wodajo of Ethiopia (1963-1964), Diallo Telli Boubaker of Guinea (1964-1972), Nzo Ekangaki of Cameroon (1972-1974), Eteki Mboumoua of Cameroon (1974-1978), Edem Kodjo of Togo (1978-1983), Peter Onu of Nigeria (1983-1985), Ide Oumarou of Niger (1985-1989). The last was Salim Ahmed Salim from Tanzania.

The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. It was charged with the task of settling disputes involving members. It had membership of 21 states and served for a term of five years.

Specialized Agencies. The OAU also comprised specialized agencies and committees that handled the technical business of the organization. E.g. the OAU Liberation Committee-to co-ordinate activities of liberation movements. The Economic and Social Commission, the Commission on Education, Science and Culture, the Defence Commission, the Supreme Council of Sports Etc.

Achievements of OAU.

- a) It offered solution to border disputes between member states like Kenya vs. Somalia, Ethiopia vs. Somalia, Libya vs. Chad, Morocco vs. Algeria, Chad vs. Nigeria and the Rwanda –Burundi conflict.
- b) The OAU achieved total liberation of African countries, with South Africa being the last one. It offered military support to the nationalistic struggles in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.
- c) It condemned human rights violation in countries like Namibia and South Africa. It encouraged economic sanctions against the apartheid regime of South Africa.
- d) Through the OAU, African governments were able to speak with one voice on matters affecting Africa and they even attempted to formulate a common foreign policy.
- e) It provided a forum for discussing Africa's common problems like desertification, foreign interference, and dependency and at the same time sought for solutions to the problems.
- f) The organization embarked on common economic ventures for Africa. For example creation of the African Development Bank (ADB) which represented the collective contribution by all Africans towards emancipation of Africans from economic backwardness.

- g) It encouraged construction of roads and railways to link different regions. E.g. Tanzam, the Great North Road and the Trans-African Highway. This improved economic co-operation between member states.
- h) It created a cultural identity for African countries sports and the All-African Games, which provided Africans with the opportunity to meet and socialize.
- i) Through its refugee agency, it addressed itself to the refugee problem in the continent. E.g. refugees from countries like Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, Gambia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia have been assisted.
- j) It was instrumental in the formation of regional organizations like ECOWAS, SADDCC and COMESA.

Problems that faced OAU during its operation.

- a) Differences in economic development levels and in history of member states militated against co-operation.
- b) Ideological differences among member states, especially during the Cold war period, hampered the operations of the OAU.
- c) It lacked sufficient funds to carry out its work efficiently. The members were poor given that all of them were third world countries.
- d) The problem of sovereignty. Many countries disregarded the OAU resolutions in favour of their sovereignty and national interests.
- e) It lacked an effective machinery to effect its decisions. It also lacked a standing army to implement and effect its resolutions hence the term 'Toothless Bulldog' coined by Gadaffi to refer to it.
- f) Loyalty to other organizations. OAU members also belonged to other organizations like ECOWAS, COMESA, The Arab League etc; the interests of these organizations were not always in accord with those of the OAU.
- g) The colonial legacy. Many problems arising from past colonial policies have rocked the organization. E.g. The land issue in Zimbabwe. There is also the problem of Neo-Colonialism in trade.
- h) Interference by the big powers. This has caused dismay to the organization.
- i) Emergence of dictators like Amin Dada of Uganda, Bakassa Jean Bedel of Central African Republic, And Mobutu of Congo.
- j) Civil strife in various countries remained unresolved for a long time. E.g in Sudan, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Nigeria. This made cooperation difficult.

THE AFRICAN UNION

Origin of the African Union.

On 9th September 1999, the Heads of State and Government met in Libya and made the *Sirte Declaration* calling for the establishment of an African Union and a pan-African parliament.

On 29th May 2000, the document for the formation of African Union and Pan-African Parliament was adopted by the joint sitting of legal experts and parliamentarians.

On 2nd June 2000, heads of state and government meeting in Lome, Togo adopted the Constitutive Act of the African Union drafted by the council of ministers.

The AU was born in 2002, at a Summit held in Durban, South Africa, where the first Assembly of Heads of State of African Union was convened.

Differences between the former Organization of African Unity and the present African Union.

- a) Unlike the O.A.U, the A.U challenges the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states. It allows for intervention whenever a member state experiences conflict or widespread human rights violation.
- b) O.A.U was like an Association of African Heads of State, but A.U is like a Union of African Peoples. Increased participation of all African people is manifested in the proposed Pan-African Parliament and an economic, social and cultural council.
- c) Unlike the O.A.U the African Union has an accountability mechanism. An African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) has been developed as a means through which countries can be held accountable on matters of security, development, stability and cooperation.
- d) Unlike the O.A.U, the A.U has a broader development plan for Africa e.g. through the New Partnership for Africa's Development-NEPAD whose main objectives include to promote accelerated growth and sustainable development, to eradicate the widespread poverty in the continent and to halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process.
- e) Unlike OAU, AU presupposes the establishment of a security council and the African Court of Justice with law enforcement powers(A standing military)

The AU Charter.

Objectives of AU.

- a) To accelerate the political, social and economic integration of the continent.
- b) To promote and defend the African common positions on issues of interest.
- c) To defend the independence and territorial integrity of African states and maintain the sovereignty of these countries.
- d) To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.
- e) To establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations.
- f) To promote cooperation among the African states in economic, social and political fields so as to improve living standards.
- g) To achieve and enhance greater African solidarity and unity.
- h) To promote peace, security and stability in the continent through peaceful settlement of disputes.
- i) To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, particularly in science and technology.
- j) To encourage international cooperation, taking into account the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- k) To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and promotion of good health on the continent.

The structure of African Union

The AU charter outlined the structure of AU as follows;

1. **The Assembly.** This is the supreme organ of AU meeting once a year to elect a chairperson and determine the common policies of the union, consider requests for admission, monitor implementation of policies and decisions, appoint and terminate the judges of the court of Justice among other functions. *(students to make additions)* Decisions are either by consensus or by two-thirds majority vote.
2. **The Executive Council.** It is made up of Foreign Ministers or the authorities designated by the member states. Its core function is to co-ordinate union policies in areas of common interest like foreign trade, energy, industry, water resources and environmental protection. Such functions can be delegated to specialized technical committees.
3. **The Commission/Secretariat.** Comprises a chairperson, deputy chairperson and eight commissioners and staff members. It deals with the administrative issues and implements decisions of the Union.
4. **The Permanent Representatives Committee.** It comprises the Ambassadors to the AU. Its main responsibility is to prepare for the executive council and run the association daily. It seats permanently in Addis Ababa.
5. **Specialized committees and Agencies.** The AU also comprised specialized agencies and committees that handled the technical business of the organization. E.g the Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters, the Committee on Monetary and Financial Affairs, the Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigrations Matters, the Committee on Transport and Communication, the Committee on Education, Human Resource and Culture, the Committee on Health, Labour, and Social Affairs.
6. **The economic and social council.** It performs advisory functions
7. **Specialized technical committees.** E.g the Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural matters, the Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters, The Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, the Committee on Transport, Communication and Tourism, the Committee on Health, Labour and Social Affairs, the Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources.

They perform the following roles;

- a) Prepare projects and programmes of the Union and submit them to the executive council.
 - b) Ensure supervision, follow-up and evaluation of the implementation of decisions taken by the organs of the Union.
 - c) Ensure co-ordination and harmonization of projects and programmes of the Union.
 - d) Submit to the Executive council, their reports and recommendations on implementation of the African Union's Act.
8. **Other proposed structures though not yet in place are;**
 - ~ The peace and Security Council to comprise 15 members to monitor and intervene in conflicts.
 - ~ The Pan-African Parliament responsible for ensuring civil society participation in AU matters.

- ~ The Court of Justice to deal with human rights abuses in Africa.
- ~ Financial Institutions like The African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund and the African Investment Bank.

THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

Founded on 6th June 1967, it comprises Kenya Uganda and Tanzania.

Origin of the East African Community.

Its origin can be traced back to 1902- the efforts of the British and German colonial governments' to establish a unified administration over the East African territories. For example, the East African Court of Appeal was established in 1902, The East African Postal Union in 1911, East African Customs Union in 1917, East African Currency Board in 1920 And East African High Commission in 1948.

On 9th December 1961, the East African High Commission was replaced with the East African Common Services Organization with the headquarters in Nairobi.

The treaty to establish the East African Community was signed on 6th June 1967. The organization came into force on 1st December 1967.

Objectives of the East African Community.

- a) To maintain a common markets for the member states and promote balanced economic cooperation.
- b) To provide common services to the three member states especially in the areas of transport and communication.
- c) To promote political co-operation between the three countries and hence peace and security.
- d) To facilitate the movement of the people within the region to foster greater co-operation and understanding among them.
- e) To expand the market in a region where population and incomes are low.

Challenges that faced the East African Community up to 1977.

- a) Suspicion over perceived dominance among members. Tanzania and Uganda accused Kenya of acquiring the lion's share of benefits from the community. Kenyan industries for example were protected more by the common external tariffs.
- b) Personality differences. This was between individual leaders of the three countries, making it more difficult for them to hold meetings.
- c) Ideological differences. Each of the three countries pursued different economies. Kenya followed capitalism and Tanzania socialism. Uganda had a mixed economy.
- d) Political instability in Uganda. The coup d'état, which overthrew Milton Obote, undermined the unity that was desired for the organization. Nyerere for example refused to recognize Amin as the president of Uganda.
- e) National pride and interests. National interests were given more priority than the regional interests were. E.g Tanzania favoured railway transport while Kenya favoured road transport.
- f) Boundary closures .Tanzania closed its common border with Kenya in 1977, thereby halting the community activities. There was also boundary closure between Tanzania and Uganda during the war between the two in 1978.

- g) Financial constraints resulting from failure by member states to remit funds to meet the organization's needs.
- h) The use of different currencies by the three nations made transaction difficult.

The Rebirth of the East African Community-2001

Reasons that led to the rebirth of the East African Community in 1996.

- a) There was need to maintain a common market for the member states in order to promote balanced economic cooperation.
- b) There was increasing need to provide common services to the three Member states especially in the areas of transport and communication as well as research.
- c) There was a strong desire to promote political cooperation between the three countries in a world that was becoming a global village.
- d) There was need to facilitate free movement of people in the region.
- e) A greater lesson had been learnt following the great losses and costs incurred by the East African countries following the collapse of the Community in 1977.

Milestones in the Formation of the East African Community-2001.

- a) The full East African cooperation was started on March 14, 1996, when the Secretariat of the Permanent Tripartite Commission was launched at the headquarters of EAC in Arusha, Tanzania. Ambassador Francis Muthaura was appointed the first secretary general.
- b) On 19th November 1996, the agreement for the establishment of the East African Business Council was signed in Nairobi.
- f) On 29th April 1997, the second summit of heads of state was held in Arusha. It launched the first East African Cooperation development strategy (1997-2000).
- g) On 30th April 1998, the ninth meeting of the Permanent Tripartite Commission in Arusha launched the treaty for the establishment of the East African Community.
- h) On 24th November 1998, the first East African Ministerial meeting on the Lake Victoria hyacinth was held in Arusha. A regional strategy was developed for control of the lake hyacinth.
- i) On 22nd January 1999, the third summit met in Arusha and directed the Permanent Tripartite Commission to complete the treaty –making process by 30th July 1999.
- j) The treaty establishing the East African Community-2001 was signed on 30th November 1999 in Arusha by the three heads of state.

The structure of the New East African Community.

In the november30, 1999 treaty, the following organs were established to coordinate the activities and the direction of the community.

1. **The Summit of Heads of State.** It had the responsibility of giving direction towards realization of the goals and objectives of the community. It was the community's supreme organ, consisting of the three heads of state with the chair being rotational.
2. **The Council of Ministers.** The main decision –making organ of the heads of governments of the member states. It comprised the designated ministers from member states.

3. **The Coordinating Committee.** Made up of permanent secretaries. It reports to the council of ministers. It coordinates the activities of the sectoral committees.
4. **The Sectoral Committees.** These are committees created by the council on recommendation of the respective coordinating committee.
5. **The East African Legislative Assembly.** It provides a democratic forum for debate. It is also a watchdog of the activities of the community. It is a 30 -member assembly whose members are drawn from the member state.
6. **The Secretariat.** Based in Arusha, it carried out the day-to-day administrative duties of the community.
7. **The Court of justice of East Africa.** This was the highest appellate court in the region.

Other autonomous institutions established by the Council include;

- ~ The East African Development Bank (EADB).
- ~ Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization (LVFO)
- ~ Inter-University Council for East Africa (IUCEA)

Challenges that have faced the EAC-2001.

- a) Suspicion still exists over perceived dominance of Kenya in the community affairs.
- b) Despite signing the treaty in 1999, Tanzania customs are still taxing Kenyan products.
- c) Increased cross-border smuggling. The freedom of movement within the region sometimes results in smuggling of illegal arms and spread of crime and insecurity. E.g. the smuggling of a vehicle belonging to Kenya's Chief of Staff, General Joseph Kibwana to Tanzania in 2004.
- d) Cattle rustling across the borders. This is common on the Kenya Uganda border with the Pokot and Karamojong attacking each other
- e) Arrest of Kenyan fishermen on Lake Victoria by either Tanzania or Ugandan policemen/navy accusing them of fishing in their waters.
- f) Membership to other regional bodies e.g. COMESA, SADDC. This complicates the work of the EAC.
- g) The recent wrangles between Kenya and Uganda over ownership of Migingo Island. Although this problem was resolved by Uganda conceding Kenya's ownership of the Island, it raised tension between the two countries.
- h) The use of different currencies by the three nations has made transaction difficult.
- i) Political squabbles in the individual countries slow down the progress of the community
- j) Individual national interests have slowed down the implementation of the activities of the community the deep-seated differences between the member states over the proposed taxes on imports from countries outside the region.

Achievements of the East African Community-2001.

- a) It has boosted movement of citizens within the three member states of East Africa. An East African passport has been introduced.
- b) It has provided a forum for the East African Leaders to discuss issues harmoniously.

- c) It has facilitated the improvement and expansion of transport and communication networks between the three East African countries.
- d) Tariffs for industrial goods produced in East Africa have been reduced.
- e) Investment procedures have been eased to enable all citizens to invest more easily within the community.
- f) It has enhanced cooperation of the civil society leading to formation of the Law Society of East Africa and the Business Council of East Africa.
- g) The community has promoted trade among member states by encouraging citizens to conduct trade in all the countries.

THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES.

Formation of ECOWAS.

This is a regional group comprising of 15 West African countries.

The treaty establishing ECOWAS was signed in Lagos, Nigeria on 28th May 1975 by Gambia, Mali, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Niger, Benin, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria and Guinea.

Objectives of ECOWAS.

- a) To provide economic co-operation among West African states in specialized fields such as transport, communication, agriculture, trade industry etc.
- b) To liberalize trade between member states.
- c) To improve relations between the member states.
- d) To improve living standards of people in the member states.
- e) To create a customs union in the region.
- f) To promote industrial development among member states.
- g) To promote cultural interaction among the member states.

Organization of ECOWAS.

The following are organs that were established to coordinate the activities and the direction of ECOWAS.

1. **The Authority of Heads of State and government.** The authority meets once a year, with the chair being rotational.
2. **The Council of Ministers.** It comprises the designated ministers from member states. It meets twice a year. It manages the affairs of the community.
3. **The Tribunal.** Acting as the industrial court, it was established for settling disputes arising from the community.
4. **The Executive Secretariat.** Based in Lagos, Nigeria, it carries out the day-to-day administrative duties of the community.
5. **Specialized commissions and Agencies.** E.g the Committee on industry, natural resources and Agricultural Matters, the Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigrations Matters, the Committee on Transport and Communication, the Committee on Culture and Social Affairs.

Achievements of ECOWAS.

- a) The defence Act adopted by ECOWAS in 1981 provided military support to any Member state attacked by outsiders. Their defence force known as ECOMOG was instrumental in quelling civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- b) Economically, Member states benefit from ECOWAS. For example, Nigeria provides her oil to member states at a reduced price.
- c) The community has enabled regular meeting of the Heads of State to tackle problems facing the region.
- d) Socio-cultural exchanges within the West African region have promoted good relations among the people.
- e) Improvement has been realized in transport, trade, agriculture and communication.
- f) The organization has resolved political problems facing member states.
- g) ECOWAS has enabled citizens of member states to move freely from one country to another through waiver of visa requirements.
- h) There has been progress in education through the establishment of a Joint examination Syllabus for West African States.

Challenges that ECOWAS has faced in its operation.

- a) *Political instability in member states.* Countries like Nigeria and Ghana have witnessed Military coups. Civil wars have been fought in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ivory Coast. These have been a hindrance to cooperation.
- b) *Nationalistic issues.* Most member states give priority to their own domestic issues at the expense of the organization.
- c) *Language barrier.* Countries in West Africa inherited the languages of their former colonial masters. The problem in communication has hindered the efficient operation of the organization.
- d) *Infrastructural problems.* The state of roads, railway and communication linkages are poor. This has hampered economic progress of member states.
- e) *Ideological differences.* The leaders of the member states view each other with suspicion and mistrust due to differences in ideologies.
- f) *Lack of uniform currency.* Each country has its own currency. This creates a problem of rates of exchange thus hindering trade.
- g) *Foreign interference.* The presence of Israeli and French soldiers in Cote D'Ivoire was viewed suspiciously by guinea.
- h) *Border closures.* For example between Ghana and Togo and between Burkina Faso and Mali.

THE COMMON MARKETS FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

It is an economic organization comprising 19 states and which was established on 8th December 1994 to replace the Preferential Trade Area.

Aims and objectives of COMESA.

- a) To attain sustainable growth and development of the member states by promoting a more balanced and harmonious development of its production and marketing.
- b) To promote cooperation in all fields of economic activity and joint adoption of macro-economic policies and programmes.

- c) To cooperate in the promotion of peace, security and stability among member states in order to enhance economic development in the region.
- d) To cooperate in the creation of an enabling environment for foreign, cross-border and domestic investment.
- e) To cooperate in strengthening the relations between the common market and the rest of the world.
- f) To contribute towards the establishment, progress and realization of the objectives of the African Economic Community.

Principles that govern the operation of COMESA.

- a) Equality and interdependence of member states.
- b) Solidarity and collective self-reliance among member states.
- c) Inter-state cooperation, harmonization of policies and integration of programmes.
- d) Non-aggression.
- e) Recognition, promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on human and peoples' rights.
- f) Accountability, economic justice and popular participation in development.
- g) The recognition and observance of the rule of law.
- h) The promotion and sustenance of a democratic system of governance in each member state.
- i) The maintenance of regional peace and stability through the promotion and strengthening of good neighbourliness.
- j) The peaceful settlement of disputes among member states and active cooperation between neighbouring countries

Organization of COMESA.

COMESA is made up of the following organs;

1. **The Authority of Heads of State and government.** It is the supreme-policy making organ of COMESA. The authority meets once a year, but may hold an extra-ordinary meeting on request of any member of the authority.
2. **The Council of Ministers.** It comprises the designated ministers from member states. It meets once a year. It manages the affairs of the community. It monitors and ensures the proper functioning and development of COMESA.
3. **The Court of Justice.** It ensures proper interpretation and application of the provisions of the treaty. It was established for settling disputes arising from the community. E.g between Kenya and Egypt over export of cement in 2004
4. **The committee of Governors of Central Banks.** Governors of banks of member states form a committee to manage COMESA clearing house and ensure implementation of the monetary and financial co-operation programmes.
5. **The Inter-Governmental Committee.** A committee of permanent secretaries from member states which develops and manages programmes and action plans in all areas of cooperation except in the financial sector.
6. **The Secretariat.** Based in Lusaka, Zambia, it provides technical support and advisory services to the member states and coordinates the activities of COMESA. The current secretary general is Erastus Mwencha since 1997

7. **The Technical Committees.** E.g the Committee on natural resources and Environment, the Committee on Agricultural Matters, the Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigrations Matters, the Committee on Transport and Communication, the Committee on Labour, Culture and Social Affairs.
8. **The consultative committee.** This comprises the business community and other stakeholders. It provides a link between the business community and other COMESA stakeholders, monitors implementation of the necessary provisions of the treaty, consults and receives reports from other interested groups and Participates in the technical committees and makes recommendation.
9. **Specialized independent institutions.** The Eastern and Southern African Trade and Development Bank (PTA Bank) based in Nairobi, Kenya, the PTA reinsurance company, Nairobi, Kenya, The COMESA clearing house, Harare, Zimbabwe, COMESA association of Commercial Banks, Harare, Zimbabwe, COMESA leather institute, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Achievements of COMESA.

- a) It provides its members a wide, harmonized and more competitive market for internal and external trading.
- b) It provides member states with a rational way of exploiting natural resources for their welfare.
- c) COMESA has established harmonized monetary, banking and financial policies in the region.
- d) It has improved the administration of transport and communication to ease movement of goods, services and people.
- e) It has ensured cooperation in the promotion of peace, security and stability among member states in order to enhance economic development in the region.
- f) COMESA has strengthened relations between the Common Market and the rest of the world while ensuring that the members adopt a common position in international fora.
- g) Through the Authority of Heads of State and Government, COMESA directs and controls the affairs of the common market.
- h) Customs cooperation has been achieved through a unified computerized customs network that operates across the region. The harmonization of macro-economic and monetary policies throughout the region has been achieved.
- i) It has provided room for greater industrial productivity and competitiveness due to its large market.
- j) It has encouraged member states to practice good governance, accountability and respect for human rights. Burundi and Rwanda were subjected to these demands before they were admitted to COMESA.
- k) It has contributed to employment of many people in the region.
- l) COMESA has promoted increased agricultural production and exploitation of natural resources.
- m) The organization has ensured a more efficient and reliable transport and communication infrastructure.

Challenges that face COMESA in its operations.

- a) *Membership to other bodies.* Members of COMESA are also members of EAC and SADC. This leads to divided loyalty.
- b) *Personality differences.* For example, presidents Museveni of Uganda and El Bashir of Sudan were involved in disagreements in 2004 over rebel activities.
- c) *Boundary conflicts.* This has been witnessed between Ethiopia and Eritrea.
- d) *Civil wars.* Wars have been witnessed in DRC, Uganda, Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi. Such inevitable wars undermine the operations of the common markets.
- e) *Constant quarrels among member states over trading rights.* For example Kenya and Egypt quarreled over duty-free cement dumped in Kenya by Egypt, on which Kenya wanted to charge duty.
- f) *Poor transport between member states.* This hampers movement of goods in the region.
- g) *Pulling out of Tanzania and Namibia.* The two founder members have opted for the South African Development Cooperation (SADC). This has undermined COMESA.
- h) *Some members undermine their neighbours.* For example Uganda and Rwanda have been accused of participating in the civil wars in the DRC.

Reasons why Africa has been unable to achieve full economic integration.

- a) The problem of poor transport and communication has impeded flow of trade. This has affected all previous and existing economic groupings.
- b) There is uneven distribution of resources in Africa. Some countries are endowed with strategic natural resources like oil and fertile soils while others are impoverished with no resources. This hinders integration.
- c) All member states of economic co-operations suffer from budgetary deficit and balance of payment problems. They therefore lack adequate foreign exchange required for international trade.
- d) There is constant political interference by unenlightened leaders
- e) There has been rivalry among member states of trading co-operations.
- f) Africa has had a poor share from world trade as prices on world market are dictated by industrialized countries.
- g) The advent of multi-partism after the end of the cold war and the subsequent introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes has crippled the performance of economic integration in Africa.
- h) Inability of member states to interfere in the internal affairs of other states even where there is need.
- i) Failure by member states to contribute fully to the organizations.
- j) The colonial legacy. Many member states still depend heavily on the West for manufactured goods, machinery, technology, donations and ideas.

NATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES (KENYA)

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

Meaning and origin of African Socialism.

The Sessional paper No.10 of 1965 defines African socialism as an African political, economic system that is positively African, and capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques from whatever source.

African socialism was born out of the desire by our leaders to create a new society, different from the colonial society and which embraced equity devoid of racism, oppression and other social injustices.

Main features that characterized African socialism in Kenya.

- a) Political Democracy where all people are politically free and equal
- b) Various forms of ownership of wealth. E.g. free enterprise allowing private ownership of property, nationalization policy for key industries, partnership with private sector
- c) Mutual social responsibility. That the spirit of service and not greed for personal gain motivate Kenyans.
- d) A range of control to ensure that property is used in mutual interests of society and its members.
- e) Progressive taxation to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth and income.
- f) Diffusion of ownership to avoid concentration of economic power on a few people in the society.

Achievements of African socialism as a National Philosophy.

- a) It has led to promotion of democratic process in governance. Multi-partism has been established in Kenya due to African socialism policies. Kenya has also witnessed the growth of the civil society.
- b) Since the philosophy is built on African traditions, it has promoted African cultures Kenya pursued African values consistent with her traditions.
- c) The philosophy has promoted national unity and coexistence among Kenyan communities.
- d) There has been a greater effort to achieve fairness and justice through progressive taxation and a range of other controls. The government has tried to achieve fair distribution of resources through the activities of the District Focus for Rural Development.
- e) The philosophy led to establishment of cooperative societies in Kenya. This has promoted social and economic development in Kenya.
- f) African socialism has promoted agricultural development through the land tenure system that was undertaken to ensure settlement of the landless in settlement schemes like Bura.
- g) Social development in education and health has been achieved. Discrimination in schools, hospitals and residential areas stopped. Uniform systems were adopted.
- h) The philosophy gave Africans the right to participate in their economy. This was through the policy of Africanization in which industrial enterprises hitherto owned by Asians and Europeans, changed ownership.
- i) African socialism has encouraged rapid development in Kenya. The policy of mutual social responsibility through self-help promotes a sense of patriotism and service to the nation as Kenyans work together to build the nation.

Problems that faced African socialism.

- a) Progressive taxation has put an additional burden of taxation on the poor thus discouraging development.
- b) Political interference in public projects and wrangles among leaders retards development.
- c) The spirit of unity and co-operation and self-help has been discouraged by misappropriation of funds.
- d) Corruption leads to negative attitude from people towards contributing to national development.

HARAMBEE PHILOSOPHY

Meaning and origin of Harambee philosophy.

Harambee is a Kiswahili slogan, which means pulling together or working together. It was a development strategy in which, people supplemented government efforts through voluntary contribution.

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta made it a national Motto in 1963 when he aptly advanced it as unity in all causes of national integrity and human progress.

The Harambee spirit embodies ideals of assistance, joint effort, mutual social responsibility and community self-reliance.

Harambee projects are categorized as;

1. **Social Projects.** Educational institutions and facilities, medical centres, recreational facilities and religious institutions.
2. **Economic projects.** Construction of rural access roads, bridges and culverts, agricultural and livestock activities.

Principles that guide the Harambee spirit.

- a) It is a development strategy that is aimed at mobilizing the people at local level to participate in their development
- b) Participation is guided by the principles of collective good as opposed to individual gain. Harambee efforts should be directed towards community projects rather than individual projects.
- c) The choice of project is supposed to be guided by the felt needs of the majority. Participants should be involved in decision making.
- d) In the implementation of projects, there should be maximum utilization of the local resources such as labour, materials and money.

Contribution of Harambee movement to the development of Kenya.

- a) Harambee movement has led to development of education in Kenya through Harambee fundraising to construct schools and colleges.
- b) Funds have been collected through Harambee to improve infrastructural facilities such as roads, rural electrification and provision of water.
- c) Collective participation in development programmes by people from different groups has promoted national unity.
- d) It has helped inculcate hard work in the people of Kenya. This has in turn encouraged various ethnic groups to develop their respective areas.

- e) Harambee projects especially in rural areas have attracted foreign donors especially the NGO'S
- f) Has led to re-distribution of resources as people with more funds have participated in the development projects in the less developed areas.
- g) Funds have been raised through Harambee to help the less fortunate members of the society. For example, President Moi 8th April 1989 held a Mammoth Rally where KSH 70Million was raised to help the disabled.
- h) Harambee movement has promoted agricultural development e.g., through construction of cattle dips and purchase of farms through Harambee.
- i) Funds raised through Harambee have been used to purchase buses and Matatus to provide transport.

Ways in which the Harambee philosophy has promoted the development of education in Kenya.

- a) Many education institutions have been constructed using funds raised through Harambee effort. Thus enabling many children to attend school.
- b) Many students have been assisted to pay school fees/thus it enables the needy to go on learning.
- c) Physical facilities have been constructed/improved through Harambee. This enables learning in a conducive environment.
- d) Teaching/learning materials have been purchased/ donated to schools to improve the quality of education.
- e) Additional staff/workers in schools have been paid through Harambee contributions by the parents to offset inadequacy.
- f) Through Harambee spirit, well-wishers, thus helping the learners to exploit their talents, have supported co-curricular activities.
- g) Scholl furniture has been bought through Harambee effort thus making learning /teaching comfortable.
- h) Parents have contributed funds to supplement the government's school feeding programmes thus improving enrolment.

problems that face Harambee movement in Kenya.

- a) Misuse of Harambee funds/diverting its use and lack of commitment by leaders.
- b) It puts an additional burden of taxation on the poor.
- c) Embezzlement of public funds.
- d) Political interference and wrangles among leaders.
- e) The spirit of unity and co-operation and self-help may be killed by misappropriation of funds.
- f) Poor co-ordination and supervision of Harambee projects.
- g) Use of force or extortion of Harambee funds from the people/dictatorial tendencies.
- h) Corruption and negative attitude from people.
- i) Use of Harambee for political gains.

NYAYOISM.

Meaning and origin of Nyayoism.

Nyayoism originally meant footsteps i.e. following the footsteps of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.

This was a phrase coined by the former president of Kenya Daniel Arap Moi, in reference to his Endeavour to follow the foot steps of his predecessor.

Today, Nyayoism means peace, love and unity that form the pillars of the development philosophy.

It stresses the concept of being mindful of other people's welfare.

It is closely related to the principal of mutual social responsibility as embodied in African socialism.

Sources of Nyayoism.

- 1) Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 that articulated African socialism, which is based on collective responsibility and on being mindful of other people's welfare.
- 2) The Biblical teaching of the Ten Commandments, summarized as Love for God, fellow man and oneself.
- 3) Moi's long political career inspired him to develop the philosophy when he realized that national building required love.

Pillars of Nyayoism

- 1) *Peace*: - the state of being free from war and disorder. Peace is the beginning of sustainable and cumulative progress. Peace promotes development. According to Nyayoism, peace discourages political stability.
- 2) *Love*: - Love brings about trust and readiness to cooperate by working together to foster national development. Lack of love disturbs peace, creates disorder and destroys progress. Love encourages the African culture of sharing through the extended family (communalism).
- 3) *Unity*: - the state of being one, being in harmony or in agreement in objectives and feelings. The diversity of Kenya's culture, religion, races and language requires that there must be unity for nation-building.

Role played by Nyayoism in national development.

- a) The philosophy formed the basis for solving national development problems. The philosophy perpetuated the Harambee spirit.
- b) The philosophy helped in unifying different communities. The philosophy enhanced cooperation and unity of all.
- c) Nyayoism was used as the rallying spirit for the collective contribution and approach to national development.
- d) Nyayoism discouraged societal evils since it preached love, unity and peace. Corruption was discouraged through the philosophy.
- e) It discouraged all forms of discrimination based on religion, tribe, race, and social status.
- f) The philosophy created respect for public property and functions.
- g) It enabled the creation of a welfare state since everyone became mindful of others welfare.
- h) It created a sense of nationalism and patriotism necessary for national development.

Impact of National Philosophies

Social Impact of National Philosophies.

- a) Education has been promoted through philosophies like the Harambee that have assisted in construction of schools, laboratories and libraries.
- b) Medical services have been improved
- c) Cooperation, understanding and unity have been encouraged since the philosophies emphasized togetherness for nation-building.
- d) The philosophies have promoted the spiritual and social welfare of people by raising their living standards. African socialism encourages people to assist others and share with others.
- e) Through the Harambee spirit, the plight of persons with disabilities and other disadvantaged groups has been looked into.
- f) The philosophies have promoted African cultures, since they are drawn from African traditions.

Economic impacts.

- a) Self-reliance and The Africanization process through which the people of Kenya were able to take over from foreigners was made possible by the philosophies.
- b) Due to the policy of pooling together resources and the spirit of cooperation derived from African socialism, cooperative societies have been formed in agriculture and other sectors, thus contributing to the country's development.
- c) Transport and communication has been improved through African socialism and Harambee spirit. Rural access roads have been constructed; Nyayo buses were bought though the scheme failed due to mismanagement.
- d) The agricultural sector has been boosted by the philosophies. Kenyans are encouraged to work hard to increase food production.
- e) The pillars of Nyayoism have created a conducive atmosphere for growth of tourism and foreign investment in the country.

Political impacts.

- a) The philosophies have promoted nationalism and patriotism in the country.
- b) African socialism has encouraged the democratization process as it champions for political equality.
- c) It has promoted international cooperation and understanding

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND CHALLENGES IN KENYA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHALLENGES

It must be noted that Kenya inherited a number of political problems from the colonial government. For example;

- a) Lack of African technocrats who could give political direction to the country.
- b) Suspicion and jealousy between different communities due to the divide-and-rule tactic employed by the colonial administration for many years.
- c) An illiterate population, ignorant of its political obligations

Political developments in Kenya between 1963 and 1991

On 12th December 1963, Kenya became independent under KANU led by Jomo Kenyatta. In 1964, there was voluntary disbanding of KADU and APP making Kenya a de facto one party state. There was abolition of Federal Constitution in favour of a Unitary or Republican Constitution.

The post of an executive president was created to replace the post of Prime Minister. In 1966, the Limuru conference presided over replacement of the Vice-President of KANU With seven Provincial Vice Presidents and one for Nairobi Area.

On 14th April 1966, Oginga Odinga resigned from KANU and Government and formed Kenya People's Union (KPU) where Bildad Kaggia, Achieng Oneko and Tom Odongo joined him.

In 1966, the bicameral legislature (the senate and the House of Representatives) was disbanded. A single –chamber parliament was established.

In 1966, Joseph Murumbi was appointed the country's vice-president to replace Oginga. He resigned in 1967 to pave way for Moi's appointment.

1969 witnessed the political assassination of the flamboyant Tom Mboya in the hands of one, Nahashon Njenga on 5th July on Nairobi's Moi Avenue.

In 1969, KPU was banned following riots in Kisumu.

In 1975, Josiah Mwangi Kariuki. MP for Kinangop was found brutally murdered in Ngong Forest.

In October 1975 Martin Shikuku and the deputy speaker, Jean Marie Seroney, were arrested and detained for making claims in the house that KANU and parliament were dead.

In 1976, Chelagat Mutai, MP for Eldoret North was arrested and jailed for 2½ years for inciting his constituents to violence. In 1977, George Anyona, MP for Kitutu was also arrested after he accused the government of corruption.

In 1976, the change the constitution campaign was begun by Kihika Kimani, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, Jackson Angaine, Paul Ngei and Njenga Karume with the objective of making sure that the then vice president, Daniel Arap Moi would not succeed the president.

On 22nd August 1978, Jomo Kenyatta died and Moi assumed presidency for 90 days and was finally elected as second president of Kenya.

In July 1980, Moi banned all tribal organizations, the Kenya Civil Servants Union and the Nairobi University Staff Union.

In June 1982, after an attempt by Anyona to form a political party, section 2A was introduced in the Kenyan constitution making it a de jure one party state.

On 2nd August 1982, Kenya experienced a coup d'état by some air force servicemen. Charles Njonjo, the Constitutional Affairs Minister was accused of masterminding the coup.

In 1988, KANU introduced the infamous Queue voting method (*mlolongo*) that was open to abuse.

In February 1990, Dr. Robert Ouko, minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation was murdered.

The better part of 1991 witnessed a series of tribal clashes involving Kalenjin and Kikuyu, Kalenjin and Luhya and Luos.

Kenya's political developments from 1991 up to 2011.

In December 1991, a parliamentary act repealed the one-party system provisions of the constitution and effectively established a multiparty system. The first political party to be formed under the repealed act was Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD)

In August 1992, one of the leaders of FORD Masinde Muliro died mysteriously.

The first multiparty elections were held in 1992 in December.

KANU won against a disjointed opposition.

In 1994, the official leader of the opposition and MP of Bondo, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga died.

After 1997 elections, the Inter-Parliamentary Parties Group ((IPPG) passed the reforms that marked the genesis of the constitutional review process.

In 2002, several opposition parties formed a coalition that overwhelmingly defeated KANU in the general elections.

In January 2003, the National Rainbow Coalition formed the new government with Mwai Kibaki as the president.

In August 2003, Wamalwa Kijana, the vice president of the coalition government died after a short illness. Moody Awori was appointed the next Vice president.

In 2005, a new political movement, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) was formed as a campaign tool against the proposed new constitution. Raila Odinga was its leader.

The general Elections of 2007 resulted in a political crisis that provoked an unprecedented wave of political violence and killing across Kenya.

On 28th February 2008 the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan succeeded in brokering a power sharing deal between the incumbent President, Mwai Kibaki, and the opposition leader, Raila Odinga thus bringing to end the political violence.

On April 17, 2008, Raila Odinga, from Orange Democratic Movement, was sworn as Prime Minister of Kenya, after more than forty years of the abolition of office.

On 28th August 2010 Kenya promulgated a new constitution thus making it the first independent African state to depart from the independence constitution.

In 2011, the *International Criminal Court* seating at the Hague, begun criminal proceedings against Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, former police Commissioner Hussein Ali, Henry Kosgei, the head of public service Francis Muthaura and a journalist Joshua Arap Sang over their involvement in the 2008 post-Election Violence.

In June 2011, **Dr. Willy Mutunga** became the first Kenya's Chief Justice and **Nancy Makokha Barasa**, his deputy under the new constitution.

The Electoral Commission of Kenya (**ECK**) was also replaced with the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission (**IEBC**)

The constitutional changes in Kenya in the period between 1963 and 1991.

The first meeting in Lancaster in 1960 resulted in an interim constitution that failed to grant any substantial autonomy to Kenya.

The second Lancaster conference in 1962 negotiated a framework for self government.

The third and final conference in 1963 resulted in the drafting and adoption of Kenya's first independent Constitution by the British Parliament

The 1963 constitution marked the end of colonial rule and transformed the colony into a dominion.

It established a parliamentary system with executive powers vested in a cabinet headed by a Prime Minister.

The Constitution was changed in 1964 and Kenya became a republic and the executive became presidential. The senate and regions were also abolished.

In 1966, the voting majority to change the Constitution was lowered to two-thirds of the MPs. The term 'region' was replaced with 'province.'

In 1966, a constitutional amendment abolished the Bicameral Legislature and replaced it with a Unicameral Legislature, chosen directly by the electorate.

On 28th April 1966, an amendment was passed to compel MPs who defected from sponsoring party, to resign from parliament and seek re-election.

In May 1966, the Public Security Act was passed empowering the president to detain a citizen without trial on grounds of being a threat to state security.

In 1968, the president was empowered to alter provincial and district boundaries.

In 1968, the procedure for presidential elections and succession in the event of his death was laid down. The age qualification for presidential candidates was also lowered to 35 from 40 years.

In 1974, an amendment of the constitution empowered the president to pardon any election offender at his own discretion. This was done to favour Paul Ngei.

In 1975, Kiswahili was declared the national language of the national assembly.

In 1977, the Kenya court of appeal was established after the breakup of the East African Community. Voting age was lowered from 21 to 18

In 1979, both Kiswahili and English were declared languages of the national assembly.

In 1982, Kenya became a de jure one party state. KANU became the only lawful party in Kenya.

In 1987, the security of tenure of the Attorney General, Chief Secretary, The Comptroller and Auditor-General was removed. Office of chief secretary was abolished.

In 1988, the security of tenure of Puisine Judges and Chairman of Public Service Commission was removed.

A parliamentary act in December 1991 repealed the one-party system provisions of the constitution and effectively established a multiparty system. Multiparty elections were held the following year in December.

Steps towards realization of a new constitution in Kenya since 1997

- In 1997, Parliament passed the *Constitution of Kenya Review Act* that set the pace for comprehensive constitutional reforms. The Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) was established to provide civic education, seek public input and prepare a draft constitution).
- In 2005, after many years of struggle, the draft constitution was ultimately rejected by Kenyans at the constitutional referendum because of disagreements amongst various stakeholders.

- **28 February 2008** The National Accord and Reconciliation Act (NARA) signed by President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga put in place arrangement for a new process to finalize the long awaited constitution of Kenya
- In 2008 the *Constitution of Kenya Review Act 2008* was passed and a Committee of Experts (CoE) was established as the main technical constitutional review organ to drive the process. The CoE was chaired by Nzamba Kitonga, the deputy chair was Ms Atsango Chesoni, other members were Ms Njoki Ndung'u, Mr Otiende Amolo, Mr Abdirashid Hussein, Mr Bobby Mkangi, Professor Christina Murray (South Africa), Dr Chaloka Beyani (Zambia) and Dr Frederick Ssempebwa (Uganda).
- **23 February 2009** Members of the CoE were appointed by the President and were later sworn in
- **On 17 November 2009** CoE released the draft to the public and invited views and comments on the draft constitution,
- **By 23rd February 2010**. CoE had submitted the final draft of constitution to the Parliamentary Select Committee.
- **On 4th August 2010** Kenya held a Constitutional Referendum where the new constitution was overwhelmingly endorsed.
- On 28th August 2010, the new constitution was promulgated and became operational making Kenya the first independent African state to depart from the independence constitution.

MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY IN KENYA SINCE 1991.

Factors that led to the development of multi-party democracy in Kenya after 1991

- a) International pressure from multilateral and bilateral donors. The western donors took advantage of the collapse of the Soviet Union to set the strictest conditionalities for aid on the government, for democratic reforms.
- b) Disunity in KANU. There was pressure from individuals who had been expelled from KANU without political alternatives.
- c) Existence of people who were ready to push democratic agenda ahead. This included the civil society, the lawyers and intellectuals. E.g the Law Society of Kenya led by Paul Muite and Gitobu Imanyara put pressure on the government for reforms.
- d) Success of multi-party in other African countries. In Zambia for example, Chiluba's Movement for Multiparty Democracy defeated Kaunda's United National Independence Party.
- e) Pressure from the church. Several church leaders, among them Alexander Muge, Bishop Henry Okullu and Rev. Timothy Njoya called upon the government to create an environment in which Kenyans could participate in governance.
- f) Massive rigging of the elections. The most notorious of all was the 1988 general elections, which were marred with widespread rigging.
- g) The developments in Eastern Europe. Due to Gorbachev's liberal reforms, one party dictatorship in Eastern Europe was replaced by regimes that were more liberal.
- h) Rampant corruption in particular, embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds and grabbing of public assets. Those who criticized were punished through

detention, arbitrary arrests and other forms of intimidation.

- i) Repeal of section 2A of the constitution in December 1991

Role played by political parties in government and national building in Kenya.

- a) The party that garners majority of seats and votes forms the government either alone or in coalition with other parties.
- b) Political parties influence government affairs and development through participation in legislation process.
- c) Political parties through the elected members of parliament decide on national development policies and development projects.
- d) Political parties provide exemplary leadership founded on freedom, justice, fair play and African socialism.
- e) Opposition parties provide a system of scrutinizing government expenditure through public accounts committee and public investment committee.
- f) Opposition parties make the government more accountable to the people through constant criticism.
- g) Opposition parties provide checks and balances to abuse and misuse of powers and privileges by those in the government.

Challenges of multi-party democracy in Kenya.

- a) Since many politicians and senior government officials were not ready for Multipartism, they often incited their supporters to kick out opposition supporters from certain regions. This has been common in the Rift Valley region.
- b) The executive arm and the ruling party have many a times misused the members of the civil service to frustrate the opposition. In case of flawed elections, the provincial administration has always been used in rigging.
- c) Many of the parties formed failed to attain a national outlook. They mainly were tribal based.
- d) The multi party democracy has been hampered with defection of greedy politicians who become preys to bribes. This has weakened some parties.
- e) The former KANU for a long time retained control of the government machinery, (the police force, the radio and television.) these were utilized for the advantage of KANU for a long time.
- f) There has been a problem of lack of funding from the government. Most of the political parties have been unable to sustain competition for political power due to inadequate funds.
- g) Interference by the international community in the running of the country. Some members of the diplomatic community openly side with certain political parties.
- h) Many political parties have been embroiled in wrangles. For example the Orange Democratic Movement has been bedevilled with a number of desertions due to wrangles between Ruto and his supporters and Raila Odinga. Ford Kenya has split into New Ford Kenya and Ford Kenya due to wrangles between Eugene Wamalwa and Moses Wetangula.

Identify the disadvantages of multiparty system.

- a) Multipartism tends to divide the people on tribal, regional and sectarian line.

- b) It tends to sharpen the struggle for personality and group dominance rather than policy implementation.
- c) Multipartism is a foreign system, which does not conform to the aspirations of independent Africa.
- d) It encourages the politics of destabilization.
- e) Political statements deadlocks on debates and tensions become too common.
- f) Decisions take too long to be made and implemented.
- g) Encourages use of violence in a state since opposition party members will be regarded as traitors by the government. The government will be regarded as oppressors by the opposition.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AND CHALLENGES

Economic challenges that have faced Kenya since independence.

- a) Stagnation of investment in the first years of independence due to massive transfer of capita from the country by the white settlers. The government faced the challenge of cultivating investor confidence.
- b) The problem of landlessness among many Africans whose arable land had been alienated. There was an urgent need for redistribution.
- c) Serious economic disparity in the country with the former white highlands having adequate provision of water, electricity and roads while the rest lacked enough of the same.
- d) Overpopulation in urban areas as result of rural-urban migration, putting facilities under pressure and creating unemployment.
- e) Problem of control of economy by the Europeans prior to independence and after independence. E.g. farm ownership and key industries.
- f) Lack of qualified manpower to run the technical sectors of the economy.

These were issues that were addressed by session paper number 10 of 1965.

Types of landholding in Kenya.

Land tenure refers to the terms and conditions under which land is acquired, used or transferred

At independence the type of landholding in Kenya was mainly communal, where land belonged to the whole community. Access to land was open every member of a social group. Community elders, clan heads or kings were empowered to control and give advice on land use.

Land alienation during the colonial period transformed land into a commodity that could be disinherited from an individual. Such colonial land policies leading to alienation of African land resulted in the following;

- a) Widespread landlessness as Africans lost ancestral lands.
- b) Reduction in land available to Africans leading to land pressure as population increased.
- c) Deterioration of the quality of land due to fragmentation.
- d) Overstocking because of limited land, leading to soil erosion.
- e) Displacement of pastoral and agricultural communities, leading to problems such as famine and livestock diseases.

- f) Disintegration of social and cultural institutions in the reserves due to ethnic boundaries being fixed, thus separating African communities.

The Mau Mau wars which were a consequent of the bitterness arising from land alienation resulted in a number of land reforms under the Swynnerton Plan of 1954. The plan put in place a programme for land consolidation, adjudication and registration. This was what the Kenya government inherited at independence.

Land Adjudication: - verification of individual or group rights to land within a given area.

Land consolidation: - merging of fragmented land into single economic units.

Land registration: - recording of rights to land and the consequent issuance of a title deed.

The post-colonial land holding system in Kenya.

The land tenure system in Kenya after independence was categorized as private or modern, communal or customary, public or state and open access

Private land; comprised of 6% of the total land area

Government-owned; former crown land, comprised 20% of the land area. It included the national parks, government or public forests, *alienated* (land acquired from customary land owners by government for own use or private development) and *unalienated land* (land that has not been leased or allocated by the government).

Trust land comprised 64% of the total land area as at 1990. This comprised the former native areas and was awaiting small holder registration to transform it into private tenure system.

Land ownership in Kenya has been a source of bitter conflict as manifested in the post election violence after the 2007 elections. The historical injustices in Kenya have always been related to land.

In 2010, land ownership in Kenya was classified as follows under the new constitution.

- a) Public land
- b) Community land
- c) Private land

a) Public land

Public land is the land held by the central or local government.

It consists of;

- ~ Land not set aside for any purpose (unalienated land).
- ~ Land set aside for public utility use or land that is occupied by the State organ as lessee.
- ~ land transferred to the State by way of sale, reversion or surrender;
- ~ Land to which no individual or community ownership is traceable.
- ~ Land which no heir can be identified.
- ~ All minerals and mineral ores.
- ~ government forests, game reserves, water catchment areas, national parks, government animal sanctuaries, and specially protected areas;
- ~ All roads and thoroughfares.
- ~ All rivers, lakes and other water bodies.
- ~ The territorial sea, the exclusive economic zone and the sea bed.

- ~ The continental shelf.
- ~ All land between the high and low water marks.
- ~ Any other land declared to be public land by an Act of Parliament.

Community land

Community land is land which is implied as owned by a group of people on the basis of customary norms, not through formal registration.

It consists of:

- ~ Land registered in the name of group representatives.
- ~ Land transferred to a specific community through a legal process.
- ~ Any other land declared to be community land by an Act of Parliament.
- ~ land that is held, managed or used by specific communities as community forests, grazing areas or shrines;
- ~ Ancestral lands and lands traditionally occupied by hunter gatherer communities;
- ~ Land held as trust land by the county governments, but not including any public land held in trust by the county government.

Private land

Private land is land (and houses and buildings) held under registered entitlement (freehold or leasehold).

It consists of:

- ~ Registered land held by any person under freehold tenure.
- ~ Land held by any person under leasehold tenure.
- ~ Any other land declared private land under an Act of Parliament.

Note:

- ~ *Landholding by non-citizens is allowed only through lease for a period not exceeding ninety-nine years.*
- ~ *A corporate body, for the purpose of land ownership can only be recognized as a citizen if it is wholly owned by one or more citizens.*
- ~ *Property held in trust will only be recognized as being held by a citizen if all the beneficial interest of the trust is held by the persons who are citizens.*

Land policies since independence.

Two type of programme that characterized land reforms exercise that commenced in 1963 in Kenya were;

- 1) Transfer of land from European large scale farmers to Africans.
- 2) Land consolidation and registration in which the government purchased several farms from the Europeans and sub-divided them among African holders.

In the former European farms, the government established settlement schemes as follows;

- 1) *The Million Acre Scheme* which was began in 1963 and involved settling African families on 13.5 hectares each.
- 2) *The Harambee Scheme* started in 1969, involved settling families on 16.25 hectares each.
- 3) *The Haraka Scheme* where squatters were settled in small plots of land in Central,

Coast, Eastern and Rift Valley Provinces.

- 4) *Shirika Scheme* started in 1971 to settle the landless and unemployed on the former European lands. Under this scheme, the individual farmers would own a small plot each while the rest of the farm would be managed by a cooperative. This scheme did not succeed since people wished to have their own pieces of land.

However, these schemes failed to adequately solve the problems of landlessness in the country. A few politically-connected people acquired large tracts of land, most of which remained underutilized. Some of the schemes are located in areas of harsh climatic conditions and are unviable without irrigation.

Several commissions have addressed land issues in Kenya. For example, in 2001, President Moi appointed the Njonjo Commission to investigate the main problems of land ownership and distribution in Kenya. In 2003, the NARC government set up the Ndung'u Commission on land. Its Recommendations are yet to be implemented. By 1983, 29 districts in Kenya had benefitted from Land adjudication and registration, a process which began in the 1950s in Central Kenya then spread to other parts of the country after 1963.

Benefits of the land reforms in Kenya.

- a) Farmers could use their land title deeds to get loans from banks in order to expand farming on their land.
- b) Land titles enabled people to purchase land with confidence. No one would alienate them from their land.
- c) The reforms enabled thousands of landless people to own land.
- d) Dairy and cash crop production increased.

Land ownership by non-citizens.

A non-citizen can only own land in the country on the basis of leasehold tenure not exceeding 99 years.

Principles that govern utilization of land in Kenya.

- a) *Equitable access to land.* All members of the society must have equal access to land since it is an important resource.
- b) *Transparent and cost effective administration of land.* State institutions should be given powers and responsibilities of ensuring transparent and accountable administration of land.
- c) *Elimination of gender discrimination.* in line with protection of human rights, for all, discrimination against women on issues of land ownership and access to land need be eliminated.
- d) *Sustainable and productive management of land resources.* Since land is an economic resource, it should be managed well to ensure maximum productivity.
- e) *Sound conservation and protection of ecologically sensitive areas.* Conservation measures like prohibiting settlement and agricultural activities in water catchment areas and zoning of forest lands to protect them from further degradation.
- f) *Encouragement of communities to settle land disputes.* This should happen as long as they are consistent with the constitution.

Ways in which the Kenya government has solved land related problems since independence.

- a) The problems related to Communal Land ownership have been solved through land demarcation and adjudication by the government. This saw the conversion from traditional system of land ownership to modern freehold tenure.
- b) Landlessness was solved through creation of resettlement schemes. Large-scale farms and former European farms were divided into smaller ones and given to the landless. E.g Mwea Tebere, Bura, Shirika etc.
- c) The government has put marginal lands to more productive use through establishment of irrigation schemes and drainage schemes.
- d) The government removed restriction of movements from the reserves that were created by the colonial government. This decongested the reserves and gave chance to arable farming.
- e) At independence, the government embarked on land consolidation policy through which scattered plots were put into one holding.
- f) The government also embarked on land reclamation measure to bring previously unused land to productive use.
- g) The Government has established the National Land Commission which manages public land

The National Land Commission.

Functions of the National Land Commission.

- a) It manages public land on behalf of the national and county governments.
- b) It advises the national government on a comprehensive programme for land registration throughout the country.
- c) It investigates present and past historical injustices, as a result of a complaint or on its own initiative, and recommends appropriate action.
- d) It has a duty to encourage the use of traditional methods of dispute resolution in land conflicts.
- e) It recommends the national land policy to the national government.
- f) It assesses tax on land and premiums on immovable property in any area designated by law.
- g) It monitors land use planning throughout the country.

Development in agriculture since independence.

After independence, the government encouraged small scale farming of coffee and tea as opposed to large scale farming that existed during the colonial period.

The Agricultural development corporation (ADC) was set up to manage large scale farms that were established by the government in western, Rift Valley and Coast provinces. Such farms specialize in production of seeds to be used by farmers for planting. They also specialize in production of high quality dairy and beef cattle in Kenya.

The government also established the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) in Muguga near Kikuyu to assist in identifying good crop breeds for different types of soils.

Irrigation Schemes were expanded in the marginal areas. For example. Mea (central), Bura (coast), Ahero (Nyanza) and Perkerra (central).

The government created development authorities to effectively manage water catchment areas. For example, TARDA, KVDA and LBDA.

Challenges facing Kenya's agricultural sector.

- a) The 1984 drought and famine in various parts of the country occasioning supply of relief food to the affected regions.
- b) Rapid increase in population which is not at pace with the rate of increase in agricultural production.
- c) From the late 1970s, the world market prices of agricultural commodities fell drastically yet the inputs remained expensive.
- d) Corruption and mismanagement of the cooperatives leading to meager earnings for key cash crops in Kenya.
- e) Grabbing of research land by corrupt government officials has affected the operations of the research institutes.
- f) The problem of poor infrastructure in the country sometimes discourages farmers especially during the rainy season.
- g) Ethnic clashes in Molo in 1991-1992, Likoni in 1997 and Mahi Mahiu in 2005 plus the post election violence in 2008 discouraged farmers from intense farming due to insecurity.
- h) Poor technology hassled to low yields. People in Kenya still rely on natural rains for agriculture instead of using irrigation. Others use primitive traditional tools in cultivation.
- i) The problem of pests that destroy the farm yields before reaching the factory.
- j) Competition from COMESA member states and from the more industrialized powers such as the European Union and USA often frustrate Kenyan farmers.

Industrial developments in Kenya since independence.

Kenya's industrial sector was shaped by the long period of colonization. At independence, industry was characterized by dominance of foreign capital and dominance of the agricultural sector.

Factors that facilitated industrial development in Kenya since the colonial era.

- a) The existence of raw materials, such as trona (soda ash) at lake Magadi, fluorspar at Kerio Valley and lime in several parts of the country.
- b) Existence of fish resource from numerous water bodies has promoted the fish-processing industry.
- c) Existence of expansive forests which provide timber needed in the furniture industry.
- d) The rich scenery, e.g Mt. Kenya, Mt. Elgon, the Aberdares and rich wildlife have promoted the tourism industry.
- e) Kenya's rivers have enough water for production of HEP.
- f) Increase in population since the colonial period ensured supply of labour and the market required for industries to flourish.
- g) The transport and communication infrastructure have provided the necessary link

between the material producing zones , industries and markets..

- h) Existence of rich agricultural lands producing raw materials such as coffee, tea, sugarcane, sisal and fruits

Measures taken by the Kenyan government to promote industrial development since independence.

- a) The government engaged on decentralization programmes to spur development in new areas. Industries were established in rural areas.
- b) The government has embarked on the programmes of funding new markets for industrial products.
- c) Infrastructure was improved through establishment of more roads, railways and improvement of water transport, to transport raw materials labour and goods.
- d) Power concerns were addressed through construction of the Seven Forks Dam to supplement power from neighboring Uganda.
- e) Favourable government policies have been put in place to attract investors.
- f) The government has put in place measures to reduce imports in order to protect local infant industries. E.g discriminative tariffs were introduced.
- g) The government encouraged and assisted in giving capital for industrial development through development of the co-operative movement, funding through Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation(ICDC) , the Development Finance Company of Kenya.(DFCK) and the Industrial Development Bank.
- h) The government has ensured political stability in the country, which is an important factor in industrial development.

Factors that have hindered industrial development in Kenya.

- a) The problem of multi nationals whose interests do not favour Kenya's progress. Multi-national co-operation repatriate capital to their own home countries
- b) There is shortage of strategic raw materials e.g. petroleum, diamond. Cotton for textile industries. Many industrial companies use imported raw materials.
- c) Foreigners, who pass policies not friendly to the country, hold managerial positions in industries.
- d) Mismanagement of major industries and lack of transparency I parastatals.
- e) Over concentration of industries in few areas leading to negligence of other areas. It also has led to related problems of industrial concentration like the social ills.
- f) Competition from the industrialized nations who dominate the market and produce high quality goods.
- g) Poverty limits industrialization. A poor population means a small domestic market thus hindering industrial development.
- h) Products are produced with low technology hence small quantities.

Further reading on industrial development should be done with reference to evolving world book 4 pages 162-164

Social Development and challenges since independence.

Education.

To solve the problems inherited at independence in the education sector (poor quality

education and poor facilities available the Kenya children), the government undertook the following measures;

- a) Constitutional amendments were made in 1975 to give Kiswahili a respectable position in the country.
- b) Several educational Commissions were set up to streamline education.
- c) The Harambee strategy was employed to expand educational facilities.

Education Commissions.

- a) *The Kenya Education Commission (1964) (The Ominde commission)* that recommended overhaul of curriculum to make it relevant.
- b) *The National Committee on Education Objectives and policies- Gachathi commission (1976)* that looked into the possibility of setting up a second university.
- c) *Presidential Working Party on the Second University- The Mackey commission (1982)* that established the 8-4-4 system and proposed emphasis of vocational subjects such as art and craft, music, agriculture and Home science.
- d) *The Kamunge commission (1988)* which recommended cost-sharing in education
- e) *The Koech commission (1999)* which recommended reintroduction of A-level system in form of Totally Integrated Quality Education and Training.

Main developments in education in Kenya since independence.

In 1975, Kiswahili was made the official languages of parliament and learning in schools. The ministry of education established structures right from the district level to national level to help in fulfilling the national objectives of education.

Several education commissions were set up to streamline education.

The harambee strategy was employed to expand education facilities. Many schools were built.

In 1980, the government took over the responsibility of providing pre-primary education.

In the 1990s, the government in collaboration with UNICEF launched a programme to promote early childhood education.

By 1998, the total number of students in the various universities was over 40,000.

In 1969, the ministry of education took over the administration of primary education from local government, this witnessed increased enrolment.

In 1978, the government introduced the school milk programme to encourage children especially in drought prone areas to go to school.

The programme stalled in 1990 but had achieved higher enrolment in schools.

The Ministry of education launched school feeding programme, targeting dry areas.

In 2002, the NARC government introduced the 'Free Primary Education' policy.

Further reading be done from evolving world on Elementary education and Tertiary education in Kenya.

Health.

Measures taken to improve the health sector in postcolonial Kenya.

- a) The ministry of health was created to oversee health matters.
- b) Expansion of health facilities through harambee and donor funds e.g. Nyanza Provincial hospital (Russian Hospital)
- c) Many health training institutions were started e.g. Medical training colleges

- d) Improvement in hygiene through provision of piped water.
- e) Establishment of several research institutions on human diseases e.g. KEMRI
- f) Provision of more basic education in order to uplift hygiene standards in the society.
- g) Provision of free anti-retroviral and anti-malaria drugs.

Major challenges facing the Health sector in Kenya.

- a) Increase in population has posed major challenges to the government in the provision of healthcare services to its citizens. There has been a challenge of inadequate doctors and medical facilities.
- b) The cost- sharing policy introduced in the 1980s to help buy medicine and other equipment has prevented the poor from going to the hospitals.
- c) The spread of HIV and AIDS and other diseases such as Diabetes and Heart diseases has worsened the situation.
- d) Cultural practices like Female mutilation have made provision of medical services more challenging.
- e) Pollution of the environment has increased allergy-related ailments, many of which have no cure.
- f) Poverty and malnutrition render many people vulnerable to diseases.
- g) Illegal abortion and early pregnancies endanger the lives of mothers.
- h) High rate of accidents and injuries , especially on roads.

ways through which the government has encouraged the preservation of African culture since independence.

- a) Creation of the ministry of culture and social services. The ministry promotes cultural and social values.
- b) The syllabus has been tailored to include cultural studies.
- c) Inclusion of music as a subject in the national curriculum.
- d) The government has encouraged music/drama festivals on an annual basis as way of promoting cultural exchange.
- e) The government has encouraged intermarriage between different ethnic groups.
- f) The government has developed cultural heritage centre at the Bomas of Kenya, National Archives and Museums.
- g) Schools have been encouraged to admit people from different communities.
- h) Allowing the media houses to play traditional music/dance..

Students Read on sports, literature, theatre, music and dance from evolving world page 174.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHALLENGES IN AFRICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO.

Political developments in Democratic Republic of Congo since independence

The Belgians relinquished their political dominion of Congo by granting them autonomy on 30th June 1960.

Patrice Lumumba (Prime Minister) of Congolese National Movement Party and Joseph Kasavubu of Abako Party (Head of State) formed a fragile coalition government. The two leaders differed ideologically.

The period between 1960 and 1966 witnessed power struggle between Kasavubu and Lumumba on one side and Secessionist Moïse Tshombe of Katanga and Albert Kalonji of Kasai on the other side

In 1961, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated. This led to withdrawal of his supporters from government.

In 1961, the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld perished in a plane crash in the Congo while attempting to bring a peaceful political solution to the Congo crisis.

In 1964, a new constitution was formulated as a way of solving the political problems that plagued Zaire soon after independence. Zaire became a federal state with a federal president and separate assemblies for each state.

On 23rd November 1965, Joseph Desiré Mobutu organized a bloodless military coup, which removed the civilian government of president Kasavubu and Prime Minister Sylvester Kimba.

In November 1965, Mobutu took over power after a bloodless coup.

In the same year, Mobutu banned all political parties. He suspended the constitution and parliament. He abolished the federal system and local assemblies and reduced the number of provinces to eight.

In 1967, He formed the Peoples' Revolution Movement (MPR), which became the only legal party in Congo. He in effect-replaced democracy with one-party dictatorship leaned to the west during the cold war.

In 1970, Mobutu declared himself the life president of Congo, after winning the presidential election.

In 1971, he outlawed the use of European names for people, places and physical features as a way of removing colonial legacy. The country was renamed Zaire. His own name changed to Mobutu Sese Seko. Leopoldville was renamed Kinshasa.

In 1973, Mobutu announced the nationalization of all foreign enterprises.

In 1977-1978, the Shaba Rebellion broke out mainly after an attack by the Congolese National Liberation Front from their base in Angola. The Belgian troops were called to silence the rebels.

In 1990 and 1991, multiparty activists stepped up pressure for change. In September 1991, dissatisfied soldiers and civilians held demonstrations, which led to death of 117 people.

In 1997, **Laurent Kabila** successfully ousted Mobutu, assisted by Rwanda and Uganda. Mobutu fled to exile in Morocco where he died.

In January 2001, Laurent Kabila was assassinated in mysterious circumstances. His son took over power.

In April 2002, through a power-sharing agreement presided over by Thabo Mbeki and a UN envoy, Mustapha Niasse, a government of national unity was formed.

Economic developments in DRC since independence.

The political chaos in DRC up to 1965 did not favour any economic progress. During the

reign of the Belgians in Congo, no viable economic development was initiated. Little development was done in infrastructure in order to facilitate transportation of raw materials to the ports of Matadi etc.

At independence, the country was faced with the problems of shortage of manpower, skills and entrepreneurship.

When Mobutu took over, there was some slight economic progress. Transport and communication improved as more roads and railway were constructed to link major towns of Matadi, Kinshasa, Lubumbashi and Kisangani. Navigation on the river Congo was improved, which led to expansion of mining and agricultural sectors.

Mining of diamonds resumed after the turbulent years and resulted in reduced inflation.

Mobutu encouraged foreign investment in the mining sector.

However, the fall of world copper prices in 1970s again began to derail the economic growth in DRC.

In the 70s, the government nationalized foreign firms employed inexperienced people to control them.

In 1973, Mobutu enacted a law that placed state finances and expenditure under him, thus reducing the flow of capital to the provinces.

In 1976, he encouraged mutual cooperation between private firms and the government in the extraction of minerals such as copper, oil, diamond, cobalt and manganese in a bid to create employment opportunities.

He also emphasized on diversification of the economy which greatly boosted food production.

The entertainment industry has also grown to become an invisible export through repatriation of profits back home by the foreign based musicians.

Energy supply has been increased through the construction of the Luga hydro-electric power station.

Social developments and challenges in DRC since independence.

Between 1961 and 1965, there was little improvement in the field of health and education in DRC due to constant power struggles and civil strife.

When Mobutu took over in 1965, he strived to expand schools and universities. For example, by 1970, he had established three universities. He also improved on the provision of health facilities. He banned religious education in schools.

In 1971, attempted to revive indigenous culture through the Authenticity programme that involved renaming places that had foreign names.

In the 1970's, in an effort to improve the welfare of citizens, a national insurance programme was established.

Mobutu also gave prominence to music as part of the Congolese curriculum.

The independent government supported sporting activities through construction of stadium and other sporting facilities.

However, living standards in Zaire continued to fall as health services, water and sanitation continued to be inadequate.

The steady rise in population was without a commensurate growth of social services.

In summary, the common challenges socially were illiteracy, extreme poverty, famine

and diseases caused by civil strife, massive unemployment, refugee problem and religious persecutions by Mobutu.

Political challenges that the democratic republic of Congo has faced since independence.

- a) There was general lack of preparedness of the people for independence. Foreigners controlled even the army and the police.
- b) The assassination of Patrice Lumumba in 1961, which plunged the country into the Congo crisis.
- c) Political instability/military coup d'état. In November 1965, Mobutu organized a military coup. In 1997, Kabila ousted Mobutu
- d) Ethnic differences/tribal clashes/civil wars, which split the country into two parts at independence. One controlled by Lumumba and another controlled by Kasavubu.
- e) The problem of Secession. Secessionist movement of the Katanga region (Shaba) led by Tsombe and Kasai under Kilonji seceded.
- f) Foreign interference/intrigues. Belgium constantly interfered and intervened in Zaire's internal matters. France and Britain also began to interfere from 1977 during the cold war period.
- g) Mutinies in the army were common.

Economic challenges that Democratic Republic Of Congo (D.R.C) faced in 1970's.

- a) Corruption and mismanagement of the economy. Mobutu was the richest president in the world while Zairians became the poorest people in the world.
- b) Inflation due to power struggle and corruption. By 1980, the country's currency was not worthy the paper on which it was printed.
- c) There was also a problem of heavy foreign debt. The country was unable to service her debts. By 1980, Zaire had become the world's third biggest debtor nation.
- d) There was a standstill in the economic activities and disruption of railway transport due to civil wars in the country and neighbouring Angola.
- e) The period also witnessed fall in world copper prices and increase in oil prices
- f) Lack of a sound economic policy

TANZANIA.

Political developments in Tanzania since independence.

At the time of independence, Tanzania comprised of two countries. I.e. Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanzania became independent in 1961 under Julius Nyerere while Zanzibar became independent in 1963 under the Sultan Seyyid Abdullah.

In 1962, Tanzania became a one-party state with a republican constitution and an executive president. Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) became the sole political party.

On 22nd April 1964, Julius Nyerere and Sheikh Abeid Karume signed a *union document*. Nyerere became the executive head of state and government while Karume as the first vice-president.

In 1967, president Nyerere adopted the ideology of African Socialism through the Arusha Declaration

In 1972, the first Vice-president, Sheikh Abeid Karume, was assassinated. Aboud Jumbe succeeded him as Zanzibar's president and the vice-president of Tanzania.

In 1973, the capital of Tanzania was transferred from Dar-es-Salam to Dodoma.

In 1967, the ruling party in the Mainland Tanganyika-TANU and Afro-Shirazi Party in Zanzibar merged to form Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Nyerere became the party chairman.

In 1978-1979, president Idi Amin invaded Tanzania to annex the Kagera Province, which he claimed, was a Ugandan territory. Nyerere swiftly repulsed Ugandan soldiers.

In 1985, Nyerere retired as president and was replaced by Ali Hassan Mwinyi who had succeeded Jumbe as head of Zanzibar and Tanzania's first vice president.

In May 1992, Tanzania adopted multi-partism after the 8th constitutional Amendment Act.

In 1995, Tanzania conducted the first multi-party election, where Benjamin Mkapa was elected president.

Social developments in Tanzania since independence.

The major highlight in the social development of an independent Tanzania was an attempt to create a classless society with a reduced gap, between the rich and the poor. Through the Ujamaa policy, president Nyerere tried to turn Tanzania into a country that had political and economic policies based on African traditions and aspirations.

Under the policy, communal farms were created.

Primary education was made free in 1977 and became compulsory in 1978.

At present, Tanzania boasts of the highest number of literate persons in eastern Africa.

Upto late 1980s, government provided free health services, until the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programmes by the Donor community.

Kiswahili was adopted as a national language and a major medium of instruction in schools.

Economic developments in Tanzania since independence.

The main landmark in Tanzania's economic the launch of Ujamaa as a development policy in 1967 during the Arusha declaration..

Ujamaa was meant to transform production in rural areas and to increase labour productivity and even allow specialization introduction.

The government nationalized all the major means of production and essential services in order to empower people economically.

The Tanzam railway was constructed with the help of china and was completed in 1975.

In 1976, cooperative societies were abolished and replaced with centralized corporations owned by the government.

The period between 1979 and 1985 witnessed economic stagnation in Tanzania as investors pulled out of the country.

The collapse of the East African Community also affected the economy of the country.

After 1985, Nyerere's economic policies began to be challenged openly by scholars and economists

When president Mwinyi took over, he undertook to reform the economy of Tanzania.

Political challenges that Tanzania has faced since independence.

- a) There was an Army mutiny in Tanzania 1964, which threatened her political stability.
- b) The socialism policy (The Arusha Declaration) received stiff opposition from many both internally and externally. People favoured capitalism.
- c) The assassination of Abeid Karume in 1972 and the resignation of Aboud Jumbe in 1984 appeared to threaten the unity of the two members of the Union Declaration.
- d) The invasion of Tanzania by Uganda in 1978 and the consequent war with Uganda was costly to the country. It also threatened her cooperation with neighbours.
- e) There was an escalation of corruption among leading members of Tanzania's political elite, including claims that President Hassan Mwinyi and his family capitalized on liberalization to amass a lot of wealth.
- f) the re-introduction of multiparty democracy tended to awaken tribalism and regionalism although this problem was contained.

Social problems, which Tanzania faced since independence.

- a) Famine and shortage of health services as the government adopted the Structural Adjustment Policies of IMF.
- b) Poverty and a general drop in living standards as production dropped due to socialism.
- c) Lack of social amenities, like clean water in rural areas.
- d) High illiteracy level.
- e) Unemployment. In Tanzania, industries closed after the Arusha declaration.
- f) Population explosion which outstripped the country's resources
- g) Terrorism. Tanzania was under terrorist attacks in 1997 targeting the American embassy.
- h) Environmental pollution.
- i) Over-crowding in urban areas.

Economic challenges.

- a) In the early years of independence, the proliferation of African enterprises led to the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor.
- b) Under the ujamaa policy, the forced villagization programme did not satisfy communities in areas with favourable climate. They therefore strongly resisted it.
- c) There was rampant rural-urban migration affecting mainly able-bodied men who felt exploited by the new system of production.
- d) The abolition of cooperatives was met with stiff resistance with many farmers cutting down their production. Other producers reverted to the black market.
- e) The Tanzanian shilling became unstable due to price fluctuations of some commodities.
- f) There was shortage of donor funds caused by the nationalization programme that was opposed by many donor countries.
- g) The collapse of the East African Community in 1977 denied Tanzania a large common market for her goods

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHALLENGES IN AFRICA IN GENERAL.

Political challenges that have faced African countries since independence

- a) The political systems that were inherited from the colonial governments seemed to be unworkable in many independent African states.
- b) Sharp ideological difference arose among the pioneer leaders of African states. Such differences internally exploded into civil strife in countries like Mozambique, Angola and DRC.
- c) The cold war had diverstating effects on Africa. it left many African nations divided and locked in border conflicts that continue up to date.
- d) Political instability was quite common in African states. Coups d'tat and military takeover was witnessed in Somalia, Zaire, Nigeria, Chad etc Human rights were violated with the rise of dictatorship.
- e) There were strained relations between African leaders caused by personal and ideological differences. Some ended in border closure, which greatly undermined international cooperation.
- f) Many national interests in Africa countries have been in conflict with global and continental interests. Nigeria and Zimbabwe, for example had to be expelled from the Commonwealth of Nations for alleged disregard of human rights and personal property.
- g) Neo-colonialism. Most countries retain the colonial structures of parliament although they have difficulties in sustaining them. Multinational peacekeeping forces are still common in Africa, many African leaders inherited the divide and rule colonial strategy that precipitates anarchy.
- h) The existence of different ethnic groups has contributed to ethnic wars as witnessed in Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Nigeria and Kenya.
- i) Most African government seemed ill prepared and in experienced in administration. This resulted in rise of rebel movements, as was the case of Mozambique and Angola.

economic challenges facing independent African states today.

- a) Unemployment and socio-economic inequalities both among individuals and between regions are common in may African nations.
- b) Overdependence on primary exports. The African economy is an extractive one rather than a manufacturing economy. Many countries depend on agriculture and foreign nations for manufactured goods.
- c) World trade terms are not fair for African nations. Africa countries find themselves trading with former colonial powers that give low prices fort raw material from Africa and charge high process for the manufactured goods.
- d) There has been the problem of unfavourable climatic conditions. This has curtailed food production, particularly among agricultural communities.
- e) Population pressure has led to overstretching of social services. There is a high dependency ratio since the population is largely youthful and unemployed.
- f) Poor economic planning. Some economic policies have destabilized the economies. For the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania, the expelling of foreign investors in Uganda and the massive printing of money in Zaire.

- g) The tough conditions given by donor agencies have sometimes led to deterioration of social welfare. Retrenchment for example was a key prescription of the Structural Adjustment Programme.
- h) Corruption and embezzlement of public funds is common in African countries. There is also general lack of transparency among many leaders.

Social challenges that have faced African states since independence.

- a) *Inaccessibility to clean water by majority of the people.* Most African peoples rely on water fetched from sometimes contaminated streams across long distances.
- b) *The challenge of HIV/AIDS pandemic.* This has had a toll on productive members of the society.
- c) *Poor housing facilities.* in urban areas, majority of the population live in slums without sanitation facilities.
- d) *The challenge of high population growth rate.* This affects the quality of the services provided by governments.
- e) *Language problem.* Language development and use has been a challenge in Africa. In many countries, conflict tends to arise over the language to adopt- local or the inherited one.
- f) *Religious differences.* This challenge has been the main cause of the splitting of the once largest country in Africa-Sudan in 2011. The predominantly Christian southern Sudan has become the youngest African state thanks to religious differences.
- g) *Absence of practical systems of education.* Many countries rely on theoretical education with little emphasis in technical skills.

DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT.

Devolution This refers to the granting of power from the central government to a lower level such as a region or a local level.

A 'Devolved Government' is a system of government where there is a transfer or allocation of authority from a central government to a regional government. In a devolved government, power and resources are decentralized with part of the political and economic decision making transferred to the people through the locally established assemblies.

Origin of devolution in Kenya.

The Lancaster House Conference of 1962 forms the basis of devolution in Kenya. When the independent constitution was drawn during the conference, a federal system of government as proposed by the KADU delegates was adopted in Kenya. It made provisions for six regions. The legislature was to comprise two chambers (the Senate or upper House and the Lower House)

However after independence in 1963, the Kenyatta Government began plans to scuttle the system of government. By December 1964, KANU and KADU merged to form a unitary government of the republic of Kenya.

The enactment of the new constitution on 27th August 2010 reintroduced the concept of devolution in Kenya.

Kenya is divided into 47 Counties each governed by A County Governor with the assistance of the County Executive Assembly. The National Government seats in Nairobi.

To change County Boundaries, the Following must be considered;

- a) Population density and demographic trends.
- b) Physical and Human infrastructure.
- c) Historical and Cultural Ties.
- d) The cost of administration.
- e) The Views of the communities affected.
- f) The objectives of devolution of government.
- g) Geographical features.

Reasons why devolved governments were established in Kenya.

- a) They were established as a means of promoting democratic and accountable exercise of power.
- b) To Foster national unity by recognizing diversity.
- c) To give powers of self-governance to the people and enhance the participation of the people in the exercise of the powers of the State and in making decisions affecting them.
- d) To recognize the right of communities to manage their own affairs and to further their development.
- e) To protect and promote the interests and rights of minorities and marginalized communities.
- f) To promote social and economic development and the provision of services throughout Kenya.
- g) To ensure equitable sharing of national and local resources throughout Kenya.
- h) To facilitate the decentralization of State organs, their functions and services, from the capital of Kenya;
- i) To enhance checks, balances and the separation of powers.

Principles of devolution of government in Kenya.

- a) County governments shall be based on the democratic principles and separation of power.
- b) County governments shall have reliable sources of revenue to enable them to govern and deliver services effectively.

- c) No more than two-thirds of the members of representative bodies in each county government shall be of the same gender.

Structure and Functions of a county government in Kenya.

The county government is composed of County assemblies, county executive committees and county public service.

County Assembly in Kenya.

A county assembly consists of Members (one member per ward) elected by the registered voters of the wards in a general election.

Members of special seats (no more than two-thirds of the membership of the assembly is of the same gender.)

Members of marginalized groups, including persons with disabilities and the youth. The Speaker, who is *an ex officio* member.

Nb-The members for special seats and marginalized communities are nominated by political parties in proportion to the seats received in the election in a particular county.

Conditions for seeking election to a County Assembly.

- a) The person must be a registered as a voter in his/her county.
- b) The person must have been a Kenyan citizen for atleast ten years before the elections.
- c) The person must be able to read and write in English and Kiswahili.
- d) He or she must be of sound mind.
- e) The person must be of unquestionable morals and ethics
- f) If a public officer, he/she must relinquish his/her public work.
- g) The person must be nominated by a political party
- h) If he/she is an independent candidate, must be supported by at least five hundred registered voters in the Ward concerned.
- i) The person must not have been declared bankrupt.
- j) The person must not have served a sentence of imprisonment of more than six months.
- k) Must not have been a member of IBEC within five years before the date of election.
- l) The person must not have misused or abused a State or public office.

Functions of a county assembly.

- a) County assemblies make laws for the effective performance of the county government.
- b) It acts as a watch dog over the county executive committee.
- c) It receives and approves plans and policies for managing and exploiting the county's resources,
- d) It approves policies for developing and managing the infrastructure and institutions in the county.
- e) It enhances legislation that may set out the structure and framework for the better administration and management of county governments.
- f) It approves oversight budgets and development projects within the county.
- g) It approves investment decisions and loans.

- h) It supervises other units within the county through political authority, guidance and direction.
- i) Monitors the execution of projects under approved development plans, and assesses and evaluates their impact on development in the county.

The process of law making in a county government.

It is the duty of the County Executive committee, comprising of the governor, the deputy governor and ten other members to draft the details of the proposed legislation with no bias.

The public servants in the county governor's office participate in preparation of the proposed law.

The county executive committee then presents the proposed legislation to the county Assembly.

The members of the county assembly are then free to make their contributions to the bill during the discussion and debate that follows.

Amendments and improvements may be proposed to the bill at this stage.

The recommendations are incorporated

If the members are in favour of the bill, and if it is in conformity with the National Government legislation, then it is approved to become a by-law of the county government

The structure of The County Executive Committee.

The executive authority of the county is vested in the county executive committee.

The committee consists of The county Governor and the Deputy County Governor.

Not more than ten other Members appointed by the County Governor, with the approval of the assembly, who are not members of the assembly.

If the assembly has less than thirty members, the members should be One-third of the number of members of the county assembly.

The county governor and the deputy county governor are the chief executive and deputy chief executive of the county respectively.

Members of a county executive committee are accountable to the county governor for the performance of their functions and exercise of their powers.

The members of the county executive committee cease to hold office once the office of the county governor falls vacant.

Functions of a County Executive Committee.

- a) It implements county legislation.
- b) It implements, within the county, national legislation.
- c) It manages and coordinates the functions of the county administration and its departments.
- d) It prepares proposed legislation for consideration by the county assembly.
- e) It provides the county assembly with full and regular reports on matters relating to the county.

Powers and functions of a governor in a county government.

- a) The Governor is the chief executive officer of the county. The Executive Branch of government, headed by the Governor, includes executive departments and advisory boards.
- b) The Governor is the Chairman of county executive committee.
- c) he/ she is in charge of implementing , within the county, national legislation to the extent that the legislation so requires;
- d) He ensures, through the county executive committee, the implementation of county legislation.
- e) He manages and coordinates the functions of the county administration and its departments.
- f) He provides the county assembly with full and regular reports on matters relating to the county.
- g) He appoints with the approval of the assembly members, members to the county executive committee.
- h) He ensures that Members of a county executive committee perform their functions and exercise of their powers fully.
- i) He handles on behalf of the county, all external affairs with other counties in consultation with the central government. (Excluding any which have been delegated to cabinet secretaries.).
- j) The Governor prepares and submits a budget of the county for the following fiscal year.
- k) He sets the terms and conditions of service of persons holding or acting in public offices in the county.
- l) By virtue of his office, the Governor serves on certain boards and special commissions in the county. The Governor chairs the Board of Public Works.

Election of a county governor.

The county governor is directly elected by the voters registered in the county at a general election for a term of 5 years.

To be eligible for election as county governor, a person must be eligible for election as a member of the county assembly.

Each candidate for election as county governor nominates a person as his/her running mate to be the deputy governor.

If re-elected, can serve for another final term of 5 years.

Each candidate for election as county governor nominates a person as his/her running mate to be the deputy governor.

A County Governor can be removed from office under the following circumstances.

- a) Gross violation of the Constitution or any other law.
- b) When the county governor commits a crime under national or international law.
- c) When the governor abuses office or is accused of gross misconduct.
- d) When he/she suffers from Physical or mental incapacity that hinders performance of the functions of office.

Functions of a deputy governor.

- a) As the deputy chief executive of the county, he or she assists the governor in the management and coordination of the functions of the county administration.
- b) He or she acts as the governor of the county when the governor is absent.
- c) The deputy assists the governor in the supervision of work of the county executive committee.
- d) Since he/she is a member of the county executive committee, he participates in legislation by also preparing proposals for county legislation.
- e) He assumes governorship of the county in case the governor is incapacitated or is removed from authority for various reasons.

Functions and powers of a county government.

- a) County governments have the duty to assist in promotion of agriculture by initiating development in specific areas like crop and animal husbandry, livestock sale yards, slaughterhouses control of plant and animal diseases and development of fisheries.
- b) It provides and supervises county health services, both public health and personal health of county members.
- c) It assists in control of environmental pollution by putting in place legislation to regulate and control air pollution, noise pollution and outdoor advertising.
- d) It promotes cultural activities, public entertainment and public amenities in the county by putting in place structures such as libraries, museums, sporting facilities, casinos, beaches and county parks.
- e) It has a duty to promote and regulate education at the pre-primary, polytechnic, craft and childcare levels.
- f) It has a duty to develop transport facilities in the county through road construction, street lighting, developing ferries and harbours and parking areas.
- g) The county government regulates county planning and development through land survey and mapping, boundaries, housing, electricity, gas and energy regulation.
- h) It implements specific national government policies on natural resources and environmental conservation.
- i) It also puts in place measures to control drug abuse and access to pornography.

Relationship between national and county government.

- a) Governments at either level must exercise their powers and functions in a manner that respects the functional and institutional integrity of government at the other level.
- b) Each of the two governments must assist, support, consult and implement the legislation of the other level of government.
- c) Either of the two governments must liaise with government at the other level for the purpose of exchanging information, coordinating policies and administration and enhancing capacity.
- d) Governments at each level or different level should co-operate in the performance of functions and exercise of powers.
- e) In any dispute between governments, reasonable efforts to settle dispute should be made.
- f) County governments rely on Procedures provided under national legislation in

settling intergovernmental disputes between them.

- g) Parliament at national level has the role of ensuring that county governments have adequate support to enable them to perform their functions.
- h) County governments must operate financial management systems that comply with any requirements prescribed by national legislation.
- i) National government is permitted to take any measure on county government provided that Notice must be given to county government.
- j) Where a county government is unable to perform its functions, or does not operate a financial management system that complies with national legislation requirements, the national government may intervene.

Challenges facing county governments in Kenya.

- a) County governments have inadequate funds. Some are located in areas of limited resources. This impedes provision of essential services. Some are too small to operate efficiently.
- b) Corruption and misappropriation of funds is common in most counties. This is because those vested with the management powers do not have experience since the appointment of governors is through popular vote.
- c) Rural –urban migration is likely to generate population pressure in urban based counties like Nairobi city and Mombasa. urban problems like mushrooming of slums, poor garbage disposal and insufficient sanitary facilities arise.
- d) There is likely to be national government interference in the affairs and management of county legislation. This hinders free decision-making.
- e) Election of ward members to manage ward affairs may hamper operations of the counties especially in legislation.

Possible solutions to the challenges that may face county governments in Kenya.

- a) The National governments through the Equalization Fund should be able to provide adequate financial support to County governments located in areas of limited resources. This will assist in provision of essential services.
- b) Those counties that are too small to operate efficiently should be merged with others in terms of social service delivery.
- c) There should be stricter vetting of candidates to vie for positions of county Governors and deputy county Governors in order the possible challenge of financial management and corruption.
- d) Urban-based counties should be given more funding by the National Government to enable them solve urban related problems.
- e) The National government should come up with means on how to curb Rural –urban migration. This may be done through creation of employment generating opportunities in rural counties.
- f) The county governments, especially those that are in economically viable areas should be given financial autonomy and a free-hand in decision making, by the national government.

PUBLIC REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE IN KENYA.

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

Public finance refers to revenue and expenditure of the national and county government.

Principles that govern the use of public finance in Kenya.

- a) The principle of openness and accountability. There shall be public participation in financial matters.
- b) The public finance system should promote an equitable society, and in particular the burden of taxation should be shared fairly.
- c) Revenue raised nationally should be shared equitably among national and county governments.
- d) Expenditure of public finance should promote the equitable development of the country, including making special provision for marginalized groups and areas.
- e) The burdens and benefits of the use of resources and public borrowing should be shared equitably between present and future generations.
- f) Public money should be used in a prudent and responsible way.
- g) There should be responsible financial management accompanied by clear fiscal reporting to ensure effective use of public funds.

NATIONAL BUDGET.

The national budget is a comprehensive statement that gives an estimate of public revenue, expenditure and financial plans for a given financial year for a government.

Components of the national and county governments' budgets in Kenya.

- a) Estimates of revenue and expenditure, differentiating between recurrent and development expenditure.
- b) Proposals for financing any anticipated deficit for the period to which they apply.
- c) Proposals regarding borrowing and other forms of public liability that will increase public debt during the following year.

The process of Budget preparation and implementation in Kenya.

Three months before the end of each financial year, the head of each department or State organ submits estimates of revenues and expenditures for the following year to the secretary for finance.

Two months before the end of each financial year, the Cabinet Secretary for finance submits to the National Assembly estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the national government for the following financial year.

He also submits a detailed national fiscal, monetary and development plan for a period of three years prepared by him in collaboration with the Secretary responsible for planning and national development.

The estimates include estimates for expenditure from the Equalization Fund.

The National Assembly then considers the estimates submitted together with the estimates submitted by the Parliamentary Service Commission and the Chief Registrar of the Judiciary.

Before the National Assembly considers the estimates of revenue and expenditure, a committee of the Assembly will discuss and review the estimates and make recommendations to the Assembly.

Committee makes its recommendations to the National Assembly.

When the estimates have been approved by the National Assembly, there will be an **Appropriation Bill**, introduced into the National Assembly *to authorize the withdrawal from the Consolidated Fund of the money needed for the expenditure.*

The Appropriation Bill will not include expenditures that are charged on the Consolidated Fund.

The process of Budget preparation and implementation in a county government.

Further reading about this is encouraged.

Sources of public revenue for national government in Kenya.

Domestic Revenue Sources.

These are the taxes levied on citizens, private and public organizations, foreign investors and business people.

There are two main groups of taxes;

1. Direct taxes.
2. Indirect taxes.

1. Direct taxes. (Income tax)

These are taxes derived from people's salaries in form of income tax.

2. Indirect taxes.

These are taxes levied on goods and services but with parliamentary approval. They include;

- a) *Value-added tax*; an indirect sales tax paid on specific goods such as sugar, bread, petroleum products, clothes, electronic equipment and motor vehicles.
- b) *Customs duties*:- there are duties on imported goods such as motor vehicles, machinery, fertilizer, sugar, wheat, electronics, luxury goods, etc.
- c) *Excise tax*; this is charged on locally produced goods that are sold within the country.
- d) *Export Duty*; the duty charged on locally produced goods such as textiles, coffee, tea, soda ash and pyrethrum which are exported.
- e) *Trading Licenses*;
- f) *Sales Stamp Duty*; on entertainment services, betting, casino and premium bonds.
- g) *Traffic Revenue tax*; levied on various categories of traffic services. E.g., the Road Maintenance Levy, the driver's licence, Airport tax by air passengers.
- h) *Investment Revenue*; earned from parastatal and other profit making bodies that remit profits through the treasury.
- i) *Loan interest receipts*. Collection of taxes from parastatals like AFC, KTDA, KPC, NCPB and KCB.
- j) *Land Rates*.
- k) *House rates*.
- l) *Fees*; paid in terms of timber levies, CO2 levies and mining fees.
- m) *Court Fines*
- n) *Borrowing (under laid down law or procedure).*
- o) *Tourism fess*

External Revenue Sources

There are two main sources of external assistance;

1. *Bilateral Aid*; where two friendly nations assist each other. E.g. Kenya and Japan

2. *Multilateral Aid*; many countries form trading blocs or global institutions like World Bank, IMF, European Union and commonwealth for this purpose.

Sources of finance for county governments.

- a) The main source of funding for many counties is their ***equitable share from 15% of the national budget.***
- b) ***Conditional and unconditional grants.*** *Unconditional Grants* are funds allocated by the national government without conditions regarding their use. *Conditional grants* are the funds allocated by the national government for funding of specific projects and programmes. They include;
 - ~ *The Equalization Fund* for provision of basic services like water, health services, electricity and roads in marginalized areas.
 - ~ *The Contingencies Fund* to cater for urgent and unforeseen circumstances
- c) ***Counties' own revenues.*** Counties have the power to collect property rates, impose taxes on entertainment, and impose fees and charges for services they render to people and any other tax that Parliament permits them to impose.
- d) ***Borrowing,*** where the national government guarantees the loan or with the approval of the county assembly.
- e) *Grants and donations*

Factors that determine equitable sharing of public finance.

- a) The national interest.
- b) Any provision that must be made in respect of the public debt and other national obligations.
- c) The needs of the national government, determined by objective criteria.
- d) The need to ensure that county governments are able to perform the functions allocated to them.
- e) The fiscal capacity and efficiency of county governments.
- f) Developmental and other needs of counties.
- g) Economic disparities within and among counties and the need to remedy them.
- h) The need for affirmative action in respect of disadvantaged areas and groups.
- i) The need for economic optimization of each county and to provide incentives for each county to optimize its capacity to raise revenue.
- j) The desirability of stable and predictable allocations of revenue.
- k) The need for flexibility in responding to emergencies and other temporary needs.

Regulations that govern imposition of taxes and charges in Kenya.

- a) Only the national government may impose Income tax, Value-added tax, Customs duties and other duties on import and export goods; and excise tax.
- b) An Act of Parliament may authorize the national government to impose any other tax or duty.
- c) A county may impose property rates, entertainment taxes, and any other tax that it is authorized to impose by an Act of Parliament.
- d) The national and county governments may impose charges for services.
- e) The taxation and other revenue-raising powers of a county should not be exercised in a way that prejudices national economic policies, economic activities across county

- boundaries or the national mobility of goods, services, capital or labour.
- f) No tax or licensing fee may be imposed, waived or varied except as provided by legislation.
 - g) If permitted, a public record of each waiver shall be maintained together with the reason for the waiver; and each waiver, and the reason for it, should be reported to the Auditor-General.
 - h) No law may exclude or authorize the exclusion of a State officer from payment of tax.

The revenue collected by the government is deposited into the following funds;

1. *Equalization Fund*; This is a Fund specially established by the National government, to provide basic services including water, roads, health facilities and electricity to marginalized areas to the extent necessary to bring the quality of those services in those areas to the level generally enjoyed by the rest of the nation.
2. *Consolidated Fund*; this is the fund into which all the money raised or received by the national government is paid. Money set aside by parliament for specific purpose and money set aside by state organs to take care of their expenses is however not deposited in this fund.
3. *Contingencies Fund*; this is a fund from which advances will be made if the secretary for finance is convinced that there is an urgent matter that needs funding and for which there is no other provisions.
4. *Revenue Funds*; this is a fund for each county into which all the money raised or received by the county government is paid.

Expenditure of Public Revenue.

There are two ways in which the national government spends its revenue.

1. *Capital expenditure*. – The money set aside in the national budget for development projects.
2. *Recurrent expenditure*. – The money used by the government to sustain and maintain the existing facilities.

How the national government spends its money under recurrent expenditure.

- a) The government remunerates its employees through regular payment of salaries and wages.
- b) The expenditure is also used to maintain public property throughout the country by allocating necessary funds to roads, airports, colleges, school text book provision and bridge maintenance.
- c) The money is also used to service debts from international donor agencies and local financial institutions.
- d) The money is also used to contribute to regional and international organizations like COMESA, AU, UN and Commonwealth.
- e) It is used to provide grants to counties and parastatals, and bursaries to schools and colleges.
- f) The money is also used to maintain Kenyan embassies abroad.

County government expenditure.

County governments spend their monies in the following ways;

- a) Provision of basic social services like water, health facilities, electricity and cemeteries.
- b) The money from its recurrent expenditure is used to pay wages and salaries to its employees.
- c) The counties spend their money to some extent to control air and noise pollution, and also on refuse removal and solid waste disposal.
- d) Money is used to finance development of roads, parking facilities, ferries and street lighting, develop entertainment, sporting, trading and cultural facilities.
- e) In repair maintenance and improvement of public facilities like roads, health facilities, markets, libraries, housing etc.
- f) Some money is set aside as emergency utility for fire fighting services and disaster management.
- g) The counties use their money to service the borrowed funds plus the interest accrued.
- h) They also use money to provide early childhood education through development of nursery schools. They also develop village polytechnics and home craft training centres.

Ways through which proper management of public finances by national government is ensured in Kenya.

- a) Any national governments expenditure by state departments or state organs must be approved by parliament which acts as the public watchdog.
- b) The controller of budget oversees the implementation of the national budget by authorizing legal withdrawals from public funds such as the equalization fund, consolidated fund and contingencies fund
- c) The controller of budget submits to each house of parliament report on the implantation of the budget of the national government.
- d) Where a state organ or any other public body fails to adhere to the laid down procedures of expenditure, the cabinet secretary for finance, with the approval of parliament, may stop the transfer of funds to the body.
- e) There is constant auditing of accounts and financial records of all government and other public bodies.
- f) Every public body has a n accounting officer who is accountable to the national assembly for the financial management of the public body.
- g) The auditor general audits all accounts of all government and state organs.
- h) The government has put up policies related to procurement which is supposed to be fair, transparent, competitive and cost effective. to regulate public procurement, various bodies have been set up. e.g the public procurement oversight authority (PPOA), the public procurement administrative review board (PPARB)
- i) The government has also imposed sanctions against contractors who fail to fulfil their contractual agreements either by failing to complete jobs or by doing shoddy work.

- j) Sanctions are to be imposed against those persons who fail to pay their taxes, or engage in corrupt practices.
- k) All government contracts are publicly advertised for awarding of tenders and awards.
- l) The government established the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) in 2004 which has the function of investigating corrupt cases in a non-partisan manner.

Management and expenditure of public finances in county governments.

- a) In every county, there is established a revenue fund where all funds, (including the county's own revenues, transfers from national revenues, grants and borrowed funds) are consolidated.
- b) Money from this fund is only withdrawn following specific procedures authorized by parliament or by county laws.
- c) County governments must operate financial management systems that comply with all requirements of national legislation.
- d) The county assembly must vote on the budget and approve expenditure by various departments of the county.
- e) The county treasury must seek quarterly approvals from the controller of budget for withdrawal from the revenue fund based on the needs of the county.
- f) The accounting officer of a county organ or public body is accountable to the county assembly for the financial management of the public body.
- g) Each county has a county accountant general who maintains financial records of all the funds withdrawn from the revenue fund, and expenditure incurred.
- h) Apart from the internal audits in every county, the auditor general audits the accounts of the county governments and submits reports to the relevant county assembly.

The controller of Budget.

Role of the controller of budget.

- a) He or she oversees the implementation of the budgets of the national and county governments.
- b) He or she authorizes withdrawals from the public funds such as the Equalization, Consolidated and Revenue Funds.
- c) he or she submits to each house of parliament, every four months, a report on the implementation of the budgets of both national and county government

Auditor General.

Read on this

The Commission on Revenue Allocation.

The Commission consists of;

- a) A chairperson.
- b) One nominee of each regional assembly.
- c) Two persons to represent county governments.
- d) Two persons nominated by the National Assembly.
- e) The Principal Secretary in the Ministry responsible for finance.
- f) The Controller of Budget.

Functions of the commission of Revenue Allocation.

- a) He is responsible for determining the basis for the equitable sharing of revenue from national resources between the national government and the various levels of devolved government.
- b) It makes recommendations on matters concerning the financing, and financial management by county governments
- c) It determines and regularly reviews a policy that set out the criteria by which to identify the marginalized areas.
- d) It defines and enhances the revenue sources of the national and county governments.
- e) It submits its recommendations to the senate, national assembly, the national executive, county assemblies and county executives.
- f) It mediates in and determines disputes relating to financial arrangements between the national government and devolved governments.

Functions of Central Bank.

- a) Promote and maintain the stability of the value of the currency of the Republic.
- b) Issue notes and coins.
- c) Act as banker and financial adviser of the Government.
- d) Conduct the monetary policy of the Government in a manner consistent with the relevant provisions of the law in the interest of the balanced and sustainable economic growth of the Republic.
- e) Encourage and promote economic development and the efficient utilization of the resources of the Republic, through effective and efficient operation of a banking and credit system.

Why the Economic and Social Council established in Kenya.

- a) To advise the national government and Parliament on matters of economic and social concern to the people of the Republic.
- b) To advise the national government on the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of strategic economic and social policies.
- c) To consider and report to Parliament on the economic and social implications of all Bills and budgetary proposals introduced in Parliament.
- d) To monitor progress in the improvement of the living standards of the people of Kenya, particularly those of the poor and the disadvantaged.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

BRITAIN

Britain comprises England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The country has evolved a parliamentary system of government over the years.

The Saxon Kings who invaded Britain in the 5th Century AD had absolute powers- ruling without consulting the citizens, and their positions were hereditary. However, in the 12th century AD, they introduced the parliamentary system. They agreed that the kings/queens could only rule according to the laws of the land that should be made by the representatives of the people.

This was what came to be known as a constitutional monarchy.

The electoral process in Britain

The British government is based on the party system. Elections for party leaders are held separately before the general elections. The three main parties are the Conservative Party, Liberal Party and Labour Party.

Unlike USA and other major democratic states outside commonwealth, there is no fixed date for British parliamentary elections. The date of a general election is decided upon by the prime Minister.

The Choice of a date of elections is influenced by the following factors;

1. The economic situation that is the availability of funds.
2. The state of the government's legislative programme in the House of Commons.
3. The desire to increase government support in parliament.

The electoral system for the House of Commons is based on the principle of 'one person, one vote'

There are two types of elections for the House of Commons.

- ~ General elections where members of the House of Commons are elected for a 5-year term.
- ~ By-elections in the event of resignation, death or resignation of a member of parliament.

There are also local elections in which representatives of local authorities (councillors) are voted for and are held every 4 years. The local authorities include the District Councils, London Boroughs, Metropolitan districts and Regional and island councils.

In Britain, there are also euro-elections, first introduced in 1979, in which representatives to the European Union parliament are chosen. 81 MPs were elected in 1979.

Voter Registration.

It is the local authorities that hold the responsibility of registering voters. Since 1948, a postal vote is possible for citizens who are away from their constituencies during the voting period, either on business or other reasons.

The following categories of people qualify to vote in Britain;

- a) British Citizens over the age of 18 years.
- b) Citizens from commonwealth countries who have resided in Britain for periods stipulated by law.
- c) Citizens of the republic of Ireland who have been residents for periods stipulated by law.

The following are ineligible to vote in Britain.

- a) Persons of unsound mind.
- b) Convicts detained in a prison.
- c) Persons convicted of corrupt or illegal practices in connection with elections cannot vote for five years from the date of conviction.
- d) Adults whose names do not appear on the register of voters.
- e) Peers or members of the House of Lords

A candidate who wishes to contest for a parliamentary seat in Britain must fulfil the following conditions;

- a) He/she must be a British citizen or a common subject or a citizen of the republic of Ireland.
- b) He/she must be of a minimum age of 21 years.
- c) He/ she must be nominated by a political party or be an independent candidate.

The following are disqualified from vying for a parliamentary seat in Britain.

- a) English/Scottish peers who have the right to sit in the House of Lords.
- b) Clergy of the Church of England, or the Church of Ireland, Ministers of the church of Scotland, and Roman Catholic priests.
- c) Aliens.
- d) Certified Lunatics.
- e) Undisputed bankrupts.
- f) Convicted persons.
- g) Persons who have committed illegal practices during elections like corruption.
- h) Members of the armed forces.

Candidates vie for 650 parliamentary seats.

The candidates are either nominated by respective parties or stand as independent candidates and need not reside in the constituencies as long as they register as voters in that constituency. Once nomination of candidates has taken place, campaigns are allowed for two weeks before voting

Each candidate appoints an election agent to manage the finances and protect the interests of the candidate during the campaign. The agent also explains the candidate's party policies and identifies party supporters within the constituency. He/she familiarizes the candidate's name to prospective voters.

Election officials work hand in hand with party agents during Election Day.

Each candidate must deposit 500 sterling pounds with the registrar, which is returned in the event that the candidate garners over 5% of the total vote in the constituency.

Elections in Britain are by **plurality**. Candidates who get the highest of votes win the elections.

The party that secures most parliamentary seats is declared winner and is asked to form the next government. *Emphasis is on number of seats not votes cast.*

The **House of Lords** members are drawn from people with high offices. E.g. bishops, distinguished scientists and artists, great sportsmen, retired judges etc

Functions of Government in Britain.

The British government operates around four basic institutions;

- a) The Monarchy.
- b) The Legislature.

- c) The Executive.
- d) The Judiciary.

The Monarchy.

In Britain, the Monarchy is represented by the queen. The Monarch assent to all legislations. The Monarch appoints the PM and approves the cabinet

Other Functions of the Monarchy.

- a) The monarch as head of state advises government
- b) The monarch summons, prorogues and dissolve parliament in consultation with the Prime Minister.
- c) The Monarch gives royal assent to bills passed by parliament to become law.
- d) Management of the country's foreign policy including enactment of treaties.
- e) It confers honours to persons who have rendered distinguished services. For example, the peerages to become Lords or knights and will be referred to as LADY OR 'Sir'
- f) The Monarch approves appointments to important state offices such as judges, senior members of the armed forces and civil service.
- g) The monarch pardons and gives reprieve to people who have been accused of committing various offences.
- h) The Monarch appoints Bishops and Archbishops of the Anglican Church.

NB; At the beginning of each new session of parliament, the monarch addresses both Houses together in the House of Lords to mark the formal opening of parliament. In the address, the monarch outlines government proposed legislations for the coming session.

Importance of the monarchy to the British people.

- a) The presence of the monarchy helps to give some continuity to executive policy.
- b) It inspires the head of government with a sense of responsibility and dignity.
- c) It acts as a useful counsellor to the head of government.
- d) It is the symbol of commonwealth unity.
- e) It sets standards for social life. The presence of members of the royalty at the inauguration of scientific, artistic and charitable works ensures nationwide support.
- f) The royal family pays state visits to foreign government and undertakes tours in other countries of the commonwealth, hence contributing to better understanding between Britain and other nations.

The Legislature/parliament.

It is made up of the monarchy, House of Lords and House of commons.

The following are ways through which one can gain membership to parliament in Britain;

- a) Elections.
- b) Nominations
- c) Inheritance.
- d) By Virtue of office. E.g. members of the House of Lords maintain their parliamentary seat whenever a new parliament is constituted.

Parliament is a supreme institution in Britain. It passes changes or repeals laws without being vetoed by the courts of law.

How parliamentary supremacy is demonstrated in Britain.

- a) Parliament makes amends and abolishes laws. No other institution can do that.

- b) Branches of government operate under the laws passed by parliament. /parliament is the supreme institution in Britain and all other institutions derive their power from it.
- c) Parliament can pass a vote of no confidence in the executive. / has powers to remove any unpopular government from office.
- d) It approves government revenue and expenditure. / It is the only institution empowered to approve government budget.
- e) Decisions of parliament are binding to all. They cannot be overruled or nullified by a court of law.

The House of Lords.

Membership to The House of Lords is based on nomination by the monarch or by hereditary principle. Some membership is through holding senior positions within the Church of England. Consists of 1200 members 800 of whom are hereditary peers, 26 are Bishops and 21 are Lords of Appeal.

One can become a member of the House of Lords in the following ways;

1. Through nomination by the monarch.
2. When one holds hereditary parentage position. Normally the eldest male member of the family inherits the position.
3. Through holding some senior position in the society e.g. within the Church of England - Archbishop of Canterbury.

Members of the House of Lords only receive sitting allowances. Only the Lords of Appeal receive annual salaries.

Role played by the House of Lords in the British parliamentary system.

- a) The house of lords checks the powers of the House of Commons and therefore prevents nasty legislation. Bills from the House of Commons have to go to the House of Lords for debate and approval.
- b) It addresses non-controversial bills that the lower house has no time to address.
- c) The house of lords holds bills from the lower house long enough to seek public approval.
- d) The House of Lords questions ministers about the activities of government and stages debates on general issues of national policy.
- e) It seats as a court of appeal for criminal cases. on such occasions , the court is presided over by the lord chancellor (speaker of the house)
- f) It provides a forum for utilization of the talents of people who could not win a general election. These people are created peers by the queen and become members of the House of Lords.
- g) It enhances unity in the country as newcomers are created lords by the queen and then become members of the House of Lords.
- h) It provides continuity in operation of parliament. Old experienced peers retain their seats in the House of Lords until they die, so provide guidance to new and young politicians.

House of Commons.

It is the major legislative arm of the government. It comprises 650 elected members representing constituencies. The leader of the House is the P.M. The chief officer is the speaker who is elected at the start of a new parliamentary session.

Functions of the House of Commons.

- a) Discusses makes and amends laws. However, the monarchy and the house of Lords have powers to veto such laws.
- b) Approves government revenue and expenditure. It controls finances. No taxes can be imposed without the consent of the House of Commons.
- c) It has powers to pass a vote of No confidence in the executive (Check the powers of the executive to ensure that the rule of law is maintained.
- d) Debates on matters of national interest.
- e) It directs government policy and keeps development programmes on track.
- f) It is a training ground for future leaders.

Factors which influence the activities of Parliament in Britain.

- a) Members of the House of Commons must consider the moral values of the British society before making any decision.
- b) Parliamentarians are always sensitive to public opinion because any unpopular government or party risks not being re-elected.
- c) Local authorities are empowered to make by-laws even without consulting parliament.
- d) Interests of the institutions under the spotlight are always taken into account before legislation is done in parliament. E.g. the Church, Universities, Farmers, trade Unions etc.
- e) Legislation passed by one parliament can be changed by another future one.
- f) International law is also taken into account when laws are made.

NB; these are the factors that limit the parliamentary supremacy in Britain.

The executive.

The executive is made up of the Prime Minister, the cabinet and the civil service.

The Prime Minister.

Appointed by the monarch, being the leader of the political party that controls an absolute majority, He/she is the Chief executive of the country.

He performs the following functions;

- a) Appoints and dismisses Cabinet ministers with the consent of the monarch.
- b) He/she recommends to the sovereign the appointment of senior civil servants such as the chief Justice, High Commissioners.
- c) He/she represents Britain in international fora.
- d) He/she controls the cabinet secretariat and oversees the execution of cabinet decisions by various departments.
- e) He/she is the leader of the party that nominates him/her.
- f) He/she settles disputes between various departments.
- g) He/she is the leader of the House of Commons.
- h) He/she initiates both domestic and foreign policies.

The Cabinet.

The cabinet is made of the ministers appointed by the P.M with the approval of the monarch and nominated from the party with the majority of seats.

The cabinet performs the following functions;

- a) The cabinet ministers institute policies that guide the operations in the various departments of the ministry.

- b) Cabinet determines the policy to present to parliament for consideration.
- c) Cabinet is responsible for the coordination of government activity. E.g. all ministers must implement cabinet decisions with regard to their department.

The following conventions provide guidance on the operation of the cabinet;

- a) Once a government is defeated, on a major issue or on a vote of no confidence, it is expected to resign. A government whose party is defeated in General elections is expected to resign.
- b) The cabinet is drawn from the House of Commons and the House of Lords.
- c) The entire cabinet comes from the same political party of majority seats except during a crisis like war. Since 1945, Britain has never embraced a coalition.
- d) The advice offered by the cabinet must be accepted by the monarch, failure to which a crisis can occur.
- e) All members of the cabinet take the Oath of the Privy councillors and are bound to Secrecy by this oath and the official secrets Act.
- f) Members of the cabinet are collectively responsible for all decisions and actions as well as individually responsible of the departments they head.

The Civil Service

The British law stipulates the civil servants are servants of the crown. A civil servant is expected to non-partisan and to serve the government of the day without favour. Civil service staff does not change with change of government.

Recruitment In the civil service is based on merit.

Functions of the civil Service in Britain.

- a) It implements ministerial policies as agreed by parliament.
- b) It assists in formulation of policies and generation of policy proposals.
- c) It manages government administrative machinery.
- d) It carries out normal duties that public administration demands.

Principles that characterize the British civil service.

- a) The tradition of anonymity. Civil servants are taken to be carrying out the instructions of minister. Ministers get all the credit for all good, as well as censure for all that is criticized.
- b) The principal of civil service impartiality. Those civil services are expected to serve whichever minister is in office without partiality. Senior civil servants are not permitted to take part in national politics except voting.
- c) Ministers make policies and civil servants execute the policies.
- d) The tradition of assumption that it is not the task of the civil service to initiate change or take responsibility for planning future lines of social and economic development.

The Judiciary.

The judiciary in Britain is based on the supremacy of the law. To safeguard the rule of law, the British Judiciary has an independent court system.

How judicial independence is ensured in Britain.

- a) The salaries of judges are not open to discussion by parliament.
- b) Since 1701, judges have always been appointed on good behaviour until retirement.
- c) A Judge can only be dismissed by a resolution from both houses.

The structure of the British Court System.

(Further reading encouraged)

components of the British constitution.

- e) Statutes or acts of parliament e.g. act of union with Scotland of 1707.
- f) Customs-the accepted traditions e.g. the first-born of the sovereign succeeds the king /queen.
- g) Law of precedence-judges applies accepted principles to new set of facts.
- h) Custom of parliament e.g. the procedures of the two houses.
- i) Historical documents e.g. the Magna Carta.

THE USA

The origin of USA dates back to 1776, when the thirteen British Colonies declared their independence from Britain. USA is a federal government, a form of representative democracy comprising a union of 50 states

The adopted a new constitution in 1787 and has the following features.

- a) It is Federal in nature.
- b) A written constitution.
- c) Bill of rights is contained in it.
- d) The Supreme Court can only interpret it.
- e) Legislature is Bi-cameral i.e. the senate & the House of Representatives forming the congress/two houses.
- f) It caters for the separation of powers.
- g) Does not provide for secession of a member state.
- h) Federal government and individual states share power through their senators in congress i.e. in making laws.
- i) The president is the head of the federal government and governors are heads of state.
- j) It is the supreme law of the land.
- k) Amendment can only be done through a clearly laid down procedure.

The electoral process in USA.

There are three types of election held in USA.

- a) The election of the president.
- b) Congressional elections
- c) The state election involving election of state governors and state legislatures.

All candidates vying for various seats must be American citizens and must be residents in the area they aspire to represent

Age limit is 25 years for the representatives and 35 years for the president.

During the election year party primaries are held between March and May to choose presidential candidates.

Party conventions are held in July to confirm winners of the primary elections.

Each presidential candidate picks a running mate who becomes the vice president if the presidential candidate wins.

Presidential elections are held after every 4 years (on 2nd November).

The election of the president is determined indirectly by the Electoral College that comprises electors appointed by each state.

When a presidential candidate wins the popular vote in a state, he automatically wins all the

state's electors.

Direct elections are done through popular vote of one man one vote.

Senators and members of the House of Representatives are elected after every two years.

Senators serve for a period of six years with a third of them elected after every 2 years.

Members of the House of Representatives serve for four years and are elected on party basis.

Each state elects 2 representatives to the senate making a total of 100 senators for the 50 states.

Election of House of Representatives is on the basis of state population. For example, the largest state, California has 52 representatives while Wyoming, the smallest has only one representative.

State governors and legislators are elected after every 4 years.

Features of the US system of government.

- a) The federal government is made up of the legislature, executive and the judiciary.
- b) Each state within the federal government functions as a republic and enjoys equal status.
- c) The federal government and independent states share the power of formulating and enforcing laws.
- d) All states have their constitutions but they should not be contradicting to the Federal Constitution.
- e) The Supreme Court interprets the constitution.
- f) The congress (Senate and the House of Representatives) is the body entrusted with legislative powers.
- g) Senate membership is through popular vote of two members from each state for a period of six years.
- h) The House of Representatives members are elected for a period of two years based on the size of the population. However, each state has to have at least one representative.
- i) All treaties and appointments by the president have to be ratified by the senate.
- j) Presidential vote must be supported by two thirds of the votes of the house.
- k) The Supreme Court made up of the chief justice and eight associate judges heads federal judiciary.
- l) The president appoints federal judges with the approval of the senate.
- m) Courts in the judiciary include the court of appeal, the district courts and other special courts, all formed by the congress.
- n) All criminal cases are handled in the courts except the cases of impeachment, which are voted by the house with the approval of the senate.
- o) Foreign policy and Defence is the preserve of the Federal Government.

features of the state governments of U.S.A.

- a) Each state has a governor.
- b) Each state has a law court those carters for internal affairs.
- c) Each state provides educational, health facilities and public amenities for the welfare of the residents.
- d) Each state is responsible for its own development.
- e) Each state generates its own revenue necessary for discharging its responsibility.
- f) Each state has a bicameral legislature.

g) Each state has a state police that maintains law and order.

Limitations of state governments in USA.

- a) No state is permitted to enter any treaty, alliance or confederation with other states or countries.
- b) No state may make her own currency.
- c) States are forbidden, unless congress approves, to levy duties on imports or exports.
- d) States are prohibited from maintaining armed forces.
- e) States are prohibited from entering into any agreement with foreign powers or engaging in war.

how the conduct of USA president is checked

- a) The senate approves presidential appointees to executive positions.
- b) Congress can refuse to approve the use of government funds for a foreign policy it disagrees with. E.g. war.
- c) The congress can impeach a sitting president if his conduct while in office is wanting.
- d) The Supreme Court has powers to declare that the president has acted unconstitutionally, a verdict which can damage his status.
- e) Any president is limited by the constitution to two four-year terms in office.
- f) Opinion polls normally reflect the wishes and feelings of the American people, which the sitting president cannot ignore.
- g) The mass media monitors and reports to the general public every action or speech of the president.

functions of the political parties in USA'

- a) Make electoral policies coherent.
- b) The party level helps voters to sort out through the candidates as parties usually stand for different policies.
- c) Parties help to put the desire of the people on the government policy agenda.
- d) Parties provide outlets for citizens to express their sentiments about nominees.
- e) Political party system provides accountability when the policies of the party fails/ voters hold candidates accountable.

differences existing between the House of Representatives and the senate in terms of membership.

- a) The house of representatives is larger with more than 436 members whereas the senate has only 100 members.
- b) The house of representatives has short period of office (2 years) but the senate is on for a long period of office (6 years)
- c) Members of the House of Representatives are elected by constituencies whereas the senate is elected by the state.
- d) Easier qualification for candidates for membership to the House of Representatives. The senate demands stricter qualifications.
- e) The house of representatives is less prestigious than the senate.
- f) Rules of the House of Representatives are more rigid than the rules governing the senate.

functions of the USA president.

- a) He is the head of state.

- b) He appoints cabinet ministers and senior civil servants with approval of the congress.
- c) He is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.
- d) He is the head of the federal government of USA and the defender of its constitution.
- e) The president formulates the public policy.
- f) He can veto or override bills passed by the congress.
- g) As a head of the party in power, the president influences public opinion and thereby guides the course of the congress.
- h) He guides and controls foreign affairs and makes treaties.

India.

Describe the Indian electoral process.

- a) India's parliament is composed of the Lower Chamber or House of The People (Lok Sabha) and the Upper House or the Council of States (Rajya Sabha).
- b) The term of Lok Sabha is five years while that of Rajya Sabha is six years.
- c) **Lok Sabha** consists of 545 elected members, 543 elected from each constituency created based on population size. The president nominates two.
- d) Political parties field candidates in each constituency.
- e) India's universal adult suffrage is 18 years. Qualification age for voting is 25 years and above.
- f) The Election Commission, a constitutional arm of the Indian electoral process oversees the elections.
- g) Candidates are required to declare their assets, age, educational qualifications and criminal history before being cleared to vie.
- h) Campaigning ends a day before the voting day. Government schools and colleges are chosen to be polling stations. Government servants are employed to man the polling stations.
- i) There is the use of electronic voting machines instead of ballot boxes.
- j) The candidate who garners the most number of votes is declared the winner of the constituency.
- k) The party or coalition that has won the most number of seats is invited by the president to form the new government. The leader of the party becomes the prime minister.
- l) **Rajya Sabha** consists of 250 members; the electoral college of India elects 248. The president nominates twelve members from among distinguished people.
- m) Every state is allotted a certain number of members.
- n) Candidate age limit is 30 years and above.

Functions of a prime minister in India.

- a) He is the head of the federal government
- b) He is the leader of the house to which he belongs. (He can be either a member of the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) or Lok Sabha).
- c) As head of the Council of Ministers, the prime minister oversees the work of all the ministries.
- d) Chairs cabinet meetings, which are normally held in the cabinet room of the prime ministers' office.
- e) Guides the president on appointment to the cabinet.
- f) Participates in the law-making process as a member of the Lok Sabha.

- g) The prime minister has traditionally been the minister-in-charge of the department of space, atomic energy and the ministry of personnel, public governance and pensions
- h) Recommends persons for presidential awards.

functions of the Electoral Commission of India.

- a) Prepares electoral registers
- b) Setting dates for polling.
- c) Establishing and operating polling station.
- d) Allocation party symbols.
- e) Publishing electoral report.
- f) Accepting or rejecting nominations as per the law.
- g) Counting the votes.
- h) Drawing constituency boundary.

What conditions must one fulfill to be elected president in India

- a) He/she must be a citizen of India.
- b) He/she must have attained the age of 35 and above.
- c) He/she should not hold any office.
- d) He/she should be qualified to be elected as a member of the house of the people. (the lok sabha)

functions of the cabinet in the government of India.

- a) Formulation of policy issues affecting the management of the government of India.
- b) Defends the government policy.
- c) Ensures that the civil servants implement government policy.
- d) Advises the president.
- e) Gives approval to the budget and estimates of the expenditure.
- f) The cabinet exercises general direction and control of government departments.